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PERTANIKA JOURNALS

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About the Journal

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Recognized internationally as the leading peer-reviewed interdisciplinary journal devoted to the publication of original papers, it serves as a forum for practical approaches to improving quality in issues pertaining to social and behavioural sciences as well as the humanities.

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The *Introduction* explains the scope and objective of the study in the light of current knowledge on the subject; the *Materials and Methods* describes how the study was conducted; the *Results* section reports what was found in the study; and the *Discussion* section explains meaning and significance of the results and provides suggestions for future directions of research. The manuscript must be prepared according to the Journal's **INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS**.

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3 The chief executive editor, in consultation with the editor-in-chief, examines the reviews and decides whether to reject the manuscript, invite the author(s) to revise and resubmit the manuscript, or seek additional reviews. Final acceptance or rejection rests with the Edito-in-Chief, who reserves the right to refuse any material for publication. In rare instances, the manuscript is accepted with almost no revision. Almost without exception, reviewers' comments (to the author) are forwarded to the author. If a revision is indicated, the editor provides guidelines for attending to the reviewers' suggestions and perhaps additional advice about revising the manuscript.

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Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities
Vol. 25 (1) Mar. 2017

Contents

Foreword i
Nayan Deep S. Kanwal

Review Articles

Returning Soldiers to the Barracks: Military Reform as the Crucial First Step in Democratising Thailand 1
Siwach Sripokangkul and Paul Chambers

Gaps Pertaining Evaluation on Built Heritage Conservation with Special Annotation on the Malaysian Context 21
Firzan, M., Keumala, N. and Zawawi, R.

Short Communication

Brief Communication on Psychosocial Work Environment and Wellbeing in relation to Job Demands-Resources: A Study on Malaysian Public Health Perspective 39
M. Umair Javaid, A. S. N. Isha and Z. Ghazali

Regular Articles

Strengthening Women through Group Participation, Trust and Networks: A Study on Women's Self-help Groups in Bangladesh 45
Faraha Nawaz

The Role of Peers and Cultural Tools in Supporting Autonomous Learning Behaviours among Malay Tertiary Learners 61
Naginder Kaur

A Process Model Framework for Strategic Management and Innovation Area of AACSB Standards 81
Kundu, G. K. and Bairi, J.

The Impact of SHRM on Man Power Sustainability in a Manpower Agency of International Airport in Tamil Nadu, India – An Empirical Study 99
A. Vasumathi and Colin Crispin C.

'Daddy' and His Discussion of Authority 119
Etemadi, O. and Tabasi, E.

Comparing Structural and Functional Lexical Bundles in MUET Reading Test 133
Christina Ong Sook Beng and Yuen Chee Keong

The Undecidable Quest: A Derridean Reading of Tolkien's *The Hobbit* 149
Pedram Lalbakhsh and Ali Ghaderi

Foucault's *Sophrosyne*: A qualitative analysis of self-identity creation through the coming out process of same-sex attracted men of Chinese ethnicity in Penang, Malaysia 169
Felix, M. S.

A Cross-Sectional Study on Occupational Stress of Using Thai-JCQ among Thai Immigrant Employees in Bangkok: A Path Diagram 189
Chonticha Kaewanuchit

ESL Undergraduates' Patterns of Plagiarism in Academic Essays Based on Print or Internet Sources 205
Samaneh Zangenehmadar and Tan Bee Hoon

Disjoint between Intention and Implementation: The Safer Sex Conundrum of Gay Men in Penang, Malaysia 221
Felix, M. S.

A Contrastive Pragmatic Study of Speech Act of Complaint in Terms of Main Components in English and Persian 239
Hosseini, S. M., Panahandeh, S. H. and Mansoorzadeh, N.

Current Perception and Willingness towards Organ Donation and Transplantation: A Survey of Undergraduate Students at University of Malaya 261
Hasmah Zanuddin, Tham Jen Sern and Siti Nur Shahira Zakaria

Posthumanism in "Amnesty" by Octavia Butler: A Feminist Theological Analysis 277
Mohammadi, A. E. and Leon, C. E.

Banking Liquidity and Stock Market Prices in Three Countries in ASEAN 291
Tin-fah Chung, M. Ariff and Shamsher M.

Exploring the Role of Human Resource Management Practices on Labour Productivity in Libyan National Oil Corporations 317
Mohamed Ibrahim Mohamed, Mahazan Abdul Mutalib, Adel M. Abdulaziz and Mikail Ibrahim

Identity Politics of Being and Becoming of the *Chetti Melaka* in Singapore 337
David Neo and Mary Varghese

The Politics within the Issue of the Indonesian National Language: A Sociolinguistic Perspective 353
Setiono Sugiharto

Selected Papers from the USM International Conference on Social Sciences 2015 (USM-ICOSS 2015)
Guest Editor: Intan Hashimah Mohd Hashim
Guest Editorial Board: Benny Teh Cheng Guan, Khoo Suet Leng, Lim Ee Shiang, Ong Beng Kok & Premalatha Karupiah

The Case of an "Ambiguous Regime": Malaysia's Political Experience 373
Razali, S. Z.

Does Equitable Income Distribution Influence Environmental Quality? Evidence from Developing Countries of ASEAN-4 385
Abdul Rahim Ridzuan, Nor Asmat Ismail, Abdul Fatah Che Hamat, Abu Hassan Shaari Md Nor and Elsadig Musa Ahmed

Finance-Growth Nexus in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria: Does the Proxy of Financial Development Matter? 401
Kizito Uyi Ehigiamusoe, Hooi Hooi Lean and Ramez Abubakr Badeeb

Lived Experiences and Narratives of De Facto Single Mothers in Penang Island, Malaysia 417
Nor Hafizah, S., Farah Syazwani, H. A. and Noraida, E.

"Crippled", Creeping and Crawling towards Enlightenment in this Life 425
Khu, L. H.

Thinking Empirically about the McDonaldization Thesis in Penang 433
Ong, B. K.

Youth Engagement in Meaningful Activities and Happiness: A Comparative Study of Chinese Undergraduates from Taiwan and Malaysia 445
Lee, M. N.

The Effect of Perceived Racial Discrimination on Aggression 461
Chng, B. Z. and Tan, C. S.

The Lurking Racism: Exploring Racial Microaggression in the Malaysian University Setting 473
Lino, M., Hashim, I. H. M. and Ricardo, R.

The Local People Perceptions on the Economic Impacts of Indonesian Workers in Rural Areas: A Case Study at Rural Johor 485
Suziana, M. Y., Ibrahim, N., Siti Rahyla, R., and Razlini, M. R.

Foreword

Welcome to the **First Issue 2017** of the Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (JSSH)!

JSSH is an open-access journal for the Social Sciences and Humanities that is published by Universiti Putra Malaysia Press. It is independently owned and managed by the university and run on a non-profit basis for the benefit of the world-wide social science community.

This issue contains **31 articles**, of which **two** are review articles, **one** is a short communication and **18** are regular research articles. This issue also features **10** selected papers from the USM International Conference on Social Sciences 2015 (USM-ICOSS 2015). The authors of these articles come from different countries, namely, **Bangladesh, Malaysia, Thailand, India, Indonesia** and **Iran**.

The first review article in this issue discusses soldiers returning to the barracks, and considers military reform as the crucial first step in democratising Thailand (Siwach Sripokangkul and Paul Chambers) while the second is on gaps pertaining to evaluation of built heritage conservation with special annotation on the Malaysian context (Firzan, M., Keumala, N. and Zawawi, R.). The short communication in this issue reports briefly on psychosocial work environment and wellbeing in relation to job demands, looking at resources from on the perspective of Malaysian public health (M. Umair Javaid, A. S. N. Isha and Z. Ghazali).

The regular articles cover a wide range of topics. The first is on strengthening women through group participation, trust and networks, and it studies women's self-help groups in Bangladesh (Faraha Nawaz). The following articles look at: The role of peers and cultural tools in supporting autonomous learning behaviours among Malay tertiary learners (Naginder Kaur); a process model framework for strategic management and innovation area of AACSB standards (Kundu, G. K. and Bairi, J.); the impact of SHRM on manpower sustainability in the manpower agency of the International Airport in Tamil Nadu, India as examined through an empirical study (A. Vasumathi and Colin Crispin C.); the use of authority as wielded by the character, 'Daddy', in Sylvia Plath's poem "Daddy" (Etemadi, O. and Tabasi, E.); a comparison of structural and functional lexical bundles in MUET reading tests (Christina Ong Sook Beng and Yuen Chee Keong); a Derridean exploration of Tolkien's The Hobbit (Pedram Lalbakhsh and Ali Ghaderi); self-identity creation through the coming-out process among same-sex attracted men of Chinese ethnicity in Penang, Malaysia, conducted as a qualitative analysis and using Foucault's concept of sophrosyne (Felix, M. S.); occupational stress among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok, done as a cross-sectional study (Chonticha Kaewanuchit); ESL undergraduates' patterns of plagiarism in academic essays based on print or internet sources (Samaneh Zangenehmadar and Tan Bee Hoon); the disjoint between intention and implementation with regards to safe sex among gay men in Penang, Malaysia (Felix, M. S.); the speech act

of complaint by contrasting its main components in English and Persian (Hosseini, S. M., Panahandeh, S. H. and Mansoorzadeh, N.); current perception and willingness towards organ donation and transplantation, examined through a survey of undergraduate students at University of Malaya (Hasmah Zanuddin, Tham Jen Sern and Siti Nur Shahira Zakaria); posthumanism in Octavia Butler's "Amnesty" as feminist theological analysis (Mohammadi, A. E. and Leon, C. E.); banking liquidity and stock market prices in three ASEAN countries (Tin-fah Chung, M. Ariff and Shamsher M.); the role of human resource management practices on labour productivity in Libyan national oil corporations (Mohamed Ibrahim Mohamed, Mahazan Abdul Mutalib, Adel M. Abdulaziz and Mikail Ibrahim); the identity politics of being and becoming of the 'chetti Melaka' in Singapore (David Neo and Mary Varghese); and politics as presented in the Indonesian national language, considered from a sociolinguistic perspective (Setiono Sugiharto).

This issue concludes with 10 articles from the USM-ICOSS 2015 international conference. The articles look at: The "ambiguous regime" as manifested in Malaysia's political experience (Razali, S. Z.); equitable income distribution and if it has an influence on environmental quality using evidence from the four developing ASEAN countries (Abdul Rahim Ridzuan, Nor Asmat Ismail, Abdul Fatah Che Hamat, Abu Hassan Shaari Md Nor and Elsadig Musa Ahmed); the finance-growth nexus in Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria to consider if the proxy of financial development matters (Kizito Uyi Ehigiamusoe, Hooi Hooi Lean and Ramez Abubakr Badeeb); the lived experience and narratives of de-facto single mothers in Penang, Malaysia (Nor Hafizah, S., Farah Syazwani, H. A. and Noraida, E.); "crippled", creeping and crawling towards enlightenment in this life (Khu, L. H.); thinking empirically about the McDonaldization thesis in Penang (Ong, B. K.); youth engagement in meaningful activities and happiness, examined by comparative study of Chinese undergraduates from Taiwan and Malaysia (Lee, M. N.); the effect of perceived racial discrimination on aggression (Chng, B. Z. and Tan, C. S.); racism where it might lurk in the Malaysian university setting as racial microaggression (Lino, M., Hashim, I. H. M. and Ricardo, R.); and the perception of locals of the economic impact resulting from the influx of Indonesian workers in rural areas in rural Johor (Suziana, M. Y., Ibrahim, N., Siti Rahyla, R., and Razlini, M. R.).

I anticipate that you will find the evidence presented in this issue to be intriguing, thought-provoking and useful in reaching new milestones. Please recommend the journal to your colleagues and students to make this endeavour meaningful.

I would also like to express my gratitude to all the contributors who have made this issue possible, as well as the authors, reviewers and editors for their professional contribution. Last but not least, the editorial assistance of the journal division staff is also fully appreciated.

JSSH is currently accepting manuscripts for upcoming issues based on original qualitative or quantitative research that opens new areas of inquiry and investigation.

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Review Article

Returning Soldiers to the Barracks: Military Reform as the Crucial First Step in Democratising Thailand

Siwach Sripokangkul[1]* and Paul Chambers[2]

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ABSTRACT

Thailand's transformation from absolute monarchy in 1932 to military dictatorship in 2017 has witnessed 13 successful coups d'état across 84 years. The Thai military (as supported by aristocracy) is a principal obstacle to achieving lasting democracy. Examples of its anti-democratic behaviour include its crushing of protesters in 1973, 1976, 1992 and 2010. The latest putsch in 2014 has resulted in systematic intimidation and repression of political opponents, with Thailand descending into "military bureaucratic authoritarianism." Since the military is such a strong barrier to democratisation, the next democratically elected government must undertake military reforms as its first priority. Such reforms must include demobilisation, downsizing, conscription reduction, military budget reduction, abolishment of martial law, audits of the military budget, changes in legislation to severely punish military coup-leaders by eliminating the pattern of amnesties and immunities and reform of military-dominated agencies. The study suggests that if comprehensive military reform is allowed to take off, it may bring the military under civilian control, creating professionalism, preventing the situation of a (military) state within a state and strengthening civilian supremacy. If this can be achieved then democratisation and s

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INTRODUCTION

Since the 1932 democratic revolution that overthrew the absolute monarchy in Thailand (known then as Siam), the "Royal

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Thai Army" has successfully staged 13 successful coups (Chambers, 2016) from over 30 attempts at overthrowing various democratically elected or appointed governments (Chamnan, 2010). Although it claims to be neutral and apolitical, the military is a political actor and interest group, playing a leading role in Thai politics. Largely because it demonstrates its capacity to use violence, it remains unchallenged by other Thai actors who might in theory be capable of Security Sector Reform (SSR), i.e., executive management actors such as the Prime Minister's Office, Internal Security Operations Command (ISOC), the National Security Council (NSC), the National Intelligence Agency, the Ministry of Justice; legislative actors including the military standing committee; financial actors, including the Finance Ministry, Bureau of the Budget and the State Audit Commission; judicial oversight actors such as the Criminal Court, Department of Special Investigations and Human Rights Committee; political parties and civil society groups such as Puea Thai Party and the Thai Journalists Association (Chambers, 20c0$n1$

the perception of civilian control over Thailand's security sector, especially the army, is essentially a myth because of five factors, namely, the army being established first and therefore becoming entrenched, the fact that executive management actors were primarily created by military prime ministers as tokens, the fact that the majority of legislative management, financial oversight, and judicial and rule of law actors have only been established since the 1997 constitution, a lack of experience in military affairs by other actors, and the tendency for retired military personnel to become embedded in other actors (Chambers, 2016, p. 13).

Nordlinger (1977) argues that the military is a fortress to protect the social benefits of traditional elites and the middle class, rather than to safeguard interests of the people, and the Thai military illustrates this very well. Its ideology locates it as a servant of monarchy—the most traditional of the Thai elite. Meanwhile, it has ousted governments elected by landslide victories and crushed protests of the lower and middle classes. The latest coup (2014) has likewise been followed by the constant harassment, arrest and imprisonment of pro-democracy dissidents.

Against this backdrop, Thai society cannot imagine returning to democracy or experiencing reconciliation, without admitting and addressing the fact that the military is a principal barrier to democratisation. In a democratic regime, addressing institutional relationships requires military responsibility and accountability. Bringing the military under civilian supremacy is essential for consolidating democratisation (Bruneau & Matei, 2008). This study argues that the Thai military's evolution to become an enormously-powerful, interventionist security institution, with a mindset disdainful of elected civilians, insulated from civilian control and linked to monarchy, represents a leading obstacle

to Thai democratization. Therefore, the next elected government must undertake military reform as its first priority. The study is structured in an attempt to demonstrate how the military evolved to become an institution, which is unaccountable, untouchable and uncontrollable. Following the introduction, it briefly discusses the Thai military's mindset and organisation, its historical development, how it functions as an autonomous organisation and its use of violence. The study then details needed military reforms before offering a conclusion.

THAILAND'S MILITARY MINDSET AND ORGANIZATIONAL AUTONOMY

Thailand's military is similar to militaries in other lower-middle income countries in that it has never trusted democracy or electoral politics (Janowitz, 1977). Certainly, the distinctive competencies of the army are centralised command, hierarchy, discipline, intercommunication, esprit de corps, isolation and self-sufficiency (Finer, 1962), as well as "internal cohesion" (Barany, 2013). Under an organisation like this, the Thai military considers itself too strong to be under elected civilian control. Importantly, the military leadership believes that they have the expertise to apply their military structure to politics and economics, and are the most competent administrators. This mindset is identical to the authoritarian military regimes of Latin America under a system of "bureaucratic authoritarianism", in which the army believes it has more governing capability than any civilian government (O' Donnell, 1988).

According to Huntington (1957), for a military to be apolitical and neutral, it is necessary to create a professional soldier corps. Yet for Finer (1962, p.22), where a military seeks to maintain expertise, responsibility and corporateness, it might feel that a coup is necessary. Ockey (2007, p. 124) contends that in Thailand, a late-1970s military mindset favouring professionalism led to the creation of a "Professional Soldiers" faction which itself became political and ironically helped lead the 2006 putsch. Because of the military's politicised nature, Pathmanand (2008, p. 139) finds that arch-royalist soldiers "carried out the 2006 coup to protect the monarchy." More recently, Sirivunnabood and Ricks (2016, p. 30) argued that for Thai soldiers sometimes "professional" perceptions of responsibility make them overthrow governments that they deem as unjust while demands for military corporateness sometimes comes to outweigh an apolitical military stance. Thai military ideology rationalises an interventionism in politics to protect the state (Rakson, 2010). However, the client in the state which the military subjectively serves is the monarchy, rather than any elected government, making Huntington's notion of objective civilian control inapplicable to the Thai case. Thailand's military mindset subscribes to professionalisation in terms of strength, unity and efficiency, but it answers only to the King. Moreover, as guardian of the

palace, the military achieves a level of legitimacy which makes it insulated from elected civilian control (Chambers & Waitoolkiat, 2016).

For Prem Tinsulanonda—former Army Chief as well as Prime Minister and current Privy Council President, "professionalism" specifically means specifically "the King's soldiers" (cited in Nanuam, 2009b). Air Chief Marshal *Chalit* Pookpasuk, former Commander of the Royal Thai Air Force and current member of the Privy Council, illustrated in response to the reports that he might be transferred, "I am a professional soldier and the King's soldier. How will anyone dare to transfer me?" (cited in Nanuam, 2009a). Historically, the military has given greater importance to the royal institution than to the government; it has been clear that the elite within the armed forces considered themselves to be a private guard unit to the royal family (Tamada, 2014). This situation has led the military to become a leading proponent of harsh punishments for anyone accused of insulting monarchy.

Thailand's military sometimes allows governments to utilise its services. However, the military remains an informally autonomous institution. A number of famous quotations by Thai military men illustrate this attitude: "Politicians have never helped sustain order better than the army" (Prasai SeviKul, 1974, cited in Samudavanija, 1982); "Thai democracy is like teaching the babies to walk… they cannot look after themselves and need a caretaker. Thus, Thai democracy, like a baby needs a caretaker; the military" (Ruekdee Chart-U-tit, 1976, cited in Samudavanija, 1982); "Politicians think only of their followers and need to concentrate power but break up unity and vie for better positions without a political ideology, without good intentions for the public; they just think of their personal gain. Politicians don't know their purpose and do not understand what a real democracy is" (General Jeua Gedsian, 1977, cited in Samudavanija, 1982); "The army is a better representative of the Thai population than politicians" (General Arthit Kamlang-ek, cited in Phiu-Nual, 1990). Even among all these examples, without a doubt, the best example of this attitude are the words of General Prem Tinasulanonda, former prime minister (1980-1988) and current president of the Privy Council which advises the King. Just prior to the 2006 coup, he called in army leaders for a publicised meeting, in which he said: "Horse owners hire jockeys to ride the horses. The jockeys do not own the horses. They just ride them… A government is like a jockey. It supervises soldiers, but the real owners are the country and the King" (cited in Cropley, 2008).

The aforementioned ideas are deeply rooted in Thai society. The military regards itself as an autonomous organisation, not controlled by a civilian government. Furthermore, they see any civilian government as illegitimate, though it is elected by the majority of the population because the elite military officers perceive voters as mostly rural, uneducated people who lack rationality in their voting decisions

and sell their votes. Notably, the elite of the army is predominantly conservative in their political ideology. Thus, an important question is as they do not recognise politicians, if forced, what kind of politician will they support? The background of Thai politics shows that Thai military officials tend to back only those politicians who appeal to the traditional elite and the middle classes. In recent political history, this has meant the Democrat Party, and the "Yellow Shirts," the first a conservative, generally royalist-leaning party, the second a right-wing protest movement. Since the 2014 military coup, Thai society has fallen under the full control of the military. Bamrungsuk (2015) argues that the military has successfully created a "military bureaucratic authoritarianism" in Thai politics. Thus, contemporary Thai politics depends on a mechanism in which the army controls and rules the country, and this arrangement finds support from the elites and middle class with the promise to "sustain stability" in different aspects in Thailand. The elites support this situation because keeping stability under military bureaucratic authoritarianism supposedly enables better economic development than a civilian government.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROYAL THAI MILITARY

Before 1870, Siam had no permanent standing army. It relied upon the deployment of an ancient labour system called *rabob phrai.* In the 1880s, King Rama V initiated many projects to modernise the army. He established the Defense Ministry, created several higher military institutions, called for massive investment in weaponry and military equipment, and enacted a military conscription law. These projects imitated Western army attributes and made the country's army distinct from civilian institutions. In fact, the Siamese army was established for two reasons. First was to protect the monarchy from its "enemies" both from outside and inside; these enemies had to be eliminated, or otherwise tamed for the King (Chambers, 2013, p. 5). Second, the military was established to extend the King's power throughout the kingdom and centralise the country, particularly the Northeast. The Thai army, therefore, was closely related to the King, and called the "King's army" from the outset (Breazeale, 1975).

Under the absolute monarchy, power was concentrated in the hands of the King and a few traditional elites. During the reign of King Rama VI, because of massive spending by the palace on a war machine at the expense of economic development, frustration and dissatisfaction arose among some low-ranking military, who became rebellious, resulting in three coup plots, most noticeably in 1912 (Chambers, 2013, p. 583). In 1932, however, the absolute monarchy was overthrown and Siam (now Thailand) became dominated by the "People's Party," comprised of young military officers and civilian bureaucrats. The most important objective of this regime's military was to protect the "constitution" and the "rule of law".

Thus, the military in this era deemed itself a "constitutional military" (Phiu-Nual, 1990).

In 1944, the military-led People's Party fell from power and an elected civilian government attempted to transform Thailand to become a more pluralist society. With support from the royalists and associated aristocrats, however, the military ousted the government in 1947 and returned to exert influence over the country. In 1951, the military-dominant regime weakened monarchical power; but in 1957-1958, a new military regime resurrected some monarchical authority to enhance its own legitimacy. Meanwhile, the 1947 emergence of the Cold War led to massive United States military spending in Thailand in the war against Communism, which strengthened Thailand's military. Ultimately, the military possessed preeminent political sway over Thailand from 1947 until 1973. Indirectly, the country has been influenced by the military ever since.

Under Article 17 of the 1959 military-enacted constitution, the Prime Minister could exercise dictatorial power and arrest, imprison or even execute "suspects" or "wrong-doers" without court warrants (Boonbongkarn, 1994). Also, many key political posts were occupied by senior military officers. Riggs (1966) described Thai government during this period as a "bureaucratic polity", a system in which the military and bureaucracy held absolute power.

Though the military regime fell from power in 1973, the elected civilian government which followed was ousted by the armed forces in 1976. Thereupon, a civilian-led, quasi-military regime held power until 1977, when the military again usurped total power and held it until 1979. Then, between 1979 and 1988, a military-guided semi-democracy existed, whereby an unelected military prime minister and appointed Senate existed alongside an elected Lower House. In 1988, another weak democracy came to office but it was overthrown in 1991 by armed forces, which returned to the barracks in 1992. Post-1992, Thailand experienced a growing democracy and a pluralistic constitution was introduced in 1997. At this point, most people thought that the military had returned to the barracks permanently.

In 2001, Thaksin Shinawatra was elected Prime Minister. Though popular among the rural poor, he was detested by traditional elites and urban middle classes. (Keyes, 2014). In 2006, the People's Alliance for Democracy, known as the "Yellow Shirts", protested against the Thaksin administration, and called for intervention by the military. Eventually, the army carried out a coup d'état on September 19, 2006.

After this coup, the military regime enacted a new constitution, Thailand's 18th, aimed at constraining Thaksin and his supporters. The charter weakened political parties, increased judicial authority and created a half-appointed Senate. Nevertheless, the 2007 general election

(won by a pro-Thaksin party) proved that most Thai voters still supported him. Eventually, the Constitutional Court, which had seemed to oppose Thaksin, ruled that this party must be dissolved. Following the ruling, the army intervened to support a coalition shift, whereby Abhisit Vejjajiva, the anti-Thaksin Democrat Party leader, became the next Prime Minister (The Economist, 2008).

Thais angered by Abhisit's shady rise to power took to the streets under the banner of the United Front for Democracy against Dictatorship, colloquially known as the "Red Shirts." However, their demonstrations were repressed by the military in 2009 and 2010. In the 2011 general election, Yingluck Shinawatra, Thaksin's younger sister, became the prime minister. Her government, like that of her brother, was supported by lower and some middle class people. However, her government met the same fate as her brother's, being toppled in 2014. Protests led by the Secretary-General of the Democrat Party (who then resigned) Suthep Thaugsuban, and pushed forward by his People's Committee for Absolute Democracy with the King as Head of State (PCAD) began in late 2013, and continued beyond Yingluck's dissolution of parliament and organisation of February 2014 elections, which were sabotaged by protesters and voided by the judiciary. Suthep's protest group consisted of regenerated Yellow Shirts, including the elite and middle classes in Bangkok and the south. The protesters created instability and repeatedly called for the army to overthrow the government. Eventually, on May 20, 2014, Prayuth Chan-ocha, Commander-in-Chief of the Royal Thai Army, declared martial law and launched a coup d'état two days later, citing the political impasse as an excuse. Contrary to his claims at the time, it is clear that the coup was not a last minute decision. According to a later interview with Suthep, "Before martial law was declared [on May 20], General Prayuth told me that you and your masses of PCAD supporters are too exhausted. It's now the duty of the army to take over the task" (Campbell, 2014). Suthep and General Prayuth had long-standing ties stemming from their roles in the suppression of Red Shirt protestors during the violent clashes in 2009 and 2010.

THE THAI MILITARY AS UNACCOUNTABLE, UNTOUCHABLE AND UNCONTROLLABLE

Historically, an enormous budget has been invested in strengthening the armed forces. During the years 1950 to 1975, the Thai military received substantial financial support from the United States. This included US$ 650 million in economic aid, of which nearly 75% was for counter-insurgency, US$ 940 million for Thai defense and security, or over 50% of Thailand's own domestic military expenditure, US$ 760 million on operating costs, including military equipment for Thailand and payment for Thai troops in Vietnam, US$ 250 million for air bases constructed in Thailand, and US$

850 million from US soldiers pumped directly into the economy (Kislenko, 2004). The purpose of such funding was to fight communist insurgents. This funding covered all expenses such as weapons, education, military training and propaganda for values, vision and ideology. This essentially underwrote a process of "Americanisation" for Thailand's military (Bamrungsuk, 2015). However, when the United States withdrew from Southeast Asia in 1975, the Thai military had to become more self-reliant. From then on, military regimes increased the budgetary allocations for the fighting services units. From 1980 until 1992, budgetary allocations for the military rose to 17.35% of the overall fiscal budget of the country, which was higher than the budgets for education and public health. Importantly, the government hardly reduced the budget proposed by the military; in other words, the military always received the full amount requested. Sometimes, the budget was even increased from the requested proposal in order to please the leaders of the armed forces. Few members of the parliament ever questioned such biased allocations. In 1984, Kleaw Norapati, a progressive MP, criticised the large "secret budget" of the military. This particular budget was not required to itemise or detail its planned expenses. He called this practice an "ogre" (cited in Satha-Anand, 1996).

Since the 2006 coup, military spending has skyrocketed. From 2006-2009, the military budget rose from US$ 2.4 billion to US$ 4.8 billion, an unprecedented increase. In 2013, it grew to US$ 5.9 billion, increased again to US$ 6.1 billion in 2015, and in 2016, swelled to US$ 6.3 billion (SIPRI, 2016). In 2014, the *Global Firepower Index* reported that Thailand had the twenty-fourth most powerful military in the world (Macias et al., 2014), but by 2015, Thailand had risen to number twenty (Global Firepower, 2015). Under the current military regime, it is nearly certain that this budget will not be audited and lacks transparency. It cannot be scrutinised by the public, and the budget allocated for purchasing weapons has often been a part of the corruption in the Thai armed forces. Historically, corruption and kickbacks have permeated the Thai military via "narcotics trafficking, extortion rackets, illegal bookmaking, unsecured loans from Thai Military Bank and corruption in the conscription process" (Ockey, 2001, p. 201), including irregularities in the purchase of equipment. In recent years, the military purchased the GT200 explosive detector, worth US$ 40 million. It was subsequently found that the devices were fake, with no moving or mechanical parts, a scandal that made world news (Thairepublica, 2013).

Aside from the issue of budgetary allocation and transparency, legislation has also tended to empower the military. After the 2006 military coup, there were three new laws enacted; the first one was the Internal Security Act of 2008. This Act decisively increased the power for the military to keep the peace in the country. The second was the Thai Public Broadcasting Service Act of 2008, which

allowed the armed forces to legally exert control over telecommunications using the very high frequency (VHF) system. The Act permitted the military to continue control over two, out of five television stations, as well as numerous radio stations all over the country and also gave the military greater profits. The third law was the Rules of Military Officers Act of 2008, which specified the rules and regulations for the appointment and transfer of military generals. The law stated that any transfer proceeding must be under the management of the committee consisting of six or seven officers (five from the army and one or two civilian politicians), including the commanders of three armed forces, the armed forces commander in-chief and the permanent secretary of the Ministry of Defense, plus the political bodies; Ministry of Defense, and if there is a deputy of Ministry of Defense, he will be in this committee, too. This Act terminated civilian control over the military in the area of military reshuffles.

The Thai military is administered in the same manner as other organizations, which continue to operate under a patronage system, especially the Kings Guard and the Queens Guard. Members of these military units progress to important positions within the country and assume they are exclusively the King's and Queen's soldiers. Like other military officers, they believe that they are not beholden to civilian control. Indeed, Lieutenant Colonel Sanyalak Tangsiri, commander of a battalion involved in the 2006 putsch remarked afterward that "We are ready to do what the King asks. We are soldiers who belong to His Majesty" (cited in Nanuam, 2006). Comments like these show that when the military claimed to be working "for the King," they believed themselves absolved of any responsibility to the government (Tamada, 2014). Thus, they see themselves as above reproach or untouchable.

Because the army is an organisation which cannot be controlled, this means that their use of power has virtually no limits. The world of the military is "an exclusive world" separate from general society (Bamrungsuk, 2015). The armed forces believe they are beholden to no one, except the monarchy. Practices that would be unheard of in other professional militaries, such as having large numbers of draftees follow high ranking officers like an entourage, or having them work at officers' private houses or as a driver for the wife of the officer are actually quite common within the Thai military, even though the salaries of these draftees are paid by the taxes of all Thai people. Similarly, in cases of soldiers who violate the law, they are brought to the military court, and only stand before the civilian court if the military allows it. Furthermore, the army has the right to declare martial law in the event that it believes the political situation in the country is unstable or untenable. This law, introduced in 1914, can still be invoked. The armed forces' uncontrollability is also reflected in the fact that the military is always catered to by politicians, even when politicians are

in control of the government, be it for weapons, funding for security, or demands for additional "wages" after a military takeover. Additionally, large numbers of army officers have obtained positions in state enterprises, and it is common practice that when a private company wishes to obtain a benefit from the state, it brings high ranking military officers onto the board of directors. Clearly said, being an uncontrollable organisation is reflected in the military's excessive use of power in both military and civil realms.

The current excessive use of power is not only performed through military force but also through the military's post-2014 majority within the junta-created National Legislative Assembly (NLA), members of which were all appointed by the military. In both the 2006 and 2014 military takeovers, the appointed NLA members, who today are tasked with the rewriting of the constitution, primarily come from the army, police, right-wing civilians and anti-Thaksin civilian bureaucrats. The NLA voted to impeach Yingluck, and they also ruled that she must stay out of politics for five years. This excessive expression of power is also mirrored in law. Under the current junta, many new laws are being introduced without public input. Meanwhile, a new constitution is being written, which appears to enhance power. It allows for the appointment of a non-elected prime minister and a junta-appointed Senate which can censure a Prime Minister (The Nation, August 25, 2015).

The evidence above suggests that the Thai military is indeed unaccountable, untouchable and uncontrollable; the clout of the armed forces has penetrated almost all areas of administration. Not only under the current military state, but also under democratic rule, Thai governments have been unable to check the military's influence and the pattern looks set to continue.

THAI MILITARY AS AN AGENT OF VIOLENCE WITHIN THE STATE

There are many historical incidents where the military used violence against citizens. Such brutality occurred following the suppression of civilian reformers after the 1947 coup. In 1947, the military government enacted the Act for Protecting Order, which gave the military absolute power to detain anyone which it deemed a danger to the nation. The military-dominated regime also executed three people on flimsy evidence for their alleged assassination of King Rama VIII. Yimprasert (2009) called this incident "the most stigmatic in Thai political history" (cited in Kasetsiri, 2009). Later, during the time of Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat (1958-1963), a large number of left-wing politicians and intellectuals were incarcerated or executed. Moreover, the military perpetrated violence against Muslims in Thailand's Deep South—with atrocities continuing to this day.

Five instances, in particular, demonstrate the military's use of violence in society. The first was the student uprising of October 14, 1973. Students were not

happy with the then military regime's corrupt, authoritarian nature and the lack of a progressive constitution. Tensions grew following the regime's detention of thirteen lecturers and students who had distributed flyers demanding a new constitution. Later, students gathered in the hundreds of thousands at Thammasat University, demanding the release of the thirteen detainees. A high ranking army official in the government said, "If we kill ten or twenty thousand students, the nation will be peaceful." Although the government released the thirteen people, the military used live ammunition to suppress the students gathered to demand their release. The result was the death of 77 people, with another 857 injured and missing (Kasetsiri, 2013).

The second occurrence was yet another student massacre on October 6, 1976. Before the massacre, the monarchy and conservative elites became involved in the establishment of rabid right-wing groups intent on destroying progressive societal organisations (Bowie, 1997). The army played a leading role in the massacre of students at Thammasat on October 6, 1976, and there were reports of desecration done to the dead bodies and students being burned alive, female students being raped, and more. It is not clear how many people died; the official body count was 46 but students believed it was more than 100, and that many more bodies were disposed of (Matichon, October 6, 2014). Nevertheless, after the incidents, a large number of students were imprisoned for at least two years without being charged and many other students fled into rural areas of Thailand to escape assassination by the army. Many did eventually join the Communist Party of Thailand.

The third occurrence is the bloody May incident in 1992. This is yet another case in which the army killed citizens in the middle of the capital, Bangkok. The people of Bangkok called for General Suchinda Kraprayoon, an appointed yet unelected prime minister who originally came to power through the 1991 military coup d'état, to step down. But he refused. His rejection of the people's demands resulted in tens of thousands of people, consisting predominantly of the Bangkok middle class, gathering at Rajadamnoen Road in Bangkok, attempting to pressure Suchinda to step down. Live ammunition was once more used to disperse the protesters, resulting in 44 confirmed deaths, although the actual number was likely higher. Many believe the true number has been covered up. In addition, there were at least 600 injuries (Kasetsiri, 2013). For 14 years, this event tarnished the people's image of the military. Only in 2006 had it recovered enough to stage another coup against the Thaksin's government.

The fourth incident is when Red Shirts were massacred in 2009 and 2010. The Red Shirts demanded that unelected Prime Minister Abhisit dissolve the parliament because it was formed unconstitutionally and at the coercion of the military. The first incident started in April 2009 and was called "the Bloody *Songkran*" (*Songkran*

is Thailand's traditional New Year). The situation escalated to the extent that violence was used to suppress and break up the protesters; 70 people were reported wounded and although Abhisit claimed that this incident saw no casualties, the Red Shirts believe many people were killed and their bodies hidden by the army (Yimprasert, 2013). The following year, an even more violent political tragedy broke out. The Red Shirts mobilised a massive demonstration lasting from March until May 2010 to demand that the government dissolve the parliament. Although there were daily reports of violence on the side of the government and the protesters, large-scale violence first erupted on April 10, 2010, when the army attempted to break up the protesters, resulting in the deaths of 27 people and injuries to over 1,400 (Khaosod Editors, 2010). The climax of the violence was from May 13-19, 2010, when soldiers forcibly moved forward to end the protest. Their operation took the lives of close to 100 people and caused numerous injuries. Eighty-two people were killed by bullets, 32 of whom were shot in the head. The violence left many permanently disabled. The government spent more than three billion baht (US$ 100 million) to control and disperse the Red Shirts by mobilising 67,000 soldiers. More than 700 million baht (US$ 23.3 million) was spent on 25,000 police officers, and the actual total number of bullets used was 117,932 (People's Information Centre, 2012). In the aftermath, 1,857 Red Shirt supporters were incarcerated. The Missing Person Information Centre of the Mirror Foundation reported that 50 people went missing from May 19 until June 16, 2010, and dozens of people were arrested for lèse-majesté (Khaosod Editors, 2010).

The fifth incident demonstrating the military's capricious use of violence has been the series of occurrences since Thailand's 2014 military putsch and transition to a garrison state. General Prayuth Chan-ocha, leader of the coup and current junta leader, continually stresses that Thai society is entering an atmosphere of reconciliation, but the meaning of reconciliation in this context is highly paradoxical because it is achieved through the silencing of dissidents with threats and intimidation. The government can be compared to "Big Brother" (1984) of George Orwell's dystopian novel *1984*. After the coup, the military regime summoned a number of politicians and political activists. Those summoned were brought in to "adjust" their political "attitude" and were made to sign agreements promising that they would not engage in any political activities, including, but not limited to, protesting or opposing the coup in public. Six months after the coup, the military had summoned 626 people and arrested 340 others. This did not include more than a thousand people who were arrested and yet not mentioned in the news. Most of the detained were perceived by the junta to be in alliance with the Yingluck government and/or were democracy and human rights activists (Ilaw, 2014). Amnesty International's report, "Attitude Adjustment – 100 Days under

Martial Law" (2014), called the widely and arbitrarily issued summonses of citizens a clear violation of human rights and an obvious tool of political intimidation. The report quoted victims who claimed that while they were held by the armed forces after responding to a summons, the military had violated their human rights through beatings, death threats, mock executions and attempted asphyxiation.

By mid-2015, the junta had summoned, arrested or detained at least 1,222 persons (United States, 2015, p. 7). Moreover, the military, demonstrating its close ties to monarchy, had charged 46 people on suspicion of lèse-majesté (Ilaw, 2015). Meanwhile, the military has accommodated corporations wishing to survey for natural resources in a large number of villages, despite the protests and opposition of the locals who are intimidated and suppressed. There are also soldiers of the Internal Security Operations Command who carry out surveillance in villages to prevent demonstrations of support for the former government. The junta has also halted the investigations into the 2010 violence against protesters by the military. Additionally, the government has repeatedly threatened the media and individual reporters. The regime officially declared that mass media must not criticise its work, and if media outlets did publish criticisms, they would be shut down immediately. Uniformed and undercover soldiers can enter universities at will to conduct surveillance while intimidating students and teachers.

These five episodes attest to a pattern of military violence which adds fuel to this study's contention that Thailand's armed forces is an institution which purposely uses brutality and intimidation to obstruct the entrenchment of democracy. Therefore, if Thai society and the next elected government have the sincere intention to create a viable democracy, the first thing that will be needed is military reform.

WHEN THINKING ABOUT THAI MILITARY REFORM

Military reform leading to democratisation and reconciliation may not sound familiar to Thailand's military. The Thai military is used to the idea that military reform means building strength and power, and expanding the troops, not submission of the military organisation to civilian rule. For example, the Tenth Military Plan (2015-2025) emphasises the policy of constant readiness for battle against any new form of threat or invasion. Thus, this justifies the need for modern, up-to-date weapons (Thairath, June 24, 2015). Reform in this sense, however, will only enhance the armed forces' political primacy, and it creates a military "state within state", one which remains outside the rule of civilian government. Ultimately, the more powerful the military, the higher the tendency for future coups d'état and suppression of people in the long term. Thus, military reform with the goal of eventual democratisation and reconciliation is of paramount importance for Thailand.

Though democracy-oriented military reforms were initiated in 1946, 1975 and 1998, in all three occasions, the intended modifications were cut short by military putsches. Moreover, the latest 1998 reform efforts only derived from the intentions of the military itself—then Army Chief Surayud Chulanond. Though there was limited discussion of military reforms following the 1992 massacre, neither the Thai governments nor the civil society organisations ever delivered any lasting proposals to entrench civilian control over the armed forces given the military's propensity to legitimise its power as a monarchical guardian and also because of political divisions among civilians. Military reform in Thailand will be difficult, because the military, as demonstrated above, is an autonomous interest group and uncontrollable. The army also has a close alliance with conservative elites and the middle classes, who do not generally want to empower the country's rural poor. Furthermore, although the current military regime has promised to eventually return Thailand to democratic, civilian rule, without military reform, even under civilian rule, Thailand is destined to continue along a path in which the military persists in consolidating power alongside weak, democratic institutions—effectively bypassing democracy.

Thus, an important question is whether in the current situation, what can Thai society do to reform the military? Also, what can the next elected government expect when it inherits a military which has continually obstructed democratisation? This study proposes the following twelve actions to address these questions:

1) Create an understanding with the military about its role in the democratic regime;

2) Undertake steps to demythologise the current political situation. For example, rejection of the characterisation of Red Shirts as groups seeking to overthrow the King, and a reframing of the soldier's role, so that they do not position themselves as the King's exclusive soldiers, but rather as the people's soldiers;

3) Demobilise more troops, cease conscription and downsize the military organisation;

4) Clarify the roles of the military: they protect the country from outside threats, offer humanitarian assistance when called upon to do so in cases of floods, drought, or other natural disasters, and serve to keep peace along the frontier and prevent narcotics trafficking in border areas;

5) Reduce the military budget, including the budget for weapons and establish greater auditory and investigative authority by an elected parliament and civil society so that the budget and military expenditures are checked according to the principles of transparency and accountability, and establish a civilian Office of Auditor for military spending;

6) Severely punish military personnel involved in coups d'état and actively prosecute security officials who participate in criminal activity;

7) Modify the Rules of Military Officers Act (2008) so that elected governments can themselves transfer army officers freely, and change the positions of army commanders. A vetting system should be used so that the government has the power to choose people for high-ranking positions who do not endorse violence or have aggressive attitudes;

8) Abolish laws and the roles of organisations which violate human rights and do not fit the current situation, such as the Internal Security Act (2008), Martial Law, Emergency Decree and Military Court (which is a one-tiered organisation perceived as legitimising the military repression following the 2014 coup d'état). Also, military-controlled organisations such as the National Intelligence Agency, the National Security Council and the Internal Security Operations Command, which exercise enormous power but are unaccountable to civilian supremacy, must come completely under the transparent control of elected civilians.

9) Introduce regulations which keep the Thai military from interfering in the economic affairs of the nation, especially in television, radio and state enterprises;

10) Draft legislation to give the public the right to access information about military operations, budgeting and weapons used in possibly violating the human rights of citizens.

11) Increase courses on democracy and peace at Thai military academies;

12) Ratification of the International Criminal Court.

Only after these twelve proposals are enshrined into law will military reform be able to commence at a level sufficient to begin resisting the recurrence of military repression with legal impunity and another military coup. Moreover, reform must be undertaken to build trust between civilians nationwide and the military (International Centre for Transitional Justice, 2014). In fact, if the social paradigm is changed and replaced by coexistence in peaceful ways with creativity rather than security, there may arise new interesting phenomena such as countries without armies or countries recognising conscientious objection to military service (Paige, 2009). Massive amounts of money currently being used to purchase weapons can instead be used to develop the economy and society. This type of reform could be especially important in Thai society, which has a huge gap between the rich and the poor—more than half of the country makes less than US$ 400 per year (Thailand Future Foundation, 2014).

Perkins (2013) stated that in addition to fundamental military reforms, countries should strictly adhere to rule of law,

which can decrease military influence. Rule of law must be composed of eight pillars: an established court system, formal equality under the law, fact-finding through rational inquiry, procedural protections for criminal defendants, a legal profession closely intertwined with political elites, an independent judiciary, all state actions subject to legal scrutiny and low corruption.

The military reform proposals described above, combined with robust public discussion about the continued role of the military under true democratic rule can strongly promote the Thai military to become a more accountable and controllable organization. Military reform also creates true professionalism and prevents the military from becoming a state within a state, strengthening civil supremacy. If this can be achieved, not only democratisation but also sustainable reconciliation between Thailand's political and social factions may be able to flourish in Thailand.

CONCLUSION

The military has long played a significant role in Thai politics as an unaccountable, untouchable and uncontrollable institution autonomous from elected civilian control and only answerable to the monarch. Its insulated military mindset is not suitable to a consolidated democracy. Since the 2014 coup, Thailand has become an arch-royalist military-administered bureaucratic authoritarian state. As in 1973, 1976, 1992 and 2010, the post-2014 military relied on the use of violence for political leverage, in this case to bolster its junta in order to persist in power. The only way to diminish military violence, lessen other armed forces excesses, end the cycle of coups followed by dictatorships and ultimately initiate demilitarisation is to systematically and forcefully undertake large-scale military reform through rule of law and reconciliation. Such an agenda can only commence after the currently ruling junta leaves power and democracy returns to Thailand (in 2018, at the earliest). Yet, the new democracy envisioned by the latest constitutional draft gives diminished power to elected governments while enshrining enhanced military clout. This environment leaves Thailand with several challenges. How will such a weak democracy succeed in bringing a powerful military under civilian control? Is majority parliamentary or civilian support for military reform enough to ensure that change happens? How would elected civilians seeking military reform bypass powerful opponents in the military and aristocracy? Will there have to be another military massacre (as in 1992) that again taints the image of the military sufficient enough that reforms can occur which finally place it under effective civilian control? Though reforming Thailand's military is a necessary ing (((2(:(?('
democratic consolidation, carrying it out will actually necessitate a unity of purpose among civilians and also a realisation by soldiers themselves (and their aristocratic patrons) that it is in Thailand's best interests for the military to be under institutionalised

civilian control. Only when the military returns to the barracks and remains there as a result of a mindset shift, which requires it to obey laws enforced under democracy, will the institutions of civilian control finally offer hope for the sustainability of Thai democratisation. Yet, with authoritarian monarchists and militarists standing in the way, getting Thailand to this level of political development will be an incremental and daunting task.

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Review Article

Gaps Pertaining Evaluation on Built Heritage Conservation with Special Annotation on the Malaysian Context

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ABSTRACT

This review paper is concerned with two bodies of knowledge in particular, evaluation and conservation. Generally, evaluation is a popular management tool for both public and private sectors because of its useful purposes in improving organisations and programme interventions, investigating oversight and compliance, assessing merit and worth, as well as nurturing knowledge. Being practised in various programmes such as health, education, business and community, evaluation is still uncommon in the general conservation domain, specifically in the realm of built heritage conservation. Due to the scantiness of available literature pertinent to conservation evaluation, this paper provides an update to the literature body by reviewing and discussing the general theories of evaluation, followed by a highlight on gaps of conservation evaluation in relation to built heritage. Finally, a special annotation on the absence of evaluation in the current Malaysian Built Heritage Conservation Framework (BHCF) is made in the quest of sh□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ tion best pra□ □ □ □ □ □

Keywords: Built heritage, conservation, evaluation, Malaysia, management

INTRODUCTION

Evaluation practice is very important as it allows us to evolve, develop, improve, and survive in an ever-changing environment (Davidson, 2005). In fact, evaluation practice has gained worldwide acceptance and is utilised in various domains such as in the health, education business, and

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community development programmes. Considering the broad and diverse subject of evaluation (Rogers, 2014), it is thus essential to understand the meaning of evaluation based on definitions provided by evaluation scholars and organisations (Table 1).

Table 1
An Overview on Evaluation Definitions

Author(s) and Date	Definitions
Scriven (1991)	Evaluation is a systematic determination of the quality (merit) or value (worth) of something.
Margoluis, Stem, Salafsky, & Brown (2009a)	Evaluation involves the acts of collection, analysis, and assessment of data relative to project goals and objectives.
DAC Working Party on Aid Evaluation (2010)	Evaluation is a systematic and objective assessment of an on-going or completed project, programme or policy, its design, implementation and results. It is the process of determining the worth or significance of an activity, programme or policy.
CeDRE International (2014)	Evaluation is a systematic assessment of a programme or process according to its appropriateness, effectiveness, efficiency, and/ or economy, which purpose is to assist stakeholders in decision-making about a programme, its strategies and operation.

Despite the pervasive explanations on the meaning of evaluation available in evaluation textbooks, reports and documents, there is still no universal or general agreement about the meaning of terms to describe evaluation. This scenario is due to the lack of agreement across disciplines and professions on the meaning of many evaluation terms as raised by the director of Programme for Public Sector Evaluation International, Australia (Jerome Winston, personal communication, 08th May 2015). Noticeably, different authorities in some disciplines assign different meanings to the same evaluation terms, reasonably due to historical factor where the understanding on evaluation has been independently developed throughout various disciplines and professions. In other words, people developed evaluation terminology to suit the work they are most familiar with within their respective disciplines or professions.

For instance, auditors developed the concept of performance audit (which might be described as a type of evaluation) without, apparently, giving too much attention to how educators had developed the concept of educational evaluation. Similarly, educational evaluators developed their approaches to evaluation without, apparently, giving too much attention to how clinical researchers had developed the evaluation of medical treatments or how public health researchers developed the evaluation of public health measures. With

regards to the above mentioned definitions of evaluation, it is important to note that terms such as auditing, monitoring, as well as evaluation, are interrelated with each other, yet, those may not be used interchangeably (Kleiman, et al., 2000; Alton, 2014). In fact, auditing and monitoring are rather parts of the evaluation process as evaluation composes more breadth than the said activities. Apart from that, evaluation should also be distinguishable from activities which are merely assessments. Table 2 and Table 3 show dissimilarities of evaluation with other interrelated terms such as audit, monitoring, review, performance measurement and assessment.

Table 2
Related Terminologies Commonly Associated with Evaluation by DAC Working Party on Aid Evaluation (2010)

Term	**Definitions**
Audit	An independent, objective assurance activity designed to add value and improve an organisation's operations. It helps an organisation to accomplish its objectives by bringing a systematic, disciplined approach to assess and improve the effectiveness of risk management, control and governance processes.
Monitoring	A continuing function that uses systematic collection of data on specified indicators to provide management and the main stakeholders of an on-going development intervention with indications of the extent of progress and achievement of objectives and progress in the use of allocated funds.
Review	An assessment of the performance of an intervention, periodically or on an ad hoc basis.
Performance Measurement	A system for assessing performance of development interventions against stated goals.

Table 3
The Key Differences between Assessment and Evaluation by Apple and Krumsieg (1998)

Dimension of Difference	**Assessment**	**Evaluation**
Content (timing, primary purpose)	Formative (on-going, to improve)	Summative (final, to gauge quality)
Orientation (focus of measurement)	Process-oriented (how it is going)	Product-oriented (what is the outcome)
Relationship between administrator and recipient	Reflective	Prescriptive
Findings (uses thereof)	Diagnostic (identify areas for improvement)	Judgemental (arrive at an overall grade/ score)
Modifiability of criteria/ measures	Flexible	Fixed
Standards of measurement	Absolute (Individual)	Comparative
Relationships between Object of Assessment/ Evaluation	Cooperative	Competitive

In addition, evaluation should also be distinguished from research (Cottrell, 2009). It is imperative to understand the distinctions between evaluation and research to avoid confusion and misconception, especially when the two paradigms are difficult to be differentiated with each other (Cottrell, 2009). Research is a process of investigation conducted systematically, consistently and rigorously with the purpose of nurturing new knowledge, solving problems, providing recommendations, revealing conclusion, and, to the extent of triggering further studies (Gillham, 2000; Awang & Ariffin, 2012; Mohd Tobi, 2014). On the other facet, evaluation is performed to meet specific needs rather than generalising its r

Internal recommendations provided through evaluation are not intended to be generalised beyond the setting in which evaluation take place (Cottrell, 2009). To understand the relationships between these two paradigms, Rogers and Macfarlan (2014) provided four different ways of viewing evaluation and research:

i. Evaluation and research as a dichotomy
ii. Evaluation and research as not mutually exclusive
iii. Evaluation as a subset of research
iv. Research as a subset of evaluation

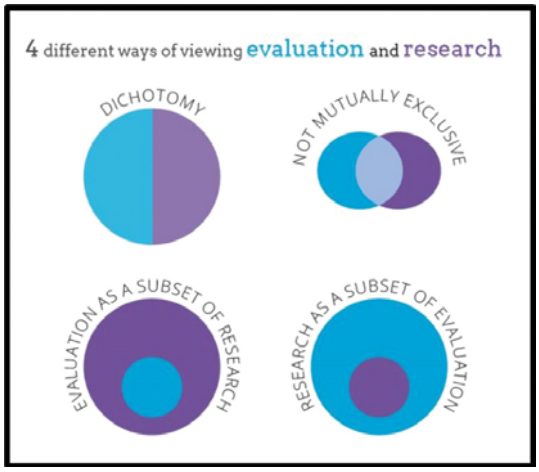


Figure 1. Four Ways of Viewing Evaluation and Research (adapted from Rogers & Macfarlan, 2014)

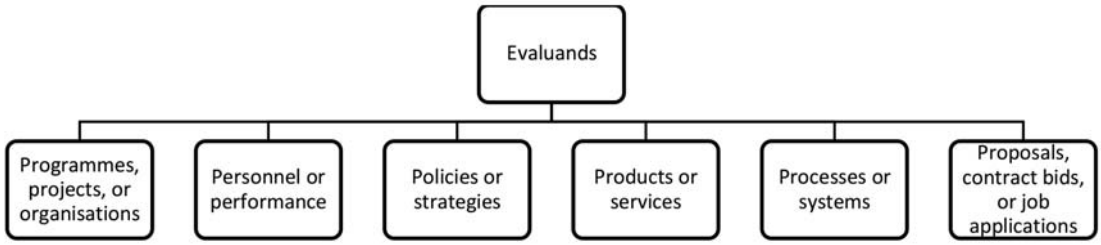


Figure 2. The Evaluands of Evaluation (adapted from Davidson, 2005)

In order to arrive at a common ground to understand evaluation, the context of 'professional evaluation' as discussed by Scriven (1991) is essential. The standard norm of professional evaluation basically involves several 'evaluands' which means subjects of evaluation, as presented by Davidson (2005) in Figure 2. Evaluation is considerably an essential management tool for both public and private sectors. As commonly seen in the public sector, evaluations were introduced to improve government performance and credibility for the sake of public accountability (Wholey, 1996), usually through several performance measurement activities and decision-making on agenda concerning budget. Meanwhile in the private sector, evaluations are mostly in the myriad forms of R&D on products and services, as well a

With regards to the advantages of evaluation for both sectors, further exploration on evaluation is therefore very beneficial and should be necessitated. Scholars such as Davidson (2005) and Patton (2014) have revered evaluation for its worth in providing a basis for any programme's judgements and actionable learning, also in the finding areas of improvement for reporting or decision-making purposes. In sum, the values of having evaluation lie in its four purposes of (Mark, Henry, & Julnes, 2000):

i. Programme and organisational improvement
ii. Oversight and compliance
iii. Assessment of merit and worth
iv. Knowledge development

Concluding from the previous statement, positive significance such as refinement of approaches and practices for upcoming projects, deriving lessons from previous intervention works, and deriving prior solutions and alternative possibilities can be anticipated through the advocacy of evaluation. With that, evaluation is a potential management tool to be utilised in the domain of built heritage conservation. This is supported by the claim that monitoring and inspection activities are useful to keep track of conservation objectives whereas evaluation is useful in assessing conservation values (Kleiman, et al., 2000). However, based on scrutiny an secondary sources, evaluation theory and practice are found to be underutilised in the field of conservation with special reference to bu h

UNDERUTILISATION OF EVALUATION IN CONSERVATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BUILT HERITAGE CONSERVATION

Conservation by characteristic is a dynamic process with cyclical basis that involves an on-going series of planning, implementing and evaluating activities (Margoluis, Stem, Salafsky, & Brown, 2009a). It must be distinguishable from the process of planning, which is of static nature and merely circumscribed to a beginning phase, a middle phase and an end phase. Despite having many theories and recommendations that support evaluation as a powerful tool in achieving improvements for any programme interventions, evaluation is ironically

found rare and uncommon in the field of conservation (Kleiman, et al., 2000). Howe and Milner-Gulland (2012) added that evaluation in the conservation industry is still lagging in both the quantitative and qualitative terms in comparison to other industries.

As a result of little attention and passive exploration by conservation communities in relation to evaluation aspects, conservation programmes rarely receive comprehensive, in-depth, external and peer-reviewed evaluation (Kleiman et al., 2000; Margoluis et al., 2009b). Kleiman et al. (2000) also informed that conservation communities were struggling to develop effective monitoring and evaluation (M&E) systems for conservation, especially when they overlooked lessons from other related fields and attempted to start building the system from scratch. Zancheti and Similä (2012) reminded that it would be a great challenge for conservation actors to develop instruments to assess conservation actions owing to the complex nature of heritage assets such as urban sites, cultural territories, landscapes and collections of many types of objects.

Reportedly, most conservation organisations merely use basic evaluation formula by simply defining indicators, collecting and analysing data, followed by recording and reporting of results (Margoluis, Stem, Salafsky, & Brown, 2009a). Judging from the limited availability of published materials on evaluation of built heritage conservation, it is inferred that evaluation theory and practice are currently underutilised in the field of built heritage conservation. Hence, the rarity of evaluation should be addressed accordingly, presumably through an increase awareness within conservation stakeholders. In this way, enhancement on the current management measures for protecting built heritage resources would be triggered through the integration of evaluation domain into built heritage conservation programmes.

Moreover, a more comprehensive conservation management will assist in achieving a better result of conservation execution which Burden (2004) envisioned as the process to deter built heritage properties from defects, deterioration, misuse, or negligence. Incorporating evaluation into the management agenda for conserving built heritage is in tune with Feilden's (1999) conservation stance, which appreciates all actions to prolong the life of cultural heritage assets. The remainder discussions will touch on the issues in relation to limited evaluation measures which can be associated with b&

UNAVAILABILITY OF EVALUATION TOOLS FOCUSING ON INDIVIDUAL HERITAGE BUILDINGS

There are a few tools in-use which can be associated with the measures of evaluation pertinent to built heritage conservation.

However, these tools are macro in scale, which were manoeuvred to focus on threats, significance or impacts of properties that collectively make up the values of 'heritage'. In other words, the scopes of these tools largely focusing on multiple buildings or historical sites as a whole rather than specifically evaluating individual heritage building unit. Below are some of the referred tools:

UNESCO's Reactive Monitoring (RM) and Periodic Reporting (PR)

UNESCO's Reactive Monitoring (RM) reports on world heritage properties that are under threat, which would lead into the inclusion of the List of World Heritage in Danger. Through RM, removal of world heritage properties from the UNESCO World Heritage List could also take place prior to detection of damaged Outstanding Universal Values (OUV) (UNESCO WHC, 2015). Meanwhile, the Periodic Reporting (PR) system acts as a monitoring instrument to assess key indicators that measure the State of Conservation (SOC) of World Heritage Sites (WHS). Conducted every six years' time, the PR is useful in determining any threats measured as Threat Intensity Coefficient (TIC) posed on the OUV of WHS (Rodwell, 2002; Patry, Bassett, & Leclerq, 2005; Turner, Pereira Roders, & Patry, 2012). These measures are more towards inspection and monitoring activities rather than the full sp□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ ion process.

Cultural Heritage Impact Assessment (HIA)

HIA was developed by ICOMOS as a tool in identifying threats to the OUV (Roders, Bond, & Teller, 2013). It also provides a detailed and holistic framework to guide decision-making process and implement a coherent set of appropriate actions for the conservation of cultural heritage site (Idid, 2010). Various issues faced by heritage sites and urban areas such as management, conservation, monitoring, maintenance and the surrounding environment are examined via HIA (ICOMOS, 2011).

UNAVAILABILITY OF EVALUATION TOOLS FOCUSING SPECIFICALLY ON THE APPLIED ACTIONS OR INTERVENTIONS OF CONSERVATION

It is arguable that conserved buildings have not been evaluated as much as new buildings (Morris, 1877). There are no evaluation measures which specifically look into post conservation, in terms of management and operation applied to heritage building. To date, 'building evaluation' scopes heavily revolve around the aspects of building sustainability and performance. The followings are some common examples on the tools used for building evaluation:

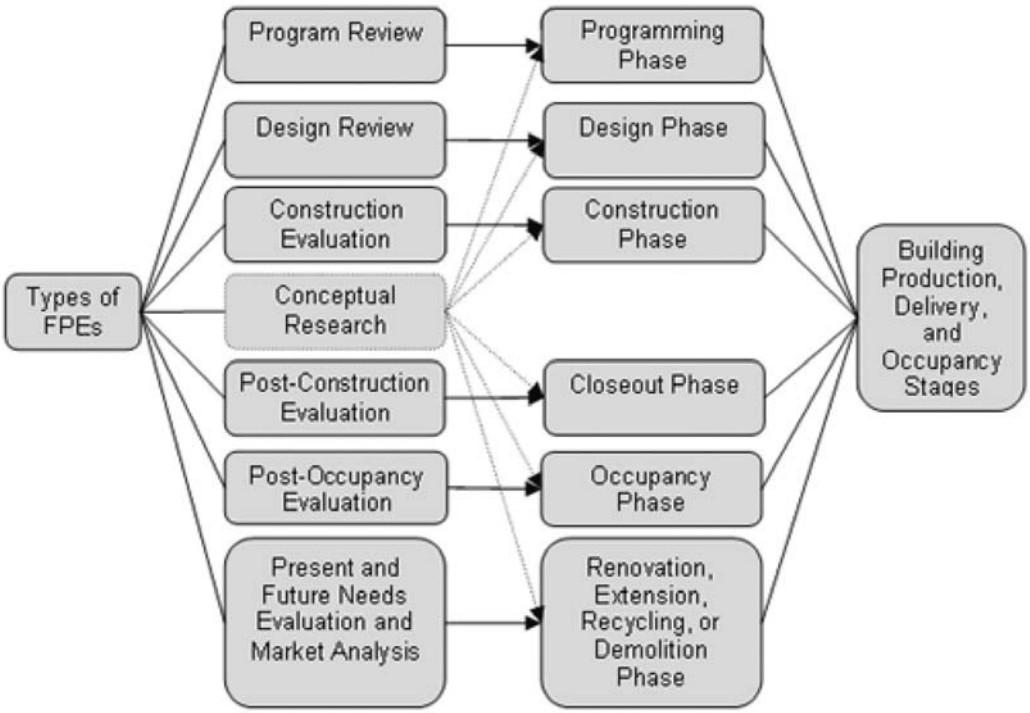


Figure 3. The Types of Facility Performance Evaluation (FPE) (adapted from Zimring, Rashid, & Kampschroer, 2010)

Facility Performance Evaluation (FPE)

Facility Performance Evaluation (FPE) is an example of evaluation in regards to building performance or effectiveness. It is deemed by the professions within the facility management discipline as a quality-assurance tool that involves a continuous and systematic evaluation process. FPE provides feedback to the design process and identifies opportunities for building improvements in relation to issues such as accessibility, aesthetics, cost-effectiveness, functionality, productivity, safety and security, and sustainability (NASFA & AIA, 2010; Zimring, Rashid, & Kampschroer, 2010).

Post Occupancy Evaluation (POE)

Referring to the various types of FPE as shown in Figure 3, Post Occupancy Evaluation (POE) is evidently the most common evaluation concept being discussed by building researchers worldwide. Provably, many countries such as USA, Canada, UK, New Zealand, and Australia have widely utilised this evaluation concept in order to assess and benchmark the performance of building (Mastor & Ibrahim, 2010). Adding to this, the uses of POE can be highly associated with the development of Sustainable Building Rating System (SBRS) available throughout the nations

such as Green Building Index (GBI), Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED), Green Building Challenge (GBC), Building Research Establishment Environmental Assessment Method (BREEAM), High Environmental Quality (HQE) and Comprehensive Assessment System for Building Environmental Efficiency (CASBEE) (Abdul Lateef, 2011; MD Darus & Hashim, 2012).

The essence of POE in studying building performances lies in understanding the extent of end users' satisfaction and expectation (Vischer, 2008; Woon, Mohammad, Baba, Zainol, & Nazri, 2015). Nevertheless, the practices of POE or SBRS are generally claimed to be more common to new and modern buildings compared to old buildings (MD Darus & Hashim, 2012; Abdul Aziz, Keumala, & Zawawi, 2014).

Although both FPE and POE promote buildings and premises to achieve ecological and environmental sustainability, their utilisation seem to be already in a common fashion. Owing to Ipekoglu's (2006) and Rainero's (2012) assertion that M&E activities are essential to enliven cultural heritage properties, further research and development on the tool of post conservation evaluation, which focuses specifically on conservation interventions applied to heritage buildings, needs to be embarked upon.

INCIPIENT OF MANAGEMENT ASPECTS PRIOR POST CONSERVATION PHASE IN MALAYSIA

Various researchers have reported on the problems inflicting Malaysian heritage buildings due to the inefficiency of local conservation framework, approaches and practices, despite the enactment of the National Heritage Act 2005 (Act 645), registration of numerous significant heritage buildings into the National Heritage Lists, and provision of conservation guidelines across state and local levels (Idrus, Khamidi, & Sodangi, 2010; Zuraidi, Akasah, & Abdul Rahman, 2011; Mohd Yusoff, Dollah, & Kechot, 2013). Conflicts involving heritage buildings such as defects and damages, negligence, lack of maintenance, obsolescence, trespass, vandalism, inappropriate interventions, violation to guidelines and illegal swiftlet breeding seem to have not been put to an end. Moreover, some buildings, despite being restored and conserved properly, are still facing problems such as lack of proper utilisation or even to the extent of n□ □ □ □ □ □ □

According to the very first former Deputy Commissioner of National Heritage Department of Malaysia, it is typical in most conservation projects executed by the Malaysian government that more changes or alterations are required to be done to the heritage buildings after the restoration or conservation took place prior

accommodate new functions. Ad hoc management practice is claimed to be the factor for this predicament since buildings are simply restored and conserved without having any proper planning and predetermination on the feasibility of its end-use (Assoc. Prof. Dr. Yahaya Ahmad, personal communication, 19th November 2014). Based on an interview conducted by Abdul Aziz, Keumala and Zawawi (2014) with Prof. Dr. A Ghafar Ahmad, the second former Deputy Commissioner of National Heritage Department of Malaysia posited that in Malaysian conservation endeavours, little emphasis is given to the heritage building post conservation phase, compared to the preliminary conservation phase and during the conservation phase.

Following this, it is essential to re-examine the situation by revisiting the Malaysian Built Heritage Conservation Framework (BHCF). The Malaysian BHCF in particular guides the process of built heritage conservation in Malaysia, as presented in the official website of the Malaysian Department of National Heritage (Department of National Heritage, 2015) and also elaborated in Heading 2.2, *Proses Pemuliharaan* of the *Garis Panduan Pemuliharaan Bangunan Warisan* (Jabatan Warisan Negara, 2012). Besides, this framework is also common among local conservationists and researchers such as Ahmad (2010), Harun (2011) and Jabar, Ramli and Aksah (2012). Table 4 depicts the five phases of the Malaysian BHCF comprising preliminary research, dilapidation survey, preparation of tender documents, conservation works and heritage management.

Table 4
A Summary of the Malaysian Built Heritage Conservation Framework (BHCF) adapted from Ahmad (2010) and Harun (2011)

Process	Detail of activities
i. Preliminary Research	• Investigate building history and cultural background, assess significance and historical importance, relationship with individual and immediate surrounding • Obtain Information through; interviews with related and relevant individuals, organisations and stakeholders, as well as from documents, reports, old photos and maps and institutional archives
ii. Dilapidation Survey	• Diagnose the condition and level of building defects • Determine causes of defects • Identify appropriate treatments • Documentation via measured drawing and colour photos • Involve detailed information and technical aspects, normally carried by conservators and other professionals appointed by client • Prepare of A3 report containing defects explanation, conservation work method statement, non-destructive scientific studies and lab tests proposal and thorough survey

Table 4 (*continue*)

Process	Detail of activities
iii. Preparation of Tender Documents	• Preparation of tender documents for appointment of contractor • Bill of quantity (BQ) preparation by quantity surveyor • Proposed method techniques, scientific studies and lab tests are made accordingly to conservation principles, understanding of method and techniques as well as awareness of latest technology • Site briefing conducted by consultants to potential contractors • Appointment of contractors based on experience, skills and registration with Contractor Service Centre (PKK) and Construction Industry Development Board (CIDB) (category B03: restoration and conservation)
iv. Conservation Works	• Involve multidisciplinary professions (architect, conservator, engineer, quantity surveyor, archaeologist, historian, etc.) • Systematic marking, coding and labelling • Undertake structural, microbiological, archaeological and environmental studies • Involve various technical conservation methods (humidity and moisture level, Schmidt hammer rebound test, brick compressive strength, paint scraping, timber verification, ion chromatography analysis, etc.) • Final report preparation
v. Heritage Management	• Involves responsible agencies, stakeholders and local authorities • Management of physical, social and economic dimensions • Establishes conservation committee • Cyclical maintenance programme • Sufficient grant and financial aids • Marketing through heritage tourism and product promotion

As shown in Table 4 and Figure 4, the Malaysian BHCF has neither mentioned nor incorporated programme evaluation in its overall scheme. Although evaluation is central to conservation management, it is clearly absent in the process of heritage management in the framework. Rather, heritage management stage therein merely concerns on the use, care, repair and continuous maintenance of heritage buildings, as well as promotion and marketing of heritage tourism (Ahmad, 2010). Harun (2011) added that the final step of Malaysian conservation practice is typically and merely about the preparation of conservation report. Sensitising this inadequacy, Abdul Aziz, Keumala and Zawawi (2014) argued that this framework is in an incipient state which contradicts the comprehensive process of conservation which comprises of planning, implementing and evaluating activities as mentioned by Margoluis, Stem, Salafsky and Brown (2009a).

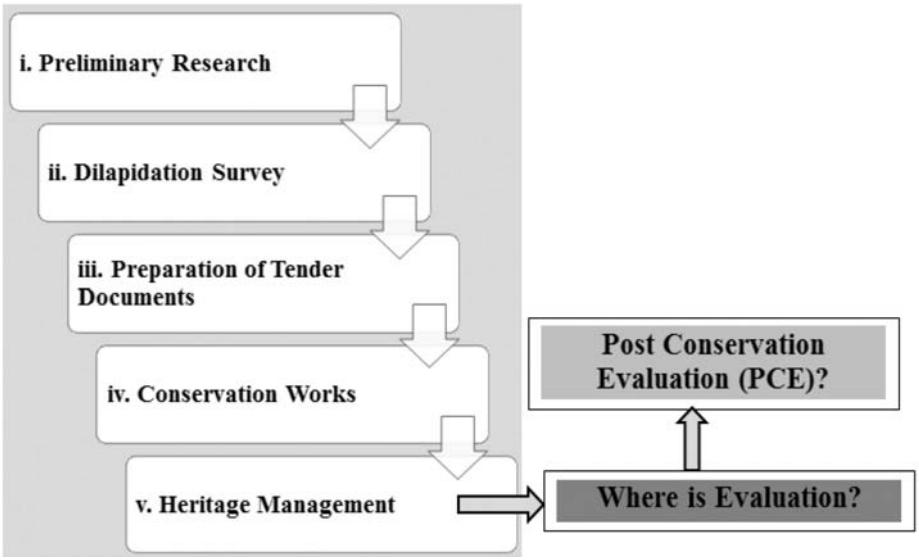


Figure 4. The Proposed Integration of Evaluation Phase in the Malaysian Built Heritage Conservation Framework (BHCF) (adapted from Abdul Aziz, Keumala, & Zawawi, 2014)

It can be observed that only preliminary building investigation and dilapidation survey processes of the Malaysian BHCF can be linked with measures pertinent to evaluation. Nevertheless, the two processes are circumscribed to the features of assessment rather than the full spectrum of evaluation. Owing to this shortage, Abdul Aziz, Keumala and Zawawi (2014) justified the essentiality of having an evaluation dimension to facilitate post conservation evaluation for Malaysian built heritage conservation programme.

Furthermore, the interview conducted by Abdul Aziz, Keumala and Zawawi (2014) with key individuals from four heritage authorities in the UNESCO historic cities of Melaka and George Town of Malaysia, namely the Penang Island Municipal Council (MPPP), George Town World Heritage Incorporated (GTWHI), Melaka World Historic City Council (MBMB) and Melaka World Heritage Office (MWHSB) have strengthened the needs of having post conservation evaluation due to:

i. Absence of standard evaluation framework currently in evaluating heritage buildings in the conservation zone after conservation phase. The current measures in use by the heritage authorities to assess heritage buildings are ad hoc, case specific and occasionally updated.

ii. The heritage authorities refer the compliance of conservation guidelines and to the Certificate of Completion and Compliance (CCC) as their evaluation activities. This means that auditing and monitoring activities are accounted as evaluation by the heritage authorities, where they conduct daily

inspections of heritage buildings within the conservation zone to prevent inappropriate conservation intervention from taking place.

iii. The scope of management and monitoring by the heritage authorities is large in scale, where they merely focus on the larger urban context of the conservation zone rather than critically scrutinising on individual heritage building unit.

iv. Evaluation is agreed to be an essential and useful tool to be leveraged by the local authorities in deriving and indicating the level of conservation merit for individual heritage building units after conservation.

v. The heritage authorities suggested that conservation evaluation should be based on building typology, material, period of construction, place and types of intervention.

Given the incomprehensiveness of current Malaysian BHCF, development of internal evaluation capacity, within built heritage conservation stakeholders, would be much helpful. Alternatively, engagement of professional evaluators as specialists in conservation projects may be considered by heritage owners, organisations, or authorities to yield a better outcome and results. This can be done through collaboration of professional evaluators with other common professions involved in conservation such as project consultants, conservators and maintenance contractors as mentioned by Kamal and Ab Wahab (2014). Liaison and cooperation with professional evaluators and organisations available in the country such as the Malaysian Evaluation Society (MES) and the Centre for Development and Research in Evaluation, International (CeDRE) would be beneficial especially in guiding the development of conservation evaluation which conforms to the appropriate evaluation methodology, design and theoretical approaches.

CONCLUSION

In a nutshell, this paper highlights the gaps of conservation evaluation, with a special reference to built heritage conservation, and thus serving as a literature resource to trigger further exploration on the conservation-evaluation topics. This paper also advocates conservation stakeholders and researchers in the field of built heritage conservation to develop evaluation tools which specifically cater for individual heritage building unit, besides focusing on the aspects of conservation interventions. Integration of evaluation praxis into management agenda for conservation programmes will lead to a better sustenance of our finite built heritage resources that are still remaining today. Through such enhancement, we would achieve a better retention of the historical, cultural, architectural, and economical significance of our finite built heritage resources for the sa

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Short Communication

Brief Communication on Psychosocial Work Environment and Wellbeing in relation to Job Demands-Resources: A Study on Malaysian Public Health Perspective

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ABSTRACT

Psychosocial risks and work-related stress are global problems and there is a limited research over such problems in developing countries. This study investigates these risks in Malaysian public health perspective by using biomarkers in relation to the workers' health and well-being. Biomarkers can be used to objectively measure the physiological response to psychosocial stressors. This study will be helpful to address the complex contemporary issues that emerge because of continuous change in the work environment. Non-proportional stratified random sampling technique was used for data collection and analysis would be done with the help of AMOS 21.0 in Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) to achieve range of outcomes.

Keywords: Biomarker, Malaysia, psychosocial work environment, Structure Equation Modeling (SEM), work-related stress

INTRODUCTION

Around the globe, significant technological advancements and globalisation have brought a number of challenges in the work environment. Industrially Developing Countries (IDCs) are fronting with such challenges under the domain of psychosocial risks and work-related stress (Widanarko, Legg, Devereux, & Stevenson, 2015).

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These challenges in the intense work environment, particularly in IDCs, create imbalances between psychosocial job demands and job resources in the forms of different job descriptions, ambiguity in role clarity and increased job insecurity that have high challenging impacts on the workers' health and well-being (Forastieri, 2013; Widanarko et al., 2015). A significant awareness regarding work-related and psychosocial risks is lacking amongst employers of IDCs even though these risks are the second most important issue after accidents and injuries that need to be urgently addressed (Kortum, Leka, & Cox, 2010).

The main objective of the study is to examine the impacts of psychosocial work environment factors with the help of biomarkers in public health perspective by targeting the health and well-being of workers who are working in the hazardous industries. Historically, psychosocial risk elements have a strong association with the health and well-being outcomes, where biomarkers were used in the early years of the 14th century in clinical perspectives to detect diseases and provide better treatment by providing urine samples. These urine samples of patients were examined by practitioners by looking at the colour and residues so as to detect any sign of diseases (Sahu et al., 2011).

BIOMARKERS

The "bio" in "biomarker" refers to any measureable characteristics of living tissue and "marker" indicates some medical events or processes (Kraemer, Schultz, & Arndt, 2002). The purpose of biomarker is to give a detailed understanding so as to diagnose a disease at the very initial stage (Chakrabarti & Mukhopadhyay, 2012). In their recent study, Kraemer et al. (2002) put forth biomarkers to measure an event or process more perfectly within time in order to avoid any deteriorating effects. Furthermore, this was done to give imminent information on the basis deterrence and treatment of a disorder that the diagnosis itself would not reveal. In practice, biomarkers include certain technologies and tools that can aid in understanding the prediction, causes, diagnosis or even outcome of the treatment for diseases. Biomarker brings the future things in our hand by helping in early diagnosis and disease prevention.

The technological advancement in biological measurements causes a continuous interest in the use of procedures that does not require cutting or opening into the body, i.e. non-invasive biomarkers in reckoning the psychosocial stress (Glover, Garcia-Aracena, Lester, Rice, & Rothram-Borus, 2010). Body Mass Index (BMI) is used as a biomarker to screen out the workers' health status. BMI, which is defined by World Health Organisation (WHO), as weight in kilograms divided by the square of the height in metres (kg/m^2), is used to classify overweight, underweight and obesity in adults. Early detection of obesity with the help of biomarkers will be able to control the cardiovascular risks (Musaad & Haynes, 2007). A study

conducted by Nishitani and Sakakibara (2007) showed that obese workers have a tendency to eat more than the normal persons. This overeating habit creates anxiety and tension as a psychological stress response like high job demands in relation to limited job resources that can further be added up while working in intense working environment.

GLOBAL EFFECT

According to the 2010 statistics of Health and Safety Executive (HSE) UK, 1.1 million workers were suffering from illnesses because of their previous or current work-related job (Davies, Jones, & Lloyd-Williams, 2016). According to the statistics of World Health Organisation (WHO), 160 million work-related illness cases occur every year and out of these cases, less than half are of back pain, 10% are of lung cancer, 16% of hearing loss, 11% of asthma and 8% of depression cases have been recorded. In addition to these, a death case due to work related stress is reported in every three and a half minutes in the European Union. Musculoskeletal and mental disorders, cardiovascular diseases, asthma, back pain, diabetes, stress, burnout, sickness absence, labour turnover, reduced quality of life and decreased motivation and productivity are some of the magnitudes that have been raised because of such risks (Kristensen, Hannerz, Høgh, & Borg, 2005).

Meanwhile, communicable and non-communicable diseases have a huge amount of impacts across the world and these certainly remain a burden to Malaysia (WHO, 2010). According to the article published in The Star Online (2014), uncharacteristically Malaysia's obesity rate is the highest in Asia, which is a great concern that needs special attention and consideration because of its importance as a disease that may cause heart-related diseases and stroke. About 45% of Malaysia's population are rated as overweight in the Asian countries, followed by South Korea, Pakistan and China. Another article published in Malaysian digest (2013) forecasted that by year 2020, more Malaysians would be suffering from depression and anxiety and facing mental illness. Malaysians are having a high level of stress (i.e., 63%) compared with the global average of 53%. According to the global workplace provider Regus's 2013 online survey report, the stress level among Malaysians is continuously increasing in the workplace due to the challenging economic conditions that lead 70% of the workers to report more stress-related illnesses. More than 42% of the workers have sleeping problems, with over 67% of absenteeism rate due to work-related issues affecting not only business productivity and output but also health and well-being of the workers (Dayana, 2015).

THEORETICAL SUPPORT

Our study gets the theoretical support with the job demands-resources theory (JD-R). This theory revolves around an assumption that every occupation has its own risks

factors that are associated with job stress, health and wellbeing. This theory has two paths; one leads to job strains whereas the other path to engagement and motivation. The factors in this theory are classified into two broad categories of job demands and job resources. The innermost assumption of the JD-R theory is that job sicknesses develop irrespective of the type of job when job demands are high and job resources provided are limited. Moreover, the best part of this theory is that irrespective of any job demands and resources involved, this theory may be applied to any occupational setting (Bakker & Demerouti, 2007; Demerouti, Bakker, Nachreiner, & Schaufeli, 2001). Over the past few decades, notable changes from sociocultural to environmental and political have contributed in restructuring of work with an utmost need to evaluate the widespread of job demands which focus more on mental and emotional efforts rather than merely physical activities (Peeters, Montgomery, Bakker, & Schaufeli, 2005). Job demands cover a broad range of occupations where every worker feels the time pressure to complete all the assigned tasks (Minnotte, 2016).

STUDY PLAN

The biomarkers in this study will be used in public health perspective. "Public health refers to the organised measures taken to prevent disease and promote health and prolong life among the population as a whole" (WHO, 2014). One of main focuses of the public health is to prevent diseases; therefore, different stages to prevent the disease can be targeted for measurable presentations. Wright et al. (2009) distinguished three levels of prevention - primary, secondary and tertiary - which are used in this study. Primary prevention occurs at the community level by focusing at removing all causes (or risk factors) of a disease thus stopping it from occurring. In this study, identification of the psychosocial risks comes under the primary stage. The secondary prevention is generally achieved by planning proper screening programmes with the purpose of giving early diagnoses for diseases before emergence of any symptoms and treatment could stop progression. The screening process will be done with the help of biomarkers (BMI). Finally, tertiary prevention takes place in clinical setting where diagnosis will be done with the purposes of preventing further worsening, slow progression or reducing complications amongst people.

Public health care initiatives are generally taken at primary and secondary levels. While comparing both levels, the secondary level prevention is more targeted at the high risk group because it aims to uncover asymptomatic diseases (patients affected by the disease but no signs of symptoms) through organised screening programmes. In this case, individuals within a specific population subgroup are tested to determine whether they have asymptomatic disease or not (Wright et al., 2009). Thus, detection of psychosocial work environment factors

in the first level will further lead the way of using biomarkers (BMI) in the second level, which in actuality is the focus of the researchers without having to go into detail in the third level, i.e. the clinical perspective. The plan is to use biomarkers as a screening process that can be helpful to accurately and reliably differentiate between individuals who are sick or with diseases and those who without any disease. Early detection can be helpful to prevent future loss of precious lives due to psychological risks factors.

Despite the fact that there is a great amount of enhancement to tackle psychosocial and work-related risks and enhance safety precautions in hazardous occupational environments around the globe, accidents have been considered as regular incidences in such hazardous industries over the last decade signifying that these industrial jobs are high risk in nature (Cheng, Yao, & Wu, 2013). Technicians who are working in the production and operation processes are the units of analysis for this particular study as they have to work 24/7 in an intense working environment, keeping in consideration that they have to meet the deadlines regardless of their work overload.

This research is a little endeavour towards fulfilling the gap in literature by studying the psychosocial risks in developing countries like Malaysia. The study incorporates the views of industrial experts regarding work-related and psychosocial risks and ways to managing them. Further, their opinions are seen from the perspective of the health-related issues that need to be addressed at earliest.

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Strengthening Women through Group Participation, Trust and Networks: A Study on Women's Self-help Groups in Bangladesh

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ABSTRACT

The article aims to analyze how and to what extent women are strengthened by participating in self -help groups and the resultant establishment of networks and trust. Findings of the article revealed that as long as women are involved in self help groups, a good level of trust and networking is developed among them. Moreover, self-help groups work as a platform for women to discuss and debate various socio-cultural issues. The article is based on both primary and secondary data and concludes with some interesting findings that suggest that women, who have become empowered, benefit from their bridging social networks that began from these self-help networks and subsequently.

Keywords: Women's empowerment, networks, self-help group, trust, co-operation, social capital

INTRODUCTION

The emergence and growth of the NGO sector is a significant phenomenon from the standpoint of development in Bangladesh. This sector has earned its own identity due to different innovative programmes in various sectors like poverty alleviation, gender equity, women's empowerment, policy advocacy, education, health, family planning, environmental protection, voting rights, disaster management, etc. NGOs in Bangladesh are also well known in the world for innovating microcredit programmes and Bangladesh is regarded as the 'birthplace of microfinance'. Though microfinance has been adopted as a development model not only in Bangladesh but also all over the world, it is not free from debate and con

The paper aims to analyse the impacts of microfinance on creating and cultivating women's social capital

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through group interaction, participation, trust and networks. The paper extends to address the issues by evaluating the impacts of two microfinance programmes in rural Bangladesh. While most studies focus on economic benefits derived from microfinance interventions, the present paper sheds light into how norms created through microfinance self-help groups underpin the trust level among borrowers and how groups promote social capital by forming horizontal and vertical networks throughout the community. The findings suggest that though the objective of microfinance is primarily to offer credit money to the poor, especially women, it gradually takes up the responsibility of creating social capital to achieve its non-negotiable goal of empowering rural wt.

The study suggests that NGOs prefer to concentrate more on social approach by which solidarities can be created among women. Self-help groups work as a platform where women come on a regular basis to share their ideas and views which help them to develop their knowledge regarding various socio-cultural issues. They also get psychological support from the group. Building social capital is important to enhance co-operation, solidarity and good flow of information among women, which could further help to facilitate empowerment. The analysis has been drawn upon by recent theoretical debates and arguments supported by empirical case studies from Bangladesh.

Does microfinance create and cultivate women's social capital through group interaction, participation, trust and networks? Does women's social capital facilitate their capacity to develop their economic, socio cultural, political and psychological circumstances at both household and community levels, either individually or collectively? Does social capital further enhance women's capacity to sanction against social norms and power structures through individual or collective action? The study was broadened to address these questions by evaluating the impacts of microfinance programmes in rural Bangladesh. This paper mainly deals with the impacts of the microfinance programmes on women's social capital by the creation of networks, trust and solidarity among them. Before reporting the findings, the microfinance programme and its process will be discussed based on fi □ □ □ □ □ □ □

METHODOLOGY

In order to accomplish the objectives of the study, the case oriented qualitative research strategy was selected. As Creswell (cited in Panday, 2004, p. 7) points out, six assumptions of qualitative research based on Merriam's (1988) assumptions, qualitative researchers are concerned primarily with: (i) process, (ii) interested in how people make sense of their lives and experiences; (iii) researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis; (iv) it involves fieldwork; (v) is descriptive in that the researchers are interested in

process, meaning and understanding gained through words or pictures; and (vi) qualitative research is inductive.

As previously discussed, the present study is based on both primary and secondary data. To collect the primary data, the author conducted a six-month field study. Interview, observation and case story were used as data collection techniques. Meanwhile, secondary sources of the research include the different books written by scholars, research reports, journals, theses, relevant publications, reports of NGOs, daily newspapers and relevant websites.

For the purpose of the present study, two NGOs (namely, Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee or BRAC and Association for Community Development or ACD) were chosen. BRAC has been in existence since the independence of Bangladesh in 1971 to alleviate poverty and women's empowerment. It is considered to be one of the biggest and most diversified NGOs not only in Bangladesh but also all over the world. Thus, BRAC was chosen due to its widespread functional coverage, especially in rural areas, focusing on poor women. In the crowd of voluntary organisations of Rajshahi district in Bangladesh, ACD was selected because as a local NGO, ACD has attempted to integrate poor people, especially women, into the prospective mainstream of sustainable development through different programmes. Therefore, ACD was selected due to its diversified activities at local a

The two villages (namely, Chokkapashiya and Dewyanpara) in Usufpur and Borogachi Union Parishad[1] were selected on the basis of some indicators like location, availability of the programmes in the villages, duration of programmes, number of beneficiary women and transport facilities from Rajshahi district[2]. Participants were chosen in five stages, as explained in the subsequent subsection.

Microfinance clients were through purposive, network sampling for detailed interviews. Purposive sample sizes are often on the basis of theoretical saturation (i.e., the point in data collection when new data no longer bring additional insights into the research questions). It is important to note here that changes in a range of socio-economic indicators over the last four to five years are assumed to be the results of microfinance. A total of 40 women beneficiaries were chosen by taking 24 and 16 from ACD and BRAC, respectively. Through interviews, data collected on the processes by microfinance may make a difference to the lives of borrowers. Data were also collected on women's role in income generating activities, their perception of their own well-being, as well as their ownership and control over assets to identify whether social capital could influence on the success or failure of the pa □ □ □ □ □

[1] The lowest tier of the four tiers of our Local Government system

[2] One of Bangladesh's sixty four districts

Some authors argue that a very large sample may involve huge cost, manpower, material and time, whereas a very small sample may cause invalid results. Thus, around thirty samples seem to be a bare minimum where statistical data analysis can be done. On the other hand, many researchers regard one hundred cases as a standard to achieve reliable results (Fisher et al., 1991, cited in Islam, 2008, p. 115). The present study does not require a very large sample size since case-oriented qualitative research approach is applied for this study. A sample is selected on the basis of the purpose of the study, and not on the basis of representative population. As Yin (1994) argues, the evaluation of case studies should be based on the theoretical construct, not on the size of the sample, as done in conventional quantitative strategies. My interest was to have a complete in-depth understanding of the ca

CONCEPTS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Key Concepts

Group Participation. Microfinance is a group-based approach and hence by nature normally operates by creating multiple groups. Each group is required to meet every week for repayment of instalments. In group meetings, the women also participate in training programmes. These sometimes involve NGO officials visiting the group leader's home to train members on various economic and sociocultural issues. Sometimes, active members are required to travel considerable distances to attend training sessions. The training includes proper utilisation of the loan, exploring possible income generating activities, gardening, poultry rearing and book keeping techniques. Some training sessions also focus on sociocultural issues such as awareness raising in relation to dowry, early marriage, domestic violence, child/girl trafficking, drug addiction, legal rights and entitlements. Duration of these training sessions can last between one to five days depending on the nature of the training. After attending training sessions, the participants are required to circulate the information to the other group members.

Through group meetings, the women are given the opportunities to have regular contact with fellow members, allowing them to discuss their personal problems, domestic troubles, financial matters, etc. They also can seek advice from their group friends and discuss various community affairs with them. Some proactive members are also trained to perform cultural programmes that portray sociocultural issues. They are required to perform songs and enact family dramas in various places such as educational institutions, open spaces in rural communities and sometimes in programmes arranged by the local Government. These provide the opportunities for participants to take a break from home-oriented life and take p

Trust. One of the important indicators of social capital is trust. Khan (2007) argued that the creation and preservation of trust

within microfinance groups is crucial for the growth of social capital. Trust creates social cohesion and gives meaning to and sustains a network of people. Primarily, it is necessary for village women to be introduced in groups in order to get involved in a microfinance programme. In this study, trust refers to group involvement which creates, cultivates and sustains faith through regular attendance in the meetings and thus maintains continuous interactions among group members.

Networks. Another important indicator of social capital is network. This study is based on Bourdieu's theory of practice, where he discusses social capital from a social network perspective. Similarly Woolcock (2001) and Lin (2001) viewed social capital from both the relationship and network perspectives. Consequently, Lin (2001) identified three important elements of social capital: i) the number of persons within one social network who are prepared to offer help when called upon; ii) the strength of the relationships indicating readiness to help; and iii) the resources possessed by persons in the network (p. 21). These three elements determine whether individuals decide to associate or not, and with whom. The author prefers to explore the concept of social capital from the network point of view, particularly at the bonding and bridging levels. The paper contributes to the social capital debate by applying gender to the concept.

Microfinance and Social Capital: A critical analysis

When social capital is discussed in the microcredit literature, there is a tendency to investigate how social capital can be used for the success or failure of microfinance operations. As Rankin (2002) argues, microcredit socialises the cost of lending to poor women by providing them with access to credit on the basis of 'social collateral' obtained through membership in borrowers' groups. Likewise, Bastelaer (2000) argued that many credit programmes based on physical collateral failed due to poor repayment rates. However, credit programmes that are based on social collateral mainly achieve success because social capital works as a weapon for the successful operation of microcredit p□ □ □ □ □

More interesting, for the purpose of this research, are the study findings of Anderson and Locker (2002), who argued that it was obvious that microcredit programmes make use of the existing social capital through their group lending techniques. It is essential, however, to explore whether people also create new stocks of social capital through meetings and other services. They found that regular communication with group members through group meetings greatly increased the chances of successful collective action in the community. Similarly, Ostrom (1994) stated that regular group meetings and regular interactions could facilitate communication, knowledge about fellow

group members and develop trust with one another, which further fosters collective actions (p. 532).

Since 1990, both microcredit and social capital have attracted academic attention. All the discourses, however, basically focus on how existing social capital can be used for the successful operation of microfinance (Haque, 2010, p. 8). There is a gap in the literature on how new stocks of social capital can be created to empower women through microfinance. Thus, in this respect, the present study adds to the literature on social capital in the context of microfinance.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Microfinance Self Help Groups: Structure and process

National NGO (BRAC) and local NGO (ACD) funded by self-financing and Polli Karma Shohayok Foundation (PKSF), respectively. Microfinance is a group-based approach that by nature normally operates by creating multiple groups. These groups are nurtured by the implementation of training offered by NGOs based on socio-economic issues. Each group has its own leader, cashier and secretary who are elected by the collective decision made by group members. Leaders are usually chosen on the basis of their education, social standing and dedication to their activities. The study demonstrated that more than half of the total respondents could only sign their names, with a smaller number of women having completed their education up to primary level, from which group leaders were usually chosen.

Groups are required to meet weekly or monthly, preferably at the group leaders' houses or sometimes in an open field in the locality, depending on the NGOs' pattern of working. The meetings usually last for one or two hours, depending on the size of the group and the frequency of meetings. The group leader is trained in such a way that she has the ability to run a group in the absence of any NGO official. The study found that many of the group leaders are very proactive in undertaking the obligations of their position. The role of the cashier is to collect money from the rest of the group members and then send it to the NGO official, except for the monthly collections when the NGO official him/herself undertakes this duty due to the large amount of instalments that needs to be handled. The secretary's duty is to monitor the group and approve authorised loans to any borrowers. Moreover, she also has to ensure the presence of every member at g □ □ □ □ □ □ □

During group meetings, the women review each other's loan requests and the NGOs decide whether or not to sanction the loan following approval being authorised by the group leader, cashier and secretary. Women are encouraged to repay instalments, including depositing some savings based on their capability. NGOs give 5% interest on savings, which usually cannot be taken out during the loan cycle. However, this is not always the case and local NGO's are sometimes flexible and do allow women to borrow money from their savings during their loan cycle. The

field survey revealed that the microfinance scheme also includes an insurance policy for which women are required to deposit 5 taka[3] monthly as a premium. This policy covers writing off the loan in the event of the death of the borrower, although in reality, if any member dies, the NGOs would make adjustment to her loan and any savings that she had made.

Does Women's self-help Group Promote Trust among Women?

The study revealed that most of the village women came to know about the microfinance programme from their friends who are already the existing members of the microfinance groups.

Table 1
Knowledge about the microfinance programme

Women informed about the microfinance programme by friends who are the existing members of microfinance	28 (70%)
Women informed by parents and relatives	6 (15%)
Women informed by concerned NGO officials	4 (10%)
Women informed by village leaders	2 (5%)
Total	40 (100%)

Source. Field Survey

The above data revealed that 28 (70%) respondents had been introduced to the microfinance programmes by friends who were existing members and 6 (15%) had been introduced to the programme by their parents and relatives, followed by 4 (10%) and 2 (5%) women who had been introduced to the programme by NGO officials and village leaders, respectively. Thus, the creation of new social capital is supported by informal bonding social capital which is trust and solidarity among some of the village women. The study suggests that the higher frequency of meetings and regular attendance function as good incentives for th

Meanwhile, eight (20%) respondents disclosed that they did not know much about the microfinance programme before joining it. They were inspired to join as their friends were members of the microfinance groups.

> *"I joined in the group as my friend asked me to join. Actually my motivation to join the group was to maintain network with my friend rather than to access the credit. Still I am continuing just for her. I did not take loan from NGOs. I am just continuing my monthly savings with them" (MC-26)*

Hence, in some cases, the microfinance group functions as a way of keeping contact with friends and relatives and

[3] 1 USD = 70 Taka (Approximately)

therefore, the value of the social capital that is engendered is sometimes worth far more than the loan. In order to explore the impacts of microfinance in fostering trust, it is essential to find out the level of trust that exists between the lender and borrowers and also between the borrowers themselves. The reason behind the high repayment rates can be a good indicator for exploring the trust level between the lenders and borrowers.

Sometimes, trust depends on group size. Data revealed that ACD allowed smaller group sizes than BRAC. A lower level of trust was found in the BRAC group membership when compared with ACD due to the comparatively larger group size. The study highlights that 28 (70%) respondents from ACD provided a positive impression about the likelihood of items being returned in the event of anything being lost at the time of a group meeting.

> *"One day at the time of meeting I forgot to take my wallet. I was tensed as I had 500 taka in that wallet. One of my group members came to return my wallet in my home as she found it when the meeting was over. I got my wallet back with 500 taka" (MC-03)*

The presence of trust also minimises the cost of monitoring transactions. Prior to NGOs, there were no any institutions that would lend money without collateral, especially to disadvantaged women. Most of the respondents revealed that their lack of income, land ownership and literacy prevented their access to any formal institutions. Banks and other financial institutions only lent money to small and medium farmers and they required collateral. The respondents also did not understand the complicated administrative procedures involved in accessing loans. Moreover, they did not have confidence in their ability to repay a loan. Prior to microfinance, they had to depend on moneylenders to meet their credit needs and paid high interest rates that caused them disadvantages and suffering. The NGOs offer of loans without collateral to enable the development of mutual trust among each other, as the only quality on which the microfinance programme is established.

Trust also promotes closer linkage between individuals within the group and fosters performance of the group by enhancing pledge and loyalty. In rural areas of Bangladesh, the trust of disadvantaged women is confined within friends and family, but the NGO microfinance programme trains them how to develop and nurture trust with outsiders. Even when they do not have a biological relationship, group members prefer to trust one another and work as a unit to achieve a common goal through co-operation and support. In rural areas, transaction of goods and services is common. However, this is confined mainly within families and relatives. Microfinance programmes assist them to think beyond their kinship group. Now, they prefer to exchange goods and services with others via membership of the programme and this h

Does microfinance foster women's network?

The operating procedure of microfinance assists expansion of a borrowers' network in various ways. The field investigation revealed that 60% of the women respondents' economic and non-economic transactions were facilitated by their involvement in microfinance groups and their newly developed horizontal network went beyond their familial network. In order to determine the impacts of microfinance in fostering networks, it is essential to discover the women's network with NGO officials, their microfinance group and non-group members both horizontally and vertically. The following section represents how microfinance promotes women's networks at various levels from the very micro level to the macro level.

Opinion about their affiliation with NGO officials (Field Staff)

In order to ascertain an understanding of the borrowers' relationship with NGO officials, some specific questions were asked during the interviews. These included: 1. How would they comment on the contributions of NGOs and their officials in their lives? 2. What were the NGOs and their officials' behavioural patterns towards their clients? 3. How did NGO officials deal with default loans? The following table shows how women feel about their network with NGO officials:

Table 2
Relationships between NGO Officials and Borrowers

Relationships with NGO officials and borrowers	Agree (%)	Not Sure (%)	Disagree (%)	Total
Positive contributions of NGOs on borrowers' lives	30 (75%)	04(10%)	06 (15%)	40(100%)
Good behavioural pattern of NGO officials towards borrowers	25 (62.5%)	05 (12.5%)	10 (25%)	40(100%)
Soft attitude towards default loan dealing	10 (25%)	03(7.5%)	27 (67.5%)	40(100%)

Source. Field Investigation

Data revealed that more than half of the total respondents expressed an optimistic attitude and good relationship with NGO officials. This affiliation enabled them to recognise many important socio-economic aspects of their lives. Hence, 30 (75%) respondents reported a positive contribution of NGO officials in terms of their attitude, not only in loan dealings but also by experiencing life improvement in various ways. On the other hand, only 6 (15%) microfinance clients provided an opposite viewpoint regarding their relationship with NG

> *"NGO official (Vai) is giving us loan but sometimes he showed very rude attitude to us when any of us is unable to repay. They are taking huge interest from us and compels us to save 100 taka each time which is sometimes beyond our ability" (MC-01)*

This viewpoint gives the impression that a vertical network between lenders and borrowers follows a traditional patron-client relationship structure where patrons are more powerful than clients. The unequal distribution of power makes the clients submissive. They fear the discretionary power of the patron to refuse future loans and this compels them to repay on time. However, most of the respondents have positive views of their relationship with the lenders.

The primary data revealed that majority of the borrowers were able to develop a good network with their lenders. From their perspective, a positive network with NGO officials enabled them to attain better and improve economic conditions for their lives. Nevertheless, from the NGO perspective, liable network with borrowers assisted them to operate their program smoothly and sometimes enabled them to redesign their programme according to their client's needs. Therefore, the success of a programme mostly depends on the relationship, trust and network developed amongst borrowers, field workers themselves, as well as between len□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □

Opinion about their affiliation with fellow members

In order to ascertain an understanding of the borrowers' relationship with fellow group members, a series of questions were asked during the interviews. These included: 1. What comment would they make about their fellow members' contribution to their lives; 2. Do they share their private matters with anyone in the group? 3. In addition to group meetings, do they help one another in times of emergency? 4. Do they have good communication to help solve any personal or community problems? The following table shows how women feel about their affiliations with fellow members of the g

Table 3
Relationship with fellow members

Relation with fellow members of the group	Yes (%)	NO (%)	Not sure (%)	Total
Fellow members' contributions to their lives	35 (87.5%)	3 (7.5%)	2 (5%)	40 (100%)
Sharing private matters with fellow members	26 (65%)	10 (25%)	4 (10%)	40 (100%)
Helping one another in times of emergency	30 (75%)	8 (20%)	2 (5%)	40 (100%)
Helping one another to solve any personal or community problems	31 (77.5%)	5 (12.5%)	4 (10%)	40 (100%)

Source. Filed Investigation

From the data, it can be seen that 35 (87.5%) respondents stated they received good contributions from fellow group members in their lives, as opposed to

only 3 (7.5%) who stated that their group members had no contribution to their lives. From the field investigation, it was found that the women were able to attain greater access to information and resources if they had good relationship with one another.

> *"I did not know about BRAC's non-formal primary education scheme and was really worried for my daughter's education. I thought I would not get her admitted to primary schools because of financial and distance issue. But when I came to know from one of my fellow members about the procedure of BRAC's primary school I was relaxed and got my daughter enrolled there."(MC-14)*

Being members of a microfinance group enables village women to borrow money and household items from one another and utilise the network to meet social obligations in the village. One of the respondents reported that she bought a cow using microcredit and sometimes she used the network to borrow money to purchase food for her cow.

> *I ulm*
> *food. Sometimes I am unable to earn extra money from selling cow dung and goats. My husband is a day laborer but he could not work for few months due to his sickness. I could neither earn nor got from husband. So I had to go to my group member's house to turn to and she was very much willing to provide the money. Not only she most of the group members used to help one another with money if they have the ability."(MC-9)*

Most of the members were found to use their membership of the microfinance programme to expand their networks. Participation in groups provides the prospect to cross family and kinship boundaries. The following statements represent how women expand their community wide network by

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> *"We like to expand our networks by membership of microfinance. Access to regular supply of credit allows me to take the advantage of existing networks consist of me and my husband's family. This assists to invest in new network building outside the family unit. I combined credit and kinship group to make a new network and with this network I am leasing and purchasing land as well as conducting tailoring business. I started to run a tailoring business in local market through my kinship network."(MC-16)*
> *"I purchased a mobile phone with the loan. The phone helps me to strengthen my social network (bridging). I operate my towel business by the phone. Many of my customers are also my group members. I also take orders from village people and makes dresses with my hand machine. Then I call the customers for delivery. Moreover village people usually come to make phone calls and thus I make a profit from this small business" (MC-10)*

However, from the field survey, it can be seen that the borrower' stability to create and utilise the new network or expand their community wide network depends on their regularity in meeting attendance

and the length of time the women have been involved in NGOs. Before providing evidence to support this assertion, it is necessary to ascertain the borrower's views regarding the frequency of meetings.

Opinion about their regularity in attending meetings

A series of questions sought the respondents' views in relation to the frequency of meetings. These are: 1. Do they attend meetings regularly? 2. Why do they like to attend meetings? 3. How often do they feel meetings should be held? The following table shows the respondents' attitude towards the frequency of meetings.

Table 4
Respondents' view on the regularity of their meetings

Respondents' viewpoint about their regularity in attending meetings	No. of respondents	Percentage
Regular	25	62.5%
Irregular	14	35%
No comment	01	2.5%
Total	40	100.00

Source. Field Investigation

The field investigation revealed that 25 (62.5%) women attended meetings regularly, followed by 14 (35%) who irregularly attended them. The field survey also revealed that a positive correlation existed between the regularity of meeting attendance and intensity and expansion of networking among members. The women who attended meetings regularly were closer with one another and could expand their community wide network more effectively than those who were not regular attendees. Findings suggest that women who are involved in independent income generating activities at a community level (petty business, tailoring, poultry farm, grocery shop keeping, dairy farm) are more likely to attend meetings regularly.

"I liked to attend meetings regularly. In the beginning it was just out of my interest but later I found I was able to make very good relationship with group members. Now I am having the benefit of being regular in group meetings. I am operating a dairy firm and most of my customers are my group members."(MC-20)

"I love to attend meetings regularly. At first I came regularly to break my monotony and it gave me good chance of making friends. Now I realize the benefit of being regular in the meetings. I have a poultry farm and I am successfully operating my business because of my group members as most of them are my cG

"I have bought the sewing machine with loan which helps me to strengthen my social network. I have recruited some of my group members in my business. Sometimes they collect orders from distant places for my business. So my business not only expands my networks but also my group members network throughout the community. My business network has been expanded quickly as I am an old and regular member of the group that allows me to keep good interaction with group members. (MC-13)

Most of the women from weekly repayment groups said that they visited other group members' homes quite frequently and they know each other's name. Moreover, the tendency to visit was quite high among those who attended the meetings regularly. They love to share their private concerns with their group members.

DISCUSSION: APPLICATION OF THEORY TO PRAXIS

The theory of networks of social capital demonstrates a frame of understanding poor women's position in power structure and how women can use the networks to transform power relations to bring changes which they desire (Jetti, 2006). The field investigation revealed that most respondents had no associational connections apart from their relatives and next door neighbours prior to their involvement in the microfinance groups. The groups created and sustained through microfinance provide a networking facility for women. Group meetings and group interaction facilitate women's social capital and further promotes their empowerment. The women who were more socioeconomically empowered as they were able to expand community wide social networks through utilising their kinship and microfinance group networks. They not only have control over the loan, income and expenditure, they also have access to the market and are involved in local trade associations. Some examples can be drawn from the statements quoted from the respondents:

"I have a grocery shop in the local market operated by credit money. Before joining in a microfinance group I neither had money nor had experience and knowledge. When I joined in groups I got an idea from one of my fellow members. I then started my business and now my group members are my main customers. My group members also encourage other village people to buy products from me."

"I am doing hand stitching in cloths and sell them in the local market. I started this business with loan collected from NGO. I have also appointed some of my group members. They get order from me and some of them help to market the products. My group members not only work in my business but also they advertise for me so I can get more orders from inside and outside of the village."

"We have established a dairy farm beside our home with the loan. My husband and I take care of our dairy farm. When we first started our business my group people were my only customers. Very soon other community people became interested after seeing my group member's interest. Now we are operating a profitable business."

"By the loan I bought goats, ducks, hens and four cows. By selling cows I bought some string for my weaving machine. Now I make seven and eight towels per day. I sell those at wholesale rate. There are some specific buyers of my cows also. I communicate over phones to the clients. As a result there has been created a new network. I have leased an orchard of mangos for three years and here I am connected with a new network. I go to market to buy thread for weaving. So, there I also make a new association. I also work as a nurse at her village after having training from NGO. I learnt towel weaving from one of the group member. Now I recruit some of my group members in my small business. Some of the buyers of my cows are also my group members and I provide health service mostly to my group members."

Many of the female respondents, who were able to improve their economic condition at both household and community level, utilised their microfinance group network in most of the cases.

Besides, the pre-existing social ties cannot empower women at a community level. These women only enjoy household level empowerment to a little extent. These women mostly have limited or almost no control over loan utilisation, income and expenditure of the family because they failed to utilise their group ties in most of the cases. These women are either comparatively new members of the groups or are irregular attendees of group meetings. Moreover, lack of education, family support, burden of families, limited time spent in centre meetings can be other factors which bottleneck their good networking either within microfinance groups or in the community.

Nevertheless, bridging networks give the opportunities necessary for entrepreneurial activities throughout the community. However, the root of community wide network lies in the microfinance groups which allow rural women to develop positive levels of trust, information flow and mutual understanding among group members. The findings of the study conform Jetti's (2006) argument regarding bridging networks since she argues that poor women initially depend on their families for accessing the credit but as their business expands, they acquire skills and resources to participate in extensive networks which assist them to enter the mainstream economic life. Correspondingly, this research findings suggest that the women, who have high level of empowerment, are able to utilise the positive outcomes of belonging to microfinance groups. Their continuous economic attachment with the groups motivates them to have a sense of belonging to the group and this further generates trust and co-operation among them. In those households, power is partially or fully exercised by women. Furthermore, these women are in better position in their mobility and decision making. They also showed very strict position in domestic violence. As argued by Batliwala (1994), power accrues to those who have access to material, intellectual and ideological resources. Therefore, women who are able to accrue such power will be in a better position, not only to challenge the inequitable power relations but also gain greater self-respect, self-confidence and a g

These data also fit Bourdieu's (1986) theory very well, whereby he said power follows the ability to mobilise capital. Continuous supply of loan and opportunity of savings inspire women's regular participation in groups. This continuous economic interaction facilitates trust, reciprocity and cooperation among them. This research has demonstrated that microfinance not only provides credit support but it also facilitates women's continuous interactions through group participation and networking, which further promotes their oci

CONCLUSION

In summary, while most studies focus on the economic benefits derived from microfinance interventions, the present paper has shed light into how social norms that are created through microfinance programmes underpin the trust level among borrowers and how microfinance programmes promote social capital by forming horizontal and vertical networks throughout the community. Although the original objective of the microfinance program was primarily to offer microcredit to disadvantaged community members, especially women, it has gradually taken up the responsibility of creating social capital to achieve its non-negotiable goals of alleviating poverty and empowering r

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The Role of Peers and Cultural Tools in Supporting Autonomous Learning Behaviours among Malay Tertiary Learners

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ABSTRACT

Learning is a social process, where a learner's cognitive processes occur within social events that transpire when an individual interacts with people, objects and events in his or her culture and environment. This qualitative study of a small scale is grounded in the Socio Cultural Theory which postulates learning to be a social enterprise and supported by cultural tools which aid learning. The study was undertaken on a group of Malay tertiary learners to probe how far social sources, namely peers, impact their learning of vocabulary items in their preparation for the Malaysian University English Test (MUET). Besides social sources, the use of cultural tools, (namely, the dictionary and guessing meaning from context) were also probed to enquire how learners capitalise on these resources to make their learning process meaningful and to encourage autonomous learning. Data for the case study were collected through qualitative means of retrospective interviews and journal entries of the participants. The study found that cultural tools such as the dictionary and guessing meaning from context are useful sources for learning. Peers, as social sources, also play a significant role in improving the learners' affective states, since tasks carried out in groups are valued and held in importance, in accordance with the Malay cultural tr

Keywords: Autonomy, peers, cultural tools, dictionary, learning behaviours

INTRODUCTION

The word "autonomous" comes from the Greek word *eautos* which means "self" (Roberts, 2001). It is opposed to *Hetero,* which is Greek for "other" (heterronomous - subject to another's law or rule). Autonomy has been considered in various contexts

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as a personal human trait (which includes attitudes, abilities and various capacities to direct one's learning), as a political measure or as an educational approach. In education, it is seen from different perspectives, either as a means or as an end in education, or in a reciprocal relationship comprising both. Over time, many great philosophers and thinkers like Galileo, Rousseau, Dewey, Kilpatrick, Marcel, Jacotot, Payne and Quick have covered grounds on the importance of autonomy in education by extending their ideas in different eras in history (Balcikanli, 2008, cited in Giang, 2010 p. 12). In current literature on education and learning, the perspective of autonomy as a process is more prevalent (Thanasoulas, 2000; Giang, 2010; Reinders, 2010; Barillaro, 2011). In fact, since ancient time, the notion of learning independently has been considered a process, instead of product (Giang, 2010).

The term most frequently used in the teaching and learning process is "learner autonomy". The term was first coined in 1981 by Henri Holec, who is often regarded as the 'father' of learner autonomy. One obvious observation is the plethora of terms to describe this kind of learning as many definitions have been offered, depending on writers, contexts and the level of debate engaged in. Generally, the literature on autonomous learning dwells on a range of related terms and synonyms, namely language awareness (Lier, 1996), independence (Sheerin, 1991), self-direction (Candy, 1991), andragogy (Knowles, 1980), lifelong learning and learner control. Morgan (2006) says that these terms are used both interchangeably and distinctively. Although these terms draw on different perspectives for different people, there is a lot of research and contemplation on what essentially focuses on self-directed, autonomous, independent and student-centred language learning. In a nutshell, autonomous learning is related to self-directed study, in which learners take control of and responsibility for their own learning process.

In the Malaysian context, it is contended that the majority of Malaysian learners, as the protagonists in the learning process, shun responsibility in learning. Studies conducted by Thang (2005, 2003, 2001, cited in Thang & Alias, 2007), Thang and Alias (2007), Thang (2009) on tertiary learners' autonomous learning initiatives at various (public and private) institutions of higher learning in Malaysia indicate that majority of the teaching and learning contexts are teacher-centred, if not fully teacher-dependent, that is, they favour the traditional role of the teacher as knowledge transmitter, guide and motivator. In the same vein, Nordin and Naginder (2004, p. 11) carried out a study on the efficacy of process writing in improving language ability and found that "the students seemed to shun autonomy and empowerment. They refrained attending to their language problems independently and were unwilling to take full-charge of their learning process." Similarly, Nair and Ratnam's (2003) study on readiness for empowerment found that learners are just not willing to empower themselves,

even if the teacher desires them to shoulder responsibility for their own learning. They lack the drive to be self-directed - within and beyond formal learning. Several other studies (for example, Hassan & Fauzee Selamat, 2002; Rai, Krishnasamy & Nair, 2003) showed fair to low degree of awareness and practices on autonomous learning behaviours prevalent among Malaysian learners. In vocabulary learning, Kaur and Abdullah (2007) found an apparent lack of awareness of the deeper aspects of knowing a word. Value of word knowledge about how depth of vocabulary knowledge might contribute to ability to use the items both productively and receptively seems to restrain learners' learning, owing to narrow paradigms and other restraints. Therefore, a study that looks at the social circle of the learners is required to probe the extent and ways learners' peers and other tools (physical and mental strategies) can encourage and support autonomous learning behaviours among Malaysian learners.

LEARNING AS A SOCIAL ENTERPRISE

As a cursory reminder, we need to take note that although some of the varied terms (such as independence) may imply an isolated and private activity, autonomous learning is nevertheless embedded and supported in a social context in one's environment. In other words, learner autonomy involves complementary roles of the external social interaction and the internal cognitive processes. Among the many ways of planning and ensuring successful learning, one of the avenues is by employing social strategies or social resources in learning, namely peers and teachers. The important role of these social resources or the social domain serves to ensure autonomy because learners' awareness of the social context, the parameters of learning, as well as awareness of the constraints that hinge them, enable them to propel and steer themselves to gradual independence. As a form of independent learning (Thanasoulas, 2002), autonomy does not mean learners study alone and is therefore, not an isolated learning process. In fact, achieving self-direction is paradoxically said to be a collaborative process (Abdullah, 2001; Guo & Zhang, 2010).

THE STUDY

In classroom learning, learner behaviour is tied to a complex interaction of broad social and cultural factors (Sullivan, 1996). As culture is generally defined as a set of beliefs, values, attitudes, habits and forms of behaviour that are shared by a society and transmitted from generation to generation (Ayob, 2004), it thus forms the fundamental building block of an individual's identity and societal role which is learned and established through social learning of cultural role expectations. Hence, cultural traits impinge classroom interaction patterns and reactions towards the instruction, instructor, as well as peers.

In the oriental culture of the Malay ethnic group, the social context is deemed

very important (Hansen, 1996). Studies have found the Malays to be a collectivist society with a collectivist mind (Abdullah, 1996; Trompenaars, 1993, cited in Zawawi, 2008) For the Malays, life is viewed as an integrated whole (Kwon Jung & Ah, 2004) and the individual is an integral part of the community he / she belongs to. In the Malay learning culture, certain traits are significant, which characterise and provide the society its unique identity of being a strongly culture-bound ethnic group. Research shows that learners of Malay origin are generally tactile-kinesthetic type and are inclined to work in groups rather than doing individual assignments. This was evidenced by Reid's (1987) landmark study which found Malay learners to be relational and non-analytical learners (learners who prefer working individually). The preference for group learning (Abdullah, 1999; Naginder, 2004; Arumugam, 2011) can be traced back to the Malay culture and tradition. There is a strong sense of collaboration and cooperation within the Malay community as reflected in their activities such as gotong-royong, cooking together or mass cooking during wedding feasts, as well as collective harvesting of crops among farmers. The spirit of kinship and acknowledgement of one's contribution to the larger community is also highly prevalent in the Malay community. Thus, a study that investigates the interplay of the external forces, such as peers on the learners in the context of the Malay culture, is deemed viable. This case study probes how peers influence one's autonomous learning efforts of vocabulary items. Besides the role of peers, this study also probes how other tools such as the dictionary and method of guessing meaning from context are employed by learners in order to enhance their autonomous learning in the learning of lexical items.

Objectives of the Study

The objective of this study is to see how learning is carried out in the sociocultural context of the Malay community, within the scope of learning lexical items. External factors or social sources in this study relate to peers (those at par or more capable than the learners), who are the medium that provide the impetus to stimulate learners' autonomous behaviours in the learning of lexical items. The role of the teachers (as another social source) is not probed in the study. Cultural tools are the real tools, strategies, semiotics, or physical objects (Scott & Palinscar, 2013), which learners use as resources to facilitate vocabulary learning. These cultural tools could be anything from a vocabulary notebook, dictionary use, translation method, or semiotics like contextual guessing for the learning of lexical items. In this study, cultural objects are defined through the use of two tools: a) the tool of using a dictionary, and b) the tool of guessing meaning from context in order to see how these impact the learning of vocabulary items among learners.

Research Questions

In order to address the research objectives described above, these research questions guided the study:

The research questions for the study are as follows.

1. How do peers support autonomous learning of lexical items in the Malay culture?
2. How does the use of dictionary support autonomous learning of lexical items?
3. How does guessing meaning in context support autonomous learning of lexical items?

Theoretical Underpinnings

The Socio Cultural Theory, which is also known as the Sociohistoric Theory, is pertinent in demonstrating the social context of learning. It was proposed by Lev Semenovich Vygotsky (1896-1934), a renowned Russian psychologist, in the 1920s, in the era of post Russian Revolution. A central tenet of this theory is that the external social world or social interactions around an individual play a key role in his or her higher order cognitive functions and in the development of the individual. Vygotsky posits that learning is embedded and inherent within social events that occur when an individual interacts with people, objects and events in his or her culture and environment. Language learning thus does not occur in the minds of learners in an isolated or detached process. Instead, it is inextricably intertwined with the social context in which the learner operates and communicates (Leki, 2007).

The theory, with its social and cultural underpinnings is integral to the scope of this study because this study is confined to how peers and cultural tools lend support among Malay learners. Vygotsky's ideas are relevant because he believed that human activities occur in cultural settings, whereby culture is inextricably intertwined and inherent in human actions and reactions. Therefore, learners' specific mental structures and processes can be traced to their interactions with others (Woolfolk, 2001). These shared activities enable knowledge and higher mental processes to be co-constructed. This inter psychological phase is followed by the intra psychological phase where the learner internalises his or her cognitive processes to regulate his or her own learning, hence autonomy in learning. The theory stresses that cognitive development is fostered via social sources of individual thinking as well as cultural tools which provide information and support necessary for meaningful learning. In developing autonomy in vocabulary learning within the scope of this theory, peer support plays a significant role in helping learners acquire vocabulary.

The social sources refer to interactions with people who are cognitively superior to the learner, such as parents, teachers, other adults and also their peers, who are more capable. These interactions serve to enhance the zone of proximal development (ZPD) (Scott & Palinscar, 2013). The construct of ZPD was introduced by Vygotsky (1978), which refers to the phase in which a learner is able to accomplish learning

goals with the support and guidance of superiors, instead of working entirely on his or her own. Through peer interactions and shared activities, learners are able to construct knowledge, form specific mental structures and experience higher mental processes as these interactions stimulate learners' ZPD. The realisation of learners' ZPD in the Socio Cultural Theory (Vygotsky, 1978) in turn, ensures learner autonomy. Autonomy is fostered when the learner is able to internalise his or her cognitive processes through inter psychological phase of social interactions with peers as well as intra psychological phase to regulate his or her learning behaviours. The intra psychological phase is facilitated and supported with the use of cultural tools or cultural objects which help to regulate autonomous learning behaviours. Vygotsky (1981, cited in Scott & Palinscar, 2013) identifies cultural tools or semiotics to include various means like language, systems of counting, mnemonic techniques, algebraic symbol systems, works of art, writing, schemes, diagrams, maps and mechanical drawings, and conventional signs. These tools facilitate the co-construction of knowledge and are the means that are internalised to aid future independent learning (Scott & Palinscar, 2013).

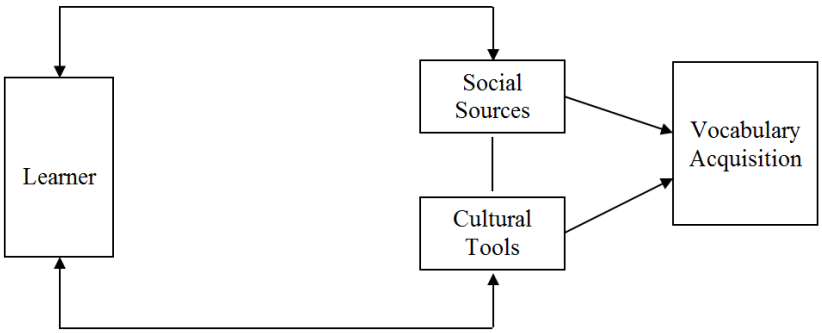


Figure 1. Framework for Vocabulary Acquisition in the Socio Cultural Theory

In lexical learning, word meanings are generalisations of each person's thinking and each word is akin to a microcosm of human consciousness. In light of this, vocabulary learning is certainly a social act by nature in that it occurs through observations about how people communicate with each other and through engagement in communication. Nevertheless, it is the individual who essentially decides the type, quality and how much communication he or she is willing to make, thus establishing a unique semantic space and his or her individualised own word meanings, subject to own purposes and environments. Schmitt (2000) points out that group work, such as cooperative group learning, is useful for vocabulary learning because the social context of cooperative learning enhances learners'

motivation to learn words. Wilkinson (1994, cited in Knezovich, Tierney, & Wright, 1999) says that cooperative learning activities, combined with story groups can liven up vocabulary learning as it is able to stimulate brainstorming, reinforces vocabulary items and assists shyer learners to open up and develop confidence in classroom participation. Consequently, autonomy is established via interaction with significant others such as peers.

Dictionary as a Cultural Tool

The role of dictionary, a determination strategy is referred to as a cultural tool in the Socio Cultural Theory. The dictionary can be a monolingual dictionary, a bilingual dictionary or an electric one. Opinions on the use of dictionaries are somewhat divided. Many studies do support the efficacy of the various types of dictionaries (monolingual, bilingual, electronic) as a useful vocabulary learning strategy. In the Malaysian context, on the whole, the use of dictionary has been advocated and many studies have found dictionaries to be a useful resource in helping learners (Naginder & Abdullah 2007; Mokhtar, Mohd Rawian, Yahaya, & Abdullah, 2009), especially the use of monolingual dictionaries (Paramjeet, 2004; Zakaria, 2005). Similarly, in the foreign contexts, Hamzah, Kafipour and Abdullah (2009), Lew (2000, cited in Zarei, 2010) and Minh (2009) also found monolingual dictionaries to be the most highly used strategy. Other studies have found bilingual dictionaries to be more effective than monolingual dictionaries. For example, Schmitt (1997) found the bilingual dictionary to be the mW‘‘”
vocabulary learning strategies, while Zarei (2010) also found bilingual dictionaries to be superior over monolingual dictionaries. As for electronic dictionaries, Torres and Ramos (2003) have found these to foster learner independence in vocabulary acquisition.

Although the usefulness of various types of dictionaries has been proven in many studies, a few proponents have raised concerns as the use of dictionaries is in conflict with the depth of information processing (DOP) hypothesis. DOP involves shallow processing and the word meaning is discovered easily, thus a hindrance to word retention (Laufer & Hill, 2000). This is also illustrated by Brown (1994) who provides four guidelines about vocabulary teaching and learning. Firstly, he posits that teachers should allocate specific class time to vocabulary learning. He also states that learners should be helped to learn vocabulary in context (contextualised learning / incidental learning) within a communicative framework. Brown’s third guideline downplays the role of bilingual dictionaries, since such practices of referring to dictionaries rarely help learners to internalise words for later recall and use. Lastly and more importantly, he advocates that learners develop strategies for decoding the meaning of words, that is, by becoming autonomous learners.

Thus, in striving to become autonomous vocabulary learners, the dictionary can / may pose obstruction along the way.

METHODOLOGY

This research was an exploratory case study, carried out among a very small group of Malay ESL (English as a Second language) learners at an institution of higher learning in Malaysia. The qualitative research paradigm was adopted, whereby a group of case study participants were selected purposefully to become the subjects of the study. There were three males and three females of varying language proficiency - high, average and low language ability. There were two participants for each language level. Participants of different language ability were selected to obtain insights into how learners of varying proficiency levels coped with their peers and tapped on the tools of learning. Their language ability was determined by their performance and grades obtained in the two English language courses they had pursued in the previous semester at the university. The categorisation of the participants' language ability is shown below.

Table 1
Classification of Participants' English Language Ability

Learner Grades		
High Ability Learners' Grades	Average Ability Learners' Grades	Low Ability Learners' Grades
A A-	B+ B B-	C C+

The study is limited in its breadth, as only six participants were selected. This is because the researcher wanted to ensure that the class, comprising approximately 30 students had equal representation of males and females for the three language proficiency levels. As the sampling was purposeful, therefore, only six students (males and females equally divided) were selected. There was limited number of boys in the class, majority of whom were average ability learners. However, a small group of participants also enabled the researcher to probe deep into the phenomenon being studied, through the data collection procedures.

These participants were pursuing a 3-credit-hour English language course, of six contact hours a week. The course was designed to prepare students for the Malaysian University English Test (MUET); therefore, it primarily built on and further developed the major aspects of language skills, namely, reading, writing, listening, speaking and grammar skills. As a skills-based language course, learners practised and integrated language skills in meaningful tasks relevant to academic contexts, as stated in the course syllabus. The materials reflected issues such as social problems, economics, nation-building and other issues pertinent to academic English and topics commonly discussed in the MUET. The materials were based primarily on the class lecturers' choice and discretion. It is noteworthy to mention that the course syllabus and course outline did not make any specific reference

nor explicitly stipulated the learning of vocabulary to enhance language skills. Therefore, it was (logically) expected that the lecturers have the initiative and creativity in devising language activities that would further develop and reinforce the learning and retention of vocabulary items within the course.

The study was carried out for four weeks, during which the participants wrote their daily language learning experiences. They reflected on their learning experiences with their peers as well as the cultural tools which were probed in the study. Brief guidelines were given to help the participants focus their thoughts and reflect on specific areas and issues in learning. Dyment and O'Connell (2003) uphold the benefits of journal writing because it is a means to enable learners to "record a concrete experience, reflect on and record their observations about the experience, integrate the observation into abstract concepts or theories, and use the theories to make decisions or solve problems." The participants were required to make daily notes and jot their feelings and emotional reactions to the phases of learning (before, during and after lessons). They were required to submit their entries to the researcher every week to enable the researcher to use the information and identify gaps to probe their learning processes further via retrospective interviews. The participants were also encouraged to stretch their thoughts and to write further than the guidelines. They were allowed to use any format found suitable and had the leeway to write their thoughts and reflections in the Malay language too, if they wished. They were expected to write between several paragraphs to even a page or beyond to express themselves effectively.

The participants' reflections were further carried out during weekly interviews with the researcher, where they shared their experiences of learning with, and from peers. The interviews were retrospective self-reports, which were quite open ended in that there was no limit on what learners said in response to a question or statement in a general way. The researcher conducted weekly retrospective interviews with the case study participants in order to extract information about their actions and feelings when learning with their peers, problems encountered, techniques resorted to (tools used) in order to tackle these problems when learning lexical items within the particular week. Question topics or wordings were left unstructured and were not predetermined by use of an interview guide, as Borg and Gall (1989) postulate that the unstructured interview procedure best suits the qualitative research paradigm. The interviews were of informal conversational nature (Best & Kahn, 1993), as the questions and dialogue emerged from the immediate context and ensued in the natural course of things. When conducting the interviews, the factors of peer learning and the use of cultural tools were in focus when eliciting responses.

The course lecturer, a female was the key informant who provided valuable

insights into how the learning of lexical items took place. She took down field notes of the pre, during and after stage of classroom learning, which were perused by the researcher. Her daily reflections were also recorded and all these were shared with the researcher through weekly interviews. In establishing the validity of the data from the participants, particularly information regarding their observable learning behaviours with peers, the data was triangulated with the input provided by the class lecturer. The interviews were generally open ended too, as were the interviews with the participants. However, for the key informant interviews, the researcher prepared a weekly brief guideline in asking questions that focused on the variables to probe. The questions were mainly "Wh" type to enable the lecturer to expand her responses sufficiently. Before the interview, these questions were re-checked to ensure there were no leading or double-barrelled questions. All in all, the data for this study were obtained through non-obtrusive means, whereby the researcher remained as non-participant and impartial.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

How do peers support autonomous learning of lexical items in the Malay culture?

It appears that peer learning has a strong and positive effect on all the six participants' affective states. All the learners from varying language ability explained at the interview that when doing activities with peers, they were able to learn words from friends in a relaxed and non-threatening atmosphere because "we can understand the language they are use - the words they use." Peer learning enhances affective states because learners are able to share ideas, thoughts as well as the enjoyment derived in learning. Consequently, they try to use these words in subsequent writing activities. An example of testimony by an average ability learner to express the strong support received from peers is related, as follows:

> *... we enjoy because everyone take part to contribute the idea, and then, when we need to present, we are free to give idea and then to support. So, each person can, you know, can have the idea from the friend. So, we can know and share the words that I do not understand and then my friend will give and contribute the what words I want to say.*

The learners' assertions were complemented by the lecturer, who confirmed that the participants found group speaking activities to be less intimidating. She observed that even the less proficient learners could be seen participating actively, since the students got to pick their own group members. Among their close friends they were less shy, and did not seem to mind when another group member disagreed with them. In fact, arguing for their points made the activity more enjoyable and they seemed to have f

One scenario recalled by the lecturer is when the group was made up of mostly low ability learners. In this scenario, the learner who had started speaking would often begin talking and just stop, leaving her sentence 'hanging'. The other group members would just smile, and nod as if they understood and agreed with her 'points'. Then, someone else would take off from there and the group would continue with their discussion. In this case, the weak learners felt more relaxed and uninhibited. Although they stopped midway in the speaking exercise, the support received from peers helped in getting the group discussion through. Again, it is seen that peers play an instrumental role in assisting the weak learners achieve their learning goals, as stipulated in the Socio Cultural Theory.

An average ability participant further stated that "sometimes, on discussion together between lecturer and student can gain me a new vocabulary that come out by my friends." These are echoes to Nithy's (2010) call that:

> *Schools should be places where our learners could immerse themselves into environments where they could learn to be, among others, decision makers who are morally and ethically upright, effective communicators, more vocal and risk takers (p. E18).*

Activities such as role plays and simulations are the natural (unforced) backdrop for the realisation of these values through the experience derived from communication. As tactile-kinesthetic learners, their preference for group learning in this study is in support of Guo and Zhang (2004) who also found Chinese learners subscribing to group learning as more able to enhance learner autonomy. However, these findings are opposed to the findings reported by Giang (2010) and Minh (2009) who found many Vietnamese learners (68%) to learn best individually and by themselves. Vietnamese learners resist assigned pair work or group work but prefer independent discussion and informal conferrals with peers, instead of pre-arranged group tasks. Therefore, learning, being a social enterprise, as postulated by the Socio Cultural Theory is highly prevalent in the Malay culture.

It is a noteworthy observation that these learners place a very high preference for learning vocabulary through social resources or social strategies due to their cultural underpinnings (of group work preference), in contrast to learners of other cultures such as Vietnamese learners (Minh, 2009) and Iranian learners (Hamzah et al., 2009) who have been reported to tap on social strategies, that is, their peers or teachers as the least preferred mode of learning. Similarly, Chinese tertiary learners in Malaysia (proficient and less proficient learners) have also been found to place social strategies as their lowest ranked and least preferred strategies in vocabulary learning (Tuluhong, 2006).

As "authors of their own worlds" (Mohd Adnan, 2006, p. 53), it was also noted that the participants displayed autonomy by

tapping on their peers in and out of class more than their lecturer. The lecturer also confirmed this: "It is seldom that someone would call me for help when faced with difficulty." It appears that Malaysian learners prefer conferring with their peers to instructors, as a study conducted by Hamzah et al. (2009) also found that asking the teacher to check for definition was the least preferred strategy (mean=1.66). All the participants, regardless of their language ability, acknowledged the importance of the role of peers in helping them learn. For example, the lower language ability learners, constantly conferred with other high ability learners, who are either their roommates, or those who stay across their rooms, instead of approaching their lecturer for help.

How does the use of dictionary support autonomous learning of lexical items?

In terms of lexical learning, all the participants said that they resorted to the dictionary as the main source for help. This finding is similar to the findings obtained by Mokhtar et al. (2009) at the same institution, who tested seven types of strategies. They also found their respondents to tap on the dictionary as the best vocabulary learning strategy, hence "passive strategy users", as defined by Gu and Johnson (1996). Both monolingual and bilingual dictionaries were referred to by the participants. Bilingual dictionary (English-Malay) was particularly sought by most participants when working on the handouts and in doing writing and reading tasks. One of the participants related in his journal in week two, a learning experience of how the bilingual dictionary helped him:

> *I feel confuse because I don't know the meaning in Malay. Then, I try to search the meaning in the dictionary, then after know the meaning I feel confident ... to make me understand, I have to find the meaning first.*

The participants admitted they used bilingual dictionaries more frequently, even though their lecturers in the previous semesters had made it compulsory for them to own a monolingual dictionary. This is similar to Schmitt (1997), who also found bilingual dictionary as the most widely used strategy among English as second language (ESL) learners even though its role is downplayed by Brown (1994).

The dictionary was deemed an important source by all the participants and most would rely on it each time they needed to find out meaning of words, especially if their peers were not available or were unable to help. For example, one average ability learner and one low ability participant related and explained how they learnt the meaning of "recapitulate" and "delinquent acts" by resorting to the dictionary. Another low ability participant said he referred to the dictionary this semester a lot more than previous semesters because *"Kita naik Part II, Part III, Part IV, kita lagi naik, kita kena kuasai lebih banyak (perkataan)."* (Translation: As we

progress from Part I to Part II, Part III, and Part IV, we need to have mastery of more words).

Other participants preferred monolingual (English-English) dictionary. Choice of using monolingual or bilingual dictionary was not determined by learners' language ability, but rather on their own choices and preferences. Regardless of the type of dictionary used, this finding is congruent with other studies (discussed in the literature earlier) which reported dictionary use as the main source of learning.

Despite their huge preference for dictionary use, the lecturer observed that only two participants regularly brought dictionaries to class. Other learners found the meanings of words by asking each other or referring to the dictionary when they returned to the hostels. The reason given for not bringing the dictionary to class was its weight (all learners were required to purchase a Longman Dictionary in their first semester at the institution). As "passive strategy users" who rely mainly on dictionaries for word comprehension, it shows that the depth of information processing (DOP) hypothesis (see Craik & Lockheart, 1972) is not widely supported in the learning context since dictionaries involve shallow processing whereby word meanings are effortlessly decoded. For long-term retention and acquisition, dictionaries are seen to be a hindrance (Laufer & Hill, 2000). This may be one of the reasons why learners are sometimes not able to recall words previously learnt in class easily and do not have a persistent memory trace, owing to lack of deeper analysis which involve more cognitive effort and semantic involvements. Most of the time, meaning of words is derived with a crutch, in the form of a dictionary.

How does guessing meaning in context support autonomous learning of lexical items?

One praiseworthy observation is learners' ability or effort in guessing meaning in context, which was also the second best strategy use reported by Minh (2009) among Vietnamese learners. This form of awareness enables meaning to be transformed and serves as an "information processor" (Ng, 1995, p. 2) by linking information in the environment to previous knowledge. According to the lecturer, affixes and parts of speech are regularly reviewed in the lessons to teach learners ways to guess meanings of words. Therefore, when reading a text containing words with affixes, the participants can easily guess the meaning, provided they know the meaning of the base word. Then, the new word they say, would probably be the opposite or related in some way (for example, "de-powered"). By reading the context, they can guess the meaning correctly. Two participants noted in their journals about contextual guessing as a means of deriving the meaning of unknown words. The lecturer was particularly encouraged to learn that the participants could guess the meaning of "ordeal" effectively from the context. The same

goes with the different parts of speech. Guessing the meaning may not be too difficult but the real test is being able to use the correct form when speaking or writing.

However, at times, learners are able to point out words that have similar meanings in a text while in some other contexts, they fail to do so. Once, while going through a listening tape script, the class came across the word "collapse" - not a very difficult word. The students were asked to find another word in the same short paragraph that has similar meaning. The participants said they simply shouted out some words that would not make complete sense to the sentence when substituted with the word "collapse", indicating lack of reading skill of guessing meaning in context. Only one high ability female participant contented to have been able to locate the word "topple" correctly.

Among all the interviewees, this participant was particularly noted (by the lecturer) to guess meanings of words in context, especially when the lecturer pointed out clues; she was quick to respond compared to the rest. This is confirmed by her self-admission of making conscious effort in guessing meanings in context, instead of looking up the dictionary whenever she is curious about unknown words. Like her, another high ability male student also said he would try to guess the meaning of unknown words from context as he hated to "open the dictionary" every time he came across unknown vocabulary. Accordingly, he referred to the dictionary only once in the study to know the meaning of "emblazoned", as it appeared in the lyrics of a song used in class.

When guessing in context is attempted, it is usually confined to simple affixes and does not involve deeper analysis of lexical input, such as anaphoric or cataphoric references in decoding lexical meanings. The participants are similar to the participants of Nambiar, Ibrahim and Krish (2008) who found Malaysian learners to tap on basic learning strategies that do not require analytical or critical thought processes. Therefore, the vicious cycle is reinforced with the turnover of the semester. For example, when coping with unknown vocabulary, a female weak ability learner said she would first and foremost guess the meaning in context. However, more often than not, it would be a futile effort and she would either consult her friend or the dictionary, whichever is available at the time.

These findings also suggest that the higher ability learners have a higher level of consciousness about contextual learning, similar to the findings obtained by Ahmed (1989) and Sanaoui (1995) whose respondents were able to derive meanings of unknown vocabulary using contextual clues more successfully than their weaker peers. For example, one high ability learner related that he was able to learn the meaning of "frowns" from context, "The officer frowns and asks the boy, "Young man, are you kidding?" He was able to derive the meaning with further aid of anaphoric and cataphoric references,

which showed the man's mood and state of mind. These efforts are to be lauded as the learners are making an effort in relating to the DOP model through deeper engagement with input, and ensuring successful word acquisition. Learners' cognitive efforts of deeper levels of semantic processing make learning of target words more effective, hence in support of autonomous learning.

Besides guessing meaning in context, translation method has also been employed by almost all the participants who write the equivalent terms of unknown vocabulary in the Malay language in the handouts. When asked why they wrote in Malay instead of English, the participants explained in unison that it was fast, easy and easily understood compared to writing the synonym in English, which may not necessarily be correct. This corresponds with Ibrahim, Ariffin, & Osman's (2008) findings of learners' heavy reliance on the Malay language when trying to comprehend English texts.

CONCLUSION

The present case study is limited in its breadth and reach, since it involves a small number of participants, therefore, the findings are not generalisable to the entire population. We can nevertheless draw worthwhile patterns and cues from the findings derived from the study. In learners' efforts in becoming autonomous, they seem to place a lot of importance on their peers and friends, as significant others, both in the classroom (via pair work activities, group discussions and tasks) and out of classroom (via social interactions). It is not possible to attain autonomy without acknowledging the essential and instrumental role played by peers and friends. This study found that social resources and social strategies are important to learners of Malay origin. The spirit of kinship and acknowledgement of one's contribution to the larger community is highly prevalent in the Malay culture. As the study proved, learning lexical items with the backdrop of the Socio Cultural Theory and the socio-cultural context of the Malay community is a catalyst in boosting and enhancing learner autonomy. Learners in this study are seen to readily display positive attitudes and take optimum opportunities in learning in the spirit of collaboration and cooperation with their peers, a 'mirror image' in which their daily activities are carried out.

In enhancing Malay learners' preference for group learning, educators should devise and execute vocabulary lessons in ways that incorporate collective learning like vocabulary games, group discussions, role plays, and other problem solving activities which foster group interaction.

The teaching of vocabulary through explicit means is feasible for the first 2,000 words of English which require individual attention, as postulated by Nation (1983, cited in Minh, 2009). Beyond that stage, teaching of vocabulary items should be directed to teaching learners to use tools and strategies effectively. This study shows that the participants were not fully proficient in using the tool of guessing meaning in context. Ranjit and Embi (2007) explain:

> *We need to understand the fact that very few learners are spontaneously self-directed or autonomous. Therefore, it is the responsibility of educators to systematically guide and provide learners the skills and knowledge through learner training programs on how they can learn to take responsibility for their own learning (pp. 109-110).*

With sufficient training in this area of learning, independence can be garnered as the learner is able to function autonomously by tapping on the right tools and resources in lexical learning.

This study was conducted in a mono-cultural setting in an institution of higher learning in Malaysia. As such, the conclusions drawn from the qualitative data are within the parameters of the institution and participants being studied and cannot be generalised to other institutional settings and contexts. Hence, a further study involving multicultural comparisons can be conducted by collecting data from different ethnic groups studying at various tertiary institutions in Malaysia.

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A Process Model Framework for Strategic Management and Innovation Area of AACSB Standards

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to develop a process model that can be implemented in business schools by focussing on the detailed analysis of the requirements of the standards of the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) related to the Strategic Management and Innovation. The paper presents an articulated procedure that was adopted for the development of the process model. The developed process model highlights a systemic approach to process design and implementation of AACSB accreditation standards related to Strategic Management and Innovation in a business school setting. The process model developed as part of this study received systematic reviews from a business school environment. The authors intend to develop process models for the remaining areas related to AACSB standards in the near future. Business schools can benefit from the process model whether they are planning to implement AACSB standards for accreditation or are interested in changing their current processes to adhere to AACSB standards.

Keywords: Process, accreditation, AACSB, standards, business school

INTRO

In the last two decades, the number of business schools seeking accreditation has rapidly increased (Elliott & Goh, 2013). Accreditation is considered an important factor of success by business schools (Cornuel, 2007) as it helps to procure international recognition and provides assurance to prospective students that an external agency has assessed the schools' portfolio of activities and found them to have passed its rigorous quality standards (Wilson & Thomas, 2012). Accreditation standards emphasise consistency and coherence of programmes (Kletz, 2009;

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Cornuel & Kletz, 2011), evaluation of the school process and policies and improvement of quality (Urgel, 2007).

Accreditation is an external evaluation conducted by a designated authority (Greenfield et al., 2011) that plays an intermediary role between business schools and their stakeholders (Cooper et al., 2014). Typically, the accreditation process involves a series of steps that include self-assessment against the accrediting body's standards and a site visit followed by a report with recommendations for improvement (Pomey et al., 2010).

The Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB), the Association of MBAs (AMBA) and the European Foundation for Management Development Quality Improvement System (EQUIS) are the accreditation bodies that assess business schools through self-assessment documents, supporting documentation and visits to a school's campus to interact with the internal and external stakeholders of the institution. The process of self-assessment helps the business school to identify problem areas and refocus on important issues, while the accreditation report and related recommendations require a response and may need changes to the existing processes (Pomey et al., 2004, 2010). Process documentation plays an important role in many accreditations as through this documentation the institution is viewed to be making itself accountable to external parties (Julian & Ofori-Dankwa, 2006). The accreditation bodies look for formal processes, measurable outcomes and process improvement initiatives based on the concept of continuous improvement. The change and improvement in the delivery system of a business school take place through the process of self-assessment, evaluation, dialogue and recommendation of the accreditation agency (Trapnell, 2007).

All accreditation agencies conduct assessment according to several basic principles. The basis for accreditation is the agency's set of standards, which may vary through time as new versions are released. Among the many accreditation bodies, the AACSB offers the most widely recognised global quality assurance programme (Goby & Nickerson, 2014). AACSB accreditation is becoming increasingly important for business schools that are seeking global recognition (Bieker, 2014).

It is very important for a business school that intends to go through the accreditation assessment to have a clear understanding of the accreditation standards and their requirements. The business school should discuss the accreditation standards with the related people and identify the weaknesses and strengths of its existing processes and practices. This involves examination of the current organisational systems, processes and practices to find out whether they meet the requirements of the standards or not. Based on the findings of the examination, the business school should prioritise, plan and carry out the improvements in its processes and delivery system. The school should maintain relevant

documentation of the improvement initiatives and follow-up evaluation should be planned within a certain period of time. This is the most critical stage of preparation for accreditation. Findings of the initial evaluation indicate whether the business school is ready for accreditation application or not. In the absence of an established quality system, the business school may have to spend more time, effort and money than the initial estimate as it would take a long time to adopt/develop and establish the quality system that is in compliance with the requirements of the accreditation standards. The authors selected the AACSB for this study as it is the most widely recognised global accreditation brand (Goby & Nickerson, 2014) and it has become increasingly important for business schools offering management programmes to achieve and maintain AACSB accreditation (Romero, 2008). Like most accreditation and quality certifications, the AACSB also requires commitment to hard work at all levels.

As part of the assessment and evaluation process, most quality and accreditation bodies have specified the requirement of evidence (Cabero et al., 2011). The need for a process-orientated quality management system has been recognised by many researchers (Tranmer, 1996; Harrington & Marthers, 1997; Hoyle, 1998; Mertins & Jochem, 1999). Processes remain at the core of everything that an organisation does (Ranjbarfard et al., 2013). In order to maintain the competencies that drive success, organisations need to develop and establish a process-orientated approach (Sandhu & Gunasekaran, 2004). A business school's planning for accreditation should thoroughly understand the requirements of the accreditation standards and consider those requirements while planning and performing the necessary actions.

Many quality auditors and assessors belonging to accreditation agencies often use their own checklists as tools for checking compliance, but they do not share the checklists with their clients. The AACSB has listed the documents that are required to be furnished by the business school during the initial accreditation process in their website (AACSB, 2013b), but it does not provide a checklist that can be used for checking or probing compliance to the requirements of the AACSB's standards. The requirements for processes and policies are embedded in the standards of the AACSB in textual format. Due to this, it becomes difficult to maintain uniformity in the framework for compliance checking and a gap may exist between the requirements of the AACSB's standards and their interpretation. Against this background the authors formulated the following research questions:

RQ1. What should the constituents of a process model that complies with the requirements of AACSB standards be?

RQ2. How can a process model for AACSB standards be developed?

RQ3. What should the elements of such a process model be?

To provide answers to these research questions, the study then aimed to produce an extensive process model meeting the requirements of the AACSB's standards. In this study, the researchers adopted a process approach to establish a process blueprint and define a business school's processes according to the AACSB requirement standards.

The aim of this study was to define and develop a process model for a business school that complies with the requirements of the AACSB's accreditation standards. Such a process model should assist business schools in identifying the areas that need to be addressed in preparing for accreditation. Elements of a process model include a detailed list of activities, assignment of responsibilities, documentation, input and its sources, frequency and trigger for initiation.

Considering the huge scope of AACSB standards spanning over four important key areas, the authors decided to use a modular approach and limited the scope of the study to the requirement standards of the AACSB relating to Strategic Management and Innovation.

The remainder of this paper is organised as follows. In the next section, the paper presents an overview of the AACSB accreditation body and its standards for business schools. The method used for the development of the process model is described after that. This is followed by discussion of the results. In the last section, the authors summarise and conclude the paper.

The Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB)

The AACSB is a specialised non-governmental accreditation body. It is the oldest and largest of the international accreditation agencies for business schools. The objective of the AACSB is to promote continuous quality improvement in management education (AACSB, 2013a).

According to Istileulova and Peljhan (2013), the approach and standards of the AACSB are more prescriptive in nature and they are used as a basis for evaluation of a business school's mission, faculty qualifications/contributions, operations and programmes. The AACSB's accreditation approach is mission-linked (Martinez, 1995; Trapnell, 2007; White et al., 2009) and the school's self-evaluation report is taken into consideration as the basis for accreditation decisions (Lock, 1999). The focus of the latest version of AACSB standards is on faculty participation, processes and continuous improvement (AACSB, 2013a). The AACSB expects a clear and appropriate mission, a well-qualified faculty, a high-quality curriculum and robust processes that assure continuous improvement. Resource requirement planning is an important aspect and resource allocation must be aligned to the school's mission.

The main goal of the AACSB is to encourage business schools and hold them accountable for improving their processes and practices through scholarly education

and impactful intellectual contribution. The AACSB aims to achieve this goal by formulating a set of criteria and standards, coordinating peer review and consultation, and recognising high-quality business schools that meet its standards and participate in the process.

The AACSB Accreditation Council released the current set of standards for business school accreditation in April 2013. There are 15 standards, which are grouped under four key areas: Strategic Management and Innovation, Participants – Students, Faculty and Professional Staff, Learning and Teaching and Academic and Professional Engagement (AACSB, 2013a). Figure 1 presents a schematic diagram of the AACSB's standards along with their groupings.

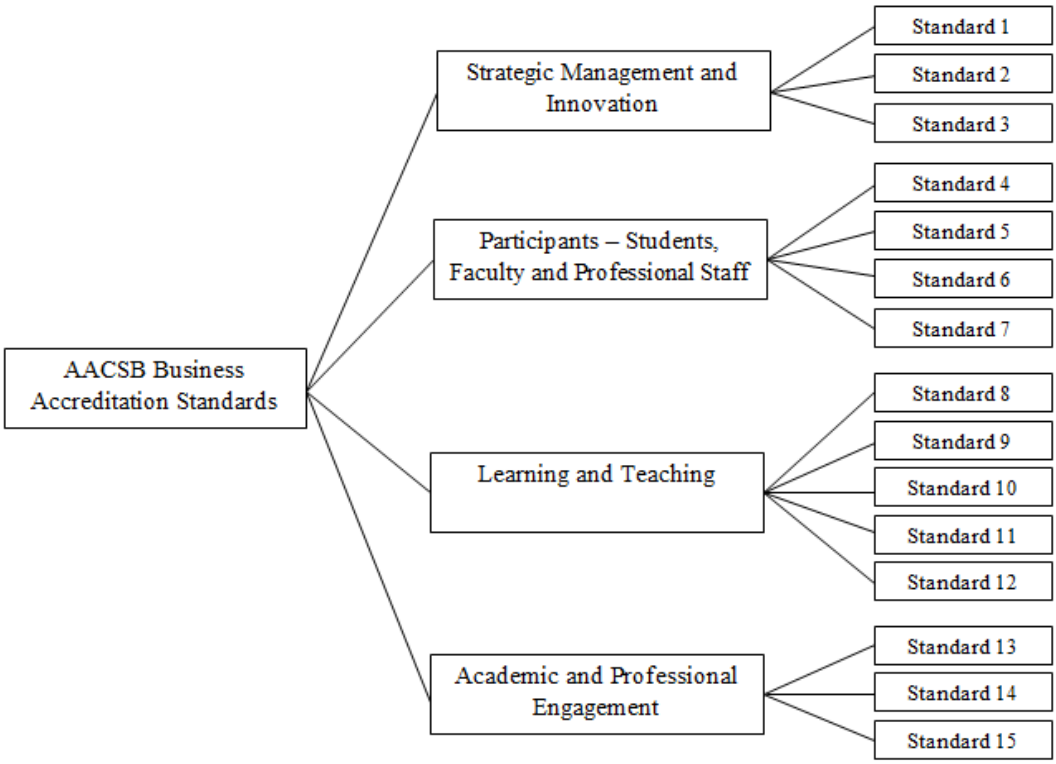


Figure 1. Schematic diagram of AACSB standards.

METHODOLOGY

Hammer (2001) defined a process as an organised group of interrelated activities that work together to produce a result of value by transforming input into output (Laguna & Marklund, 2005; ISO, 2005). Identification of process activities is the first step in process definition, and the next step is determining the sequence order of the identified activities (Damji, 2007).

In this study, the authors decided to exploit engineering design systematic methodology using a checklist structuring approach to define the process model of the AACSB's standard requirements. Checklist development is a systematic process (Verdaasdonk et al., 2009). A checklist should be developed to serve a clearly stated purpose and it should have consistency, clarity and straightforwardness. Stufflebeam (2000) recommended that development of a checklist should focus on these tasks: defining the content area, defining the intended uses, drawing on relevant experiences, studying relevant literature, engaging with experts in the content area and clarifying and justifying the criteria to be met by the checklist. Stufflebeam (2000) has provided a general guideline of steps for the development of a checklist for any particular area. For the development of an AACSB evaluation checklist, these steps were broadly followed and combined with the authors' own experience.

The input required for the development of a checklist may be collected by performing many activities such as conducting a literature review, reviewing the accreditation standards, evaluating current practices and obtaining expert opinion through consensus (Hales et al., 2008; Haynes et al., 2009; Winters et al., 2009; Hewson-Conroy et al., 2010; Weiss et al., 2011). Once the input is collected, the checklist should be developed and validated thoroughly; the entire process of checklist development and validation is iterative in nature (Hales et al., 2008; Haynes et al., 2009; Winters et al., 2009; Hewson-Conroy et al., 2010; Weiss et al., 2011).

For the purpose of this study and development of the process model, the authors decided to follow a modular approach and limit the scope to the requirement standards (Standard 1, Standard 2 and Standard 3) of the AACSB related to Strategic Management and Innovation only. In this study, the authors adopted a three-step approach for developing the process model. At first, the authors collected input by reviewing the AACSB's standards and other related documents and based on the input collected, the authors conducted semi-structured interviews with a purposive sample of business school faculty members of a university. The faculty members were chosen based on their designation, role, experience and interest in quality and process development. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with five faculty members, two programme chairs and the dean of the school. One round of semi-structured interviews was conducted with each selected faculty; each interview was completed in about 60 minutes. Following this, the authors developed the requirement checklist and the initial process model, which were subsequently used as input for process definition.

In the last step, the checklist and the process model were refined by conducting focussed group discussions involving an expert panel. In focus group discussions, a

group of participants discuss a fixed set of topics or questions. These discussions are led by a moderator, who can ask questions that come up during the session. The group setting enables the participants to build on the responses and ideas of one another, and this increases the depth of the information gained (Langford & McDonaugh, 2003). Some researchers advise that groups should consist of six to ten people (Howard et al., 1989), four to eight (Kitzinger, 1996) or four to five (Twinn, 1998).

For the focus group discussion, the authors formed an expert panel of professors from five business schools. The number of participants was 10; all of them were familiar with the AACSB's standards and had experience in areas such as student admission, progression and career development, faculty resource planning, deployment and management, professional staff resource planning, deployment and management. The decision to conduct focus group discussion was taken to ensure adequate representation in the area under study and to enhance content validity.

Before conducting the focus group discussions, the authors developed the focus group questions and the ground rules. Ground rules and confidentiality arrangements help in mitigating potential pitfalls in focus group discussion (Beasley & Jenkins, 2003). For this study, the authors formulated four ground rules, namely:

- Group members should respect each other.
- When one member expresses his/her views, other members should listen.
- Every participant can freely seek clarification and offer suggestions.
- If required, the focus group moderator can intervene to drive the discussion.

The authors communicated the process, the assurance of confidentiality and the ground rules in writing and reiterated them before starting the discussion session (Krueger, 1994; White & Thomson, 1995). Additionally, the authors provided the background information pertaining to the focus group discussion component to all the participants one week in advance of the scheduled meeting.

In this study, one of the researchers played the role of moderator and the other acted as field note-taker during the focus group discussion sessions. The moderator started the discussion session by informing the participants that they could stop the discussion at any time if they wished. They were assured that there would be privacy in gathering, storing and handling data. For this study, the researchers conducted three rounds of focus group discussion sessions. The duration of each round was 90 minutes, excluding a 10-minute break.

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The requirements of the AACSB's standards are usually descriptire, with respect to functions, attributes or other special features. The expression of these requirements involves some form of processing. It is necessary to translate the non-design terms into design terms. The process model, therefore, involved the

presentation of information in a format that enhanced the understanding of precisely what the AACSB's standards expected.

The process model was developed for implementation in a business school environment and it complied with the requirements of the AACSB accreditation standards relating to Strategic Management and Innovation. The complete version of the requirement checklist and the process model is presented in Table 1. The requirement items appearing in the first column of Table 1 lists the constituents of the process model that complies with the requirements of the AACSB's standards. The second column defines the processes and the important activities within each process.

The requirement items and process definition activities were grouped under different areas based on similar functionalities. Any disagreements between the focus group participants were discussed until there were no further disagreements. Based on the suggestions provided by the participants of the focus group, the related requirements were grouped into different areas: Mission Statement, Strategy, Continuous Improvement and Innovation, Intellectual Contribution (IC), Policy for IC, Resource Requirement Plan and Financial Strategy. A number of activities were identified from the focus group discussions that helped in defining the processes through which the functions of a business school should be designed and managed. The focus group participants discussed and agreed on where and how each of these activities should be performed to meet the requirements of the AACSB's standards. Following their suggestions, the activities were logically grouped into different processes: Mission Formulation and Revision Process, Strategy Formulation Process, Continuous Improvement and Innovation Planning Process, Intellectual Contribution Analysis Process, Policy Formulation and Revision Process, Resource Requirement and Financial Strategy Formulation Process. Each group comprised the activities that the focus group participants considered were best performed in the respective process.

The items included in the checklist covered a generic list of major features and sources of requirements. This study followed a systematic approach in designing the checklist by considering possible checklist items and incorporating a list of features in the design of the processes involved (Cross, 2008). The checklist can also be used independently as an evaluation tool to verify the accuracy and completeness of a business school's process as per the AACSB's standards and requirements. The developed checklist ensured that a conscious requirement decomposition strategy was followed for the development of a robust and traceable process model that could be easily verified and validated.

Table 1
Requirement Checklist and Process Model for Strategic Management and Innovation area of AACSB Standards

AACSB Standard Reference	Requirement Item	Process Definition
Standard 1	**Mission Statement** • Characteristics – clear and distinctive, expected outcomes stated, guidance in decision making • Mission statement formulation • Revision – trigger and frequency • Responsibility for formulation/revision • Required input and sources for formulation • Stakeholder identification and mission statement communication • Availability of the latest mission statement • Evidence of mission statement formulation/revision	**Mission Formulation and Revision Process** • Assign responsibility for mission statement formulation/revision • Identify the sources and input required for mission statement formulation/revision • Collect relevant input from identified sources • Develop a mission statement by considering the input and information available • Check the mission statement for clarity, distinctiveness • Check and ensure that the mission statement can provide guidance in decision making • Check and ensure that the expected outcomes have been stated in the mission statement • Identify the relevant stakeholders for the mission statement • Select appropriate mode of communication and communicate to all relevant stakeholders • Ensure availability of the latest mission statement to all relevant stakeholders • Maintain record of the latest mission statement • Maintain documents related to mission statement formulation/revision process • Decide on the trigger and frequency of statement formulation and revision
	Strategy • Desired distinguishing characteristics and attributes of the school • Identifying focus areas • Setting priorities • Identifying expected outcomes • Plan of action for achieving the expected outcomes • Aligned with the mission • Strategy formulation process • Input identification and information collection for strategy formulation • Responsibility for strategy formulation and people involvement • Identifying the range of degree and non-degree programmes • Identifying prospective students/organisations/communities for the degree programmes • Positioning among international community of business schools • Identifying focus areas of quality intellectual contributions • Mutual consistency between mission, expected outcome and strategies	**Strategy Formulation Process** • Assign responsibilities for strategy formulation • Identify the sources and input required for strategy formulation • Collect relevant input from the sources • Determine the distinguishing characteristics and attributes of the school • Determine the focus areas of the school • Determine the expected outcomes • Formulate strategy and develop action plan for achieving the expected outcomes • Set the priorities for the action plan • Identify the range of degree and non-degree programmes to be offered by the school • Identify the prospective students/organisations/communities for the degree programmes • Decide on the positioning of the school among the international community of business schools • Identify the focus areas of quality intellectual contributions • Ensure strategy is aligned with the mission • Ensure mutual consistency between mission, expected outcome and strategies • Decide on the trigger and frequency of strategy formulation

	Continuous Improvement and Innovation • Plan for continuous improvement and innovation • Identifying future activities for continuous improvement • Identifying potential opportunities for innovation • Prioritisation of future improvement initiatives • Outline of resource requirement • Continuous improvement planning process • Linked to mission, expected outcomes and strategies • Realistic assessment of the changing environment of business schools while formulating mission, strategy, expected outcomes • Identifying school's focus on educational activities • Identifying school's focus on other applicable activities • Identification of positive and significant impact on business and society • Expected target level of education • Identifying the stakeholders to whom the school is accountable • Identifying the ways to advance the management of the education industry • Aligning teaching/learning models with the mission, expected outcomes and strategies • Record of past achievements and improvement initiatives • Record of summary and documentation of key continuous improvement successes, innovations and achievements maintained for at least the past five years • Past achievements aligned with the mission, expected outcomes and supporting strategies	**Continuous Improvement and Innovation Planning Process** • Assign responsibilities for continuous improvement plan • Identify future activities for continuous improvement • Identify potential opportunities for innovation • Prioritise future improvement initiatives • Develop outline of the resource requirement for continuous improvement activities • Ensure that the continuous improvement plan is linked to mission, expected outcomes and strategies • Assess realistically the changing environment of business schools while formulating mission, strategy, expected outcomes • Determine the school's focus on educational activities • Determine school's focus on other applicable activities • Determine school's focus on the people, organisations, and/or communities they intend to serve • Determine the target level of education • Identify the stakeholders to whom the school is accountable • Identify the ways to advance the management of the education industry • Ensure alignment of teaching/learning models with the mission, expected outcomes and strategies • Maintain record of past achievements and improvement initiatives • Maintain summary and documentation of key continuous improvement successes, innovations and achievements maintained for at least the past five years • Check the past achievement to ensure alignment with the mission, expected outcomes and supporting strategies • Decide on the trigger and frequency of continuous improvement and innovation planning process
Standard 2	**Intellectual Contribution (IC)** • Record of high quality intellectual contribution • Mechanism to capture and maintain intellectual contribution records • Quality assessment of intellectual contribution • Checking consistency with the mission, expected outcomes and strategies • Impact assessment of IC on the theory, practice and/or teaching of business and management • Setting expectations regarding the impact of intellectual contribution in the mission	**Intellectual Contribution Analysis Process** • Assign responsibility for the intellectual contribution portfolio analysis • Set expectations regarding the impact of intellectual contributions in the mission • Communicate clearly the expectations set • Establish mechanism to capture intellectual contribution details • Maintain record of high quality intellectual contribution • Establish criteria for assessing the quality of intellectual contribution • Assess the quality of intellectual contribution based on the established criteria • Establish criteria for assessing the impact of IC on the theory, practice and/or teaching of business and management

	• Clear communication and transparency of the expectations set • Metrics used to assess the impact of IC • Relevancy of the metrics used for assessment • Capturing and maintaining current portfolio of high quality intellectual contribution • Overall portfolio of intellectual contribution outcomes in sync with priorities set in mission, expected outcomes and strategies • Analysis of the portfolio of intellectual contribution • Finding out how a substantial cross-section of faculty in each discipline as well as a significant amount of peer-reviewed journal work or the equivalent are part of the portfolio • Evidence of the portfolio analysis and the results • Frequency of the portfolio analysis • Assigning responsibility for the portfolio analysis	• Assess the impact of IC on the theory, practice, and/or teaching of business and management • Check IC to find out whether they are consistent with the mission, expected outcomes and strategies • Determine the metrics to be used to assess the impact of IC • Ensure that the metrics used for assessment are relevant • Capture and maintain the current portfolio of high quality intellectual contribution • Assess the overall portfolio of intellectual contribution outcomes to find out whether they are in sync with priorities set in mission, expected outcomes and strategies • Analyse the portfolio of intellectual contribution • Record the evidence of the portfolio analysis and the results • Decide on the trigger and frequency of the intellectual contribution analysis process
	Policy for IC • Policies for guiding faculty members in the production of intellectual contribution • Policies for guiding faculty as to how the school prioritises different types of scholarship, determines quality and validates or assesses outcomes as positive contribution to the advancement of business and management theory, practice and learning • Policies for guiding, supporting and encouraging intellectual contribution • Making policies available to all faculty members • Communicating policy-related changes to faculty members • Maintaining relevant policy documents • Maintaining record of recent policy changes • Assigning responsibility for policy formulation and revision • Process for policy formulation and revision	**Policy Formulation and Revision Process** • Assign responsibility for policy formulation and revision • Formulate policy to guide, support and encourage faculty members in the production of intellectual contribution • Formulate policy to guide faculty on how the school prioritises different types of scholarship, determines quality and validates or assesses outcomes as positive contribution to the advancement of business and management theory, practice and learning • Ensure that policies support and encourage intellectual contribution • Establish mechanism to provide access to the policies for all faculty members • Ensure that the policies are available to all faculty members • Ensure that policy-related changes are communicated to faculty members • Maintain relevant policy documents • Maintain record of recent policy-related changes • Decide on the trigger and frequency of the policy formulation and revision process

Standard 3	**Resource Requirement Plan** • Resources and infrastructure to fit activities (e.g. campus-based learning, distance learning, research and executive education) • Process for resource requirement planning • Assigning responsibility for resource requirement planning • Input required for resource requirement planning • Guidelines for resource requirement planning **Financial strategy** • Realistic • Provide, sustain and improve quality management education • Provide resources appropriate to and sufficient for achieving mission and action items • Financial model to support high-quality degree programmes for all teaching and learning delivery modes • Strategy formulation process • Identification of input to be used for strategy formulation • Identifying requirement for classrooms, offices, laboratories, communications and computer equipment and other basic facilities for high-quality operations • Identifying the financial support requirement for all the school's major strategic activities (e.g. degree programmes, intellectual contributions and other mission components) • Checking the adequacy of currently available classrooms, offices, laboratories, communications and computer equipment and other basic facilities for high-quality operations • Identifying programme-wise financial resources requirement to provide technology support for students and faculty appropriate to its programmes (e.g. online learning and classroom simulations) and intellectual contribution expectations (e.g. databases and data analysis software) • Checking the adequacy of currently available financial resources to provide technology support for students and faculty appropriate to its programmes (e.g. online learning and classroom simulations) and intellectual contribution expectations (e.g. databases and data analysis software)	**Resource Requirement and Financial Strategy Formulation Process** • Assign responsibility for resource requirement planning • Establish guidelines for resource requirement planning • Identify the input sources and collect relevant input to be used for resource requirement planning • Identify all the activities of the schools (e.g. campus-based learning, distance learning, research and executive education) and resource and infrastructure requirement for all the activities • Identify all the activities required to provide, sustain and improve quality management education and resource and infrastructure requirement of all such activities • Identify all other activities and action items and their resource requirement sufficient for achieving mission • Identify the requirement for classrooms, offices, laboratories, communications and computer equipment and other basic facilities for high-quality operations • Check the adequacy of currently available classrooms, offices, laboratories, communications and computer equipment and other basic facilities for high-quality operations • Identify programme-wise financial resources requirement to provide technology support for students and faculty appropriate to the programmes (e.g. online learning and classroom simulations) and intellectual contribution expectations (e.g. databases and data analysis software) • Identify the financial support requirement for all its major strategic activities (e.g., degree programmes, intellectual contributions and other mission components) • Check the adequacy of currently available financial resources to provide technology support for students and faculty appropriate to its programmes (e.g. online learning and classroom simulations) and intellectual contribution expectations (e.g. databases and data analysis software) • Identify the realistic sources of financial resources for current and planned activities of the school • Develop the financial model to support high-quality degree programmes for all teaching and learning delivery modes • Analyse carefully the cost of potential resources for initiatives associated with the school's mission and action items • Ensure that the financial resources and strategies demonstrate that they are capable of supporting, sustaining and improving quality consistent with the mission of the school • Perform trend analysis of resources over the past five-years, especially in light of different cost structures depending on the teaching and learning models employed • Develop contingency plan that the school would use should a reduction in resources occur

	• Identification of realistic sources of financial resources for current and planned activities of the school • Careful analysis of the costs and potential resources for initiatives associated with its mission and action items • Financial resources and strategies that demonstrate that they are capable of supporting, sustaining and improving quality consistent with the mission of the school • Trend analysis of resources over the past five years, in light of different cost structures depending on the teaching and learning models employed • Contingency plan that the school would use should a reduction in resources occur • Responsibility for preparing the contingency plan • Process for financial planning and analysis • Responsibility for financial planning and analysis • Sources of funding for the three to four most significant major initiatives	• Assign responsibility for financial planning, analysis and strategy formulation • Maintain information about sources of funding for the three to four most significant major initiatives • Decide on the trigger and frequency of the resource requirement and financial strategy formulation process

It is important to establish the content validity of the checklist and the process model in terms of relevancy, adequacy and clarity. The method adopted in this study, such as the semi-structured interview and focus group discussion with the faculty members of business schools confirmed the adequacy of content covered by the checklist and the process model and also provided information about the practice relevance of each AACSB standard. The method followed in this study supported the content validity of the checklist and process model, particularly the relevance, adequacy and clarity of checklist statements and process activities.

CONCLUSION

The checklist and the process model that have been presented in this paper effectively addressed the requirements of the AACSB's standards. The developed process model demonstrated how to derive process design specification from the AACSB's standard requirements. It is important that the process design specifications should be properly structured and controlled. Process design specification should be consistent and understandable and it should include all requirements. Using a checklist structuring approach to define the process model of the AACSB's standards, this study achieved an important milestone.

It is common to specify requirements in textual format. In the case of the AACSB, its standards have defined the requirement in textual format, even though it is not the best way to represent requirements for developing processes for products and services. A checklist for analysing and deriving requirements is relatively easy to understand and interpret as it offers a simple way to review for correctness, completeness and consistency.

One of the major risks that business planning for AACSB accreditation faces is the risk of its delivery process not complying with the requirement of the AACSB's standards. The use of the requirement checklist would make requirement formulation more focussed on AACSB's standards and ensure inclusion of all the relevant details. The process model presented in this paper can be used to promote understanding between a business school and its stakeholders as it clearly identifies and defines the main roles, activities and relationships in the processes. The developed requirement checklist and the process model presented in this paper would help mitigate the risks assumed by business schools that intend to obtain AACSB accreditation. The developed requirement checklist and process model can be effectively used by business schools as a step-by-step guide to improve important aspects of their quality management and delivery system.

In this paper, the authors have presented a requirement checklist and process model by focussing on the requirements of AACSB standards relevant to Strategic Management and Innovation only. The authors think that business schools would be able to define and follow high-quality process by referring to the developed checklist and

process model. Even though utmost care was taken to develop a comprehensive checklist and process model, it was a first step in the development of an exhaustive tool. Therefore, the current version of the checklist and process model may have some limitations. The checklist and process model were developed for three standards (Standard 1, Standard 2 and Standard 3) of Strategic Management and Innovation only and other standards of AACSB were not excluded. The checklists and process models for other key areas of the AACSB's standards will be presented by the authors in the near future. This checklist and the process model should be revised whenever new versions of AACSB's standards are released or the current AACSB standards undergo revisions.

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The Impact of SHRM on Man Power Sustainability in a Manpower Agency of International Airport in Tamil Nadu, India – An Empirical Study

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ABSTRACT

Human Resource practices are the heart of most organisation for sustaining talented employees. Sustainable manpower is required by any organisation to facilitate productivity, minimise training costs, implement effectiveness of training inputs and cost of production. Organisations can adopt best strategies to overcome competition by effectively participating in CSR activities and creating good organisational image among employees and society. By considering the importance of manpower sustainability in their organisation, the researchers studied the impacts of SHRM on employees' performance for manpower sustainability. The research study involved 100 employees, who were working in a manpower agency of Chennai International Airport at the time of the study. The researchers found that there is a significant association between age of the respondents and their willingness to continue working in the organisation. The researchers also found that 56% of employees aged less than 30 years (44 employees out of 79 employees in that age group) were willing to continue in the organisation for the maximum period of 2 years. This study revealed that there is a significant variance between educational qualification of the employees and their responses that they perform better in the organisation, company inspires them to work towards organizational goal and frequency of supervisors' feedback. This study also revealed that the employees having a bachelors' degree agreed that they were performing better and the superior gives feedback about their performance frequently than the other employees with other qualifications. Meanwhile, compared to other employees of other qualifications, those with post-graduate qualification agreed that the company inspires them to work and they were willing to work to achieve organisational goal. The

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researchers also found that there is a negative correlation between experience of the employees and their response towards current salary and other packages. This study revealed that the age group of the employees is an important independent variable in predicting the employees' responses towards the manpower agency who recognises their performance.

Keywords: SHRM practices, performance, manpower, sustainability and organizational goal

INTRODUCTION

Various studies have proven the positive impacts of SHRM on organisational performance (Huselid, 1995; MacDuftie, 1995; Huselid & Becker, 1996; Huselid et al., 1997). Job performance has become an important source to measure organisational performance (Abubakar, 2013). The area of strategic human resource management (SHRM) is an interesting topic to many researchers over the past decade because of its potential impacts on the perceived organisational learning issues. Recently, researchers began to examine the impacts of SHRM on employees' performance through organisational learning and discovered there was an unexpected negative relationship (Bennett et al., 1998). Organisational and departmental performance consists of individual performance, which was found to be related to employees' work attitude (Judge et al., 2001). SHRM practices enable firms to bring their overall objectives into better alignment with the actions of their employees (Jery, 2013).

Statement of the problem

The Indian airlines industry, which encapsulates the development, management and operation of aircrafts, continues to lurch from one crisis to the next (Airline industries India, 2014). Manpower agency considered for the study, operates across domestic and international markets, competing with the world leading giant airlines, as well as local operators. The growth potential of the company has been diluted due to poor staff morale, unfavourable policies, practices, unresolved human resource issues, unviable business model, drastic cut in allowances, airlines' regulations and inefficient recruitment processes and policies. These issues have brought down the employees' strength with airlines in its fleet. The employee per airline company ratio has come down in recent years. Employees' behaviour in airline industry plays a critical role in the industry and poor customer service will lead to poor impact on the image (Setia et al., 2013). The Indian airlines industry is run safely and smoothly by the management. The researchers found that there is a high labour turnover rate in the manpower agency due to the different problems faced by the employees from organisation and customers. This study would troubleshoot the reasons for the reduction in the attrition rate of the employees, how job satisfaction would increase among employees, employees' expectations and support from the organisation towards performing better for the customers and better working environment (Pankaj,

2011). Based on the review on various literatures, none has studied the impacts of SHRM for improving employees' performance for manpower sustainability in the Manpower agency of Indian airlines. This motivated the researchers to study the same. Manpower is an important resource for any organisation. Most businesses find themselves struggling to understand how to build a better SHRM model for improving employees' performance for manpower sustainability especially in the 21st century. Once the employees are well trained and have gained more experiences, many organisations face difficulty to sustain them for a longer period.

Objectives of the Study

All the industries face labour turnover problem, which leads to the increase in recruitment cost, training cost and spending more time in selecting the right staff for the right job. Manpower agencies in India are also facing this issue. Labour turnover in the manpower agencies of International airport would affect their growth in the domestic and international market. This motivates the researchers to study sustainable manpower in the airline industry which would lead to the following objectives:

- To find the association between age of the employees and their willingness to continue in the organisation.
- To find out the significant variance between the respondents' educational levels and their performance within the company, working towards achieving organisational goal, organisation inspires employees to work.
- To find the relationship between the respondents' work experience and their satisfaction with salary and other perks.
- To find out the important independent variable in predicting the employees' response to the manpower agency's recognition of their performance.

LITERATURE REVIEW

SHRM practices and organisational performance

Most of the empirical studiers on SHRM performance have sixteen best practices; later it is consolidated with seven best practices proposed by Pfeffer (1998). The practices that organisations mostly adopt are participation and employment; performance appraisal; compensation; training and development and sharing information, which were implemented to achieve their long-term goals. It is argued that selecting the best human resource practices and implementation can bring productivity, profitability and resource to the organisation (Tamer & Satwinder, 2010). As suggested by Lado and Wilson (1994), "HR practices" generally denote to a set of internally practices adopted by firms to enhance the ability, skill, knowledge and motivation of employees as these practices support and develop the human resources which add value to the firm (Wright, Smart, & McMahan, 1995). These practices were widely used in the western countries and

regarded as the "main stream" (Lepak, Bartol, & Erhardt, 2005) or "best" human resource practices (Wright & Gardner, 2003). Internal consistency is required among the employees to perform well. For example, extensive training which should be complemented by compensation, promotion and performance appraisal to reduce employee turnover (Baron & Kreps, 1999).

Relationship between SHRM and firm performance

The two broad streams have emerged to examine the relationship between SHRM and firm performance. The first approach is the direct relationship between individuals with the HR practices and organisational performance (Schuler & Jackson, 1999; Chand & Katou, 2007). The second stream focused on the indirect relationship between the individual and firm performance (Wright & Gardner, 2003).

Direct relationship between SHRM and firm performance

Set of HR practices should generate excellence in the organisation such as choosing the right candidates without training or without giving authority to take decision that will produce less effect on performance (Wall & Wood, 2005). On the other hand, HR practices do not directly affect the organisational performance and some of the best practices affect the organisational effectively. Such practices which do not directly affect organisations are termed as black box (Katou & Budhwar, 2006). Pfeffe (1998) reshapes the HR practices into seven practices as follows:

- Job security
- Selective hiring of new personnel
- Self-managed teams and decentralisation of decision-making as the basic principles of organisational design
- Comparatively high compensation contingent on organisational performance
- Extensive training
- Reduce barriers and wage differences across different levels
- Sharing of information related with financial and performance within the organisation (Tamer, 2013).

Indirect relationship between SHRM and firm performance. Set of researchers have argued that individuals or bundles, HR practices do not directly affect the organisation performance (Katou & Budhwar, 2006). A number of the best HR practices only impact some of the mediate variables and these ultimately impact the performance of an organisation. This can be termed as the "black box" issues in the human resource performance. Researchers have started to penetrate the inside of the "black box" to identify the best HR practice that could impact organisational performance (Way, 2002; Ahmed & Schroeder, 2003; Katou & Budhwar, 2006; Beltran-Martin, 2008). Many academics, researchers and professionals have tried to find out the impacts of HR practices on organisational performances but because there is no method available to proceed further research on the black

box, it has become hard to determine whether HR practices could indirectly impact origination performance (Wright & Gardner, 2003).

Employee engagement and sustainability

Sustainability is commonly considered as an important goal for organisations. Sustainability refers to longevity, continuity and capability to maintain. According to the World Commission on Environment and Development, sustainability means to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (United Nations Documents, 1987). Hart and Milstein (2003) define organisational sustainability as the capability of an organisation to contribute to sustainable development delivering simultaneously economical, social and environmental benefits – the so-called triple bottom line. It is a balanced organisational approach which includes economic, environmental and social dimensions in holistic and enduring ways. Scholars and practitioners have identified human capital as a strategic resource that enables organisations to develop organisational capabilities which contribute to high firm performance (Arthur, 1994; Huselid 1995; Lawler et al., 1995; Delery & Doty, 1996; Pfeffer & Veiga, 1999). Some research even suggests that technology and finance are becoming less important than human resource as a source of competitive advantage (Guest, 2011).

The resource suggests that valuable and firm specific human resource practices will promote organisational performances through retaining, motivating, empowering and developing employees (Barney, 1991; Gong et al., 2009). The link between human resource practices and organisational performance has received considerable research attention with a wide range of human resource practices empirically identified as higher performance work practices (Becker & Hudelid, 1998; Combs et al., 2006). Pfeffer (2010) suggested that the importance of managing human resources includes protecting resources and avoiding waste in operations so as to lessen the burdens of economic activities on the environment in order to possess environmental integrity.

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lead to a higher level of organisational performance (e.g., Collins and Clark, 2003; Sun et al., 2007; Gong et al., 2009). Recently, researchers have explored how organisational values have impacted human resource practices and firm performances (Lepak et al., 2007; O'Neillo et al., 2011). However, little is known about how individual – level values influence the effective adoption of higher – performance and human resource practices which ultimately lead to improved organisational sustainability beyond economic sustainability. In particular, employees perceive that their work context allows them to achieve their personal goals and become involved and devote more time and effort to the

organisational performance, thereby contributing towards the organisation's productivity and competitiveness (Brown & Leigh, 1996). Choi and Ng (2011) narrated that economic sustainability is concerned with economic well-being and standard of living, as well as its mirror image: job loss, insecurity and financial risk. In an organisation, there are two types of employees; service employee and non-service employee. Service employees are related with direct communication towards the customer that determines the skill of serving behaviours (Olivia, 2014).

Meanwhile, employees' engagement activities are characterised by positive attitude and fulfilling the organisational performance (Schaufeli & Bakker, 2010). Kahn (1990) suggested that individual performance can be determined upon their physical cognitive, job security, satisfaction and emotional involvement. This leads to manpower sustainability. There are two concepts that define the characteristics of an employee to work; personal engagement to work and disengagement to work. Personal engagement to work is employees' dedication to work, i.e. to remain physically, cognitively and emotionally present at work (Handa & Gulati, 2014).

According to the author Michael Cardus (2013), there are five leavers that lead to employees' engagement to work; these are competent manager, contextual goals, objective metrics, resources and autonomy. Based on various literatures, the researchers have developed the following theoretical framework (Figure 1).

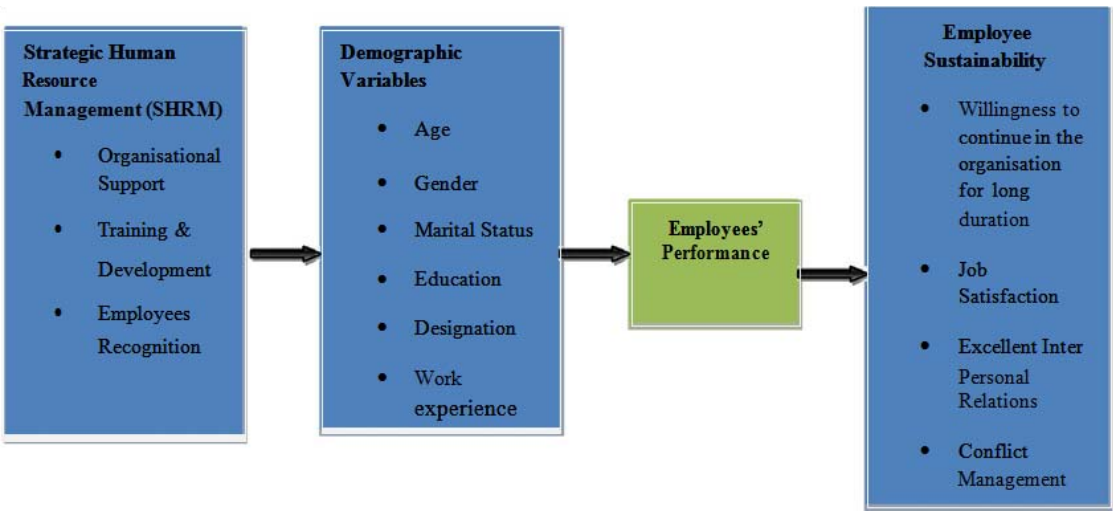


Figure 1. Research model

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Type of research

The purpose of adopting descriptive research is to examine a phenomenon that is occurring at a specific places and time. Based upon this, the descriptive type of research was adopted in this study.

Sample

India has 12 international airports. For the purpose of this study, the researchers selected the manpower agency at Chennai Anna International Airport. There are more than 5000 employees working as customer service agents in that manpower agency who works for Indian Airlines and the agency has 8 branches at international airports in India. The researchers approached the Chennai branch, where more than 1000 employees are working as customer service agents, and thus allowing the researchers to attain a sample size of 100 from the customer service department (ground handling service). The sample size can be derived by using the following formula:

$$n = (z\sigma/d)^2$$

Where z = Value at a specified level of confidence

σ = Standard deviation of the population

d = difference between population mean and sample mean

It is difficult to find standard deviation and mean of population. For this reason, the researchers used the convenience sampling method and selected this manpower agency at Chennai International Airport, India. Employees, whoever was approachable and ready to respond, were selected as the sample.

Research Instrument

This study is purely empirical in nature. The researchers distributed copies of the questionnaire to collect the necessary information from the target respondents. The target respondents have designations such as Junior Customer Service Agent (Jr. CSA), Customer Service Agent (CSA) and Senior Customer Service Agent (Sr. CSA). The researchers had developed a well-structured questionnaire that consists of five parts to determine the impacts of SHRM practices on Manpower sustainability in a manpower agency. Apart from the questions developed by the researchers for the questionnaire, most of the questions were adopted from the survey of organisational support scale developed by Rhoades and Eisenberger (2002). Part I consists of questions that seek for the respondents' demographic background information and require the participants to provide details such as gender, age, qualification, designation, marital status and number of years working at the organisation. There are 11 items in Part II to gauge information about employees' performance. Part III consists of employees' affective commitments and obligation towards the organisation. Part IV measures the respondents' perception of human resource

department for sustainable manpower resources. Part V measures the overall job performance in the organisation.

Data Analysis Procedures

Data collected from the questionnaires were entered and analysed by using SPSS software (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) for statistical analysis. Meanwhile, Pearson's Chi-Square test was used to estimate the association between independent and dependent variables. In this regard, the researchers were finding out the level of association between the employees' age and their willingness to continue in the organisation. Correlation coefficient was used to find out the degree of relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Hence, the correlation analysis was carried out between work experience of the respondents and their satisfaction with salary and other perks. ANOVA was used to find out the significant variance between one independent with many dependent variables. Meanwhile, regression was used to find out the important independent variable in predicting the employees' response towards their company's recognition of employees' performance.

DATA ANALYSIS

Chi-Square Test

H1: There is a significant association between age of the respondents and their willingness to continue working in the same organisation.

Table 1
Cross tabulation

Particulars		Age				
		<30	30-40	40-50	>50	Total
Continue working in the same company	<1	14	2	1	1	18
	1-2	30	6	2	0	38
	2-5	16	3	1	0	20
	5-7	17	4	1	0	22
	>7	2	0	0	0	2
Total		79	15	5	1	100

Table 2
Chi-Square Value

Particulars	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.453	12	.941
Likelihood Ratio	4.726	12	.967
Linear-by-Linear Association	.487	1	.485
N of Valid Cases	100		

Table 3
Directional Measures

Particulars				Asymp.	Appro	Approx.
			Value	Std. Error	x. T	Sig.
Nominal	By Lambda	Symmetric	.012	.012	1.005	.315
Nominal		Continue in the company Dependent	Same .016	.016	1.005	.315
		Age Dependent	.000	.000	.000	.000
	Goodman and tau	Kruskal Continue in the company Dependent	Same .014	.003		.944
		Age Dependent	.007	.006		.999

Table 4
Symmetric measures

Particulars		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal	by Phi	.234	.941
Nominal	Cramer's V	.135	.941
N of Valid Cases		100	

Table 1 shows that the only 2 employees aged below 30 years were willing to continue working in the same agency for more than 7 years and no respondent aged over 30 years was willing to continue in the same agency for more than 7 years. Forty four respondents aged below 30 years were willing to continue working in the agency for a maximum of two years. Forty two employees were willing to work with the agency for 2-7 years. These showed a danger signal to the agency towards its lack of manpower sustainability which would occur after two years and seven years.

The Chi-square test in Table 2 reads a significance level of 0.941. This means that the Chi-square test shows a significance association between the two variables, age of the employees and their willingness to continue working in the same organisation. The chi-square test also revealed the association between age of the respondents and their willingness to continue working in the same organisation at 95% confidence level. It is greater than the hypothetical value 0.05. Hence H1 is accepted. There is a significant association between the age of employees and their willingness to continue working at the same organisation.

The Crammer's V 0.135 in Table 4 reveals that there is no association between age of the respondents and their willingness to continue working at the same organisation.

The asymmetric lambda value 0.000 in Table 3 infers that there is 0% error reduction in predicting the employees' willingness to continue in the same organisation when the age of the employee is known. Hence, it is concluded that the age of employee can help in predicting the willingness to continue in the same organisation at 0% accuracy level.

Anova analysis

H2: There is a significant variance between education level of the respondents and employees' performance within the company.

H3: There is a significant variance between education level of the respondents and their response towards the company's inspiration to work.

H4: There is a significant variance between educational level of the respondents and their response to working towards organisational goal.

H5: There is a significant variance between educational level of the respondents and their response to the frequency of supervisory feedback.

Table 5
Descriptive Measures

Particulars						95% Confidence Interval for Mean			
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Minimum	Maximum
Performance	Below Bachelors	31	2.42	.992	.178	2.06	2.78	1	5
	Bachelors	60	2.13	.833	.108	1.92	2.35	1	4
	Above Bachelors	9	2.22	1.093	.364	1.38	3.06	1	4
	Total	100	2.23	.908	.091	2.05	2.41	1	5
Additional Job	Below Bachelors	31	2.39	.989	.178	2.02	2.75	1	5
	Bachelors	60	2.47	.947	.122	2.22	2.71	1	5
	Above Bachelors	9	2.11	.928	.309	1.40	2.82	1	4
	Total	100	2.41	.954	.095	2.22	2.60	1	5
Organisation goal	Below Bachelors	31	2.13	.763	.137	1.85	2.41	1	4
	Bachelors	60	2.18	.792	.102	1.98	2.39	1	5
	Above Bachelors	9	1.67	.500	.167	1.28	2.05	1	2
	Total	100	2.12	.769	.077	1.97	2.27	1	5
Feedback	Below Bachelors	31	2.32	.832	.149	2.02	2.63	1	4
	Bachelors	60	2.03	.823	.106	1.82	2.25	1	4
	Above Bachelors	9	2.11	.782	.261	1.51	2.71	1	3
	Total	100	2.13	.825	.082	1.97	2.29	1	4

Table 6
ANOVA

Particulars		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Performance	Between Groups	1.673	2	.836	1.014	.367
	Within Groups	80.037	97	.825		
	Total	81.710	99			
Inspires	Between Groups	1.013	2	.506	.551	.578
	Within Groups	89.177	97	.919		
	Total	90.190	99			
Organisation goal	Between Groups	2.093	2	1.046	1.798	.171
	Within Groups	56.467	97	.582		
	Total	58.560	99			
Feedback	Between Groups	1.714	2	.857	1.267	.286
	Within Groups	65.596	97	.676		
	Total	67.310	99			

From Table 5, the highest mean score is 2.42 was obtained for the first item. This infers that the respondents whose qualification is less than graduate neither agreed or disagreed that the performance was best within the company. The least mean score is 2.13, and this infers that the respondents having bachelors' degree qualification agreed that the performance was best within the company. The second highest mean score is 2.47, inferring that the respondents whose qualification less than graduate neither agreed or disagreed that the company inspired them to work. The least mean score was 2.11, which showed that the respondents with post-graduate qualification agreed that the company inspired them to work.

The highest mean score is 2.18 for the third item, which infers that the respondents with bachelor degree qualification agreed that they were working towards

organisational goal. The least mean score is 1.67, inferring that Post-Graduate employees agreed that they were working for organisational goal.

For the fourth item, the highest mean score was 2.32, which inferred that employees without a bachelor degree, agreed that the supervisor gave feedback. The least mean score was 2.03, which inferred that the graduate employees agreed that the supervisor gave them feedback.

The probability values in the ANOVA table 6 for the first to fourth items are 0.367, 0.578, 0.171 and 0.286, respectively. They are more than 0.05. Hence, at 95% confidence level, H2, H3, H4 and H5 are accepted. Thus, there is a significant variation between educational qualifications of the respondents with employees' performance within the company, the response towards the company inspires to work, working for organizational goal and frequency of the supervisor gives feedback.

Correlation analysis

The relationship between work experience of the respondents and their response to the current salary packages. The Pearson's correlation result in Table 7 read a value of -0.010, which reveals that there is a negative correlation between work experience and satisfaction with salary packages. This means employees with experiences of more than 5 years were not happy with the current salary and packages given by the organisation.

Table 7
Correlation Value

Particulars		Working years	Salary & other packages
Working years	Pearson Correlation	1	-.010
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.924
	N	100	100
Salary & other packages	Pearson Correlation	-.010	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.924	
	N	100	100

Multiple Regression Analysis

Multiple Regression Analysis of the company recognises the employees on their excellent performance with the age, gender, marital status, designation, educational qualification and working experience of employees.

Table 8
Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted Square	R Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.147	.022	-.042	.996

Table 9
ANOVA

Model		Sum Squares	of df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	2.039	6	.340	.342	.913
	Residual	92.321	93	.993		
	Total	94.360	99			

Table 10
Coefficients

		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta	T	Sig.
1	(Constant)	2.457	.532		4.618	.000
	Gender	.091	.214	.046	.427	.671
	Age	.207	.231	.128	.895	.373
	Education	-.130	.178	-.080	-.732	.466
	Marital status	.029	.237	.015	.122	.903
	Position	-.032	.185	-.021	-.173	.863
	Working years	-.114	.187	-.080	-.608	.545

Table 11
Coefficients

Model		Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients		
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1	(Constant)	2.457	.532		4.618	.000
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	Marital status	.029	.237	.015	.122	.903
	Position	-.032	.185	-.021	-.173	.863
	Working years	-.114	.187	-.080	-.608	.545
2	(Constant)	2.484	.479		5.191	.000
	Gender	.087	.209	.043	.414	.680
	Age	.221	.199	.137	1.111	.269
	Education	-.130	.177	-.080	-.736	.464
	Position	-.033	.183	-.022	-.182	.856
	Working years	-.113	.186	-.079	-.608	.544
3	(Constant)	2.464	.463		5.325	.000
	Gender	.083	.208	.042	.402	.689
	Age	.216	.196	.134	1.103	.273
	Education	-.133	.176	-.081	-.757	.451
	Working years	-.128	.167	-.090	-.766	.446
4	(Constant)	2.581	.358		7.214	.000
	Age	.230	.192	.142	1.194	.236
	Education	-.143	.173	-.087	-.825	.412
	Working years	-.129	.166	-.090	-.775	.440
5	(Constant)	2.488	.336		7.399	.000
	Age	.160	.170	.099	.943	.348
	Education	-.153	.172	-.094	-.889	.376
6	(Constant)	2.270	.230		9.862	.000
	Age	.117	.163	.073	.720	.473
7	(Constant)	2.420	.098		24.788	.000

From Table 10, the equation can be written as follows:

Y = 2.457 + 0.091 (gender) +0.207 (age) -0.130 (educational qualification) 0.029 (marital status) -0.032 (designation) – 0.114 (working experience)

Here, Y is the company that recognises employees for their excellent performance. The Y value may increase or decrease depending on the independent variables. The positive values of the independent variables show a direct proportion to the dependent variable viz. the recognition of the employees. The negative values of the independent variables show an indirect proportion to the dependent variable.

The measure of strength of association in the regression analysis is given by the coefficient of determination denoted by R^2. The coefficient varies from 0 and 1 and represents the proportion of total variation in the dependent variable that is accounted by variation in the factor. From Table 8, the R^2 value is 0.022 which means that 22% of the variation shows that the company recognises employees on their excellent performance as explained by six independent variables.

There is also the t-test value for the significance of individual independent variables to indicate the significance level at 90% confidence level. From Table 11, all the independent variables are statistically significant since their p level is greater than 0.1.

From the analysis of variance presented in Table 9, the significance of F is 0.913. This indicates that the model is statistically significant at a confidence level of 95 %. It proves that there is a significant difference between the company recognising employees on their excellent performance with the gender, age, education, position, working experience and marital status of the respondents.

Backward and Forward Regression Analysis

From Table 11, the regression equation is:

$$Y = 2.270 + 0.117 \text{ (Age)}$$

Using backward and forward analysis, the researchers found that the important independent variable is age, which plays a major role in predicting that the companies recognise employees on excellent performance than other independent variables such as gender, education, marital status, work experience and position. This proves that older employees in the company received better recognition for their excellent performance.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

From the analysis, Table 1 shows that only 2 employees aged below 30 years were willing to continue working at the same agency for more than 7 years and no respondent aged more than 30 years was willing to continue working in the same agency for more than 7 years. In contrast,

forty four respondents aged below 30 years were willing to continue working in the agency for a maximum of two years. Forty two employees were willing to work with the agency for 2-7 years. These show the danger signal to the agency in lack of manpower sustainability after two years and seven years. This analysis also revealed that 56% of young employees would like to work in this manpower agency for a short period of 2 years. The organisation should take the necessary steps to solve the problems involving young employees, so that its manpower sustainability will be ensured in the future. This will enable the organisation to achieve high growth in the competitive business.

The researchers also found the negative correlation between employees' work experience and their response to the current salary and other packages. Employees with experiences of more than 5 years were not happy with the current salary and packages given by the organisation. Hence, the organisation should consult the highly experienced employees about their expectations of salary and other packages so as to maximise sustainable manpower in the organisation. Moreover, the organisation should make the employees with more experiences in satify by providing excellent salary and packages as otherwise they may join in the competitor's organisation. The company may lose the existing talented manpower and they would spend more money on training for the less experienced employees, which can lead to unnecessary increase in training costs. Also, this may lead to the increase in business operation cost and the company may end up not being able to offer many benefits to attract employees for sustainable manpower.

Using the ANOVA, the researchers found that the graduate employees agreed that their performance is best in the organisation and higher frequency of supervisory feedback than the other employees with other qualifications. Post-graduate employees also agreed that the organisation inspire them to work and working towards organisational goal. This result reveals that the employees with the qualification of less than bachelor degree were not happy with their performance, frequency of supervisory feedback, organisation inspiring them to work and working towards organisational goal. Hence, the organisation should treat all the employees irrespective of their qualification for optimising manpower sustainability. Using the multiple regression analysis, the researchers found that age is the important independent variable in predicting whether the organisation recognises its employees for their performance. It also reveals that older employees felt that the organisation recognise their performance compared to younger employees. Hence, the organisation should recognise the young employees' performance or contribution and motivate them to working towards organisational goals. This study facilitates the organisation in improving manpower sustainability.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Every organisation should take necessary steps to ensure their sustainable manpower in order to compete in a competitive business environment at both domestic and international levels. It is more essential for an organisation to identify the employees' issues frequently and the organisation should address their problems and recognise their performance by giving them appreciation and the right incentives. This would encourage the employees to stay in the organisation for longer duration. A sustainable manpower would lead to any organisation towards productivity and growth. This also leads to lesser administrative cost and in turn the organisation will achieve maximum profit. The organisation will be able to attain more volume of satisfied clients and the clients will promote the organisation to other clients. In this way, the organisation will become sustainable, sincere and have loyal customers. The findings of the research showed that the present employees were not satisfied with their current salary and recognition for their work performance. Many of the employees were not willing to continue working for the organisation because it has treated the employees based on their qualification and present experiences in the organisation. The manpower agency should take the necessary steps and address their grievances so as to achieve less labour turnover and more sustainable man power in the future.

This research contributes the literature on the relationships between the organisation and employees who were working at an airlines' ground handling service in India. It also proves that the company should motivate the present employees to perform better so as to achieve organisational goals. Although the implication of the study is limited to the manpower agency in Chennai international airport, it can be extended to the other branches of international and domestic airlines all over the world for improving employees' performance by sustaining the manpower, as doing this may lead to attracting more customers from the competitors. This study can be extended to other industries in India and abroad. The findings of the study are limited to this manpower agency, and thus, the results may vary with a larger sample size of the target respondents in the same industry or other manufacturing and service sectors.

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'Daddy' and His Discussion of Authority

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ABSTRACT

Sylvia Plath's "Daddy" is one of her most widely studied poems under psychoanalytic theories. This paper, however, argues that the poet offers a meticulous framework of art revealing the strata of an autocratic government from its heyday to the fall of its leader. In this regard, the paper presumes that the poet had already established antagonism between Daddy as the symbol of arbitrary power and herself as the representative of the suppressed in society. This study applies the concepts of race, space and vision to the poem based on Sallie Westwood's power grammar in his *Power and the Social* (2002) and also gives prominence to political cognition introduced by Teun A. van Dijk. Finally, the paper affirms that although there are traces of autobiographical narrative within the poem, Plath's work surely stands as a great illustration of a totalitarian regime that sanctions programmes of propaganda, surveillance and ethnic purgation.

Keywords: "Daddy", political cognition, power grammar, Sallie Westwood, Sylvia Plath, Teun A. van Dijk

INTRODUCTION

Originally published in 1965, *Ariel* proves to be the true manifestation of Sylvia Plath's private content and rhythm, urges Susan Bassnett (2005). The critic will receives well the poetry collection due to its vast embodiment of love, hatred and feminism as well as its creation of personal mythology – depiction of a journey from death to re-birth, celebration of femininity and the terrors of war. Bassnett also dismisses the terms "confessional" and "surrealist" referred to Plath's poetry. She takes sides with Ted Hughes, Plath's husband, as they grasp her works to be "a continuous opus ... an ongoing work that, like her Journal,

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recorded the endless variations in her mood and thought patterns" (2005, p. 43), which potentially rejects the idea of Plath's surrealism, for Plath originally employed her own version of mythological imagery and her symbolism develops a meaningful rapport only in her personal context. There is, however, the perpetual voice of 'aggressiveness' echoed in the most prominent pieces of the collection such as "Daddy", "The Applicant", "Lady Lazarus" or "Death and Co.", if not in the entire collection. The works vividly demonstrate an image of feminine entrapment within the deeper self and outer masculine society as well as a thwarted escape the poet wishes to accomplish.

In *Ariel*, voices are silenced and superseded by imagery, extremely personal imagery. Christina Britzolakis reads the images of an "entombed voice" in the work (1999, p. 109). The poetical images of the collection, in fact, further fulfil the shattered trend of fragmentation of Plath's mind and poetry and form a circle of life and punishment, but this time, as her last work she may have been attempting to absolve herself of all pain and agony and reach a re-birth in "Getting There", "Ariel" and "Daddy". "Daddy", composed on October 12, 1962 and published posthumously in *Ariel*, is a reflection of mental complexes that Plath developed mainly as a result of her father's early death. Sylvia Plath commented on her work that

> *[t]he poem is spoken by a girl with an Electra complex. Her father died while she thought he was God. Her case is complicated by the fact that her father was also a Nazi and her mother very possibly part Jewish. In the daughter the two strains marry and paralyze each other—she has to act out the awful little allegory once before she is free of it.* (Plath & Hughes, 2005, p. 196)

Critics see "Daddy" to address the troubles of 'conjugal' compromise, too. Judith Kroll, for example, hesitates in wondering whether Plath ever desired to break free of male mastery. She reminds her readers of the concept of the "Lord-of-the-natural-world" figure (which places Plath as Eve) and discusses the images of masculinity in the poem that plunge her into a self-imposed whirlpool.

In unpublished letters, she writes of him as a mythical hero or divinity from another age: an Adam who is both violent and creative, a possessor of strength and genius, who would breed supermen.

> *It is obvious that many qualities of this omniperfect husband/god could equally well characterise an omnipotent devil, and in fact, part of Plath's presentation of him is as a reformed or reformable destroyer.* (1976, p. 249)

But Plath's meter and rhymes are probably a considerable challenge to Kroll's conceit. Both Jo Gill (2008) and Susan Bassnett believe that due to the use of 'nursery rhyme rhythm' and 'clanging rhymes', such as 'do', 'you',

'shoe', 'screw', 'blue', 'du', 'two', 'Jew', 'goo', 'who', and so on, supported by fragmentation, repetition and verb omission, the work amplifies fervour and celerity, which project a sense of transgression and ambition.

Moving to psychoanalytic study, Robert Philips attributes Jungian psychoanalysis to the work. He believes that the poem provides a good chance for Plath to commit "metaphorical murder." He notes that references to the Nazi death camps in the poem imply Plath's "ambivalent state and her unfulfilled longing" (as cited in Butscher, 1979, p. 203). Nance and Jones see the poem as a manifestation of the psychological willingness of the poet to polish the image of "Daddy" that she carries in her mind. They state that the world Plath creates is "a combination of exorcism and sympathetic magic," in which she embarks on wiping out any remaining memories of Him[1] through juxtaposition of many uncontended (aggressive) words (1984, p. 124). However, Eileen M. Aird notes that the effects of Plath's childhood on this poem are deniable because the poem is a fictionalised piece of art that forms no real literal and historical basis (1975, p. 78).

Granted that, this essay sets out to explore a new angle on the element of power in the work. The poem is certainly alluding to sociological and political points of view as it unravels the agonising process of loss and later restoration of power for the poet and of her struggle for survival within the Nazi totalitarian regime.

"All human beings are born free," Article 1 of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights states, "and equal in dignity and rights. Human beings are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood" (Smith, 2013, p. 40). To sociologists, however, the cited provision may not be practical at all. Political theorist Ernesto Laclau responds that freedom, in a socio-political framework, is marred by power (1996, p. 52). He explains that one cannot be free unless he represses others, and that freedom and power foster reciprocal exchanges. Thus, in order to understand freedom from a political point of view, the ontological nature of power needs to be addressed. Still, scholars roughly refuse to offer a precise definition of power as it varies under different conditions. For instance, Angela Cheater in *Power in the Postmodern Era* notes that even Foucault, to whom almost all discourse theorists are indebted for his intellectual and philosophical explications, is not consistent in his various descriptions of power. He describes power as "a more-or-less organised, hierarchal, co-ordinated cluster of relation" but also sees power going beyond individuals or even collective control (1999, pp. 3–4). Yet, Sallie Westwood (2002) notes that power is a sort of capability with which one manages to impose, for his own or his party's benefit, upon the lives of others (p. 1) or, as she

[1] 'Him' is deliberately capitalised since, as mentioned elsewhere, "Daddy" represents a God-like persona for the poet.

writes elsewhere, "[power refers to] the capacity linked to the imposition of one person's will on another" (p. 2). Westwood continues that, according to Foucault's definition of power, such capacity cannot be treated outside or beyond social relations.

As for social relations, man, throughout his life, has to cope with different social groups, ranging from his family to the government, establishing control or surrendering it to others, because according to Alain Touraine, all these relationships are defined in terms of power (1981, p. 33). Teun A. van Dijk elaborates on the notion of Touraine's 'social power' and sees it as an omnipresent state in all social interactions such as neighbourhoods, groups, classes and even parties, where members are regarded not as collective 'united' associates but individuals whose power defines their status (2008, p. 29). Barry Hindess (2004) argues that regardless of privileges of power, either a capacity or right to act, with no distinct difference, there must be subjects on whom the power is exercised. Power is manifested at different levels in each society, whether within a totalitarian regime or a democratic constitution. Laclau notes that power exists in the heart of most democratic countries and it will not be discarded (1996, p. 52). The powerful, according to Zolfagharkhani, employ whatever means they deem fit to maintain power. He indicates that notorious acts of assassination and imprisonment indicate the paradigms of "direct physical exercising" and the ploy of propaganda serves a government best to exert an "indirect" impact on society (2011, p. 1). Accordingly, in order to control a human being indirectly, the powerful must manipulate the faculty of reason, or, based on van Dijk, "political cognition." 'Cognition' is "the process of knowing, understanding, and learning something" (*Longman Dictionary,* 2009, p. 314). "Political cognition" refers to the level of awareness towards current political affairs. van Dijk explains,

> *The study of political cognition focuses on various aspects of 'political information processing'. It essentially deals with the acquisition, uses, and structures of mental representations about political situations, events, actors, and groups. Typical topics of political cognition research are: the organization of political beliefs; the perception of political candidates; political judgment and decision making.* (2008, p. 158)

Thus, in order to maintain power, he continues, the powerful need to control discourse – the language used in affairs – in all its forms such as educational system, media, arts etc. Politicians with the aid of their press secretaries have a good comprehension of how to use viable methods to manipulate people, which in turn leads to manipulating their political cognition.

On the other hand, the lack of reasoning may be attributed to elements of race, space, vision and ideology of the victims.

It is worth mentioning here that there is no clear-cut border separating racialised, spatial and visual power. Further scrutiny of the mentioned categories reveals how intensely they are embedded within each other. Westwood (2002) points out that racism and racialised power are crucial elements in the realm of colonialism and colonial power. She refers to Foucault, who notes that racism developed in the colonial period, generating internal divisions. Westwood urges that the concept of 'otherness' is at the very heart of 'racialised power.' Kenan Malik notes

> *The concept of race arose from the contradictions of equality in modern society, but it is not an expression of a single phenomenon or relationship. Rather it is a medium through which the changing relationship between humanity, society, and nature has been understood in a variety of ways.* (as cited in Westwood, 2002, p. 31)

Ages ago, the signifiers of difference were, perhaps, based on corporeal marks such as skin colour or facial features; however, in contemporary times, science has helped thinkers to bring biological dissimilarities into account, namely 'scientific racism'. According to Templeton, Fish believes that racial categories are culturally real and biologically meaningful (2002, para. 1). In the abstract of his paper, he writes that "[h]umans have much genetic diversity, but the vast majority of this diversity reflects individual uniqueness and not race" (2002). Westwood also concludes that colour and blood become the signs of (non-)conformity within society (p. 35). As an inevitable result, the victims of perpetrated discrimination suffer from psychosomatic disorders as they see their race as a major hindrance to normal living. Thus, she asserts, "difference and racialisation are embedded in the social, and construct the racialised, diasporic spaces of the current world" (2002, p. 42).

Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English proposes two definitions for 'nationalism': "the desire by a group of people of the same race, origin, language etc. to form an independent country" and "love for your own country and the belief that it is better than any other country" (2009, p. 1159). Anderson (1991) discusses the imaginary nations and nationalism that can be attributed to the previous discussion on racism. He writes that, people with common bonds develop their own nation with clear non-geographical borders from other parts of society in their minds. According to the first definition of nationalism, people of the same race are in better harmony with each other than a community made up of different racial segregations. A government whose high-ranking members seek racial-orientated motives abuses people's emotional bonds in favour of aggrandisement of its own power. "Structures of feeling," the term Raymond Williams coined, inserts the public's commitment to a specific place

into the ideas implemented by the abusive powerful (as cited in Westwood, 2002, p. 112). 'Love for the fatherland' behooves people to defend their territorial integrity to the last breath because, as Westwood notes, it generates a strong frenzy over the notion of geographical identity that lets people believe they have "common bonds" with each other (2002, p. 100). Westwood reinforces that the state deliberately brings up the idea of spatial fervour to provoke its subordinate masses' sense of nationalism and the essence that they need to safeguard their country (p. 99).

According to Westwood (2002), Benedict Anderson introduces the concept of "map" and "mapping" in the study of 'spatial power.' Map is the embodiment of territorial ownership of a nation, among other things. The powerful exhibit such a medium of 'visual power' to brandish their competence over the powerless (p. 100). Westwood consociates 'visual' and 'spatial power', which collectively manifest through 'mapping' (2002, p. 115). She also mentions that "cartography provides a visual representation of land mass" (ibid.). Concepts of nation and nationalism, flags and flag ceremonies, religious signs and representations, political leaders' posters or statues and other symbols of shared beliefs and bonds can be preceived as the means of exercising power through space and vision. Thus, a piece of printed paper is deployed to actuate the sense of self-sacrifice in the masses for their country. Westwood also maneuvers on the expression "seeing is believing." Although he is especially keen on the application of the axiom in religion and 'visual power,' he notes that it can be generalised to other aspects of power exercise in a society. Mass media, notably for autocratic regimes, render invaluable assistance to subjugate the powerless and to remind them of their correct place within society. On the other hand, there exists a coterie of enlightened minds who wish to remain cognisant of the massive thrusts of deceptive propaganda (2002, p. 119).

Finally, on the context of political cognition, to van Dijk, ideology is "group or class 'consciousness', whether or not explicitly elaborated in an ideological system which underlies the socioeconomic, political, and cultural practices of group members in such a way that their interests are realized" (2008, pp. 33–34). Both ideology and the fabricated ideological practices are often acquired, enacted or organised by the dominant such as the state authorities, media tycoons, education executives or church elders who aim to have their ideology indoctrinated as the 'general' or 'natural' system of values, norms and goals. Instilling doctrines requires time and strategy. The dominant single out and later restrict the types and topics of discourse as well as access to information. Regarding the latter, van Dijk elaborates on the ways of forming ideology within the social groups to which people belong. He explains that ideology starts to form by reading, listening and watching different types of texts and news in the media. In the realm of media, for example, topic filtering avails news tycoons 'restriction of information'

and 'construction of social and political cognition.' "Some discourse of genres," he notes, "such as those of catechism, party rallies, indoctrination and political propaganda indeed have the explicit aim of 'teaching' ideologies to group members and newcomers" (p. 9). According to Burton and Carlen (1979, p. 36), "[t]hese conditions essentially determine the contents and the organization of public knowledge, the hierarchies of beliefs and the popularity of the agreement, which in turn are potent factors in the formation and the reproduction of opinions, attitudes, and ideologies." As it is, it is safe to suggest that all previous manifestations of power discussed in this introduction, by and large, smooth the path of mind control for the fabrication of cognition and ideology to be imposed on the powerless.

DISCUSSION

A civilised man does not live in a vacuum. He is obliged to interact with other individuals in order to satisfy his needs. With each act of social synergy one conducts, according to van Dijk (2008), he places himself in an unbalanced situation; as a member of a group, he is either the one in power or the one under power. Westwood quotes from Machiavelli, "Power is simply the effectiveness of strategies for generating a wider scope of action, vis-à-vis other people who must then operate within this arena" (2002, p. 8). To put it simply, the powerful seek ways to exercise their power over the powerless, and morality is the least of their concerns where violence and suppression are the means of control. Hannah Arendt (1969) in her *On Violence* states that violence is allied with physical force and is invoked when the power is in danger, while John Keane notes that violence is an unwanted physical interference that leads to a series of effects ranging from shock to even death. He believes that violence wields an objectively cold, dispassionate authority on its victims and regards them as means to an end (1996, p. 165).

In *Ariel*, Plath opens and ends her poem with the image of the circle of power in which she has "lived like a foot" in a

> *... black shoe ...*
> *For thirty years, poor and white,*
> *Barely daring to breathe or Achoo*
> (1965*,* p. 49).

However, as if her self-revealing confessions possessed a healing power, she proceeds to redeem herself of Daddy's tyranny when she and her villager friends celebrate "dancing and stamping on" (1965*,* p. 51) him, exulting "Daddy, daddy, you bastard, I'm through" (1965*,* p. 51). Thus, Plath, who was once deprived of power and helpless to bring change to her life, rises up and nullifies Daddy's ultimate power through a graduate process of self-awareness, replacing his with her own power.

van Dijk prioritises discourse over human consciousness because discourse possesses such an enormous capacity that it precipitates impact on the mind without the individual coming to notice it. Thus, those

in power should predominate 'discourse' if they want to maintain their power (2008, p. 10). Plath confirms that she "never could talk" since her "tongue stuck in [her] jaw" (1965, p. 49). She reinforces the image of the 'suppression of dissent' she creates in her poem by giving an authentic muffled German voice of "Ich, ich, ich, ich" (1965, p. 49), as if her vocal cords were ripped out or as she puts it, her tongue is "stuck in a barb wire snare" (1965, p. 49). The poet metaphorically attributes the suppressed freedom of speech to "barbed wire" and "gunged" voice of "... ich, ich," to create a poignant and painful scene. The pain is intolerable; therefore, "the language [becomes] obscene" (1965, p. 50).

Michel Foucault submits a meticulous resolution to illuminate the components of state sovereignty, one of which is surveillance, over society and civil order (as cited in Westwood, 2002, p. 129). An ardent reader of fiction may immediately recall 'Big Brother' in Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* or, rather more creatively, 'Eye of Sauron' in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, as first-hand concepts of surveillance. To him, although, replacing a sophisticated set of machines with a flag seems far-fetched, the Nazi Swastika, along with the portrait of Daddy on the blackboard is like a double-edged sword; not only is it a symbol of power, it also casts a constant eye on men to display what it considers appropriate behaviour according to the Party's code of practice. Through a progressive yet melancholic redemption, Plath refuses to comply with the code. When "The black telephone's off at the root" (1965, p. 51), she excommunicates herself from the world of taunting memories she lives in because "The voices just can't worm through" (1965, p. 51). Still, the telephone, which is 'black,' the colour that the poet associates with the Party, may stand as a metaphor of eavesdropping. In other words, Plath struggles to restore a once lost power to protect herself and to value her privacy and does not let "the voices," of any nature, to invade her life any more. She is finally through.

Westwood in her discussion on 'visual power' suggests that visual media can conjure a vision of militarism or, on the contrary, proud shreds of history before its viewers (2002, p. 116). In other words, military maneuvers can both display the strength of an army to defend a nation and its territorial integrity or the admonitory implication of swift and severe response to those who dare to rebel. Gas-masked death-squads emitting a harsh tone of "gobbledygook" as well as "Luftwaffe" (1965, p. 50) marching in front of their leader with his "neat mustache" (1965, p. 50), who stands as 'the' icon of bravery, the "Panzer-man" (1965, p. 50), render the image of an undefeatable war machine that holds the poet in awe.

Besides photographs and pictures, Westwood considers signs and symbols as further components of visual power (2002, p. 116). She argues that the rise of a new party to power parallels designing a symbol or sign of recognition mostly in the form of a flag. With the establishment of the party,

the flag takes on a metaphorical meaning of ultimate power over people's mind. The flag is constantly in front of people to remind them at all times who is in power. Interestingly, she points out that practices like saluting the flag are visual reminders, and wield the power to effect 'emotional bands' or 'political love,' as Anderson calls it. Plath underlines the absolute power of the Swastika by putting it in a position higher than God in the heavens, "Not God but a swastika" (1965, p. 50). It is so holy that "no sky could squeak through" (1965, p. 50). It is so mesmerising that it makes "Every woman [adore] a Fascist" (1965, p. 50), no matter how hard that "brute" Fascist tramples on their faces (1965, p. 50).

Joseph Goebbels (1897-1945) was indeed the grand designer of the Nazi propaganda. Knowing the value of 'visual power' as "a means to an end" (1934, p. 30), he played a very unique role after WWI in persuading the Germans into regaining their trust in the newborn party. As *History.com* writes

> *He [Goebbels] arranged massive political gatherings at which Hitler was presented as the savior of a new Germany. In a masterstroke, Goebbels oversaw the placing of movie cameras and microphones at pivotal locations to accentuate Hitler's image and voice. Such events and maneuverings played a pivotal role in convincing the German people that their country would regain its honor only by giving unwavering support to Hitler.* (2014, para. 5)

The programme, however, works as long as the truth does not surface. In other words, the encompassing deception of social welfare and illusion of economic prosperity can be only practised to the extent that the masses can be kept from awakening to the reality of their current state. Once it is out, 'political cognition' frustrates the false evangelism that the government attempts to deploy. Plath's juxtaposition of an incongruous scene of "... one gray toe / and [his] head ... / in the waters off beautiful Nauset" (1965, p. 49) indicates a disturbing revelation. She acquires an understanding that the Nazi occupation diminished her world that was once like Nauset, a beautiful and extremely convenient place to live, into a wasteland of "freakish Atlantic" (1965, p. 49), that accommodates a "Ghastly statue" (1965, p. 49).

'Black' is the most frequently mentioned colour throughout the poem. In "... black shoe / in which I have lived like a foot" (1965, p. 49), Plath employs the metaphor of "black shoe" to illuminate the society she lives in, and it is 'black', the colour of night, horror and SS soldiers. Besides its literary connotation of suggesting an arbitrary society, Plath expresses her disgust about the betrayal of her leader to the people. Daddy deceived his people for at least "thirty years," keeping them under total suppression.

van Dijk takes a meaningful glance at the concept of education and cognition. He notes that the powerful maintain their authority over a nation by administrating

curricular materials. In fact, it is the powerful who should decide who should know how much. Expanding the scope of his theory, van Dijk also argues that the powerful exert their control on the "formulation" and "distribution" of knowledge, too (2008, p. 63). Jurgen Herbst mentions that

> *The prescribed way of beginning a class session in all schools of the Third Reich was for us students to rise from our seats when the teacher entered the classroom. The teacher then would walk to the front, face us, raise his right arm in the Nazi salute, and say, "Heil Hitler, boys," and we would reply, "Heil Hitler, Herr Studienrat," before we would sit down again.* (2002, p. 53)

Plath confirms the above by referring to Daddy's ubiquitous presence in the consciousness of every student:

> *You stand at the blackboard, daddy,*
> *In the picture I have of you,*
> *A cleft in your chin instead of your foot*
> *But no less a devil for that, no not*
> *Any less the black man who*
> *Bit my pretty red heart in two*
> (1965, p. 50–51).

Hitorical Boys' Clothing reports that classrooms had to be furnished with "a portrait of the Führer at the front," above the blackboard accompanied by "a large map which was used to mark the progress of the War" (2014, para. 3). In the poem "blackboard" signifies a classroom where students are trained and given ideology. It is crystal clear that, in order to control cognition of the young generation, those in power must control materials of education in the interest of themselves. Plath's reference to the blackboard may mean that she acquired cognition about the unvarnished truth after 10 years so that "At twenty [she] tried to die" (1965, p. 51). As a matter of fact, those early memories haunted her to the threshold of death. Westwood gives special attention to the concepts of 'maps and mapping'. Maps adorned classrooms with the latest conquests of those in power and manifested a strong sense of visual power to provoke the tide of nationalism in the pupils.

Gregory Wegner in his book *Anti-Semitism and Schooling Under the Third Reich* provides his readers with more detailed information on how the Nazi educational system ran a racist programme mingled with the core curriculum of young German students to develop early animosity towards the Jews. During biology class, for example, the students learned the racial supremacy of the Aryan race as well as the implication of natural selection or the survival of fittest (2002, p. 70). Moyra Grant states that Hitler himself issued a decree that compelled both male and female students to fully learn the cardinal importance of "blood purity" (2003, p. 121). *History Learning* notes that

> *Pupils were taught about the problems of heredity. Older pupils were taught about the importance*

> *of selecting the right "mate" when marrying and producing children. The problems of inter-racial marriage were taught with an explanation that such marriages could only lead to a decline in racial purity.* (2014, para. 4)

Race and power in turn lead to creation of two other concepts, 'us' and 'them' or 'the others.' Those in power manipulate ideology and cognition of the masses by invoking prejudice against other races; much of the ideology rests on physical features, for instance, skin colour. Westwood warns that such a biased philosophy consigns humanity into "enslavement and genocide" (2002, p. 32). Plath is fixated with the idea of racism. With acrimonious taste, she compares the Nazi war machine to "an engine / [that is] Chuffing [her] off like a Jew" (1965, p. 50). She sees herself like "A Jew to Dachau, Auschwitz, Belsen" (1965, p. 50). Thus, the poet blatantly takes the side of the Jews and starts to "talk like a Jew" (1965, p. 50), the language of the oppressed. Since racism is orientated towards the social factor of power, it poses an inevitable impact on the sufferer. Even memories of the past inflict agonising "pain." Furthermore, Westwood states that victims, with a background of being constantly belittled for what they are, will always be exposed to unresolved mental problems (2002, p. 38). She also gives the example of black people in Britain and the United States who are beset with untreatable schizophrenia. "The snows of the Tyrol, the clear beer of Vienna" (1965, p. 50) triggers an avalanche of unhappy recollections of misery that Plath, now as a member of Jewish society, undergoes. She ironically sneers at the concept of "impurity," the Nazi label for 'the others' (Jews or the black). She reopens the history book of the Jews who had to stay in the cold mountains of the Alps, in "snows of the Tyrol" (1965, p. 50). She summons her luck and uses her "Tarot pack" to tell her fortune of being united with the Jews. Her fusion with 'the others' seems like an anti-thesis to her Daddy's anti-Semitic programmes. In fact, she is quite thrilled that she directly targets Daddy's "neat mustache" and "Aryan eye, bright blue," (1965, p. 50), the very goals of Goebbelsian ethnic cleansing.

Territorial expansion and suppression of dissent are like little brothers to a totalitarian regime. Giddens acknowledges the importance of borders in demarcating the "sovereignty" of a country, whether democratic or totalitarian, and attributes them to the display of power of that nation (1985, p. 51). To accomplish the aforesaid, regimes, simply though cunningly, fabricate compelling justifications to wage war on other countries. The rationalisation largely hinges on arousing nationalistic and patriotic fervour of the masses. Williams discerns the abuse of power in the deliberate provocation of nationalism. He utters the phrase "structure of feeling" to highlight the manipulation of emotions by the powerful to direct nationalistic sentiments towards desired paths (as cited in Westwood, 2002, p.112).

In early 1939, the German generals planned Operation Himmler. The mission was to convince the people that the Polish authorities were already executing an ethnic cleansing programme against the German citizens in Poland. Later, on 31 August 1939, German forces marched into Polish lands (Manvell & Fraenkel, 2007, p. 76). The outcome of Himmler's meticulous plan, Plath reveals, is "the Polish town[s] / [which are] [s]craped flat by the roller / Of wars, wars, wars" (1965, p. 49). Together with the Jews, the poet decides to form a sentimental attachment to the Polish people by calling them "friends." She cannot speak about the despicable crimes the Nazis commit since she "never could tell where" (1965, p. 49) her Daddy put his "foot" in Poland.

CONCLUSION

"Daddy" is a concise artistic interpretation of a society that reinforces the unmistakable ambience of despotism. Plath allies herself with the victims of Nazi totalitarianism and reflects how it feels to be crushed "like a Jew." From the viewpoint of power politics, the work illustrates a society in which three grammars of power i.e. racialised power, spatial power and visual power are directly or indirectly exercised. In fact, Plath adopts certain symbols such as the Swastika, blackboard and barbed wire to defamiliarise states of an omnipresent surveillance programme, manipulation of the educational system and suppression of dissent, accordingly. The poem is an elegy of racialised genocide. Plath reflects on the savagery of Daddy, who ordered the innocent 'others' to be silenced only because they were born Jew, inferior to the Nazis' blue eyes, and practised a different ideology, assuming another god, not the Nazi toothbrush-moustached idol. Moreover, the work denounces society for its ignorance as it had failed to acquire a correct cognition of current social and political affairs; therefore, it may d

demonstrates that she has undergone an arduous exodus from haunting memories of the past. She ends her poem with revelation of total consciousness, the fact that she barely survives but she is through.

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Comparing Structural and Functional Lexical Bundles in MUET Reading Test

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ABSTRACT

This study aims at identifying the structural and functional types of lexical bundles (LBs) used in the reading passages of Malaysian University English Test (MUET). A specialised corpus of MUET reading passages was built. The passages were categorised into five main disciplines namely Applied Science, Pure Science, Business, Humanities and Social Science. Using WordSmith Tools version 5, the lists of frequently occurring LBs in all the five disciplines were generated. They were then sorted according to Biber, Conrad and Cortes' (2004) Structural Taxonomy and Hyland's (2008) Functional Taxonomy. Chi-square test and Fisher's exact test were adopted to determine the association between the structural and functional categories of the five disciplines. The results revealed that the number of LBs across the structural and functional categories in the five disciplines differed significantly. However, a strong association was observed between the two categories in all five disciplines where LBs incorporating noun phrases (NPs) usually performed research-oriented function whereas LBs incorporating dependent clauses (DCs) were strongly bound to text-oriented function. LBs incorporating verb phrases (VPs) on the contrary were linked to participant-oriented functions as well as other types of functions. Significant association was identified between the categories in all the disciplines. The two additional categories encompassing various structures of LBs and other functions not listed in Biber et al.'s (2004) Structural Taxonomy and Hyland's (2008) Functional Taxonomy respectively were also significantly associated. The key finding of the study was that structural categories and discourse functions are closely interrelated.

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INTRODUCTION

The issue of text authenticity and suitability in testing has been constantly debated, which resulted in the construction of various formulae; for instance, Flesch Reading Ease (Green, Unaldi & Weir, 2010). Employing corpus linguistic tool to investigate the soundness of reading texts in an examination setting can contribute to the pool of knowledge not only in corpus linguistics study but also test design. It can also quantitatively study frequently occurring language patterns in reading texts which appear to be insufficient as highlighted by Biber et al. (2004) as cited in Green et al. (2010). The usage of corpus linguistics methodology should be able to shed light on the choice of passages for a reading test.

This present study attempts to explore shorter texts within the academic discourse. The reading passages of a national level English proficiency test, the Malaysian University English Test (henceforth MUET) has been chosen for this study. This is because test papers are certified instruments which have been validated and used to draw conclusions about readers' ability to read (Alderson, 1990). Text comprehension has always been the main concern of reading during examination. The general opinion pertaining to the definition of reading comprehension was synthesised by Masoud, Ramlee and Tengku Nor Rizan (2011, p. 98) as "the process of unlocking meaning from connected text". To achieve success in text comprehension, Ben-Anath (2005) asserted that the construction of a cognitive representation of information in the text must be coherent. Under limited time-frame, test-takers have no option but to try to make sense from the systematically structured lexis through frequently occurring patterns and to relate different parts of texts through cohesive devices. Cohesive devices function as connectors that hold between the text segments and ensure coherence in the text. This is proven by Mohamad Khatib and Mahmood Safari (2011) and Ben-Anath (2005) when they revealed the benefits readers gained from the presence of cohesive devices in reading texts.

Cohesive devices, specifically conjunction classified under grammatical devices share a few similarities with the main subject of this study, lexical bundles (LBs). Firstly, in terms of structural formation, LBs like *as well as* (adverbial phrase-AdvP) and *on the other hand* (prepositional phrase-PP) are also known as additives and adversatives conjunctions respectively. Secondly, one of the LB functional categories is specifically allocated for text organisation (e.g., *in contrast to*, *as a result of*), where it is normally used to introduce a topic, elaborate and make inference. Thirdly, Biber, Conrad and Cortes (2004) stated that past studies of cohesive devices normally focus on the usage of multi-word prefabricated expressions; likewise, studies on LBs commonly examine strings of words ranging from two to six. LBs are worth analysing because: a) multi-words assist communication by making language

more predictable to the hearer or reader (Nattinger & DeCarrico, 1992, as cited in Hyland, 2008); b) such pre-fabricated sequences help to signal the text register to readers and decrease retrieval and processing time (Wray & Perkins, 2000 as cited in Hyland, 2008) and; c) having sufficient knowledge of LBs enables learners to fully socialise in an academic setting (Cortes, 2004). Some students are incapable of integrating the meaning of separate words to arrive at the meaning of an entire sentence (Wise, 1999, as cited in Masoud et al., 2011) which eventually put them at the disadvantage because LBs are occasionally incorporated in the teaching of grammar and not explicitly taught.

To a certain extent, the structure and function of LBs resemble cohesive devices which are used to connect different parts of a text. The ability of several types of cohesive devices such as coordinating conjunctions (e.g., *and, but, because*), compound adverbs (e.g., *furthermore, nevertheless*) and continuatives (e.g., *anyway*) (Akindele, 2011) in facilitating text comprehension by reducing reading time and improving content recall is proven in several research findings quoted by Mohamad Khatib and Mahmood Safari (2011). In addition, Hyland (2008, p. 4) pointed out that, "bundles are not only central to the creation of academic discourse, but they offer an important means for differentiating written texts by discipline". Neely and Cortes (2009, p. 20) revealed that the knowledge of these chunks of language such as *that goes without saying*, *on the other hand, as it were* can "ease the problem of [listening] perception". Likewise, Hyland (2008, p. 5) claimed that "the extensive use of pre-fabricated sequences such as *it has been noted that* in academic written genres helps to signal the text register to readers and reduce processing time by using familiar patterns to link elements of new information." Therefore, the presence of familiar expressions in academic texts can empower learners to comprehend what they have read.

To date, few studies on the relationship between structural and functional categories of LBs have been investigated quantitatively because the qualitative method was usually preferred in the past. For example, Dontcheva-Navratilova (2012), Strunkyte and Jurkunaite (2008) and Biber et al. (2004) scrutinised structural and functional relationship by distinguishing the most frequently used structure(s) under each function; in other words, manual calculations were done. Thus, to strive for accuracy, the research questions of this study are as follows:

i) How frequent do the structural and functional categories of lexical bundles (LBs) occur in MUET reading texts?

ii) Is there any relationship between the structural and functional categories in MUET reading text passages among 5 different disciplines?

The last question has a set of alternate hypotheses and they are as follows:

i) Ha: There is an association between the structural and functional categories in MUET reading test passages among 5 different disciplines

   a. Ha 1: There is an association between the structural and functional categories in Applied Science.

   b. Ha 2: There is an association between the structural and functional categories in Pure Science.

   c. Ha 3: There is an association between the structural and functional categories in Business.

   d. Ha 4: There is an association between the structural and functional categories in Humanities.

   e. Ha 5: There is an association between the structural and functional categories in Social Science.

As past studies namely Dontcheva-Navratilova (2012), Strunkyte and Jurkunaite (2008) and Biber et al. (2004) had proven the relationship between structural and functional categories, the alternate hypothesis was chosen. Having done that, triangulation of data was observed. Prior to that, an overview of LBs and the two major categories was presented.

An Overview of Lexical Bundles

'Phraseology' and 'formulaic sequences/ language' are two terms used to refer to multi-word units including LBs (Chen & Baker, 2010). However, there are a few terminologies such as collocations and idioms which seem to create confusion when multi-word units are concerned.

Firstly, LBs appear to share similar characteristics with collocations as they are both made up of 2 to 6 words. According to Nesselhauf (2005, p. 25), collocations are "a type of word combination in a certain grammatical pattern and the term is used to refer to an abstract unit of language and its instantiations in texts." Menon and Mukundan (2012, p. 151) claimed that there are two types of collocations, namely: a) "lexical – two lexical elements such as in any combination with nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs co-occur and; b) grammatical – a lexical and a grammatical element such as preposition, article or a clause co-occur". Secondly, unlike idiomatic phrases such as *kick the bucket* and *a slap in the face* which are rarely used in natural speech or writing (Biber et al., 2004), LBs are semantically transparent and consistent, functioning as the building blocks of a coherent discourse (Hyland, 2008).

As Hyland (2008) observed, the difference between LBs and collocations, idioms or other multi-word units such as metaphors and proverbs is that LBs are identified purely on the basis of their frequency rather than their structures. Lin (2008) expressed similar view by

claiming LBs are distinguished mainly by the statistical features of high frequency and added that they are not constrained by features used to describe phraseological units. The most salient and defining characteristic of LB is frequency of occurrence as highlighted by many past researchers namely Dontcheva-Navratilova (2012), Lin (2008), Biber and Barbieri (2007) who investigated LBs in a variety of context. Biber et al. (2004, p. 376) echoed the point by stating "frequency data have additional importance for the study of LBs because they are reflection of the extent to which a sequence of words is stored and used as a prefabricated chunk". Thus, LBs in this study are not limited to collocations, idioms, phrasal verbs or any fixed prefabricated structures including cohesive devices; it takes into consideration any form of 2 to 6-words structures that occur 4 times and above in 3 or more texts.

Structural and Functional Types of Lexical Bundles

Regarded as the proponents of LBs, Biber et al. (2004) created a taxonomy encompassing both structural and functional types. According to Biber et al.'s (2004) taxonomy, LBs are divided into four major structural categories namely Noun Phrase-based, Verb Phrase-based, Prepositional Phrase-based and Dependent Clause fragments (NP-based, VP-based, PP-based and DC, henceforth). Under each category, it is broken down into several sub-categories. Thus, head words from similar parts of speech are grouped together. However, many researchers do not follow the categorisation rigidly. Lin (2008) and Bal (2010) simplified the taxonomy by grouping and analysing all phrasal structures such as NP + of phrase, PP + of phrase and so on together, followed by clausal structures consisted of adverbial clauses, verb / adjective + to clause. As for functional classification of LBs, there are three primary discourse functions namely stance expressions, discourse organisers and referential expressions (Biber et al., 2004; Biber & Barbieri, 2007). Each discourse function consists of sub-categories which are rather specific especially stance bundles; this is because their corpora were sampled from a large range of spoken and written activities associated with academic life. It appeared that dialogues extracted from classroom teaching, office hours, study groups and on-campus service counters (Biber et al., 2004) were included compared to the written register which justified the emphasis on stance bundles. Hyland (2008) therefore modified the previously-mentioned categorisation and introduced sub-categories which reflected particularly on research writing; they are research-oriented, text-oriented and participant-oriented. Dontcheva-Navratilova (2012) claimed that overlapping in the meanings and terms of both structural and functional categories used by Biber et al. (2004), Biber and Barbieri (2007) and Hyland (2008) is apparent. In other words, Biber et al. (2004) and Hyland (2008) taxonomies can be used interchangeably.

As exemplified in the three following studies, the structural and functional categories were prevalent when investigations on LBs were carried out. Examining a 3.5 million word corpus of research articles, PhD theses and Masters Dissertations in four disciplines, Hyland (2008) managed to identify 240 different 4-word bundles. The structures and functions of 4-word bundles were explored to learn the preferred form in certain disciplines (Hyland, 2008). In Strunkyte and Jurjunaite's (2008) comparative study, they revealed the commonly used structural types of LBs in humanities and natural science research articles. As for functional analysis, they found that the language of natural science research articles displayed greater precision in text structuring. Lin's (2008) research on LBs in electrical engineering introductory textbook and English for specific purposes textbook reported insufficient representations of target language in ESP textbooks. They were scrutinised based on the structural and functional categories of LBs.

In addition to the analysis of structural and functional categories, the relationship between LBs in both categories was identified. A strong relationship between structural type and discourse function of LBs was observed in Dontcheva-Navratilova (2012), Strunkyte and Jurkunaite (2008) and Biber et al. (2004) studies. All the researchers agreed that bundles incorporating NP and PP were common phrases used in the construction of referential (also known as research-oriented) bundles. They also claimed that most stance (also known as participant-oriented) bundles were made up of dependent clause fragment, specifically VP fragments. A consensus was not achieved for the structural forms of text-organising bundles but the bundles identified still fell within the structural categories proposed.

METHODOLOGY

A quantitative research design was adopted to study LBs by using different data sources. Data was firstly obtained from MUET reading test papers while the statistical data complemented the aforementioned results. The procedure for the analysis of LBs in MUET reading tests is described in the paragraphs below.

Firstly, MUET reading test papers since its commencement in 1999 which totalled to 111 reading texts were grouped into 5 disciplines as shown in Table 1. These disciplines were decided after skimming the passages which covered a variety of topics. Grouping the passages to their respective disciplines was a technique Hyland and Tse (2009), Jalali, Rasekh and Rizi (2008) and Strunkyte and Jurkunaite (2008) adopted in their studies to ensure a systematic and orderly analysis.

Table 1
Number of Texts and Word Counts according to Disciplines

Disciplines	MUET	
	Number of texts	Number of Words
Applied Science	38	4,975
Pure Science	12	2,292
Business	12	1,795
Humanities	15	2,758
Social Science	34	4,043
TOTAL	111	15,863

Secondly, using Word Smith Tools 5, the numbers of LBs in the MUET reading test corpus followed by frequency of occurrences were classified based on Biber et al. (2004) Structural Taxonomy and Hyland (2008) Functional Taxonomy. This can ensure uniformity when analysing the data.

To find out the relationship between both structural and functional categories, Chi-square test of independence and Fisher's exact test were adopted; hence, SPSS (version 20) was employed to perform the test. These statistical tools are able to provide precise result, unlike several previous studies namely Dontcheva-Navratilova (2012) and Strunkyte and Jurkunaite (2008) which merely grouped LBs incorporating certain structures according to their functions manually. Chi-square test of independence is deemed suitable because it is used to determine whether or not a relationship exists between two categorical variables namely structural and functional categories for this study. Values generated by this statistical tool indicated by x^2 value and p value refer to the strength of relationship and its significance, respectively. Following the rule of thumb, p value must be less than 0.01 to be considered significant. Two new categories termed other structural bundles and other functional bundles abbreviated as SO and FO respectively were included in this quantitative analysis. In other words, LBs which could not be grouped under any of the existing categories were taken into account. It must also be noted that frequency count of LBs was disregarded in this phase.

RESULTS

LBs which are known as word clusters in WST 5 were computed automatically in the main controller setting. A total of 15,863 words was generated first followed by the word cluster list ranked in descending order with a total of 1,359 bundles. The lists of LBs according to the 5 disciplines were generated after eliminating LBs which did not meet the cut-off frequency. A drastic decline was observed after categorising the LBs according to the 2 taxonomies where only 357 structural types of LBs and 354 functional types of LBs were identified as shown in Table 2.

Table 2
The number of structural and functional types of LBs

Structures	Sub-Categories
NP	NP + of (N=32)
	NP + post modifier (N=56)
	NP + be (N=12)
VP	Passive + PP (N=31)
	be +N/AdjP (N=25)
	it + V/AdjP (N=11)
PP	PP + of phrase (N=0)
	PP + NP (N=88)
Dependent Clause	VP + that clause (N=17)
	VP/Adj + to clause (N=55)
	Adverbial clause (N=30)

Functions	Sub-Categories
Research	Location (N=61)
	Procedure (N=36)
	Quantity (N=45)
	Description (N=65)
	Topic (N=30)
Text	Transition (N=29)
	Resultative (N=9)
	Structuring (N=11)
	Framing (N=22)
Participant	Stance (N=36)
	Engagement (N=10)

Figure 1 depicts the overall frequency of structural types of LBs found conforming to Biber et al. (2004) Taxonomy in the five respective disciplines. In general, PP-based LBs seemed to be dominating MUET reading texts, irrespective of disciplines. Dependent clause-based and NP-based LBs were found in all disciplines but the numbers were imbalanced where they were fewer in Business, Humanities and Pure Science texts. It can be seen that except LBs incorporating PP which recorded a high frequency count, other phrases and clause-based LBs occurred less than 30% in all the texts.

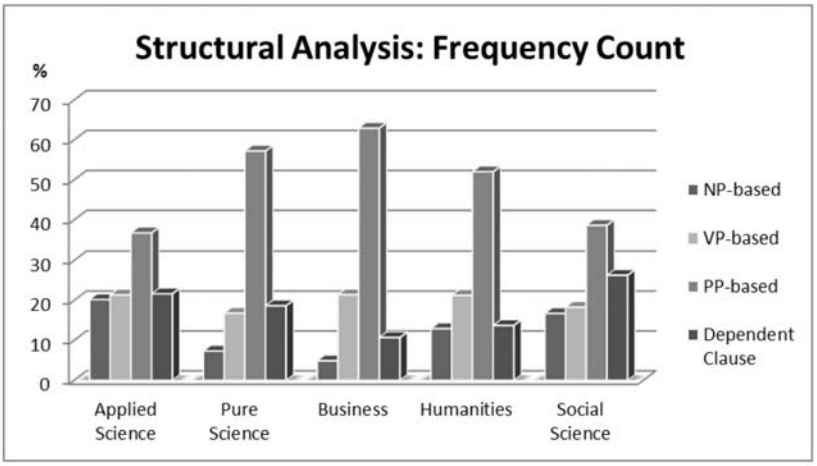


Figure 1. Frequency Count of LBs identified for Structural Analysis in Percentages

As shown in Figure 2, it is apparent that research-oriented LBs with more than half of all the bundles in the corpus were widely used regardless of disciplines. With a range of frequency from 20% to 30%, text-oriented bundles came in second. This distribution echoed Biber's claim as cited in Dontcheva-Navratilova (2012) that in academic discourse, almost 70% of the most commonly used LBs performing the function of text organisers and research expressions. The least favoured function of LBs employed in MUET reading text corpus was participant-oriented bundles because they were usually used in highly interactional discourse of conversation (Dontcheva-Navratilova, 2012).

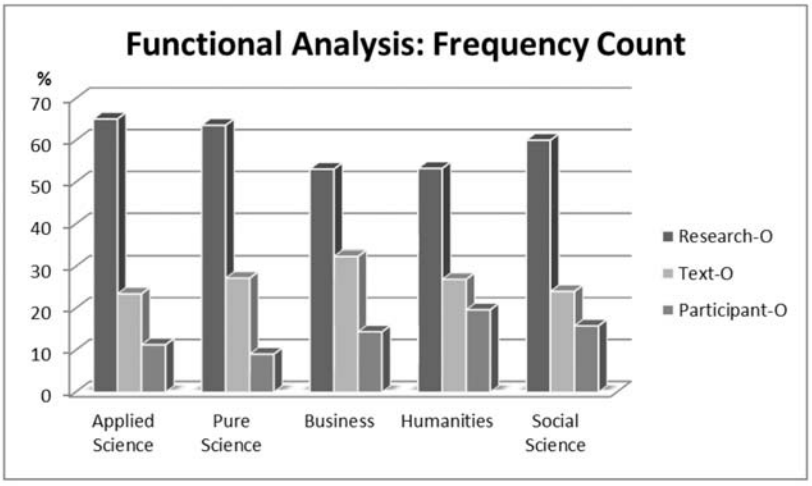


Figure 2. Frequency Count of LBs identified for Functional Analysis in Percentages

The use of an array of LBs showed that there were not only differences in disciplinary distributions (Hyland, 2008), but also within a single discipline. It can be seen that authors of the texts were attempting to convey the intended meaning through suitable language patterns. However, there were two hindrances that may affect the second phase of the analysis, context in which the LBs belonged to can make the sub-categorisation rather ambiguous and LBs possessing multiple functions could not be fitted into any of the sub-category.

Two different types of association techniques were employed due to the number of LBs identified. Apart from using Chi-square to examine the association between the structural categories and functional categories, Fisher's exact test was adopted too. Fisher's exact test is more accurate than the chi-square test when the expected numbers are small (McDonald, 2009). Hence, Fisher's exact test was used instead of chi-squared test in cases where the number of phrases identified was too few.

Table 3
Percentages of Structural Components (NP, VP, PP, DC, SO) in each of the Functional Components (RO, TO, PO, FO) – Overview of each Discipline

	NP		VP		PP		DC		SO		Result
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Applied Science											
RO	53	30.5	13	7.5	41	23.6	46	26.4	21	12.1	82.374 [a] **
TO	9	15.5	6	10.3	12	20.7	15	25.9	16	27.6	
PO	5	20.8	14	58.3	0	0	2	8.3	3	12.5	
FO	4	5.6	23	32.4	14	19.7	10	14.1	20	28.2	
Pure Science											
RO	5	27.8	0	0	8	44.4	4	22.2	1	5.6	24.075 [b] *
TO	0	0	2	20	2	20	3	30	3	30	
PO	0	0	3	75	0	0	1	25	0	0	
FO	0	0	5	31.3	8	50	3	18.8	0	0	
Business											
RO	1	11.1	0	0	5	55.6	2	22.2	1	11.1	19.670 [b] *
TO	1	16.7	1	16.7	0	0	1	16.7	3	50	
PO	0	0	2	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	
FO	0	0	3	27.3	7	63.6	1	9.1	0	0	
Humanity											
RO	5	15.2	0	0	13	39.4	10	30.3	5	15.2	41.527 [b] **
TO	3	27.3	1	9.1	2	18.2	1	9.1	4	36.4	
PO	4	50	3	37.5	0	0	0	0	1	12.5	
FO	0	0	9	40.9	11	50	1	4.5	1	4.5	
Social Science											
RO	33	28.2	1	9	29	24.8	37	31.6	17	14.5	83.942 [a] **
TO	5	11.1	3	6.7	9	20	10	22.2	18	40	
PO	7	23.3	13	43.3	0	0	7	23.3	3	10	
FO	2	3.7	16	29.6	13	24.1	8	14.8	15	27.8	

Note.

[a]Chi-square test for independence.

[b]Fisher's exact test.

*p<.01; **p<.001.

Table 3 depicts the association between the structural categories (NP vs. VP vs. PP vs. DC vs. SO) and functional categories (RO vs. TO vs. PO vs. FO) for each of the discipline – Applied Science, Pure Science, Business, Humanity, and Social Science. SO and FO are two additional categories encompassing various structures and functions of LBs not listed in Biber et al.'s (2004) Structural Taxonomy and Hyland's

(2008) Functional Taxonomy. The associations identified in each discipline are explained thoroughly in the following paragraphs.

In Applied Science-based text, the chi-square test of independence showed a significant association between structural categories and functional categories, x^2 (447) = 82.374, p < .001. Research-oriented bundles were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating NP followed by DC, PP, SO, and the least used phrase was VP (30.5% vs. 26.4% vs. 23.6% vs. 12.1% vs. 7.5%). Next, text-oriented bundles were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating SO followed by DC, PP, NP, and the least used phrase was VP (27.6% vs. 25.9% vs. 20.7% vs. 15.5% vs. 10.3%). As for participant-oriented bundles, they were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating VP followed by NP, SO, DC, and no PP was used (58.3% vs. 20.8% vs. 12.5% vs. 8.3% vs. 0%). The additional functional categories made up of LB with other functions were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating VP, SO, PP, DC, and the least used phrase was NP (32.4% vs. 28.2% vs. 19.7% vs. 14.1% vs. 5.6%).

In Pure Science-based text, Fisher's exact test depicted a significant association between structural categories and functional categories (p = .002; 24.075). Research-oriented bundles were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating PP followed by NP, DC, SO, and no VP was used (44.4% vs. 27.8% vs. 22.2% vs. 5.6% vs. 0%). Next, text-oriented bundles were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating DC and SO followed by VP and PP, while no NP was used (30% vs. 30% vs. 20% vs. 20% vs. 0%). As for participant-oriented bundles, they were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating VP and DC while NP-based, PP-based and other structures of LBs were not used (75% vs. 25% vs. 0% vs. 0% vs. 0%). The additional functional categories made up of LB with other functions were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating PP, VP and DC while no NP and other structural form of LBs were used (50% vs. 31.3% vs. 18.8% vs. 0% vs. 0%).

In Business-based text, Fisher's exact test depicted a significant association between structural categories and functional categories (p = .007; 19.670). Research-oriented bundles were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating PP followed by DC, NP, SO, and no VP was used (55.6% vs. 22.2% vs. 11.1% vs. 11.1% vs. 0%). Next, text-oriented bundles were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating SO followed by NP, VP and DC, while no PP was used (50% vs. 16.7% vs. 16.7% vs. 16.7% vs. 0%). As for participant-oriented bundles, they were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating VP while NP-based, PP-based, DC-based and other structures of LBs were not used (100% vs. 0% vs. 0% vs. 0% vs. 0%). The additional functional categories made up of LB with other functions were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating PP, VP

and DC, while no NP and other structural form of LBs were used (63.6% vs. 27.3% vs. 9.1% vs. 0% vs. 0%).

In Humanities-based text, Fisher's exact test depicted a significant association between structural categories and functional categories (p = .000; 41.527). Research-oriented bundles were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating PP followed by DC, NP, SO, and no VP was used (39.4% vs. 30.3% vs. 15.2% vs. 15.2% vs. 0%). Next, text-oriented bundles were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating SO followed by NP, PP, VP and DC (36.4% vs. 27.3% vs. 18.2% vs. 9.1% vs. 9.1%). As for the participant-oriented bundles, they were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating NP, followed by VP and SO while PP-based and DC-based LBs were not used (50% vs. 37.5% vs. 12.5% vs. 0% vs. 0%). The additional functional categories made up of LB with other functions were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating PP, VP and DC, while no NP and other structural form of LBs were used (50% vs. 40.9% vs. 4.5% vs. 4.5% vs. 0%).

In Social Science-based text, the chi-square test of independence showed a significant association between structural categories and functional categories, x^2 (447) = 83.942, p < .001. Research-oriented bundles were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating DC followed by NP, PP, SO, and the least used phrase was VP (31.6% vs. 28.2% vs. 24.8% vs. 14.5% vs. 9%). LBs incorporating dependent clause were relatively common in performing research-oriented function. This was probably because majority of the dependent clauses consisted of WH-clause and that-clause where they were used to give new or more information. Next, text-oriented bundles were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating SO followed by DC, PP, NP, and the least used phrase was VP (40% vs. 22.2% vs. 20% vs. 11.1% vs. 6.7%). As for participant-oriented bundles, they were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating VP followed by NP, DC, SO and no PP was used (43.3% vs. 23.3% vs. 23.3% vs. 10% vs. 0%). The additional functional categories made up of LB with other functions were found significantly associated with LBs incorporating VP, SO, PP, DC, and the least used phrase was NP (29.6% vs. 27.8% vs. 24.1% vs. 14.8% vs. 3.7%).

In short, an association between the structural and functional categories in MUET reading test passages among 5 different disciplines was therefore not rejected. LBs incorporating NPs usually performed research-oriented function whereas LBs incorporating DCs were strongly bound to text-oriented function. LBs incorporating VPs on the contrary were linked to participant-oriented functions as well as other types of functions. Not only significant association was identified between the categories in all the disciplines, but also the two additional categories encompassing various structures of LBs and other functions not listed in Biber

et al.'s (2004) Structural Taxonomy and Hyland's (2008) Functional Taxonomy. It can be concluded that structural categories and discourse functions are closely interrelated.

DISCUSSION

Research-oriented bundles were composed of mostly NP, followed by DC, PP, other structures, while the least used phrase was VP. The high percentage of NP in research-oriented function may be due to the abundantly used noun phrases to describe location and quantity (for example, *the future, the end of, the United States* and *the region,* while *a single, thousands of, the rise* are examples of LBs referring to quantity). The richness of NP in the scientific field has been proven by many including Menon and Mukundan (2012) who found that noun/noun and noun/adjective syntactic combinations were predominant in a science textbook corpus. Moreover, Hyland (2008) stated that noun phrases + of structures were prominent in research-oriented functions. A year later, Hyland and Tse (2009) reported a heavier use of research-oriented bundles in Science and Engineering texts. LBs incorporating DC and PP were relatively common in performing research-oriented function. This was probably because majority of the dependent clauses consisted of WH-clause and that-clause where they were used to give new or more information. With regard to the association between PP and research-oriented function, similar result was reported in the studies by Strunkyte and Jurkunaite (2008) and Dontcheva-Navratilova (2012).

Text-oriented bundles were realised in all four structural types and other structures. The most common bundles were those incorporating other structures and DC; bundles incorporating PP came in third, followed by NP and VP. As most dependent clauses were made up of transition signals such as *because they, as well as*, and *but it*, their roles in ensuring cohesion and coherence of the reading passages were apparent. Interestingly, most LBs performing text-oriented functions were found headed by conjunctions such as *and, or, but* that could not be grouped under any structural categories in Biber et al.'s (2004) Taxonomy. Thus, LBs headed by conjunction-*and* which were classified under other structural category may be the reason of the high percentage generated.

It is worth noting that Lin (2008), Hyland (2008), Biber and Barbieri (2007), Biber, et al. (2004) stressed that participant-oriented bundles are not significant in written form but they are rather prominent in a wide range of spoken registers. Participant oriented bundles were the only functional category that did not incorporate any PP. They were made up of mainly VP and NP while the least structural types incorporated were DC and other structures. The strong association between VP and participant functions could be attributed to the extensive use of anticipatory *it* in stance bundles. Moreover, LBs incorporating VP headed by modal verbs, for instance, *may*

have, might be and *should be* were also found in stance bundles. The probable reason for NP being equally prominent in participant-oriented functions was due to almost all LBs indicating engagement were NP-based.

Other functional bundles, similar to research and text-oriented bundles were realised in all five structural types. They consisted of mainly VP, other structural types, PP, DC and a few NPs. A similar trend was observed in all five disciplines; LBs incorporating VPs were usually linked to describing functions other than research, text and participant. The high percentage of LBs incorporating VP, PP and DC in performing functions other than the listed ones may indicate that the existing functional categories proposed by Hyland (2008) Functional Taxonomy were inadequate. Moreover, the strong association between other structural types and other functional categories signify that more explorations need to be done.

CONCLUSION

Focusing on the structures and functions of LBs, this study managed to shed light on commonly used LBs in MUET reading texts. The language pattern in MUET reading text corpus was relatively rich in sequences of words as depicted by the range of structures and functions of LBs identified. The results of this study along with some other previous studies, namely, Jalali et al. (2008), Hyland (2008), Strunkyte and Jurkunaite (2008), indicated that different LBs were employed in different disciplines and genres. At the same time the categories were found to be significantly associated in all the five disciplines despite the limitation of small corpus built.

Data of this study (reading passage) showed that many different topics were grouped under one discipline, which means the presence of new LBs in unfamiliar texts may impede students' comprehensions. Hock as cited in Alderson (2005) found that comprehension of a discipline-related text was relevant to knowledge of the subject area and level of proficiency. It was reinforced by Alderson (2005, p. 103) who asserted that, "subject-related texts might discriminate against individuals who happen to possess less background knowledge in a particular field". In order to grasp the gist of a text, learners must at least familiarize themselves with the repertoire of that particular context. For instance, the occurrence of NP in science-based texts in this study is considerably higher compared to other forms of LBs. Menon and Mukundan (2012) reported a similar result in their collocational study. Hence, students majoring in science and technology must be equipped with knowledge of NP structure. On the contrary, arts-based texts depicted a higher usage of participant-oriented bundles in this study; thus, these students have to be constantly exposed to LBs used for expressing personal opinion and engaging readers.

The field in which a text is adopted influences text comprehension because every discipline is believed to possess a

list of regularly used LBs. Although results from this study showed many identical LBs were used in five different disciplines, the association between their functions and structural types differed greatly across the disciplines. For instance, research-oriented bundles in Applied Science texts were significantly associated with NP compared to dependent clause in Social Science-based texts and PP in the remaining disciplines. These results echoed Hyland and Tse (2009), Hyland (2008), Jalali et al. (2008) and Cortes (2004) studies where LBs occurred and behaved differently in diverse disciplinary environments. Unlike previous studies, the association between the two mentioned categories was identified quantitatively by using Chi-square and Fisher's test; this signified higher accuracy compared to results obtained from manual calculations.

Having to sit for a reading proficiency test where the texts adopted deal with the area of their studies may reduce students' level of anxiety. Knowing the structures and functions of frequently occurring LBs in five different disciplines as highlighted in this study could assist the test-takers in comprehending passages dealing with prominent topics. Furthermore, preparation of pre-university students for tertiary education could be done effectively with more focus being placed on a specific area. As such, the main objective of MUET, which is to measure the English language proficiency of pre-university students for entry into tertiary education, could be achieved more reliably.

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The Undecidable Quest: A Derridean Reading of Tolkien's *The Hobbit*

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to scrutinize and analyse Tolkien's high epic fantasy novel, *The Hobbit,* in the light of Derrida's views on literature as a liberal institution. Many scholars have read this novel through the lens of European mythologies, Abrahamic theocracy, etc. because Tolkien's text lends itself to such readings by practicing liberality. However, all these trends have a common overarching finalization; that is, finding a certain originarity for Tolkien's sub-created cosmos. While as a Derridean reading, this study contemplates the impossibility and danger of searching for originarity to disinter and discover new pleasures of reading Tolkien, it also seeks to investigate the affinity that exists between Derridean terms such as undecidability, iterability, and alterity, and Tolkien's text itself. This is crucial because the aim here is to explain the liberal power and the liberality of Tolkien's text according to Derridean concepts. The argument is that the text of *ThT4* is a stage on which the above-mentioned concepts interplay and the flow and dynamism of the story is guaranteed by literature as a liberal institution. This is while the play of structure is at work in *The Hobbit*'s narrative to keep the stories' continuum alive and dynamic. This means that the story, with its liberal power, neutralizes any claim over ideality by constantly revisiting its own context. Accordingly, finalized and whole identities, presences, and claims are challenged and destabilized by the undecidable discourse of the story, and as a result more meanings and possibilities are revealed in a provocative reading.

Keywords: Tolkien, The Hobbit, Derrida, liberality, undecidability

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INTRODUCTION

Tolkien's genius in creating a world populated with imagined languages, races and ethnicities is rarely matched by any other author in English literature, and the

impacts of his works is well recognised and appreciated by many cultural and literary products. Tolkien's mythology represents a multi-layered and complex cosmos that includes a variety of elements, stories, myths, and even names originated from Celtic, Nordic, Latin and Greek languages and cultures. However, despite borrowing from a host of cultures, his narratives remain to be innovative and unique while they are also independent and well-wrought. One example of such narratives is *The Hobbit*, in which various beliefs, dispositions, races and cultures are synthesised to develop a seemingly simple plot of children fantasy that is interestingly sophisticated and unique.

A Derridean reading, however, gives the readers a great opportunity to explore and analyse the intricately designed components of *The Hobbit.* By addressing and exploiting Derridean terms such as undecidability, liberality, and khora in reading *The Hobbit* this study intends to demonstrate the extent Tolkien has written a piece of fiction that is, in many ways, in tandem with Derridean views on fiction as a liberal and institutionless institution, and this is how this study will distinguish itself from the previous endeavours conducted in analysing Tolkien's works. Accordingly, characters such as Beorn and Bilbo and his decision making will be examined through concepts of khora and undecidability to show the dynamic flow of the narrative and demonstrate how the liberal forces of the story itself remove self-proclaimed kings mostly through Bilbo's great act of forgiveness, Beorn's character, and finally Bard's slaying of Smaug. It will finally be clarified how Derridean terms such as iterability, alterity, undecidability, and so forth, can shed light on Tolkien's texts to reflect and represent the liberal forces of fiction in *The Hobbit*.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Tolkien's works have always been the subject of scholarly curiosity ever since their publication. One reason for such appeal can be the style of composition and narration that seems to be open to different interpretations, creating different meanings for different readers. An unforgettable fact, however, is Tolkien's genuine attempt in creating a world from which readers can take the highest amount of pleasure. As Smith (2006) observes "for Tolkien, the fruit of the unrealistic attempt to possess life securely through power is a diminished life; a life not awake to the wonder of being" (p. 93). When too occupied with the finalisability of possessing and appropriating, one can lose the joy and true value of life. Bilbo, for example, is described as "a smug, wealthy, timid, bourgeois recluse enjoying a secure and comfortable life" (p. 87). However, Bilbo at the end of this quest is cured of his greed. Yet, while Smith's approach is more of a catholic revisiting of moral principles, this alterity of self could be described and analysed by a Derridean reading that as Greenwood observes (2005) can give Tolkien's writings a new twist as he himself has twisted the real world around him, representing it in a new

way (p. 171). The interesting point to note here is introducing Tolkien's works, by some critics, as representations of mere morality and didactic trends (Burns, 1990, p. 49). In this view, Tolkien's fiction is considered simple because of its simplicity in presenting the confrontation between Evil and Good, which is apparently very similar to Abrahamic religions.

This seems, however, to be a superficial reading of Tolkien's writings because the multi-layered structure he has created is not deservedly considered. As Burns maintains, there is a great deal of liberality/liberty and departure from the real world's observed reality in Tolkien's fantasy fiction, where multiplicities, complexities and surprises are expected (1990, pp. 50-51). These sorts of multiplicity can appear in a single character, usually lone, exceptional even marginalized ones such as Beorn or Bilbo. Furthermore, as Chance (2001) observes, although many critics degrade Tolkien's tales as just childish, too simple, or bad mergence of adult and child literature, his texts, particularly *The Hobbit*, are multi-layered and semantically complex (p. 52). It is with such arguments that Chance and Burns try to defend Tolkien against all the accusations of simplicity, childishness and improperness.

There are also critics, such as Jackson (2010), who believe Tolkien employs allusive, reflexive narratives denying the appearance of a single subject and thereby introducing many voices into the narrative. Accordingly, "the allusive nature of the text and its confluence of forms" transform the literary representation from what Bakhtin calls the absolute dogma of a closed monoglossia into "a working hypothesis for comprehending and expressing reality" (p. 67). This is to say that although we are dealing with fairy tales and myths in Tolkien, he is not imposing his voice on the narrative and the reader. Moreover, through reflexive and allusive narration he provides an insightful look into the reality of his time. A Derridean observation can reveal more on the connection between the pastness of a work in the literary history and its current condition in the present. Saxton (2013) is another scholar who notes that both Tolkien and Bakhtin see "art and life as intimately" (p. 178) entwined and related. Saxton adds that these two authors perceive "aesthetics [as] inseparable from individual responsibility." Authorship for Tolkien, Saxton concludes, is a matter of being a living sub-creator (ibid.).

Lots of scholarly studies, as demonstrated, are either set to identify certain contexts and origins for Tolkien's works or address the role of the author and his relation to the past and literary heritage. However, a post-Derridean critical mind wishes to see more than this in Tolkien's works. A closer look at Tolkien's texts in the light of Derridean ideas will be fruitful in revealing the relationship between Derridean and Tolkien's views on literature (fiction). Accordingly, what justifies the scholarly value of the present study is mainly based on two arguments: one is the concept of the play of structure, and the other is viewing fiction as a liberal

institution. Thus, in its close reading, this paper will focus on play of structure and literature as a liberal institution as its main framework. As Derrida (2000) maintains, a structure always monitors, organises, and if necessary reorders its self-proclaimed centre with the help of its self-declared authority and authenticity (pp. 89-90). This center is nothing out of the structure, but it is just a part of the structure like the others with no inherently privileged status. Therefore, the panoptical centre's authority is only an illusion. This study, therefore, tries to uncover the underlying layers of Tolkienian cosmos, myth, and fantasy by focusing on three main trends: liberality of fiction, fiction as a liberal institution, and the play of the structure. Moreover, other Derridean terms will be employed to explain the main arguments of this study in a more convenient and fruitful manner.

DERRIDA ON LITERATURE FICTION AS AN INSTITUTIONLESS LIBERAL INSTITUTION

Delineating the line that could be drawn between literary and non-literary texts has always been a very challenging and controversial issue among authors and critics both. The significance of this issue made Derrida write extensively to clarify his position in this regard. Following Attridge (1992), one comes to the idea that Derrida's primary concern is the institutional, ethical, and juridical implications of questions such as "what is the law based on which a text is considered literary or non-literary?" (p. 1). Additionally, who and what institution would have the authority to address such questions? (p. 2). Although a work of literature comes into existence by laws and rules, it shows the ability and power to destabilize and shake those very rules. In other words, text represents nothing beyond its net of words, but both Derrida (1992a) and Tolkien (1966, p. 39) affirm that literature moves beyond the net of words: "We are before this text that, saying nothing definite and presenting no identifiable content beyond the story itself, except for an endless difference, till death, nonetheless remains strictly intangible" (Derrida, 1992a, p. 211). Bearing this in mind and considering the concept of event, one can clearly see that Tolkien's fairy-stories, as products of literature, could disrupt centres and their entailed presence.

Ironically, the event of literature not only disrupts the authority of centres but also guarantees the free play of structure. It is this event of literature that allows us to conceive "the notion of a structure lacking any centre" which is "the unthinkable itself" (Derrida, 2001, p. 298). Being beyond this world, off the reality of everyday life, and yet having been read by millions of people in the real world, Tolkien's texts establish themselves to be both opening to readers and guarding themselves from any force that would claim to enter them and be centralised by a single force of ideology, theocracy or logocentrism.

There is a certain connection between the liberty that fiction offers and the issues such as democracy and the ability to say

everything without being prosecuted or censored. While arguing over the distinction of private and public, Derrida (2005, p. 82) points out that literature is an institution whose invention is aligned with the revolution of law and democracy in the European context. Thus, according to Derrida, literature under the pretext of fiction, is allowed to say anything (as a liberal institution). Moreover, Derrida remarks upon the fact that like democracy, literature has also been under the impact of imposed limits and oppressions. Although the right to say anything has never been fully concretised, literature has the upper hand to allow one to say things that are otherwise repressed to be said in any other context (Derrida, 2005, p. 82). This idea of literature as a democracy -to-come is the very secret of the institutionless institution of literature. As an institution, literature, like other institutions, sets up laws and rules within itself. However, the unending and unchallenged freedom and democracy of literature allows novelists, playwrights and poets to break these rules only to produce more texts.

The texts of literature also may be hybrids regarding the genres they belong to. In this regard, this strange institution can be also institutionless since its rules and laws give us the space and possibility to change, amend or even bend them. Moreover, literature is a liberal institution within which one can say anything. When this short inference is put adjacent to the fact that much of Derrida's canon has been dealing with the ideals and phantoms of purity, it can be said that within literature lies the power to shake the foundation of ideas of logocentrism and metaphysics of presence. Derrida asserts that for ages there have been centers in the structurality of structure controlling and assuring a rigidity which is nothing but a phantom of ideal originality and legitimacy (2000, pp. 90-94). On a closer examination, these centres have no right and existence outside the structure; therefore, the claim that they are infrastructure, above the other compartments of the structure, is a phantom-like claim. The moment their legitimacy is questioned, they try to replace another centre for the previous one to cover a weakness and fracture in the authority of the centres.

Therefore, there will be a constant play in the structurality of structure; an on-going substitution play. This play in the structure would challenge logocentrism that claims and demands presence dismissing signifiers and seeking to eradicate them by introducing a phantom of unity between the signifier and signified. Eru Illuvatar might be origin, the ultimate One, of which and around which a whole structure of creatures, races, and myths is formed. He can serve as a presence and dominion of an overarching centre. Ironically, like the play in the structure emphasized by Derrida, throughout the narrative of *The Hobbit*, the purity, presence and authority of centres such as Eru Illuvatar would be destabilised and challenged.

INAUGURATION OF *THE HOBBIT*: THE UNDECIDABLE, THE KHORATIC, AND THE SUBJECT

All of a sudden, only because an old wizard intervenes, Bilbo decides to leave the comforts and conveniences of his life and ventures to unravel the mysteries and perils of an adventure. He seems torn between staying and going on the quest. This unusual, mad decision for a Hobbit of the Bag End is intriguing enough to call for a new reading of this decision making. Rejecting the existence of only "one 'proper reading of a 'text'" Glendinning insists on the possibility of another reading, arguing that "'Writing' is such that it always offers itself to new readings, new responses – and, hence, new responsibilities" (2001, p. 152). Wolfreys too asserts that what lies at the heart of iterability is not mere flow of repetitive arrays. It has, in its core, an alterability that moves beyond the repetitions, and perhaps even, that idea itself about which all repetitions are made (2004, p. 121). Additionally, as Derrida observes: "…iterability is differential, within each individual 'element' as well as between the 'elements,' because it splits each element while constituting it because it marks it with an articulatory break, that the remainder […] is never that of a full or fulfilling presence" (1988, p. 53). Moreover, iterability is "the ability of any mark to suspend reference, to mean otherwise, to be readable as a mark beyond the context of its inscription" (ibid). Thus, iterability gives the possibility to read a text over and over again in different contexts and yet have a fresh insight into it. This endless repetition which each time is new, could remove the rigidity and authority of a single-dimensional reading.

To offer and justify different readings and interpretations of *The Hobbit* one needs to consider Tolkien's own views of reading faeries. He asserts that any approach to the interpretation of myth and fairy tale could and must enjoy the act of allegorical reading (1999, p. xiii). Derrida too raises the issue that the fictitious institution of fiction can lend itself to many different readings, even transcendental ones, and if this is denied, fiction itself will be cancelled: "A literature which forbade that transcendence would annul itself" (1992, p. 45). This is the ground on which fiction, or faerie, has the liberality to lend itself to many readings by different readers in different temporal, spatial or ideological contexts. Moreover, with iterability, there can be a new insight and a new reading each time.

While reading *The Hobbit,* the reader is initially met by a character that is going to act and decide against his nature, heritage and history of his people (hobbits). Bilbo's quest to the Lonely Mountain appears to be a simple act against one's heritage and history; a revolutionary deed in its literal meaning. Bilbo's decision is remarkable and outstanding since it sets in motion events and incidents in a way that constantly destabilises ideals of purity in his own world; and by extension, of course, Tolkien's sub-created world, too. In this regard, we go through the concepts of khora, decision and subject, and finally undecidability.

Being alien to the subject, history and even myth, Khora eludes the logic of non-contradiction. It neither threatens nor promises, and belongs to a third realm or genus rather than the two of the sensible and the intelligible. It has logic of inclusion and exclusion never ruling out one for the sake of the other. Thus, Khora eludes naming and coming under any mark or name, and as Derrida emphasizes either excludes or participates, or does both at the same time. This alternation "stems perhaps only from a provisional appearance and from the constraints of rhetoric, even from some incapacity for naming" (1995, p. 89). Khora, therefore, has a transitional aspect, like that of a mother bearing a child. It is "something that is at once present and absent, alien and one's own" (Norton, 2015, p. 106). It gives space to the subject to exist and forms its subjecthood in a state that, like khora, is impossible to be defined. This khora is the place of secret and revelation. It is also the place where the secret is kept along with the absent but unique body (ibid., p. 107). Therefore, khora is a hybrid realm of paradoxes. Like khora, searching for an origin of subject/ivity, whether psychological, ideological, political, mythological, or so forth, is the ultimate search for the beginning of all beginnings (Derrida, 1991, p. 109). Khora, decision, and the subject seem to be at work in a context of the undecidable as Bilbo decides to start his quest. Finally, the inauguration of *The Hobbit* signals a rhetorical significance: the reading/writing experience is represented in the metaphor of Bilbo being an author (probably Tolkien himself) and his venturing on a quest as the author begins composing his text whose outcome he would sign as blurred, massive, and intense.

Ironically, relying on the use of words and languages to grasp the exact meaning and nature of things, deeds, and people is a problematic issue that attracts our attention at the very beginning of the narrative. The discussion that Gandalf and Bilbo have over naming and marking makes the story's beginning a surprisingly overwhelming start:

> *Not at all, not at all, my dear sir! Let me see, I don't think I know your name?*
>
> *Yes, yes, my dear sir, and I do know your name, Mr. Bilbo Baggins. And you do know my name, though you don't remember that I belong to it. I am Gandalf, and Gandalf means me!* (Tolkien, 2012, pp. 6-7)

Apparently, there is only a play of signifiers in naming since Gandalf's name, in his own explanation, signifies nothing beyond itself but engages in more chains of signifiers. This excerpt also shows how the process of naming and marking one with a signature is difficult to be grasped in a net of words no matter how many signifiers are allowed to be used. Hence, though all the meanings seem to be transferred through words, they still render themselves to be unnamable; escaping to be captured fully and precisely.

Accordingly, the unnamable hybrid realm of Khora depends on the corrupted logic of both inclusion and exclusion of logos/mythos, and that is why Khora is considered something "set against, before, beneath, and perhaps after reason" (Norton, 2015, p. 107). The encounter between Gandalf and Bilbo and the simple conversation between them triggers a decision made by Bilbo that cannot be explained by the logic of logos or mythos behind the world of Tolkien or those outside the text. As an instance, if Bilbo's identity is considered English or of Enlightenment reason, his aversion of perilous adventures is understandable. If he adheres to his reason, he will know his limits in his world and will surrender to the prevailing spirit of being a hobbit that presupposes each hobbit to be peaceful, non-curious, and interested in isolation and comfort. These qualities are not condemnable; however, they pile on the implications that would eventually represent Bilbo as a marginalised individual. Bilbo could be categorised under many generalisations implied by logos and mythos.

During 'the Unexpected Party' Bilbo is exposed to the playfulness and legendary songs of the beauties and enchantments of the lost Erebor. Suddenly, the apparently simpleton or marginalized Bilbo feels the magic and beauty running down the Dwarves' songs of the Lonely Mountain. He makes the decision to take on the quest and signs the contract. It is almost impossible to assign Bilbo's decision to some myths or logos, but it belongs to the realm of Khora. He neither excludes the heritage of his people nor does he include and accept it. However, the decision would not have been made if he did not belong to that Tookish heritage sub-created by Tolkien. As Tolkien puts it:

> *As they sang the hobbit felt the love of beautiful things made by hands and by cunning and by magic moving through him, a fierce and jealous love, the desire of the hearts of dwarves. Then something Tookish woke up inside him, and he wished to go and see the great mountains, and hear the pine trees and the waterfalls, and explore the caves, and wear a sword instead of a walking stick.* (2012, p. 16)

'Beauty', 'magic', and 'something Tookish' are the stirred emotions/semi-logics that cause Bilbo's corrupted reasoning to accept the perilous adventure into the unknown. Bilbo's semi-reasoning escapes naming and ascription. 'Beauty', 'magic', and 'something Tookish' are all preceding the subject and can be traced back to the birth of Tolkien's cosmos and Eru Illuvatar's creation. Derrida comments on subject/decision relation this way:

> *...the decision, if there is such a thing, must neutralise if not render impossible in advance, the who and the what. If one knows, and if it is a subject that knows who and what, then the decision is simply the application of a law. In other*

> *words, if there is a decision, it presupposes that the subject of the decision does not yet exist and neither does the object.* (2005, p. 84)

Bilbo's Decision and Gandalf's endeavour to trust Bilbo in such a great risk taking are both a priori to the subjects of decision and the object that is taking up on an adventure. Thus, the decision making process and the subjects' status and reasons to take such decisions are of the khoratic transition – a process through which the subject is created or born through its undecidable undertaking of making a decision. Thus the path of undecidability matters here; according to Derrida (2002) the scale of undecidability is a discursive one that allows many voices to be heard, and it is opposed to inflexible, yet fragile pre-decided structures that had already taken all the decision for a subject (p. 252). Bilbo makes a decision which is the exact opposite of the history and heritage of his own race. Thus, he does not apply a priori law or rule, but he makes his decision against all pre-established laws and out of madness.

It appears that the constant negotiations and revisiting between emotions, reasoning faculties, and logocenteric/ mytho-centric traditions would eventually lead to a state of undecidability in which subject is created after and not prior to the decision itself. The significance is how the khoratic and undecidable state and the context destabilize the rigid historicity and phantoms lying behind it. The scale of undecidability, a discursive one, allows a free decision making to happen which is independent from boundaries and limits set by a fragile yet despotic structure of history. Moreover, Bilbo's signature at the bottom of the Dwarves' contract, after having made his decision, can be a metaphor of the author deciding to write and sign his text bearing the responsibility all along his story and even throughout generations whenever his text is being read. After the mark is put, there will be no turning back.

Much like Tolkien, the author of the narrative, Bilbo takes up a responsibility to which he will remain loyal even more than Thorin who represents a logocenteric ideal of kingship. Bilbo must bear his responsibility until the moment that the story closes and opens itself for more markings (readings). Although Khora never promises anything, Bilbo sets himself under the burden of a responsibility which is, by laws of the history of Arda, not his to carry. Thus, he rebels, in a way, against all the generalizations and appropriations behind the race of hobbits. He goes through a rupture that he is never able to explain or define later:

> *To the end of his days Bilbo could never remember how he found himself outside, without a hat, walking stick or say money, or anything that he usually took when he went out; leaving his second breakfast half-finished and quite unwashed up, pushing his keys into Gandalf's hands, and running as fast as his furry feet could carry him down the lane, past the great Mill, across The Water, and then on for a whole mile or more.* (Tolkien, 2012, pp. 28-29)

All characters in *The Hobbit* bear a rich heritage and tradition of culture, history, divinity, and ethico-politics (like the right of kingship and right to rule over inferiors). This rich heritage carries in itself phantoms of ideality. The simplest of these phantoms would be the claim that a hobbit should and must, by nature of his essence, avoid intervening in serious issues and risk-takings. Bilbo should remain in his hole underground and enjoy the comforts of his exceptionally ordinary life since he is no king, hero, warrior, or has no right and responsibility over the matter of the Lonely Mountain's treasure. From this ordinary life, a fracture would rise shackling many phantoms of ideality imposed by that heritage.

PURE IDEALS, KINGS, AND SUBJECTS UNDER THE MOUNTAIN

Whereas the augmentation of the narrative in *The Hobbit* has its energy and flamboyance from the concepts of khora and undecidability, a set of struggles between seemingly pure and one-dimensional bodies of good and evil makes it possible to challenge their self-presumed legitimacy and purity. If elevation of an idea would lead to degrading of another sign or idea, marginalizing it in the name of some never existed or identified ideality (Deutscher, 2005, p. 25), then the texts we are reading here are on a quest, like Bilbo himself, to deny such elevation/degradation for the sake of an already contaminated ideal. There are seemingly pure evil in the texts, however, instead of emphasizing the origin of evil and ascribing the origin to exteriorities of characters and races, the main interest is to show how they are textually depicted. Consequently, self-appointed purities and self-declared rights and authorities are the target of destabilization. Examining characters' journey through these idealities and the alterity that each one goes through will be fruitful.

From the moment that Bilbo is offered the contract of a perilous, unknown quest, he enters a state in which he feels alienated from his self, his home, and ironically the adventure itself. When he rejects the contract at first, he knows he does not belong to such large risk-takings. He is alienated from himself and his natural residence. Alterity is what Bilbo goes through all along his adventurous journey, and it does not matter if Bilbo is considered a linguistic structure (structure being a construct here, not as it means in structuralism), psychological structure, or an aesthetic structure. As Joan Brandt (1997) maintains, Derrida marks the concept of alterity as an internal property of any closed structure, linguistic or other kinds. Since temporal and spatial deferral of presence are at work, the presence would be placed in relation to an 'other' which is situated in a different space and time in relation to the subject (p. 120). Alterity that allows spatial and temporal fluctuations as well as flux in subjectivity, is the essence of democracy and by extrapolation, literature itself (Thomson, 2015, p. 99). Bilbo is in constant spatial and temporal deferral throughout his journey. At certain

moments, his past and none-present (that are iterable in terms of remembering and textual depiction) states of identity find their way into his textual psych. He measures his current spatio-temporal state against a desirable past state of selfhood in the form of simple homesick statements:

> *Far, far away in the West, where things were blue and faint, Bilbo knew there lay his own country of safe and comfortable things, and his little hobbit-hole. He shivered. It was getting bitter cold up here, and the wind came shrill among the rocks.* (Tolkien, 2012, p. 52)

This ideal of 'home', comfort, or the righteous place of Bilbo's presence and self is not restricted to only Bag End or even Bilbo for that matter. The way that Rivendell is depicted as one last homely house and the manner that dwarves' king, Thorin Oakenshield, tries to impose his authority and appropriation over the realm and treasure of Erebor (even at the cost of lives of others) as well as Smaug's fiendish endeavour to remain the only king under the Mountain are all examples of how subjects in *The Hobbit* try to obstruct the process of alterity and assumingly keep a state of purity or ideality. This obstruction is imposed by clinging to a phantom of ideal, full presence or right of one's own culture and ethnicity. Thus, beings such as Smaug and Thorin are trying to make their identities present and self-closed; something that is impossible for any structure of being. As Critchley (1999) observes, "the very activity of thinking, which lies at the basis of epistemological, ontological and veridical comprehension, is the reduction of plurality to unity and alterity to sameness" (p. 29). Those subjects that seek to reduce the alterity try to climb up to the top of a structurality which is associated with logos and mythos and justifies their phantoms of authority by using an appropriated ontology or philosophy of culture, history and heritage.

In Tolkien's narrative, *The Hobbit*, the endeavors to find a full present identity and an indisputable centrality of power, purity, and legitimacy lie in the struggles over possessing, becoming native, or declaring a by-nature/blood right or origin. The search for such pure forms of identity and origin is as absurd as discussing culture and language and relating them to a single origin: "A culture never has a single origin" (Derrida, 1992b, p. 10). The story fluctuates between claims of purity and uncontaminated right to rule and possess.

COMPLEXITIES OF BEORN, GOLLUM, AND BILBO: HYBRIDITY AND THE LIBERALITY OF THE TEXT

Beorn, Gollum, and Bilbo are interesting and memorable characters because of their hybridity. This is to say, these three characters do not exactly fall into the categories of ethnicity and race in Tolkien's world. Bilbo, as a simple hobbit, should have never left Shire, yet he has done so and defied his nature already. On the other hand, Beorn is both a man-like

creature and sometimes a bear-like beast. Ironically, what makes literature a liberal institution allowing one to say anything is the powerless power of being able to stand on the edges of other discourses and move beyond them. This is because literature would lend itself to other discourses almost liberally (Derrida, 1992a, p. 44). Fiction can challenge authorities and dogmatisms because the author can say anything within its space. On the other hand, it moves and stands on the edges of other discourses while none of them can claim it for themselves (ibid.). Before, we pointed out that as an institution, fiction can be open to changes and modification of laws and rules. Therefore, fiction challenges its own limitations and rules as well as those of other discourses. It has the power to do so while it never claims such power. That is why it can be called a powerless power or and institutionless institution.

Bilbo is not at all a character of great potencies and powers, not at least the powers and potencies that are found in other logo-like characters such as Smaug and Thorin. In Bilbo's own words "We are plain quiet folk, and I have no use for adventures. Nasty, disturbing, and uncomfortable things" (Tolkien, 2012, p. 6). It can be said, however, that his decision to undertake the great quest is the result of constant negotiations with his 'nature' and his desires. This makes him a hybrid, neither a hobbit of plain quiet folk nor a great king or warrior by blood or nature. He even becomes more than a hybrid hence he can be both a hobbit, like whenever he desires his home and heart, and a non-hobbit, a non-Middle-earthian person at the same time, like when he appears to elevate above all the good, pure hearted characters in practicing forgiveness and liberality. This is particularly tangible in Bilbo-Gollum encounter in the chapter 'The Riddles in the Dark'.

Metaphorically speaking, meeting Gollum who had been a hobbit before the Ring found him, Bilbo met his own 'Other'; a creature that is not to be apprehended, present, or appreciated by the subject. In other words, Bilbo meets an altered person and cannot understand him in any sense because he is so different from his original race and culture. However, Bilbo negotiates with this cruelly altered Other. Waking up in the dark, he again feels that he has lost the comfort of being home as a plain, quiet hobbit. A desire of having an identity which was never pure and going on an adventure seem to be a contamination that is clearly rooted in the identity's own interior; that is, a pharmakonic contamination; something which is both remedy and poison. Then, a strong sense of non-belongingness appears:

> *He thought of himself frying bacon and eggs in his own kitchen at home, for he could feel inside that it was high time for some meal or other; but that only made him miserabler. He could not think what to do; nor could he think what had happened; or why he had been left behind; or why, if he had been left behind, the goblins had not caught him; or even why his head was so*

> *sore. The truth was he had been lying quiet, out of sight and out of mind, in a very dark corner for a long while.* (Tolkien, 2012, p. 65)

It is as if the story is enslaving the text, Bilbo, and the reader in its intrinsic web of words by cancelling spatio-temporal differentiation and through trapping Bilbo in a dark and inescapable place. The story tries to close itself to reading. Yet, the question remains: How to escape this dead end? The reader knows that at the beginning the key to the escape-door of this stalemate is put in Bilbo's pocket; the One Ring.

It may appear that Bilbo is in an impassable situation, thus he chooses to play Gollum's game of Riddles. However, he has the sword, so he could simply kill Gollum and make the way out (this is unlikely but not impossible), or threaten him to reveal the path. He chooses to play because Bilbo has had no claim over any sort of purity to perceive himself possessing a right to end Gollum's life by assuming that he himself is pure and Gollum is evil. Gollum "thought it was a riddle, and he was frightfully upset" (Tolkien, 2012, p. 74) while Bilbo was contemplating on the thing in his pocket a little bit loudly. The rules of the game are both broken and renewed by this probably happy misspeak or misunderstanding. The game is violated. Old, ancient central rules are violated and are replaced by the new context.

Gollum tries to kill Bilbo when he fails to win his own game of riddles. By accident, Bilbo wears the Ring and is saved by yet another hybridity. The invisibility (the hybrid state) of Bilbo puts him in a state of being/none-being at the same time in Gollum's eyes. While he is safe from the torture of Ring's evil, Gollum has suffered it probably because he has succumbed to Ring's phantom of pure evil and power. Nonetheless, while wearing the Ring, Bilbo is acting like a crack in the act that story has put up to close itself to reader and the characters. Moreover, there is a hidden force in the text that tries to depict and ascribe Gollum as only and only a cruel thing deserving no chance of empathy, but Gollum defies this by remembering his previous self; his being a hobbit like Bilbo:

> *He had been underground for a long time, and was forgetting this sort of thing. But just as Bilbo was beginning to hope that the wretch would not be able to answer, Gollum brought up memories of ages and ages and ages before, when he lived with his grandmother in a hole in a bank by river...* (Tolkien, 2012, p. 71)

It could be this game and riddle making that keeps Bilbo's hand from killing this 'wretch'. In fact, there is an opposing force, that of the authorial voice, that tries to mark Gollum as an enemy 'other'. Derrida (1997) observes that "War has its own rules and perspectives, its strategies and tactics but they presuppose a political decision … naming who is the enemy" (p. 126). Nonetheless, Bilbo practices forgiveness which seems to be impossible to do by other pure light and good in the

story. Bilbo's decision, his hybridity, his not being attached to phantoms of ideality, and his being a subject that shackles and cracks rigidities of self-legitimacies help him to forgive his doom (Gollum) and spare his life by taking decision out of undecidability and madness. Accordingly, Bilbo does not succumb to a pre-decided decision that is under the control of a logocenteric ontology which perceives Gollum as an enemy. Bilbo's hand is stayed and alterity is emancipated from being reduced to sameness.

The impossibility of a pure act of forgiveness is related to Bilbo's identity and being as impossibilities for the readers (because of their non-existence out of the text). It is quite possible to consider Bilbo's unconditional forgiveness as an impossibility that can exist in the text for the reader to encounter. This is a powerless power for Bilbo, a democracy or liberality to-come that enables him to challenge logocenteric phantoms present in the history and creation of Middle Earth, and yet Bilbo's power and liberality is not and cannot be fully apprehended in words or in the reality of our world. Bilbo's being is textually established. For Derrida, as Deutscher (2005) observes, there is nothing out of the text and the text is but a massive game of differentiation and temporality (p. 33). Consequently, Bilbo is a literary power (the power of fiction and story-telling) that is able to practice a great number of liberal actions such as violating and defying his nature and the long-established, mytho-centric rules of an ancient game of riddles.

Beorn is another interesting fictitious construct of traditions and histories of Tolkien's sub-creation. As a shape-shifter, he has the ability to be of two identities and selves. As a strong man, he could represent intelligent race of civilized folks. As a beast, he may represent the wildness and originality of nature. However, his being a hybrid, very much like Bilbo and Gollum, but to a greater extent, challenges the rigidity and authenticity of culture/nature opposition. Even his language is alien to others. Additionally, his self is presented as a presence possessing an identity which is closed in itself:

> *"And why is it called the Carrock?" asked Bilbo as he went along at the wizard's side.*
> *"He called it the Carrock, because carrock is his word for it. He calls things like that carrocks, and this one is the Carrock because it is the only one near his home and he knows it well."*
> *"Who calls it? Who knows it?"*
> *"The Somebody I spoke of, a very great person...* (Tolkien, 2012, pp. 107-108)

In a clash of two forces, one force is trying to portray Beorn as a completely autonomous whole in his presence while the other force is trying to render him and his language as supplementary. In this excerpt, the language and the verbal construct's definitions of Beorn are postponed to signs after signs. As Derrida (1997) suggests, "Somewhere, something can be filled up

of itself, can accomplish itself, only by allowing itself to be filled through sign and proxy. The sign is always the supplement of the thing itself" (p. 145). Thus, Beorn may be initially deemed logocenteric and even – due to his masculine apparels – a phallocentric being. However, his hybrid identity and Gandalf's remarks about him and his place of life are the first challenge to his being an ideal phantom of rigidity and autonomy. The fact that he has power over nature and animals comes from the nature itself. In Gandalf's words, he himself is under a spell which is his spell and nothing out of his hybrid identity.

The hybridity of Beorn's character is ratified by his brewing and consuming mead. Mead brewing, crafting wooden things and producing dairy products mark Beorn as a creature of both nature and culture. This is well in parallel with what Dosse (1997) asserts reminding us of Lévi-Strauss's (1973) observation about transformation or passage from nature to culture that includes a variety of human activities from preparing cooked food and mead to making different ornaments and costumes (p. 258). As such, Beorn is not a mytho-centric or logocenteric power over nature, but he is, in fact, a power from/of nature. Beorn does not simply try to rule and subdue nature. It is more likely that he cooperates with the natural elements as well as the elements that can be assumed cultural and related to civilization. Nonetheless, it should be noted here that Beorn's hybridity is a challenge to culture/nature opposition and its rigid pure distinction.

In another act of destabilising distinctions and oppositions, Gandalf introduces the company to Beorn one by one and through a performative act of storytelling that strikes Beorn as well as the reader. As simple as it is, Gandalf's improvised fiction challenges Beorn who at first appears to be a great ancient ideal of nature's authoritative wildness, grandeur, and influence. This could be observed as the powerless power of fiction practiced through the unbound liberality that literature possesses. Great and invulnerable Beorn proves to be powerless and submissive facing the powerless power of Gandalf's story. Beorn surrenders to Gandalf's storytelling while the story does not forcibly impose Beorn anything. However, he eventually offers the company the best of his hospitality.

THE RESOLUTION OF THE QUEST: BARD/SMAUG, AND ARKENSTONE/ BILBO

Smaug's words to introduce himself are very telling because considering his description it seems really impossible for any power to challenge the King under the Mountain: "My armour is like tenfold shields, my teeth are swords, my claws spears, the shock of my tail a thunderbolt, my wings a hurricane, and my breath death!" (Tolkien, 2012, p. 207). However, it is the simplest and tiniest of cracks that makes it possible to dethrone this king. It begins with the Dwarves finding their way into his kingdom through a door which was always in his kingdom though neglected by

him and unknown to most of the Dwarves. Even the cypher to the location of the door is broken not by Thorin but by Elrond who is an 'other' to Thorin's culture, language, and divine right to rule. Smaug, too, ignores the fact that there is no whole, pure, uncontaminated condition to a body; be it language or the right to rule.

Interestingly, Smaug's weak spot, the unprotected point on Smaug's chest, is detected by Bilbo. Then, the Old Thrush, again another marginalized minority to Smaug's structure of power, overhears this when Bilbo is revealing Dragon's fatal weakness to other Dwarves. The old Thrush finds Bard and: "Wait! Wait! it [the Old Thrush] said to him. The moon is rising. Look for the hollow of the left breast as he flies and turns above you!" (Tolkien, 2012, p. 228). Smaug's death guarantees the replacements of the centers in the structure. Bard, literally meaning a poet, is the one who eventually dethrones the King under the Mountain. The role of Bard could be assumed as a metaphor of the role of the powerless institution of literature that is beyond and over any logocenteric discourse even if the text of literature bears signs and traces of logocentrism, such as Smaug, Thorin, the Arkenstone, and so forth. Bard takes the great liberty bestowed on him by Tolkien's fiction to depose the greatest, catastrophic logo of the text. Yet, one should not think that Bard or Bilbo is the sole destroyer of the logo for both of them are "acting within a community composed of the dwarves, Gandalf, and the men of Dale" (Jakupcak, 2014, p. 57).

Smaug's death marks the appearance of another self-proclaimed king, Thorin. Thorin, is the true heir to the throne of Erebor by blood. However, his claim is not so different from Smaug's claim. They are both interiorly contaminated and vulnerable in their claim of being pure. When Thorin breaks his promise in sharing the wealth of Erebor with 'others', he becomes obsessively preoccupied with the purity, legitimacy, and invulnerability of his decision and claim. Thorin gets obsessed over the Arkenstone which is a proof of his divine right to rule over Erebor:

> *"The Arkenstone! The Arkenstone!" murmured Thorin in the dark, half dreaming with his chin upon his knees. "It was like a globe with a thousand facets; it shone like silver in the firelight, like water in the sun, like snow under the stars, like rain upon the Moon!"* (Tolkien, 2012, p. 213)

Although Bilbo finds the Arkenstone, he hides it from Thorin and talks to no one about it. Thorin is eager to find the gem:

> *For the Arkenstone ... is worth more than a river of gold in itself, and ... is beyond price. That stone of all the treasure I name unto myself, and I will be avenged on anyone who finds it and withholds it.* (Tolkien, 2012, p. 244)

Since the day dwarves lose their home and kingdom, they feel that they belong to nowhere but Erebor. This strong sense of

non-belongingness is flowing in Thorin's mind. Even when the Serpent is defeated, Thorin is so alienated from his own home that he wants to close the Door of the Mountain to everyone and thus keep the treasure all for himself. Thorin's obsession and his viewing himself as the sole owner of the treasure and the gem is because of the logocenteric state he assumes for himself. Over all, the logo of an invulnerable, undisputable king once again threatens the play of signifiers in the structure of the narrative.

Not for the first time, the task of securing the play of signifiers in the structure (with none of them being purely superior to others) falls on Bilbo's shoulder who actually has a relation of non-responsible responsibility (since he is not a dwarf and his decision of accepting the quest cannot be explained by logical relations and traditional laws of Tolkien's world) to Thorin, other dwarves, other races, and finally the narrative itself. By sneaking out the Arkenstone and delivering it to the Elven King like a thief who can break all laws and limits, Bilbo metaphorically challenges Thorin's ideal claim and ownership over the gems, treasure, and the right of ruling Erebor. In being responsible, because of a contract he has signed and a promise he has made, for a responsibility that is not his in any terms of nature, blood, etc. Bilbo metaphorises the role of the author the moment s/he puts the quill on the paper and starts writing. Tolkien is both responsible and not responsible for the fictitious narrative he creates. The discourse of fiction goes beyond all discourses. Similarly, Bilbo's role in this narrative belongs to no particular group or individual, thus he is able to act, talk, and move beyond all as a hobbit, burglar, thief, and any other role that might be imagined for him. The law of the text by which Bilbo is depicted denies a direct access to a clear-cut definition and description of Bilbo's linguistic construct regarding his acts and decisions. Although we can imagine Bilbo as a character with a charming subjectivity, "we do not know what it is, who it is, where it is. Is it a thing, a person, a discourse, a voice, a document, or simply a nothing that incessantly defers access to itself, thus forbidding itself in order thereby to become something or someone?" (Derrida, 1992a, p. 208). With his powerless power he destabilizes the last of logocenteric stands in the text; that is Thorin's false claim over the Arkenstone and thus the right over the treasure and the kingdom of Erebor.

CONCLUSION

A close study of Tolkien's text reveals that he has not created phantoms of pure bodies by elevating a concept at the cost of degrading the other. Instead of excluding 'others' that are dangerous to the uncontaminated bodies, Tolkien gives all characters and entities voices of their own. Thus, whatever appears initially to be invincible, totally authentic, and fully present to its 'self', gradually gives in to the play of the structure. The narrative itself comes to question and challenge the legitimacy of self-called centres. Within

this process of constant changes and challenges that befall characters lies a force that makes the narrative move ahead with a great amount of liberty.

The findings of this study on *The Hobbit* demonstrate that hybrid identities and marginalised creatures find their way into the claims of logos and mythos such as Smaug and Thorin. Furthermore, those who claim to be pure and omnipotent never remain unchallenged by the flow of the story's constant changes. Their power and identity are questioned and doubted by the most seemingly puny characters such as Bilbo. Therefore, the greatest power of the text lies in the fact that it is liberal moving beyond other discourses. Accordingly, by putting fiction against the real world and in terms of materiality, credulity, possibilities, and etc., the author is both responsible and not responsible for the narrative he creates. Therefore, his high epic fantasy, which is liberal to create a world remote and independent from the actual world, finds a greater potency to say almost everything while assuming no responsibility for what is said and portrayed. As a result, the non-responsible responsibility of the author makes him bear the story to a point that i

readers while he keeps the narrative open for the reader to interact with. To do so, Tolkien introduces logo-like entities that replace each other constantly revealing their unstable and false claims. Hence, it is the power of fiction that ultimately triumphs over those who assume purity and authenticity. However, *The Hobbit*'s story does never claim over or appropriate the text; it just allows all the voices and possibilities to be heard.

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Foucault's *Sophrosyne*: A Qualitative Analysis of Self-identity Creation through the Coming Out Process of Same-sex Attracted Men of Chinese Ethnicity in Penang, Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

The Foucauldian conceptualisation of *sophrosyne* as moderation, self-mastery, control and freedom is deepened to gain deeper nuance of the coming-out process of same-sex attracted men in Penang, Malaysia who are of ethnic Chinese descent. The deepening of the concepts focussed on moderation, balance, structure, self-realisation, individuality and personal growth in the coming-out process of the respondents. Qualitative in nature, this research is based on a sample of 15 men who identify as same-sex attracted who were interviewed in-depth on the subject of their experience of coming out as same-sex attracted. The data suggest that similarities exist between *sophrosyne* and the coming-out process as described by Western scholars. However, due to conservative Asian values, *sophrosyne* allows respondents to focus more on the personalised and individualised experience of coming out that does not necessarily reflect major Western models.

Keywords: Coming out, ethnic Chinese, Foucault, identity, same-sex, *sophrosyne*

INTRODUCTION

Foucault (1990), in his second volume of *The History of Sexuality*, focussed on how sexual pleasure was regulated and utilised in ancient Greek society by dissecting the works of Plato, Aristotle and Xenophon. In his treatise, Foucault analysed how values surrounding human sexuality were codified. These codes guided actions connected with and the motivations behind the experience of sexual pleasure and sexuality. Contrary to popular belief, Greek society was not a mélange of sexual depravity, but rather, a society in which sexuality was guided by virtues steeped in moderation and societal expectation.

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This paper argues in particular that Foucault's dissection of *sophrosyne* is pertinent to understanding the place that coming out has in the development of male same-sex sexuality. Through an analysis of the coming-out process of ethnic Chinese males within the geographic parameters of Penang, Malaysia, this paper hopes to show that by establishing sexual identity, albeit within a conservative ethnic culture, men who are same-sex attracted take control of and master their sexual identity.

Sophrosyne as Structure: Interpretations and Concepts

Foucault drew attention to the use of the following concepts: *aphrodisia* (the enjoyment of sexuality and pleasure), *chresis* (the "right way" to enjoy sexuality and pleasure), *chresis aphrodisia* (the share of time and resources allotted to sexual pleasure and the way an individual is allowed by society to enjoy these pleasures), *enkrateia* (the right attitude that is necessary for ethics and pleasure and the right use of them) and *sophrosyne* (moderation, self-mastery, taking control of oneself and freedom) in regulating sexuality. By regulation, however, what Foucault arguably meant was that there were means by which sexuality should be structured. This structure does not speak of suppression, repression or rejection. Rather, what Foucault spoke of in his work was the way that sexuality is structured to bring forth the best in an individual so that he may bring the most benefit to himself and to society.

Of particular interest to this author is the concept of *sophrosyne*, which speaks of moderation, self-mastery, taking control of oneself and freedom. This author argues that these concepts are based on the view that *sophrosyne* allows for reaching the fullest development of all areas of an individual's life. Here, the idea of moderation hints of balance between all parts of an individual's life, including sexual and libidinous needs, in a harmony with all aspects of his life. This balance allows for the individual who is same-sex attracted to seek satisfaction in same-sex attraction while meeting societal expectations of being a good citizen. Moderation too is taken to mean that sexual pleasure is not the only focus of the individual's expenditure of energy; rather, there is a time and place for expenditure of same-sex sexual energy, and the individual is aware of the time and place for this expenditure. In the context of this paper, it could be argued that same-sex attracted males recognise a time and a place for asserting their identities, thus meeting the value of moderation.

Self-mastery and taking control of oneself had overarching connotations of restraint in the historical context in which Foucault placed his work. While there are these connotations of restraint, the exposition of Foucault's writing shows that self-mastery and control had more to do with shaping an identity than with restraint. He showed that through a structure that allowed for the exercise of sexual pleasure, the individual could develop an identity based on a social ethos. Additionally,

structure allows for both a framework through which identity can be formed while allowing the individual to decide the means through which the identity may be actualised. While structures may differ between cultures and subcultures, the end result is an identity that is recognised. For the purpose of this paper, the actualisation of an identity through self-mastery and control of oneself can be argued to be useful elements in the development and assertion of same-sex attracted identities.

Finally, *sophrosyne* as freedom by Foucault has connotations of freedom of individuality and recognition of individuality within the confines of ancient Greek society. In expounding on freedom, Foucault hinted that the individual is free to exercise his or her individuality. There exist boundaries in the form of mutual respect, seniority and also status. As long as these boundaries are not crossed, the freedom of individuality is deemed valid and the identity manifested by the individual is also deemed valid. However, crossing these boundaries would manifest for an individual an identity that is deemed a transgression. This concept of freedom then connotes the importance of individuality within the context of a particular society.

Based on this conceptualisation of Foucault's exposition of *sophrosyne*, this paper would then like to posit that these concepts are a means to gaining a deeper understanding of the process of coming out of same-sex attracted men. Specifically, this work focussed on the coming-out process as a means of identity development that utilises moderation, self-mastery, control of self and freedom within the Malaysian context. However, to lay a stronger theoretical foundation for this paper, presented first are other theories of cultural identity for cross referencing. Also, coming out in other cultural contexts is also presented to provide a contrasting view for discussion.

Identity Formation – Theoretical Arguments

Identity may be discovered (where potential has existed before in the person and needs to be actuated) or may be constructed (Berzonsky, 1990; Waterman, 1984; as cited by Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011). Both these assertions infer that for identity to be formed, action by the individual is needed to actualise identity to fully form personality, relational and behavioural patterns (Kroger & Marcia, 2011). Cultural identity is formed further through social cognition of the structure in which a person resides. In this, an individual may construct, maintain and re-construct an identity based on the cultural expectation of society as well as by being cognisant of individual roles and place in that society (Berzonsky, 2011).

It is in this process of the actualising, personifying, constructing, maintaining and re-constructing of an identity that the narrative history of a culture comes into play (McAdams, 2011). The narrative history of the individual reflects societal norms, mores and rules of the culture in which the individual is steeped. In the

context of coming out, a gay man has to take into consideration the narrative history of his culture and its implied rules and then create his own personal (or gay community) historic narrative. Often, the protagonist (the individual gay man) will create a historic narrative that portrays him in a favourable light and it is more self-focussed. He may even have role models to create a culturally accepted identity content and be willing to face the social sanctions for this identity as his personal self-discourse continues as well as find a place for himself within gay communities (Bamberg, De Fina & Schiffrin, 2011; Oyserman & James, 2011; Spears, 2011). This may place the gay man at odds with his cultural identity, especially within collectivistic societies. Eastern cultures are more interdependent whereas Western cultures are more individualistic. Eastern cultures focus on hierarchy, relatedness and inclusiveness, thus making any action or behaviour towards independence a transgression of cultural norms (Smith, 2011). Theoretically then, coming out, which is seen as an individualistic or selfish act, would defy the cultural expectations of Eastern cultures and take on a more globalised (Western) cultural identity (Jensen, Arnett & McKenzie, 2011).

However, it is in asserting his sexual identity as homosexual that a gay man truly begins to delve into his eudaimonic self. He understands and knows himself better and his process of identity creation continues. The focus then is on his own needs and the need for self-acceptance, acceptance by society and integration into his cultural context. Congruence and integration are then the focus of the individual (Smith, 2011; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2011; Vignoles, 2011; Waterman, 2011) as he develops his sexual identities (Savin-Williams, 2011).

The researcher wishes to point out that while identity formation and cultural identities have their benefits and drawbacks, what is of concern for this research is how coming out may be interpreted differently from or in tandem with *sophrosyne*. The overarching themes that different identity and cultural theories show is that there is a definitive process of knowing the self better and knowing what the societal rules are and of navigating them. In essence, while pointing out that cultural codes are needed in identity formation, the theories briefly discussed in this section are Western in construct and do not necessarily take into consideration Eastern or Asian cultural values. The following section on coming out in other cultural contexts specifically points out the experience of East Asian gay men in the coming-out process and acts as both a counter-balance and a further explanation of these cultural and identity theories. This may or may not be totally synchronous, but does provide a wider view of the experience of the gay men who were respondents for this research.

Coming Out in Other Cultural Contexts

While much of the extant literature on coming out is based on the Western experience, this research would like to put

forward cultural identities and findings of other studies on coming out from the Asian perspective as a means of deepening understanding of the experience of coming out in the Asian context by considering it through the lens of *sophrosyne*. North Asian studies on the subject were specifically chosen as there is similarity between North Asian culture and the culture of present Malaysians of Chinese ethnicity or descent.

Sophrosyne as freedom and individualisation was not the finding of Cho and Sohn (2016) within the cultural context of South Korea. As suggested in the article of these authors, coming out has adverse impact in South Korea, especially in the area of mental health, where the identity could lead to suicide. However, the data collected were based on gay men who had been "outed" (revealed as gay or homosexual against their will). This suggests that the assertion that coming out may be negative in the culture of South Korea is somewhat misleading. From a cultural identity standpoint, being outed is not the asserting of one's identity, but rather the exposing of an identity deemed secret before the respondents were ready to share this identity openly. This is definitely not the meaning of freedom, choice, moderation and asserting individuality as inferred from Foucault's work. Rather, it is the opposite of these positive experiences. *Sophrosyne* here may still resonate within the cultural context of South Korea, but more research is needed to ascertain exactly what is the level and affinity of resonance.

Gay men in Hong Kong, as reported by Wong and Tang (2004), tended to disclose their homosexuality in early adulthood. Coming out at this early stage of adulthood allowed the respondents in the study to experience lower levels of psychological distress, and this lower level of psychological distress was linked through the coming-out process and identification with supportive communities. It can be inferred from this study that while cultural influences and cultural restrictions were present for these men of Chinese ethnicity in Hong Kong, they chose to come out early, and this experience of coming out early benefitted them in terms of their mental health. This increased the freedom they enjoyed as well as their self-mastery, both components of *sophrosyne* as expounded in this paper.

Khng (2001) pointed out that coming out in Singapore was a slow step-by-step process. This process was one in which cultural influences played a huge part in determining the assertion of sexual identity that is unacceptable according to conservative cultural norms due to parental disapproval, societal rejection and fear of losing a career. Coming out, then, is a personal journey for gay men in Singapore and it formatively creates an experience that is based on independence and bravery; in other words, it makes gay men stronger in their belief in their self-identity. This cultural experience is in line with the meaning of *sophrosyne*, where there is moderation between what is wanted by the gay man and the expectations of his

family and culture, where bravery is balanced with anxiety and claiming to be part of society despite potential social rejection. In this, there is freedom; in this, there is self-mastery. Although Singapore acknowledges itself to be conservative with draconian legislation, gay men in Singapore come out and claim their place while maintaining respect for the cultural norms of the society in which they live.

Similar to Singapore, Taiwan has a culture that is deeply steeped in filial piety and family bonds, which together, create identity. In Taiwan, sexual identity is closely intertwined to filial piety and the ability to produce children to carry on the family name. For gay men, this creates conflict as the inability to produce children through a heterosexual union is seen as having failed in a family obligation. Therefore, as gay men in Taiwan come out, they need to seek a balance between the assertion of their sexual identity and the proper place that this sexual identity has within the context of their family (moderation and self-mastery). At the same time, family members have to reassess and reinterpret their understanding of filial piety, allowing gay men to feel a greater sense of freedom of self. In this, family members and gay men show restraint and respect for the cultural structure in which they live (Wang, Bih & Brennan, 2009).

It is fitting that at this juncture, the discussion of same-sex sexuality and coming out moves to Malaysia as it is the geographic context of this research. A historic background of same-sex attracted identities in Malaysia is presented, followed by cultural expectations surrounding sexuality. Then, Western models of coming out are presented, along with the benefits and barriers to coming out.

Same-Sex Attracted Identities in Malaysia at a Glance

Male same-sex sexual attraction was part of Asian culture in pre-colonial times. Men who exhibited attraction to other men and who engaged in same-sex sexual activities were often attributed high social status. An example of this is that the *Sida-Sida* of the ancient Malayo-Indonesian archipelago were the only ones thought sacred enough to touch the raiment of royalty aside from royalty themselves (Peletz, 2009). Japanese literature holds the virtues of male-male love in high regard, where the beauty of one man would so enthrall the imagination of another man that the highest ideals of honour, virtue and sacrifice would bind the men together both in life and death (Schalow, 1989). The Chinese have historic documents to show the love that the Prince of Wei had for his male lover Jun Longyang was a passionate one. The prince cut off the sleeve of his robe on which his lover was sleeping so that the latter's rest would not be disturbed, thus creating the euphemism *Duanxiu* (cut sleeve) to refer to male same-sex love and attraction (Ng, 1989; Van Gulick, 1974).

However, the arrival of the European colonial powers, a Westernised notion of same-sex attraction and a backlash of Asian conservatism detracted from

the recognition of men who were same-sex attracted as an identity in Malaysia (Baba, 2001; 2002). Poon and Ho (2002) posited that same-sex sexual identity was unnatural in the Asian context as it worked against economic tradition and was in conflict with "the traditional gender roles and family structures which tend to be well-defined in Asian cultures." In general then, it can be asserted that sexual identity attracts attention in a conservative Asian context. According to Baba (2001), a gap in positive role models and anxiety in identity portrayals lead to discomfort with sexual identity among Malaysian men and the banning of representations of same-sex sexual identity in the Malaysian media has obliterated all references to same-sex sexuality (West, 1997; UNAIDS, 2004; Winder, 2006). Identity formation and development, then, in the conservative Malaysian context, become a distinctly personal process with few, if any, references or role models. This personal process has been identified by scholars as the process of6

Culture and Same-Sex Attraction

While the findings of a study by Whitam (1983) pointed out that individuals who are same-sex attracted exist in all societies in similar percentage and are present where an aggregate of people are enough to form a population, most cultures champion heteronormativity (affirmation of heterosexuality and its accompanying gender and sexual roles). In Chinese ethnic culture, the role of a man and the role of a woman are clearly defined. To not fulfil these roles would mean that family structures have been usurped and this is deemed unnatural. The belief that same-sex attraction is unnatural in Chinese ethnic culture also adds to the conflict faced by men who are of Chinese ethnicity and who are same-sex attracted. Additionally, there are the issues of face-saving of the family, issues of shame and discontinuation of the family name that are connected to same-sex attraction (Ng, 1989; Cong et al., 2008; Poon & Ho, 2009).

In brief, the literature suggests three major points. First, that the coming-out process may take more than one avenue; second, that coming out is an essential part of identity formation of same-sex attracted males; and third, that Chinese ethnic culture has proscriptions against same-sex sexual identities.

Coming Out: Linearity and Self Expression Models

The coming-out process is more than informing others of same-sex attraction. It is about the development of an identity (Maguen, Floyed, Bakerman, & Armistead, 2002) and cannot occur within a social vacuum (D'Augelli, 2003). Various scholars posited that coming out is a linear process, while other authors take the position that it is a process that requires self-expression. Briefly, the scholars who took the stand that coming out was a linear process name between three to four stages of coming out with sharing of same-sex sexual attraction occurring towards the final stage of the

process (Troiden, 1988, 1989; Edwards, 1994; Mondimore, 1996; Rosario, Hunter, Maguen, Gwadz, & Smith, 2001; Marcus, 2005). Of particular interest is the work of Troiden (1989), which stated that the same-sex attracted man would follow a distinct pattern where he first tells his friends, then his siblings, then his mother and finally, his father of his same-sex sexual attraction.

Conversely, Rosario, Schrimshaw and Hunter (2008) noted that most if not all models of the process of sexual identity formation of gay men have a linear pattern but question if such linearity takes into consideration personal factors and a different developmental pathway is followed by each individual. As such, these authors proposed a new model that took into consideration self-discovery and exploration (becoming aware of sexual attraction, questioning sexual orientation and partaking of sexual activity) and identity integration (acceptance and commitment to sexual identity via forming positive perceptions of homosexuality and involvement in activities executed by the gay community). This proposed model took into consideration that individuals form identity development and integration at different points of life and that identity formation and integration is an on-going process.

These opposing paradigms of coming out suggest that men who experience same-sex attraction have more than one avenue of approaching the coming-out process. It also suggests that while it is a conscious step to move through the process, results of the process may differ due to other social actors involved. The literature also suggests that there is no specific end point. Rather, the coming-out process is on-going throughout the social experience of individual same-sex attracted men.

Benefits of Coming Out

Vaughan and Waehler (2010) found that coming out has led to personal growth for men who experience same-sex attraction in terms of a sexual identity that is psychologically strong and healthy and endow them with greater ability in social skills, fortitude and authenticity. There is greater internal acceptance of their sexuality and as such men who experience same-sex attraction who come out are able to transform their social and sexual identities in positive ways. Coming out also helps same-sex attracted men to develop healthy relationships, create romantic relationships and also set boundaries from which to distance themselves from unhealthy relationships. Coming out also helps these men to be involved in advocacy and to develop a sense of community. In general, coming out makes men who are same-sex attracted more psychologically and socially fit.

In contrast, the concealment of same-sex attraction and same-sex attracted sexual identity can lead to illness such as cancer, bronchitis and psychosomatic symptoms (Taylor, 1999). Additionally, repression as opposed to expression of same-sex sexual attraction adds to oppressive societal restraints and depression. Specifically, in

the case of HIV+ same-sex attracted men, repression leads to the exacerbation of HIV/AIDS symptoms (Ullrich, Lutgendorf, & Stapleton, 2003). It has to be noted that the coming-out process itself must be positive in order to have positive benefits. Rosario et al. (2001) found that if the coming-out process were positive, the same-sex attracted men would have more self-esteem and do more to practise safe sex due to the positive view of same-sex attraction. The opposite happens if the coming-out process is not a positive one. This is not to imply that men who are same-sex attracted who do not come out suffer medically and psychologically, nor does it mean that they are socially maladjusted. Rather, what is asserted is that concealment of a gay sexual identity may lead to physically and mentally debilitating conditions that can be avoided.

Barriers to Coming Out

Aside from the negative implications of not coming out as stated in the previous section, same-sex attracted males face other barriers to coming out. Legalities and societal expectations against men who have same-sex sexual attractions stymy the process of coming out. This is true of many nations in the world, and Malaysia is no exception (Jenkins, 2004; TreatAsia, 2006).

While same-sex attracted sexual identity in and of itself is not a crime in Malaysia, same-sex attracted men who engage in same-sex sexual behaviour can be prosecuted under Section 377A of the Malaysian Penal Code. This section of the Penal Code prohibits sodomy and gross indecency with punishments such as 20 years of imprisonment (Scoville, 2004). Societal expectation of men in general in Malaysia is to meet masculine gender norms (Baba, 2001). If these gender norms are not met, same-sex attracted men would face societal censure due to the irrational fear that surrounds same-sex sexual attraction (Herek, Norton, Alan, & Sims, 2010; Scoville, 2004). Additionally, same-sex attracted men may experience internalised fears related to their sexual attraction. This also acts as a barrier to coming out (Meyer & Dean, 1998; Simon, 1998).

RESEARCH DESIGN

This study of *sophrosyne* focusses on same-sex attracted men of Chinese ethnicity in Malaysia as the Chinese culture has traditional gender roles and family structures that are usurped when same-sex attracted men do not fulfil their gender roles (Ng, 1989; Cong et al., 2008; Poon & Ho, 2009). As the Chinese ethnic community comprises 22.6% of multi-ethnic Malaysian society (www.indexmundi.com/malaysia), this study, albeit from a qualitative data standpoint, would allow for greater understanding of the socio-cultural issues that are faced by ethnic Chinese Malaysian men who are same-sex attracted in creating an identity as same-sex attracted males.

This research received clearance from the Ethics Committee of Universiti Sains Malaysia for execution. The research was

qualitative in nature due to the sensitive nature of the data sought and the fact that same-sex attracted men are not easily identified in Malaysian society. Additionally, men who are same-sex attracted practise the utmost discretion in sharing their experiences due to societal proscription. The sampling methods utilised were purposive sampling through contacts of the AIDS Action and Research Group of Universiti Sains Malaysia and snowball sampling. The geographic parameter chosen was the state of Penang, Malaysia as the state has an ethnic Chinese population of 41.5% (http://penanginstitute.org/v3/resources/data-centre/122-population).

The criteria set for eligibility of respondents were based on having Malaysian citizenship, being male, having expressed same-sex sexual attraction, being of Chinese ethnicity and having taken up residence in the state of Penang. Age, occupation and level of education were not taken into consideration; however, these data were collected to offer a brief demographic analysis of the respondents who met the research criteria. A total of 15 respondents were gained when the point of data saturation was achieved.

All respondents were presented with a consent form by the author to gain informed consent. The consent form was an abbreviated version of the medical consent form used by Universiti Sains Malaysia and it was approved by the Ethics Committee of Universiti Sains Malaysia. Respondents were informed that they were allowed to withdraw from the data collection process at any time that the research was being conducted and the author's contact details were shared with the respondents for this purpose. The privacy and confidentiality of the respondents were protected through the use of pseudonyms and 128-bit encryption for saved data.

Respondents were interviewed in-depth via a semi-structured interview questionnaire research tool that allowed for necessary probing and expression of the experiences of the respondents. Each interview took between one and one and a half hours. All interviews were audio-recorded after permission was sought from and granted by the respondent. The interviews were then transcribed. Transcribed data were then transferred onto a content analysis matrix. Data were then analysed for evidence of *sophrosyne* (moderation, self-mastery, taking control of oneself and freedom).

FINDINGS

Sophrosyne and Moderation

The concepts of balance, moderation and recognition of a time and place for coming out were both present and not present in the findings. The following two interview excerpts attest to this:

> *My coming out happened by accident. My mum saw my diary. My mom is not the type to believe in personal space and privacy so as long as I was living under her roof she felt she had the right to look through my things. She found*

the entry on my diary where I was writing about a crush I had on my teacher, and when she found out all hell broke loose. When she told my father he said I will never amount to anything because of my attraction to men and that I will end up selling my body for sex to make a living. This pushed me to succeed so that I could prove him wrong. Since then, my mother has come to accept my orientation. My father not so much. But the revelation of my same-sex attraction has redefined my relationship with my parents. Somehow it has made us stronger. Before the incident I felt that there was a barrier between us, but since coming out I feel closer to them. – Mike, early 30s, Executive

First I came out to myself. I have known I am attracted to men since a young age, but I could not accept it as I was from a strong religious Christian background. So I lived a double life, suppressed my attractions and trained to become a pastor. I quit working for the church because I felt like a hypocrite as it is not affirming of men like me, and I had fallen in love with a man from South Africa. This was my first solid step in affirming my same-sex attraction. I was then able to live freely and coming-out allowed me to live the life I live now. I moved to Kuala Lumpur and then on to Penang to be with more same-sex sexuality affirming Christians and we share our love for God and his ministry together. My family and old friends may suspect my same-sex attractions but with them I will leave it as a suspicion for now. – Seb, mid 40s, Entrepreneur

In the first interview excerpt, no balance was in play initially. The respondent did not achieve balance through his coming out for two reasons: first, the situation was forced upon him, and second, the parent-child dynamic did not allow him to assert his identity positively. However, over time, a balance was achieved in the relationship the respondent had with his parents. In this instance, the respondent had met the societal expectation of maintaining his position of son within the parent-child dynamic. The use of the word "redefined" as used by the respondent suggests that there was a process of change that occurred for both the respondent and his parents, and this suggests a moderation born of acceptance. This respondent demonstrated the concept of moderation in that he was able to use the initial negative reaction of his father to spur his professional ambition. For the second respondent, there was no balance prior to accepting his same-sex attraction as his internal conflict between his same-sex attraction and the dogma of his religious convictions made him live a double life. Developing romantic feelings for another same-sex attracted male began the process of balancing his same-sex attraction and his religious convictions. While it may be argued that the *sophrosyne*

of moderation could be put further to the test for this respondent by coming out to his family, the counter-argument would be that he has recognised that the appropriate time and place should be decided by him.

Sophrosyne, Self-Mastery and Control of Self

The use of structure in self-mastery according to the concept of *sophrosyne* requires a structure for identity recognition. The data suggested that while a formal structure may be followed by some respondents, others found control and self-mastery more from self-realisation. Examples of these are found in the following interview excerpts:

> *My coming out process? I have come out to my close friends, my gay friends, some of my gym friends, not to my parents, I am out to my sister. – Joe, early 20s, Accountant*

> *When I first came out I thought there would be negative reactions. In actuality it was positive and that was a relief. I was not going to be ostracised, get cursed, all that sort of horror stories where you hear other people's coming-out stories that they got thrown out of the house and they get disowned, you know all that sort of tragic stuff. But for me, it all strengthened me to be who I am and first of all to accept who I am before I can move to the next stage beyond a sexual identity. I guess in a way that coming-out process strengthened my own resolve of who I am. – Lee, late 30s, Executive*

> *I became a Christian hoping I would be "born again" and the Lord would make me straight. Then I dated a lady and we were in a relationship for three years. But at the end of the day I just figured I am fooling myself. I woke up one day looked myself in the mirror and said "Honey, wake up," and that's it, here I am. – Foo, early 30s, Executive*

> *Definitely yes, because since I've come out I've become more comfortable. I have only come out to my biological sister, but after that I became more comfortable to be a gay man and being accepted by one of my family members helped. If I have any problems I have somebody to go to even if it is about a relationship. My sister will somehow give some advice and support from a lot of different aspects. And support from the friends as well, friends are very supportive from the aspect of lifestyle and the behaviour and the attitude that we are not different from other people. – Kev, mid 30s, Executive*

The responses from the first and the fourth respondent indicate that a structure as proposed by some scholars

was followed in the coming-out process. This indicates that, based on the concept of *sophrosyne*, steps are necessary for self-mastery and control of self in establishing an identity. However, *sophrosyne* also states that recognition of identity is important in identity formation. The responses of the second and third respondent suggested that self-realisation and moving forward with life are necessary to identity formation.

Sophrosyne and Freedom

Conceptually, *sophrosyne* and freedom indicate recognition of individuality while respecting the social context within which the identity exists. The data indicated recognition of individuality rather than social contextualisation. The following excerpts are examples of this.

> *Every day is a new challenge, every day is a new experience. The best thing about it is that the more experience you get you become surer you are of who you are. Still struggling, but living it, living every minute of it and it's a great experience. Being free to do what you want, you get experience and knowledge of who you are at the end of the day. Even though what I have done may be ethical or right it became part of me and recognising it allowed me to recognise who I am. That is how it shaped me. – Chai, late 20s, Graphic Designer*

> *You really have to align yourself, what you want, what you need, who you are, who you want to be and you really have to go through all of this soul searching to really know yourself and then from that point, start again. And that basically charter a path. So I think that part has really made a lot of difference and then again helped me to make peace with myself. That is important for the later part of my life. So it is more of a reset, a reset button (laughs). I always think okay, this is not quite what I want so I reset, but it is not the end of the world, it is not the end of the journey. – Khoo, late 30s, Entrepreneur*

> *Each day is a learning process, you learn it through what you do, what you experience. I would not say I am the best yet, but I am getting better. – Kong, 30s, Entrepreneur*

The freedom to be oneself and the freedom to express individuality are key themes in the *sophrosyne* conceptualisation of freedom as found in the data. The interview excerpts above indicated that freedom was not an end point. Rather, freedom was both part of a life journey of identity formation. No social contextualisation was mentioned by the respondents specifically about their interactions with society in general in their coming-out process.

DISCUSSION

Moderation

As shown in the data, the concept of moderation may have been utilised by the respondents to navigate the development of their same-sex attracted identity. The use of the concept of moderation may require redefinition of both the relationship with the self where internal conflict may be resolved significantly so that expectations from both parties may be managed. Additionally, the concept of moderation may be applied to finding a balance between same-sex sexual attraction and other aspects of the life of an individual. For this, men of Chinese ethnicity in Penang may or may not necessarily take the same steps as stated by scholars. Also, they may instead choose to work within the framework of Chinese cultural ethnicity and seek a balance between cultural expectation and their own needs. While it may not be necessary for immediate family to recognise the validity of the same-sex attraction of the individual, the data pointed out that management of the change in cultural expectation is possible.

In this, it can be seen that the coming out of ethnic Chinese Malaysian gay men in the sample repeated what was posited by Khng (2001) and Wang, Bih and Brennan (2009). Moderation in terms of taking a slow approach and taking into consideration the needs of the family and society at large was practised by the respondents when coming out. This created the congruence mentioned in self-identity theory by Waterman (2011) as well as the steps of development of sexual identity by Savin-Williams (2011). This suggests that there is some affinity between *sophrosyne* and Asian cultures.

What can be seen also from the data presented is that in finding the moderation of *sophrosyne*, respondents also gained relational and behavioural patterns with significant family members and peers. They also were cognisant of their own needs, or came to accept their own needs that rested on same-sex attraction (Berzonsky, 2011; Kroger & Marcia, 2011) while being cognisant of the societal challenges to being same-sex attracted (Smith, 2011; Jensen, Arnett & McKenzie, 2011). The overarching theme is one of seeking balance and not of extremism with total seclusion of self or exclusion of significant others; rather, it is one of seeking a balance between self needs and respect for the needs of others while maintaining openness in relationships.

Self-Mastery and Control of Self

Self-mastery and control of self, as pointed out in the data, require self-realisation. While the data supported the assertion that certain steps need to be taken in identity formation, it is up to the individual to develop self-realisation so that the identity may continue to develop beyond the point of coming out. A suggested thought would be to focus on this continued development instead of merely on the coming-out process. *Sophrosyne* allows for the continuation of the development of self-mastery and control of self throughout the individual's lifetime. It would then be

possible for men of Chinese ethnicity who are same-sex attracted to have permutations of their same-sex attracted identities at different stages of their life, if self-realisation were employed (Smith, 2011; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2011; Savin-Williams, 2011). This self-realisation means knowing the eudaimonic self, which is necessary to identity formation among same-sex attracted men (Smith, 2011; Soenens & Vansteenkiste, 2011; Vignoles, 2011; Waterman, 2011; Savin-Williams, 2011). *Sophrosyne* then, when coupled with identity and cultural theory, is more than self-mastery and self-control. It is about mastering and controlling oneself through deeper knowledge and understanding of the self, and not merely acknowledging and fulfilling the desires of the self.

Freedom

The concept of freedom in *sophrosyne* has deeper meaning when viewed from the standpoint of the collected data. It is not merely freedom to express same-sex attraction, but the ability to form individuality as a man with same-sex attraction. In other words, there is no need to clone or replicate the individuality of the experience of another man who also has same-sex attraction. While men who have same-sex attraction who are of Chinese ethnicity may face specific barriers in terms of ethno-cultural expectation, the concept of freedom according to *sophrosyne* would allow them to express their individuality at a personal level. Freedom, again, is not for replication, but for individualisation (McAdams, 2011; Oyserman & James, 2011). This individualisation may take different paths, and changes can be made as that path progresses (Waterman, 2011).

The findings also challenge what has been posited about cognisance of societal needs by Berzonsky (2011), Khng (2011) and Wang, Bih and Brennan (2009), suggesting that while society does play a function in cultural and individual identity formation as well as in the tenet of freedom expressed by *sophrosyne*, there is an end point to the function of society. They also suggest that at some point in the coming-out process, same-sex attracted men go into knowing themselves (Waterman, 2011) without societal influence.

Pros and Cons of Coming Out

In terms of positive outcomes of coming out, the respondents shared that they have closer family ties and are able to affirm themselves and define and redefine their identity as gay men. There was also acceptance by family and peers, self-realisation that self-delusion through immersion in religion was not the answer and moving forward in life. This realisation brought maturity to the respondents as they were able to accept what is fact and what is not. They were able to make a place for themselves in their families and community and came to be taken seriously as adults. Additionally, they were able to appreciate their freedom and to know what they wanted to do with that freedom both professionally and at a personal level. It also brought balance to the individual

respondents as they were able to firstly, know themselves as individuals and how they fit into the greater whole of society; secondly, to know how they fit into their families; and thirdly, to know how they fit in among their peers. It also brought balance to them to realise that they were able to be who they were and pursue their professional aspirations while managing possible negative reactions to their coming out to their family and society. Coming out also brought balance to the respondents as they were able to manage their interpersonal relationships with family and peers better.

On the negative side of things, the data indicated that there was still fear of negative repercussions from family members and society and that the process of coming out can be uncomfortable. The list of negative outcomes is not extensive, but it would be imprudent to assume that there are only a few negatives associated with coming out among Malaysian same-sex attracted men of Chinese ethnicity, and this forms a limitation of this research. More research into the negative outcomes of coming out are needed in the future within the context of Malaysia and the different ethnic groups in the country.

CONCLUSION

The findings and the positions taken by scholars of the 20th and 21st century on the coming-out process bear some resemblance to the structure of regulating identity and cultural identity formation and the enjoyment of sexual identity in ancient Greek society. Arguably, *sophrosyne* in ancient Greek society played a much larger role in society in terms of regulating identity formation, but, for minority populations such as men who have same-sex attraction, the concept of *sophrosyne* is also applicable.

Identity as a personal invention is necessary for men who are same-sex attracted. This is because same-sex attracted men of Chinese ethnicity who formed the research sample did not have the social markers of adulthood that opposite-sex attracted men of Chinese ethnicity have, such as marriage and parenthood. To fill this gap, the coming-out process and the use of the concept of *sophrosyne* as presented in this research would assist same-sex attracted men in building an identity that benefits both them and society. As the data pointed out, there is no end point in the journey of identity formation. While parental and societal judgement may initially cause issues for same-sex attracted men of Chinese ethnicity, it is part of that journey towards freedom and individuality. This author argues that despite deeply entrenched ethnic expectation, based on the data, the respondents have been able to find freedom and expression of their same-sex attracted identity.

Sophrosyne as a concept does not explicitly state how a same-sex attracted man may have developed an identity in ancient Greece, but the basic premise of *sophrosyne* as a body of regulations is applicable to the coming-out process of same-sex attracted men. While scholars have attempted to describe the experiential

steps of the coming-out process of same-sex attracted males, there is room for expansion upon the concepts of moderation, self-mastery, control of self and freedom in the coming-out process. Specifically, these concepts may be used in the context of conservative ethnic groups such as the Chinese.

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A Cross-Sectional Study on Occupational Stress of Using Thai-JCQ among Thai Immigrant Employees in Bangkok: A Path Diagram

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ABSTRACT

The author sought to verify occupational stress among Thai immigrant employees aged 20 years or older in Bangkok, Thailand and to determine the variables (e.g. working conditions, workloads, job securities and wages) associated with occupational stress among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok. Five hundred Thai immigrant employees in Thailand's capital, Bangkok, were interviewed. Occupational stress was assessed using the Thai Job Content Questionnaire (Thai-JCQ), Thai version, which was applied using the Job Demand Control (JDC) model by Karasek. Data analysis was undertaken using a path diagram. The results showed that the variables could explain the occupational stress change by 26.6%. Working conditions, workload and job security have a direct effect on occupational stress with standardised regression weights of 0.309, 0.204 and 0.172 (p-value<0.01), respectively. Moreover, workload has indirect relationship on occupational stress with standardised regression weights of 0.062 (p-value<0.01). In contradiction, wages did not have any significance. In conclusion, working conditions have the most direct relationship on occupational stress. A suggestion should be that a study, using qualitative methods, is undertaken to further understand its links to the creation of health policy.

Keywords: Path diagram, occupational stress, Thai job content questionnaire, Thai immigrant employees, Bangkok

INTRODUCTION

The policies of the ASEAN economic community (AEC) has led to the introduction of rapid economic, social and environmental changes, especially, in employment conditions (e.g. wages,

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working conditions, job insecurities and workload etc.) among Thai immigrant and other immigrant employees from other countries in Asia. It has been found that in AEC and Eastern Asia, there is an incremental trend of employee movement, while in various countries in the Asia Pacific region, employment conditions have become more complex (Niyomsilpa, 2011). A Thai report found that the movement of employees in many countries comprised of both native immigrant employees and foreigners who were moving both within countries and between countries in the Asia Pacific region. It indicated that the number of immigrants has strongly increased. It has become a turning point in lifestyle among immigrant employees. Turning points are related to changes in working conditions, workload, job security and wages among native immigrant employees and foreign immigrant employees both within countries and between countries in AEC societies (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2013).

The AEC is made up of 10 member countries, of which Thailand is one. Every country needs native and foreigner employees; indeed, so does Thailand. AEC policies lead to positive increment in working lifestyles among Asian professional employees, who work in western countries but who want to return to ASEAN countries (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2013). However, the majority of Thai immigrant employees still want to work in Thailand.

Statistical data from the National Statistical Office in 2014 found that Thai employees are stressed or have neuroses, and this is now the third largest health problem in Thailand (National Statistical Office, 2014). Prevention of occupational stress among Thai employees who are immigrant employees in Thailand is a key element of this study.

The theoretical framework of this study is that occupational stress is a social determinant of health from the public health perspective. The social determinants of health (Benach et al., 2010) focusses on working conditions, which are a causal variable of this study, under public health work, at a macro theoretical level. It describes the characteristics of working conditions/employment conditions that create pressure and tensions that bring on occupational stress. The public health perspective of occupational stress is that it is a psychosocial dimension of occupational health hazards (Gatchel & Schultz, 2012). The theoretical level is at the micro level (e.g. occupational stress). This framework can link the theoretical relationship between the macro and micro levels.

Previous studies found that causal stress among Thai farm workers under globalisation came from transnational corporations and transnational economics under globalisation were associated with farm worker stress. Transnational practices show weak associations with Thai state regulation, Thai state social protection, the Thai market, land holdings and technology

variables and their effects upon stress through indirect effects on Thai farm workers. This indicates that one result of globalisation, as in the AEC of Southeast Asian countries, is stress among Thai employees (e.g. farm workers) of Thailand (Kaewanuchit et al., 2015). Working conditions and wages are the factors most linked to stress among academic staff in government universities in Thailand (Kaewanuchit et al., 2015; Kaewanuchit & Phothong, 2015), as they are the most likely causes of stress in the workplace. This causal stress results from overload, poor working conditions/employment conditions and high job responsibilities (Dağdeviren et al., 2011; Wei et al., 2011; Zeynep, 2013).

In conclusion, the cause of occupational stress among native employees and immigrant employees in many countries is workload (Amponsah-Tawiah et al., 2014), poor working conditions (Akhavan et al., 2007; Font et al., 2011; Dunlavy & Rostila, 2013), low wages (Ahonen et al., 2009; Panikkar et al., 2013) and low job security/high job risk (Font et al., 2012). Occupational stress is linked to leave of absence from work due to sickness (Gatchel & Schultz, 2012), turnover, atherosclerosis (Fujishiro et al., 2013), hypertension (Fujishiro et al., 2013), lung cancer (National Statistical Office, 2014), stress at home and the workplace (Sjörs et al., 2014) and health inequality, among others (Dunlavy & Rostila, 2013). Moreover, research has found that the impact of physical and psychosocial risks on employee well-being and quality of life among employees in the mining industry in Ghana was poor (Amponsah-Tawiah et al., 2014). A study about work-related health problems among resident immigrant workers in Italy and Spain reported that their psychical health problems were skin diseases, musculoskeletal problems and respiratory problems. In both countries the risk of psychological stress was predominant among national workers, too (Rosano et al., 2012).

Thus, this research topic is important and it is necessary to study the path diagram of occupational stress among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok, Thailand. The hypothesis of this study was that increment in working conditions, workload, job security and wages leads to occupational stress among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok, Thailand.

OBJECTIVES

The aims of this study were (i) to examine the relationship between the variables of occupational stress using Thai-JCQ among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok, Thailand by using a path diagram (ii) to determine each variable (i.e. working conditions, workload, job security and wages) on occupational stress among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok, Thailand by using a path diagram.

Operational Definitions

The operational definitions were as follows:

1. Working conditions were related to questions about the exploitation of employees by their employers, the characteristics of their occupations that had an effect on occupational stress and if their work environment had an effect on occupational stress. Each item was rated on a 4-point Likert scale: 1=none, 2=less, 3=more, and 4=the most.
2. Workload associated questions such as control of job tasks per hour or day, number of working hours per day and wages per hour or day, evaluation of the job task in the period in order to collect data for qualification and how to determine suitability of job task. Each item was rated on a 4- point Likert scale ranging. Each item was rated on a 4-point Likert scale: 1=none, 2=less, 3=more, and 4=the most.
3. Job security was the employment condition used for temporary employment. It was found that employment conditions had an effect on job insecurity, long term over work per day, better work, turnover and an advanced career path. Each item was rated on a 4-point Likert scale: 1=none, 2=less, 3=more, and 4=the most.
4. Wages were measured by total income (baht per month).
5. The Thai immigrant employees surveyed worked in Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand. They were natives of other provinces in Thailand.
6. Occupational stress was assessed using the Thai Job Content Questionnaire (Thai-JCQ (Phakthongsuk, 2009), which was modified from Karasek for occupational stress screening in a Thai community setting in Thailand. The items can be grouped into six factors: job control, psychological demands of the job, physical demands of the job, job security, social support and hazards at work. The Thai-JCQ contained 54 questions. A sum of the weighted item scores was calculated for each scale. The total Thai-JCQ score had scores of slightly stressed (0-60 scores), moderately stressed (60-80 scores) and highly stressed (>80 scores), coded 1, 2, 3 and 4, respectively.

METHODOLOGY

Study Area

This study involved 11 districts in the Bangkok area of Thailand. Bangkok is an important area of Thailand because it is the capital city of Thailand and it is experiencing rapid economic growth. Most Thai immigrant employees move from the other provinces to work in Bangkok.

Participants

The participants of this cross-sectional study were 500 Thai immigrant employees (more than 20 years old and literate, with no limitations about sex, educational degree or career) who had worked in Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand.

Sample Size

The sample size was calculated by using the proportion formula of unknown population ($N=P\ (1-P)\ Z^2 / e^2$) and the M-plus guideline, with a 95% confidence interval. The sample size estimated a population of ≥384 Thai immigrants while the M-plus guideline suggested that the sample size was no less than 10-20 times the number of the parameters for the path model. Thus, the sample size of this study consisted of 500 Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok and had a large number of research subjects in order to decrease the proportional errors. The inclusion criteria was made up of Thai immigrant employees-aged >20 years old and literates who had worked in Bangkok, which is one out of 22 provinces in the central region of Thailand. Bangkok is undergoing rapid transition in the social, economic and high technological sphere. Thai immigrant employees who had worked in other provinces were excluded. Participants who did not want to reply to the questionnaire led to termination within the criteria, including their subject allocation.

Sampling Method

The sampling method of this study was stratified random sampling because measurements within the strata have lower standard deviation, and so stratification gives smaller errors in the estimates. In addition, this method is often desirable to create the estimates of the population parameters for groups within the population. This sampling method was divided into two strata. The first strata was grouped into the five regions of Thailand by stratified random sampling (the southern region, the northern region, the eastern region, the north-eastern region and the central region). Then, the central region of Thailand, which has 22 provinces, was selected by random sampling. The second strata had 22 provinces, which are located in the central region of Thailand. After that, Bangkok was selected by random sampling from these 22 provinces in the central region of Thailand. Therefore, Thai immigrant employees in this study who had worked in the capital city of Thailand (Bangkok) totalled 500 cases.

Research Instruments

Both applied and standard questionnaires were used as research instruments for this study. There were 74 questions in the questionnaire (20 closed items for the applied questions and 54 closed items for standard questions). The applied questionnaire contained individual data and the path diagram of occupational stress among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok. Individual data was collected through six questions (work province, sex, educational level, marital status, age and occupation). The path diagram of occupational stress among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok contained four exogenous/endogenous variables (i.e. working conditions, workload, job security and wages). Working conditions contained three items (i.e. the exploitation of employee by the employer, characteristics of their occupation that had an effect on

job stress and the stress-inducing effects of their working environment in the workplace. Workload consisted of four items (i.e. control of job task/amount of hours or days, consideration of outcome per day related to wages, control of the job task in the period used to collect data for the standard and an evaluation of the job task for its suitability). Job security comprised six items (i.e. employment conditions that used short-contract employment, employment conditions that had an effect on job insecurity, long-term work, better employment, turnover and enhanced career prospects). Participants were asked to rate each item in these variables on a 4-point Likert scale of 1 (none), 2 (less), 3 (more) and 4 (most). Wage variables were reported using the following codes: 1=≤5,000 baht, 2=5,001-10,000 baht, 3=10,001-15,000 baht, 4=15,001-20,000 baht, 5=20,001-25,000 baht, 6=25,001-30,000 baht, 7=30,001-35,000 baht, 8=35,001-40,000 baht, 9=40,001-45,000 baht, 10=45,001-50,000 baht, and 11=>50,000 baht. The 54-item version of the Thai-JCQ, which was the standard questionnaire, was used in this study for psychosocial work screening in Thai community settings of Thailand. This questionnaire was translated into Thai with minor modifications to assess the six major Thai-JCQ scales. The latter consisted of job control, psychological job demands, physical job demands, job security, social support and hazards at work. The job control dimensions were measured using 11 items (e.g. development of their own abilities). Psychological job demands were measured using 12 items (e.g. working hard, having enough time to do things). Physical job demands were measured using six items (e.g. conflicting demands, financial risks). Job security was measured using five items (e.g. Q32: Do you work on an annual basis?; Q33: Were you faced with unemployment last year?; Q34: You will become unemployed because of your employer in the next two years). Social support was measured using eight items (e.g. supervisor shows concern, supervisor pays attention, co-workers are friendly). Hazard/risks at work scales were measured using 12 items (e.g. equipment hazard, loud noise, occupational infection). For each item, the answer was reported on the 4-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=agree and 4=strongly agree, except for items 32-34. For item 32, the answer was recorded on a 4-point Likert-type scale, ranging from "No, I am still an employee and sometimes laid off," "No, I am always laid off," "No, I work sometimes" and "I have worked every year" which scored 1, 2, 3 or 4, respectively. For item 33, the answer was recorded ranging from "I was unemployed/laid off last year," "always," "sometimes," and "none," which scored 1, 2, 3 or 4, respectively. For item 34, the answer was recorded on a 4-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1=high, 2=sometimes, 3=seldom and 4=none, respectively. The sum of the weighted item scores was interpreted for each scale. The total Thai-JCQ score had slight stress (0-60 scores), moderate stress (60-80 scores)

and high stress (>80 scores), which were coded 1, 2, and 3 respectively. The Thai-JCQ was developed and validated using the Thai population in Thai society. Both the reliability and the validity of the questionnaire have been verified.

Verification of the Data Accuracy and Data Collection Procedure

The researcher sent questionnaires to five professors in Thailand to verify and check both the content and the construct validity. Reliability was checked by test-retest reliability and it was found that the reliability of working conditions, workload, job security, wages and occupational stress was 0.87, 0.88, 0.84, 0.80 and 0.85 using the SPSS programme to find the Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient. Then, the researcher sent the questionnaire to The Human Committee for Research Ethics. The research protocol was approved by The Committee for Research Ethics (social sciences), Mahidol University, Thailand, which issued it a certificate of approval numbered 2015/174.1905. Following this, the researcher registered the questionnaire in the Thai Clinical Trials Registry (TCTR). The TCTR identification number for the questionnaire was TCTR20150531001.

The researcher and assistant researchers introduced themselves to the participants, who were asked to distribute the questionnaires to Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok during their rest hour. Permission to conduct the study was recorded from each Thai immigrant employee. All the study participants expressed informed consent. A total of 500 of the studied Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok returned the questionnaires. Each participant returned a completed questionnaire within a closed box.

Data Analysis

The general data were tested on a personal computer using the SPSS statistical software package (version 15.0 for Windows; SPSS Inc. Chicago, IL). Variables were analysed for normality. All values were reported using frequency, percentage, minimum, maximum, mean and standard derivation (S.D.), kurtosis and skewedness for normally distributed variables. A path diagram of occupational stress using Thai-JCQ among Thai immigrant employees was completed with the use of a path analysis of variance, an analysis of the R square and a measurement of the goodness-of-fit to the path diagram using the M-plus programme (version 5.2).

RESULTS

Sample Characteristics

The participants (500 cases), who were Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok, were males (279 cases; 55.80%) and females (221 cases; 44.20%). They were mostly single (180 cases; 36.00%). One hundred and ninety-eight (39.60%) had a Bachelor's degree and their ages were 40-49 years old (175 cases; 35.00%). They were mostly temporary immigrant employees (130 cases; 26.00%) and their wages were mostly in the range of 20,001-25,000 baht/month (71 cases; 14.20%) (Table 1).

Table 1
Frequency and Percentage of Thai Immigrant Employees in Bangkok **(***N=500)*

Data	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Sex : Female	221	44.20
: Male	279	55.8
Age (years) : 20-29	59	11.80
: 30-39	104	20.80
: 40-49	175	35.00
: 50-59	74	14.80
: > 60	88	17.60
Education : Primary school	42	8.40
: Secondary school	142	28.40
: Bachelor degree	198	39.60
: Master degree	92	18.40
: Doctoral degree	26	5.20
Occupation : Civil servant	80	16.00
: Employee university	100	20.00
: State enterprise employee	20	40.00
: Government employee	60	12.00
: Permanent employee	110	22.00
: Temporary employee	130	26.00
Wages (Baht per month) : ≤ 5,000	32	6.40
: 5,001-10,000	58	11.60
: 10,001-15,000	60	12.00
: 15,001-20,000	70	14.00
: 20,001- 25,000	71	14.20
: 25,001-30,000	45	9.00
: 30,001-35,000	35	7.00
: 35,001-40,000	48	9.60
: 40,001-45,000	36	7.20
: 45001-50,000	45	9.00
: > 50,000	0	0
Marital status : Single	180	36.00
: Window	142	28.40
: Divorce	49	9.80
: Separated	62	12.40
: Marriage	67	13.40

Note: Baht = US$33

The mean and S.D. of job security, wages (20,001-25,000 baht/month), workload, working conditions and occupational stress variables among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok were 2.894 ± 1.106, 5.272 ± 2.695, 2.496 ± 1.254, 2.788 ± 1.177 and 2.116 ± 0.848, respectively. An analysis of the results found that negative skewedness in job security, workload, working conditions and occupational stress variables was -0.715, -0.040, -0.404 and -0.223, respectively. But an analysis of wages found a positive skewedness (0.248). An analysis of the results found that the negative kurtosis of job security, wages, working conditions and occupational stress variables was -0.830, -1.038, -1.641,-1.349 and -1.577, respectively (Table 2). The Pearson correlation among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok of working conditions was the highest (r=0.446, p-value<0.01) (Table 3).

Table 2
Statistical Data of Thai immigrant Employees in Bangkok **(***N=500)*

Variable	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	S.D.	Skewedness	Kurtosis
Job securities	2.894 (more)	1 (none)	4 (most)	1.106	-0.715	-0.830
Wages (Baht/ month)	5.272 (20,001-25,000)	1 (≤ 5,000)	10 (>50,000)	2.695	0.248	-1.038
Workloads	2.496 (less)	1 (none)	4 (most)	1.254	-0.040	-1.641
Working conditions	2.788 (more)	1 (none)	4 (most)	1.177	-0.404	-1.349
Occupational stress	2.116 (moderate stress)	1 (slightly stress)	3 (high stress)	0.848	-0.223	-1.577

Table 3
Pearson Correlations

Variables	Occupational stress	Job security	Wages	Workload	Working conditions
Occupational stress	1.000				
Job security	0.308**	1.000			
Wages	0.037	-0.046	1.000		
Workload	0.403**	0.361**	-0.097*	1.000	
Working conditions	0.434**	0.201**	-0.058	0.446**	1.000

** p-value < 0.01, * p-value< 0.05

Overall Test of Goodness of Fit Indices

An analysis of the overall tests among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok showed closed goodness-of-fit indices (chi-square=5.855, df=2, p-value=0.0535, CFI=0.983, TLI=0.927, RMSEA=0.000, SRMR=0.021). These variables could explain the occupational stress changes by 26.6% (R-square=0.266; p-value<0.01) (Table 4).

Table 4
Overall Test of Path Diagram for Thai Immigrant Employees in Bangkok (N=500)

Criteria	Value
Chi-Square	5.855 (df=2, p-value=0.0535)
CFI	0.983
TLI	0.927
RMSEA	0.000
SRMR	0.021
R-square (Occupational stress)	0.266**
R-square (Job securities)	0.131**
R-square (Wages)	0.010

** p-value<0.01

Path Diagram of Occupational Stress Using Thai-JCQ Among Thai Immigrant Employees in Bangkok

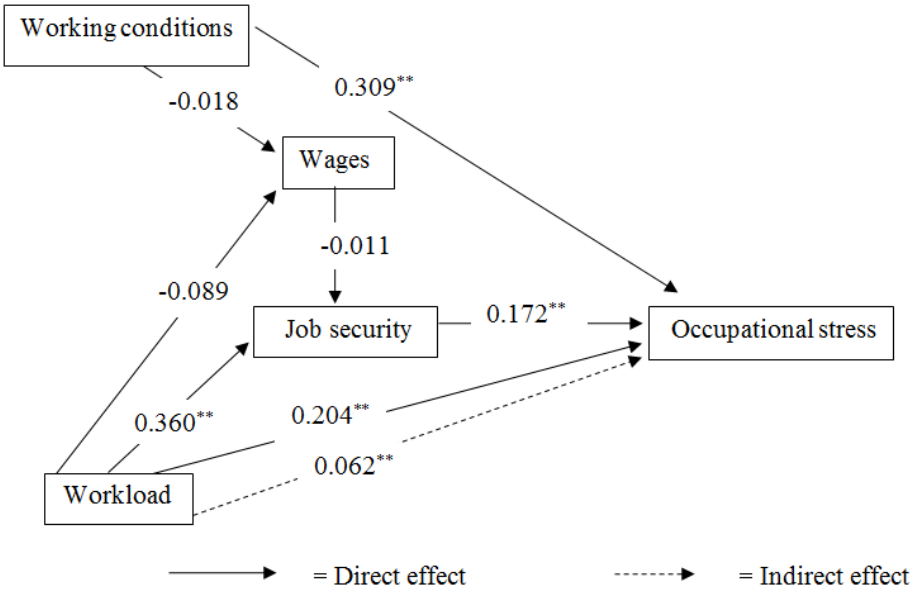
The path diagram displayed the mediating effect of wages and job security on the relationship between working conditions and occupational stress; including the direct and indirect relationships between workload and occupational stress. The results of this study found that both working conditions and workload had a direct effect on occupational stress, with standardised regression weights of 0.309 and 0.204 (p-value<0.01). Furthermore, workload had an indirect effect on occupational stress, with a standardised regression weight of 0.062 (p-value<0.01). Job security had a direct effect on occupational stress, with a standardised regression weight of 0.172 (p-value<0.01). Workload had a direct effect on job security, with a standardised regression weight of 0.360 (p-value<0.01). Workload and working conditions did not have a direct effect on job security (Table 5 and Figure 1).

Table 5
Direct, Indirect and Total Effect Among Thai Immigrant Employees in Bangkok (N=500)

Variables	Endogenous variables								
	Occupational stress			Job security			Wages		
	DE	IE	TE	DE	IE	TE	DE	IE	TE
Working conditions	0.309**	-	0.309**	-	-	-	-0.018	-	-0.018
Workload	0.204**	0.062**	0.266**	0.360**	0.001	0.361**	-0.089	-	-0.089
Job security	0.172**	-	0.172**	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wages	-	-	-	-0.011	-	-0.011	-	-	-

**p-value<0.01

DE = Direct Effect
IE = Indirect Effect
TE = Total Effect



** p-value < 0.01

Figure 1. Path diagram of occupational stress using Thai-JCQ among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok (N=500).

DISCUSSION

Main Finding

This study is the first to investigate the path diagram of occupational stress using the Thai-JCQ among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok, the capital city of Thailand, which has both Thai immigrant employees and foreigners. It demonstrated that occupational stress changed by 26.6 % (p-value<0.01). Based on the goodness-

of-fit indices among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok, the model showed a close fit. Occupational stress leads to adverse health behaviours and certain psychical and mental health problems. Additionally, occupational stress has been shown to be a predictor of both poor physical health and poor mental health (Dunlavy & Rostila, 2013; Font et al., 2011; Fujishiro et al., 2013). Occupational stress is also known to decrease job performance, increase absenteeism and lead to high turnover and significant job conflicts between individuals and co-workers as well within the family of employees (Levy et al., 2011).

In spite of the likely effects of macro-social factors explained above on employee's health, occupational health models remain close to proximal psychosocial exposure, especially, occupational stress. The social determinants of health and public health perspectives under occupational health hazards (Benach et al., 2010) focus on working conditions, which is a causal variable of this study in public health work. It shows that working conditions create pressure and tensions that bring about occupational stress. Working conditions are created by employers, the occupation itself and the working environment (Gatchel & Schultz, 2012). The results of this study are consistent with the fact that poor working conditions, high workload, low wages and low job security are major causal factors of occupational stress. This implies that the variables at the macro theoretical level (e.g. working conditions, workload, wages and job security) have a causal effect on variables at the micro level (occupational stress).

The results of this study can be used to initiate steps towards developing community-based interventions with coping management, the prevention of mental health problems (e.g. occupational stress) and the development of a mental health policy geared towards economic competition within the ASEAN community and among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok, Thailand. As reported in previous studies, migrant employees in Korea are a vulnerable population that show a relationship between occupational stress and depressive symptoms (Lee et al., 2009). Another study found that work-related psychosocial factors are salient facts that are associated with acculturative stress among Korean-Chinese immigrant employees living in Korea (Lee et al., 2012). Additionally, economic competition in the ASEAN Community has an effect on change as a signal of the complexity of employment conditions associated with occupational stress among both native employees and foreign employees within and between their countries. Immigrant employees in every group are faced with driving both international and national immigrant employee movement for economic competition in the ASEAN Community (Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, 2013).

In previous studies, high job responsibilities and conflicts were causal factors related to occupational

stress following the occupational health theory of the psychosocial dimension (De Castro et al., 2008; Rosano et al., 2012; Magnavita & Filen, 2013). Causal occupational stress was seen to have come from work overload and job insecurity among immigrant employees in Ghana and among immigrant employees in Spain (Font et al., 2011; Fujishiro et al., 2013). Additionally, poor working conditions are a causal relationship of occupational stress that lead to health inequality (Dunlavy & Rostila, 2013). A previous study of working conditions among female immigrant employees provided significant insight into physical and mental health (Akhavan et al., 2007; Ahonen et al., 2009). In Spain, research has found that low wages among immigrant employees were associated with both pressure and job stress (Ahonen et al., 2009); the same was true for the relationship between psychosocial dimensions among immigrant employees and mental health, where job security and psychosocial demand became causal factors due to job stress (Font et al., 2012). It was also found that job and environmental conditions and wages had a direct effect on stress among Thai university employees and female academic university employees (Kaewanuchit et al., 2015; Kaewanuchit & Pó(

In the path diagram, variables were found to mediate the relationship between job security and job stress. These results of this study are consistent with some previous studies that found that the majority of immigrant employees had stress (Rosano et al., 2012; Kaewanuchit & Sawangdee, 2016) and anxiety (Lee et al., 2012; Magnavita & Filen, 2013).

The Strength of This Study

An occupational stress instrument was applied using the appropriate Thai-JCQ to the target Thai immigrant employees. It was developed from the Karasek model. This is the one outstanding strength of this study as it can display both specific and standard occupational stress measurements better than by just using general stress measurement guide and can provide better clarification when using the Thai version of the questionnaires for data collection from participants. The benefits of this study can be applied (i) to create health policy, especially, mental health policy by the government, (ii) to decrease health disaster expenditure for both government and employees, and (iii) to prevent the risk of mental health problems when considering government and community co-operation. The concepts used in this study can be linked to both the macro (social determinants of health) and micro (occupational stress) theoretical level under occupational health in public health work.

The Limitations and Recommendations of This Study

There were three limitations in conducting this study. The first limitation was that this study selected only Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok, Thailand and left out Thai immigrant employees in the other

regions of Thailand. These regions have their unique characteristics, and therefore, should be studied in future for comparison among every region in Thailand. The second limitation was that the study lacked a causal factor about the distance between the Thai immigrant employee participants' homes and their workplaces compared with other provinces that are similar to Bangkok. Previous Thai research found that the distance between the workers' home and workplace had a negative direct relationship on mental health with a standardised regression weight of -0.443 (p-value<0.01). Mental health levels showed the worst mental health among Thai immigrant employees in Pranakron Si Ayutthaya Province, Thailand (Kaewanuchit & Sawangdee, 2016); this should be studied or, more precisely, should be reexamined/ revisited in future research. There may also be effects on occupational stress that should have been examined for increasing causal factors in the path analysis. The third limitation was that this original research focussed on the quantitative method but some data were insufficient for proper discussion. Perhaps in future a qualitative study in this area and involving a much wider sample can be conducted.

CONCLUSION

This study found that occupational stress was a common mental health problem and a psychosocial dimension of occupational health hazards and is associated with the social determinants of health and public health perspective among Thai immigrant employees in Bangkok, Thailand. Using the Thai-JCQ, it was found that working conditions had the most direct relationship on occupational stress. In previous studies, the significant relationships of occupational stress were examined in different situations. But they were not clear in every situation. This outstanding research is linked at both macro and micro theoretical levels and shows that there are complexities at both levels. In addition, the results of this study have implications for public health perspectives under occupational health and practice when creating public health and occupational health policies, in that professionals should be aware of the importance of a comprehensive approach for occupational stress prevention in the immigrant population.

Competing Interests

The authors have no conflict of interest regarding this original article.

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ESL Undergraduates' Patterns of Plagiarism in Academic Essays Based on Print or Internet Sources

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ABSTRACT

One of the most important issues among ESL students is inappropriate use of source material in their academic writing. As a result, plagiarism is more common among ESL students. The purpose of this study is to investigate the effects of source information type (print versus online) on plagiarism patterns in students' academic essays. The data of this study comprised Malaysian undergraduates' essays written based on references to print or Internet sources. The originality reports of the students' essays submitted to Turnitin were then checked against the original sources to code various instances of similarity. The results indicated that direct copying with no reference and quotation marks was the most frequent plagiarism pattern in students' essays. Moreover, the study found a statistically significant difference between plagiarism patterns in students' writing based on print and online source modes.

Keywords: Academic writing, online source, print source, plagiarism patterns

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INTRODUCTION

A key element in academic writing is students' ability to use source texts. Students are supposed to learn academic writing skills and to use and present cited material in writing. Thus, they need to know how to read sources, identify the relevant information and effectively synthesise the material in their writing. In academic writing, the facts presented are attached to those who presented the facts. English language teachers focus on

the attribution and referencing procedure. They may cover academic writing because it is the creation of an author's identity as the presenter of the facts (Scollon, 1995). Moreover, many written manuals emphasise accurate referencing especially for students of higher education in order to help them avoid plagiarism. Instructions are usually provided in such manuals for students on referencing, quoting sources, using direct quotations, paraphrasing and writing a consistent reference list (Yoon & Hirvela, 2004; Moore, 2014).

The ability to write using material from sources is one of the most common and challenging issues for a second language (L2) writer (Hirvela & Du, 2013). Students who speak English as a second language may possess inadequate linguistic skills in relation to reading and comprehending sources in English. Thus, they face difficulties in integrating those ideas from reading sources and summarising them in their own words (Currie, 1998). Due to the language barriers faced by ESL students and their uncertainty about appropriate source use, researchers have found that these students may be more susceptible to plagiarism (Pecorari, 2003; Marshall & Garry, 2006).

Many research studies on using sources in L2 writing revealed that difficulties related to language may lead to inadvertent plagiarism. As a result of inadequate linguistic resources and reading skills, some writers make minimal changes to the original sources and present the texts as paraphrased or summarised versions. Teachers consider the limited changes of original texts as plagiarism (Pecorari & Petrić, 2014). Limited referencing skills and L2 resources, lack of knowledge about citing conventions and uncertainty about what constitutes common knowledge have also led to students' unintentional plagiarism in academic writing (Pecorari, 2003; Marshall & Garry, 2006; Shi, 2010; Pecorari & Petrić, 2014). Students' lack of knowledge about the process of writing research papers also contributes to L2 students' plagiarism (Erkaya, 2009).

Types of Plagiarism

In view of the above, proper citation and paraphrasing is an essential skill for all students. In particular, it is a more demanding task for Asian students who are not proficient in the English language (Maxwell, Curtis, & Vardanega, 2008). Integrating academic reading in academic writing without plagiarising is a challenging task for many international students from language backgrounds other than English. In general, they have three main problems in their writing: use of too many direct quotations, lack of ability to sufficiently modify and integrate source material in their writing (patch writing) and finally, inability to critically evaluate a source due to lack of discourse and linguistic competence in their discipline (Chatterjee, 2006).

Writing from sources is one of the most important skills in L2 writing. It is difficult for L2 writers to read source text material and transfer the content from

that reading to L2 writing (Hirvela & Du, 2013). For example, knowledge telling and knowledge transforming are two uses of source text of relating reading material to writing. In knowledge telling students try to identify and present appropriate use of source material while they show their understanding of the sources. In knowledge transforming, students basically use source material to develop the topic (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1987). The paraphrasing practice of international Chinese students in an undergraduate academic writing course suggests that the emphasis on knowledge telling results in poor paraphrasing and unwillingness to learn more about paraphrasing. It may produce unacceptable patch writing (Hirvela & Du, 2013).

The development of source use in the writing of Chinese postgraduates of business, technology and public relations also indicated the use of a small range of features including over-citation and copying from original material, especially from the Internet. Therefore, more instruction and pedagogical support is needed to develop students' ability in source use. Lecturers need to help students more in the appropriate use of citations, functions and uses of integral and non-integral citations, source texts and Internet sources and integrating sources, and wane them from patch writing to effective paraphrasing (Davis, 2013).

Although the Chinese students in the study understood the university's plagiarism policy, their writing included patch writing and inappropriate citations (Li & Casanave, 2012). As L2 learners, Japanese postgraduate students also have various abilities in the effective use of source material. Mostly, their use of source material lacks a clear argument and does not show the position of authors. They consider source material as real facts and they put too much emphasis on source material due to their inability to be critical about sources. When students paraphrase or summarise source material, some of them have difficulty expressing their own arguments in writing and they tend to use source words (McCulloch, 2012).

In addition, successful second-language writers in an English-medium university used more direct quotations than less successful writers in their theses written in English. The writers of low-rated theses mainly applied longer clause-based quotations that could be easily integrated into their texts, while fragments were mostly applied in high-rated theses. In fact, the authors of high-rated theses put more effort into rephrasing the original material and to develop their own writing (Petrić, 2012). Also, they used both effective and ineffective quotations such as words and expressions that were difficult for them to paraphrase. Some writers of theses repeated the quotation of terminology, reflecting their lack of skill in source use and using quotations. Although students' overuse of direct quotations indicates their lack of skill in writing, the over-reliance on the use of quotation may be necessary in the development of academic literacy (Petrić, 2012).

In line with suggestions about source use in L2 students' writing, sometimes, when a reader reads the cited text he/she cannot easily understand whether the attributed idea to the original source is properly reported. Secondary citations should be acknowledged clearly in the text since it is generally less required than a reference to the primary source (Pecorari, 2006). In fact, students do not intend to plagiarise but end up producing writing in which the accuracy of the reported ideas is not easy for readers to determine by simply reading the cited text. Therefore, there is no relationship between the students' writing and the original text. Unclear or missing citations and unacknowledged secondary citations are other examples of plagiarism behaviour observed in ESL students' writing (Pecorari, 2003).

Most of the plagiarism incidents among ESL students pertain to directly copying from the source, copying but with a few words changed, copying with changed grammar and unacceptable paraphrasing (Vieyra, Strickland, & Timmerman, 2013). Some plagiarism practices of ESL students indicate exact copying with references but no quotation marks, exact copying with no reference and quotation marks, close copying to the original source without quotation marks but with reference, close copying to original source without any quotation marks and reference and text distant from original source without any quotation marks and references (Yakovchuk, 2008). There are relevant plagiarism patterns in ESL students' academic writing such as quotations, exact copying, near copying, paraphrasing or summarising of original text without documentation and written text with wrong source information. Exact copying and near copying with documentation are considered plagiarism instances as well (Hsu, 2003).

ESL students may commit some other types of plagiarism. The first is copying word for word from the original source without any citation (Literal Plagiarism). The second type is intelligent plagiarism including manipulating the text and changing most of the words (Text Manipulation). The third is translating the text from one language to another without appropriate referencing (Translation) and the fourth is using the ideas of others without acknowledgement (Idea Adoption) (Alzahrani, Salimand, & Abraham, 2011). Plagiarism can also be in the form of group work such as submission of a friend's coursework, using the same or similar piece of work for different courses and copying and submitting another student's work as one's own with or without his/her knowledge (Kenny, 2007).

Furthermore, lack of ability in students' identification of facts and ideas may lead to inappropriate source use in students' writing. Similar to Asian students, Italian students also do not understand their English language teachers' expectations in writing academic papers in English. The separation of facts and opinions in the Italian academic tradition is unknown to English language academic writers.

Therefore, students are not able to distinguish between facts and opinions and they may give facts as opinions (Sherman, 1992).

Comparing source use in L1 and L2 writing, none of the writing included the summary of a source text and critical reading. Instead of summarising, copying or patch writing from sources was found in students' writing. Writing from sources makes the students' writing similar to the language of the source and results in inadvertent plagiarism (Howard, Serviss, & Rodrigue, 2010). Vague references, patch writing and misunderstanding of quotations and paraphrasing were found as common weaknesses in students' citation practice. None of the ESL students performed well in terms of citations, and most of them completed four stages in their development of citation practice. For example, they tended to take the original ideas as their own and they provided correct citations when they had prior knowledge about the topic of the source material (Hyland, 2009).

In general, Chinese students borrowed considerably more words from the source texts than did English-speaking students. In both summarising and paraphrasing tasks, they did not acknowledge words that were copied, slightly modified or syntactically reformulated from the source texts. Therefore, both task types and first language had an effect on the amount of words borrowed (Shi, 2004). Furthermore, the prevalence of unattributed source texts in Chinese students' academic writing may be due to the priority of imitation rather than creativity in Chinese learning culture. They quote other people's work as an incorporated part of one's own writing (Shei, 2005).

In terms of appropriate source use and prevention of plagiarism, paraphrasing is mostly considered an important skill in academic writing. L1 and L2 (Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Spanish, French and Arabic) academic writers' use of paraphrasing includes near copying, minimal revision, moderate revision and substantial revision. L2 writers were found to use more near copying than L1 writers. However, moderate and substantial revisions are more frequent in the summaries of L1 than those of L2 writers (Keck, 2006). Paraphrasing is also a challenging task for novice academic writers. They believe that there are so many ways to express something; therefore, no new statements can be produced (Pecorari, 2008).

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Plagiarism, as a form of academic misconduct, has now become an issue of concern in the education system. Although plagiarism is considered an academic offence with severe penalties, a large number of students still plagiarise, mostly intentionally (Mahmood, 2009). Some studies (for example, LoCastro & Masuko, 2002; Marshall & Garry, 2006) indicate that plagiarism is more common among students who speak English as a Second Language (ESL) compared to those who speak English as a first language

as they are less competent in English, and therefore, tend not to use source material properly (Campbell, 1990). Paraphrasing is also difficult for ESL students because they are not proficient enough in English to reformulate the structure of a sentence without losing its main idea (Devlin & Gray, 2007). ESL students tend to copy from source texts because of their lack of language proficiency and the ensuing inability to express their ideas using their own words. Furthermore, they may tend to copy because they do not know how to write or convey meaning otherwise.

Therefore, it is necessary to look at students' essays to examine the plagiarism patterns in students' writing that would better inform teachers about how to teach writing in a way that prevents plagiarism among students. In addition, previous studies have examined the appropriateness of intertexuality and source use in students' writing, particularly L2 learners of Western and Asian countries. Thus, this study was specifically undertaken to identify plagiarism patterns in students' academic essays based on their use of either the Internet or print source information. In relation to a previous study that investigated university students' knowledge of plagiarism (Zangenehmadar & Tan, 2014), the present study inquired if students' knowledge of plagiarism was illustrated in their academic essays and set out to discover the kind of plagiarism they committed.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a mixed method (qualitative and quantitative) approach to analyse qualitative data (students' essays) and to identify the patterns of plagiarism in Malaysian undergraduates' academic writing from a general writing course.

Population and Sampling

The study was conducted at a public university in Malaysia. The university is among the oldest universities in Malaysia, and it is one of the five research universities in the country. It has gone through various academic and policy developments to improve important issues related to university policies. Therefore, the data concerning students' knowledge on source use from this university are expected to represent Malaysian university students.

To identify patterns, students' essays were randomly collected from 70 students who enrolled in an English proficiency writing course. In general, there is no rule about the number of participants in a qualitative study; however, time, money and availability of participants influenced the sample size (Ary, Jacobs, & Sorensen, 2010). The students were between 18 and 23 years old and the sample included both male (40%) and female (60%) students.

Data Collection

To identify the existing practice of source use in students' writing using both modes of sources (print and Internet), essays were randomly collected from 70 students.

Since 70 was an even number, half of the respondents (n=35) were randomly given two print articles on global warming to read, and based on their reading, they constructed an essay of about 500 words by typing it using MS Word. The remaining half of the students (n=35) were emailed the Internet URL links of the two sources (of the same articles) and given instructions to write the 500-word essay on the same topic (see Appendix A). In this study, the "source" was a reference paper to which students referred for information on how to write an essay.

To avoid interrupting teaching hours and due to the time constraints of the classroom, the students were asked to do their writing at home and email the soft copy of their typed essays to the researcher within one week. The total number of 70 essays was received and collected after one week of the task assignment. The students were also informed that their academic results would not be affected based on whether they participated or did not participate in the study and their decision would not jeopardise their course grades. Although the students' participation was voluntary, they were informed that the results of the study would be kept anonymous and confidential.

Data Analysis

To examine the effects of two source modes (Internet and print) on patterns of plagiarism in students' writing, the two sets of essays written based on reference to print or online papers were submitted to Turnitin, a text-matching software to identify text in students' writing similar to original sources (see Appendix B for an example). Although Turnitin is not technically a plagiarism detection software system, it provides evidence to support the likelihood of plagiarism when used correctly. If there is text similarity without citation and it is confirmed to be accurate by a competent Turnitin user, it is very likely that such textual overlap is plagiarism. Therefore, Turnitin provides the evidence of the probability of plagiarism.

With the above in mind, Turnitin was used in this study for several reasons. Firstly, Turnitin is a common tool and has been used in a wide range of research studies in different disciplines. Secondly, the university subscribes to it and all academic staff and students have free access to it. Thirdly, Turnitin is found to be the most effective text-matching tool among 11 such software systems (Scaife, 2007). Lastly, the researchers of the present study are familiar with the software and could access it for the research use.

After the submission of the essays to Turnitin, the similarity index report for each essay was downloaded and examined. Isolated instances of similar or matched sections in the essays were not looked at. Only those similar parts that were written based on either the print or Internet sources were analysed for plagiarism patterns. Many researchers have indicated that students' source use or textual borrowing practices may contribute to plagiarism in their academic writing (Campbell,

1990; Hsu, 2003; Shi, 2004; Yakovchuk, 2008; Gilmore, Strickland, Timmerman, Maher, & Feldon, 2010). In addition, the researchers found that direct copying and paraphrasing without referencing or with incorrect citations are common types of plagiarism. Therefore, in this study, each source-based sentence in the students' essays was coded based on four criteria: (1) quotation marks (QM); (2) reference (R); (3) wrong referencing (WR); and (4) the degree of word transformation in an essay: quotation (Q), direct copy (DC), close copy (CC) and paraphrase (P). Wrong source use (WR) refers to any inaccuracies of source documentation, incomplete reference to sources, wrong use of quotation mark, inaccuracies of citation or source information and inconsistency between references in text and in reference list. Acceptable writing included an acceptable form of source use with no plagiarism incidents.

In the present study, each of the 70 essays was divided into several analysis units (mainly sentences) and text analysis was used to code source-based units according to the following plagiarism coding patterns used in previous studies (Campbell, 1990; Hsu, 2003; Pecorari, 2003; Shi, 2004; Yakovchuk, 2008; Gilmore et al., 2010; Alzahrani et al., 2011; Moore, 2013):

a) Quotation (Q) with no reference (-R) but with quotation marks (+QM)
b) Quotation (Q) with wrong reference (WR) and quotation marks (+QM)
c) Direct copy (DC) with reference (+R) but no quotation marks (-QM)
d) Direct copy (DC) with no reference (-R) but with quotation marks (+QM)
e) Direct copy (DC) with wrong reference (WR) and no quotation marks (-QM)
f) Close copy (CC) with reference (+R) but no quotation marks (-QM)
g) Close copy (CC) with no reference (-R) but with quotation marks (+QM)
h) Close copy (CC) with wrong reference (WR) and no quotation marks (-QM)

First, the two sets of student academic essays written based on different source use were submitted to Turnitin to identify the text matches. Second, the highlighted parts indicating similar text were compared with the two original source texts. Then, the plagiarism pattern framework was used to manually code each similar part in the students' essays. Next, the information was entered into the system and SPSS Version 20 was applied to run descriptive statistics to indicate the frequency of plagiarism patterns based on online and print sources of information. An independent sample t-test was used to find the relationship between the plagiarism patterns and the source modes.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The study identified eight plagiarism patterns and one acceptable form of source use, that is, Quotation with Reference and Quotation Marks (Q+R+QM) in the undergraduates' essays. As Table 1

indicates, 257 instances of plagiarism were found in the students' essays based on online sources and 174 instances of plagiarism were discovered based on print sources. The results showed more units of appropriate source use in essays written based on print than online sources, and this indicated that plagiarism was more prevalent when the sources of information were from the Internet.

The most common type of plagiarism in the students' essays was Direct Copy with no Referencing and Quotation Marks (DC-R-QM). Only one Quotation with no Referencing but with Quotation Marks (Q-R+QM) was found as the least occurring plagiarism pattern in students' writing using print sources (Table 1).

Table 1
Students' Plagiarism Patterns in Academic Essays (n=70)

Item	Plagiarism pattern	Online source use	Print source use
1	Direct copy (DC) with no referencing (-R) and quotation marks (-QM)	127	56
2	Direct copy (DC) with referencing (+R) and no quotation marks (-QM)	7	48
3	Quotation (Q) with wrong referencing (WR) and quotation marks (+QM)	25	29
4	Direct copy (DC), wrong referencing (WR) and no quotation marks (-QM)	41	17
5	Close copy (CC) with no referencing (-R) and quotation marks (-QM)	39	16
6	Close copy (CC) with referencing (+R) and no quotation marks (-QM)	7	4
7	Close copy (CC), wrong referencing (WR) and no quotation marks (-QM)	11	3
8	Quotation (Q) with no referencing (-R) and with quotation marks (+QM)	0	1
	Total	**257**	**174**
	Acceptable source use		
1	Quotation (Q) with proper referencing (+R) and quotation marks (+QM)	6	15

Students' Plagiarism Patterns in Academic Essays (n=70)

In addition, a statistically significant difference was found between the mean of plagiarism patterns in students' writing based on the two source modes (p=0.004)*. The results revealed that the mean of plagiarism patterns based on online sources was significantly higher than that of the print sources. Since the p-value was less than 0.05, there was a significant difference in the mean scores of the plagiarism pattern for each of the two groups (online and print sources) (Table 2). In other words, patterns of plagiarism were observed more in students' writing based on online sources than those based on printed sources.

Table 2
Comparison of Means in Plagiarism Patterns by Source Modes
(n=70; online source=35, and print source=35)

Source mode	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	p-value
Online	35	7.34	3.55	0.004*
Print	35	4.97	3.06	

*p-value<0.05 is significant

In addition, Vieyra et al. (2013) indicated direct copying of text as the most common type of plagiarism. Most instances of plagiarism have no citations or include incorrect ones. The present study indicated that plagiarism pattern numbers 1 (DC-R-QM) and 4 (DC WR-QM) in the writing of students who used online sources were higher than in the writing of students based on print sources. This finding is similar to Gilmore et al.'s (2010), who found that students' writing contained substantial instances of plagiarism including copying and pasting from websites and a lack of paraphrasing or quotation marks for direct copying.

Ison (2012) also found that nearly all dissertations from online institutions had at least one case of inappropriate paraphrasing and citation, and almost half of the students had direct copying without any citation. This finding also corroborates with that of Walker (2010), who reported that students mostly presented a direct quotation as paraphrased material with correct citation but no quotation marks or copying word for word without source citation.

The current study discovered that the ESL students copied or changed the sourced material used without providing acknowledgement. This problem can be attributed to insufficient language skills and inability to use correct citation techniques (Shi, 2004). Similar forms of plagiarism were also reported in another study that investigated the use of online and non-Internet sources (Selwyn, 2008). Almost the same number of students were engaged in some similar form of offline and online plagiarism. Nearly all the students had copied a few unattributed sentences from either a book, an article or online source. Also, Scanlon and Neumann's (2002) survey on online plagiarism among college and university students in the USA reported their use of the Internet to copy and paste without citation. Many students use Internet material to copy and paste in their assignments. In addition, in a study conducted by Austin, Simpson and Reynen

(2005), students were found to have used information from an Internet site without proper citation.

CONCLUSION

Plagiarism is a serious concern in the higher education system. To improve academic honesty and prevent plagiarism among ESL students, their understanding and knowledge of plagiarism need to be enhanced. Instructors should teach students how to synthesise and properly acknowledge the words and ideas taken from the original authors. Universities should use anti-plagiarism software as a pedagogical tool to provide opportunities for students to check and correct their writing in terms of appropriate source attribution before final submission of their written work.

To summarise, plagiarism can range from copying texts to copying ideas, without acknowledging the original authors (Alzahrani et al., 2011). There are various forms of plagiarism but most people view plagiarism as unattributed copying from a source text (Park, 2004). In addition, some common types of plagiarism patterns include poor paraphrasing with citation; direct quotes as paraphrased material with no quotation marks but with source attribution; verbatim copying with or without citation (Abasi, Akbari, & Graves, 2006; Chanock, 2008; Gilmore et al., 2010; Pecorari, 2010; Walker, 2010; Ison, 2012); properly paraphrased material but without in-text citation; and wrong acknowledgement of original ideas (Ellery, 2008). Furthermore, in all forms of plagiarism, the writer wants the reader to believe that the written material is his/her original words and ideas (Maurer, Kappe, & Zaka, 2006).

In general, one of the essential and important aspects of academic writing is the use of information sources. Teachers need to show and explain the central role of using information from original sources in writing. For the student, teacher or researcher, an academic essay is engaging with others in a specific discourse. Therefore, information details from sources are used and they must be integrated to make an argument. The writer can agree, disagree or elaborate on others' ideas but to discuss the idea, the writer needs to acknowledge the others' views in the writing (Moody, 2007).

In this study, the most common type of plagiarism among the Malaysian undergraduates was direct copy with no referencing and quotation marks (DC-R-M). The prevalent instances of plagiarism among the ESL learners may have been due to inadequate knowledge of source use and citation. In addition, the study revealed that the incidence of online plagiarism was higher than offline plagiarism. In other words, writing based on online sources contained significantly more plagiarism than writing using print sources.

According to this study, identification of students' plagiarism patterns in academic writing helps to increase students' and lecturers' awareness about plagiarism in

academic contexts as well as to provide them with knowledge of sources of plagiarism. Therefore, pedagogical strategies rather than punishment are needed to improve writing skills among L2 students to prevent plagiarism (Pecorari & Petrić, 2014). Moreover, instructors need to provide students with the necessary research tools and skills and help them manage the writing process. Also, it would be more helpful if students wrote the research paper in class under the instructor's supervision (Erkaya, 2009).

The study recommends that teachers take pedagogical measures and emphasise citation and referencing skills in their writing instruction. They should provide examples of correct source use in teaching students appropriate techniques in using secondary sources in writing to help reduce plagiarised texts. In addition, the university needs to implement appropriate policies and practise more stringent use of anti-plagiarism tools to further discourage plagiarism among students.

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APPENDIX A

Writing Task

Writing Task Based on Print Sources. Read the two attached articles on "Global Warming". Based on the information from the articles and your own views, write an essay on the following topic. You need to write about 500 words in three to five paragraphs and include an introduction, body and conclusion.

Topic: What are the causes of global warming and what measures can governments and individuals take to tackle the issue?

Please type the essay, and email the soft copy to samanehzm@yahoo.com.

Writing Task Based on Online Sources. Read the two online articles on global warming from the two URL links that have been emailed to you. Based on the information from the online articles and your own views, write an essay on the following topic. You need to write in about 500 words in three to five paragraphs and include an introduction, body and conclusion.

Topic: What are the causes of global warming and what measures can governments and individuals take to tackle the issue?

Please type the essay, and email the soft copy to samanehzm@yahoo.com

APPENDIX B

Sample of Student Essay Checked by Turnitin

Writing based on printed sources

3

Topic : What are the causes of global warming and what measures can governments and individuals take to tackle the issue?

2

Global warming is defined as the increase of the average temperature on Earth. As the Earth is getting hotter, disasters like hurricanes, droughts and floods are getting more frequent. Over the last 100 years, the average air temperature near the Earth's surface has risen by a little less than 1 degree Celsius or 1.3 degrees Fahrenheit. Deforestation increases the severity of global warming. The ocean is a huge carbon sink, holding about 50 times as much carbon as the atmosphere (Venkataramanan and Smitha, 2011).

4

Greenhouse gases build-up in the atmosphere and increasing growth of gl 1 al population (especially in developing world) are main causes of global warming. Climate change is the final result of the global warming caused by the enhancing greenhouse gases build up in the Earth's atmosphere and oceans, also caused by the global population growth which is enhancing.

After we found out the factors that cause the existing of global warming, we should think about the solutions to solve it. Firstly, the government should take out responsibilities to execute related policy to deal with the global warming issue, espe 1 lly the developed and developing counties, as Antipas T.S. Massawe (2012) state that, "In different ways, all countries in the developed and developing worlds are answerable for the enhancing global population growth and intensification of global activities in wealth creation which are accompanied by the greenhouse gases build up caused global warming. This is because all human beings on the planet are interdependent and interrelated in their process of wealth creation and consumption." The government can conduct policy to reduce the usage of private vehicles on the road to lower the harmful gases in the environment for cleaner air and better health. The government can provides subsidies on public transports to encourage the citizen using them for their daily lives such as commuter trains and buses. Also, the government should proposes suitable economy planning, more green lungs should be preserved instead of focus on residential development.

Moreover, individuals also should involve themselves on solving problem of global warming. Reduce, Reuse, Recycle is one of the most popular acts that known in

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Disjoint between Intention and Implementation: The Safer Sex Conundrum of Gay Men in Penang, Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

Despite national plans and policies to reduce HIV infection rates in the nation, Penang remains a state with a high HIV infection rate within the gay male population. This research therefore, undertook to discover and analyse challenges of condom use faced by gay men in Penang. The research took the qualitative route of research design and collected data utilising the purposive method and snowball technique. Respondents were interviewed in-depth utilising a semi-structured questionnaire and 33 respondents were gathered until the point of data saturation was achieved. Data were analysed using a content analysis matrix and all data were secured via 128-bit encryption. The research gained clearance to proceed from the Ethics Committee of Universiti Sains Malaysia. Despite assertions of assertiveness and confidence in negotiating safer sex with sexual partners, the findings showed that respondents faced a myriad of challenges to negotiating condom use, as well as erratic condom use. The findings also showed that the respondents discarded safer sex when sexual desire was strong, that they had multiple sexual partners and had reservations when inquiring about the sexual history and HIV status of their sexual partners. However, there were no findings to indicate that the respondents discarded safer sex practices due to the availability of highly active antiretroviral therapy (HAART) or while under the influence of recreational drugs. Although the respondents recognised the value of practicing safer sex, there exists a disjoint between the intent to practicing safer sex and the actual execution. Personal choices derail the intent to practicing safer sex and signalling a need for an individualised approach to overcoming challenges to safer sex. Challenges to the practice of safer sex come in various forms and need to be addressed via an individualised approach. National policy is vital to the reduction of HIV infection rates. Cognizance of how gay men make their safer sex choices is equally

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vital in this endeavour. Implications of the findings for policy development and future research are discussed.

Keywords: Safer sex, gay, HIV, Malaysia, individualisation

INTRODUCTION

Policies and plans have been put in place in Malaysia to stem the rise of HIV infection among most at risk populations (MARP). As gay men fell under the umbrella of men who have sex with men (MSM), the policies and plans that focus on intervention and prevention through the National Strategic Plan (NSP) have targeted the gay male population of the nation through engagement of relevant stakeholders, civil society, risk reduction practices, testing and counselling services packaged specifically for gay men, monitoring and evaluation, reporting, detection and treatment, promotion of pre-exposure prophylaxis (PrEp) and post-exposure prophylaxis (PEP) and healthy practices (Ministry of Health, 2004, 2006, 2011, 2015a, 2015b; Radziah, 2006).

The HIV/AIDS epidemic in Malaysia warranted the NSP of Malaysia for 2015 to 2030 to focus on achieving goals of having 90% of persons living with HIV (PLHIV) diagnosed, 90% of PLHIV treated with medication and 90% of the PLHIV population to have suppressed loads of HIV. The NSP for 2015 – 2030 also recognised that MSM was still a key affected population where sexual transmission was a key driver of HIV infection. There was an increasing trend of infection from 7.1% to 8.9% and a decreasing trend of condom use from 74% to 57% within this population (Ministry of Health, 2015a, 2015b). However, while the NSP planned to be innovative and effective in its methods to decrease the transmission of HIV through the sexual route, it remained unclear as to what these innovative and effective means were, aside from repackaging testing and counselling services for gay men (Ministry of Health, 2015b). While it may be assumed that this repackaging would include continued promotion of condom use as well as education about PrEP and PEP, this assumption took for granted that gay men would consistently use condoms when engaging in penetrative sexual activity.

Based on these findings, this research puts forward the assertion that prevention of HIV among the gay male population is based on the personal choices in the sexual behaviours of gay men and not only in nationwide policies. The issue then becomes one of not only policy and available resources but also of personal choices that gay men make with regards to protecting themselves from HIV infection through the sexual behaviour they engage in. This research chose to focus on the gay male population in Penang as research by Mesquita et al. (2008) and UNGASS (2008, 2010) that the HIV rates among gay men in Penang had been increasing at a steady rate.

Due to moralistic and legal judgments (UNAIDS, 2000a; 2006a; 2006b; Baba, 2001; 2002; Scoville, 2004; TreatAsia,

2006; MacFarquhar, 2007; Rehman & Polymenopoulou; 2012; Owoyemi & Ahmad, 2013a, 2013b; Yodfallah, Tengku Aizan, Rahimah, & Siti Aisyah, 2014; Brown, Low, Tai, & Tong, 2015; Pandian, 2015; Wan Roslili, 2015), as well as discrimination due to the sexual nature of transmission of HIV (Ministry of Health, 2002; 2004; 2006; Shilts, 2007; UNAIDS, 1998a; 1998b; UNAIDS, UNICEF & World Health Organisation, 2004a; 2004b; 2006; 2008), the sexual behaviours that placed gay men at a high risk of HIV infection have remained largely hidden. This could have contributed to the decreased condom use among gay men from 74.8% in 2013 to 56.7% in 2014 (Ministry of Health, 2015a). As sexual behaviour covered many aspects and many acts (Acosta, 1975; Sanderson, 2003; Sell, 1997), this research chose to focus specifically on the sexual behaviour and condom use that gay men in Penang engaged in. This research was not geared towards questioning policy implementation per se initially, but found that the exploration of the sexual behaviour of gay men that placed them at risk of HIV infection would have implications that could affect policy change in the future.

BACKGROUND

Sexual behaviour and sexual activity

Sexual behaviour encapsulated expressed sexual desires and sexual practices (Jenkins, 2004; World Health Organisation, 2004). Sexual desires and sexual behaviour, based on assertions by the World Health Organisation (2009a; 2009b), encompassed sex acts, gender identities, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure and intimacy. When expressed, sexual desires and sexual behaviour took the forms of individual thoughts, individual fantasies and specific sexual acts. This suggested that sexual behaviour was dependent on the individual and the way that the individual chose to express sexual desires. The individual expression of sexual behaviour took the forms of genital activity, sexual contact and also sexual conducts that led to orgasm (Sell, 1997), and for gay men, the individual expression of sexual behaviour led to various sexual acts that orbited the sexual acts of oral and/or anal sex (Sanderson, 2003).

The engagement in these sexual acts could be with casual sex partners and/or committed sex partners (Davies, et al., 1993). Motives for engaging in these acts for fell into two distinct categories: psychosexual reasons and social-cultural reasons. Psychosexual reasons included pleasure, nurturing a relationship, expressing affection, exercising, overcoming boredom, inducing sleep, getting rid of an erection and compliance with partner's demands, as well as providing or receiving a reward or compliance. Socio-cultural reasons include social affirmation of gender identity, social affirmation of sexuality, social affirmation of desirability, social currency and demonstration of power (Donovan & Ross, 2000). In essence, there were a myriad of ways in which sexual behaviour of gay

men were expressed. There were also multiple reasons for which an individual would engage in sexual behaviour, as well as sexual activity with another individual or individuals.

High risk sexual behaviour of gay men

According to the studies conducted by Sarankov (2009) in Russia and the World Health Organisation (2009a), globally, high risk sexual behaviours for gay men include engaging in sexual activity with multiple sexual partners and in unprotected penetrative anal sex. The World Health Organisation (2009b) noted that for epidemiological purposes, the main mode of direct infection of HIV among gay men was unprotected penetrative anal sex even if unprotected penetrative sex was engaged in occasionally (Kelly et al., 1991). Penetrative anal sex was considered the most risky of sexual behaviours because fissures, miniscule cuts and abrasions occurred during penetrative anal intercourse due to the fragile lining of the anus. Should the insertive partner be HIV positive and ejaculate semen into the rectum of the receptive partner, the likelihood of HIV infection would high. However, if the insertive partner wore a condom throughout the penetration, the risk of infection was greatly reduced. In contrast, to this high risk sexual activity, sexual behaviour that carried low risk were mutual masturbation and oral sex with the receiver wearing a condom (UNAIDS 1998a, 1998b, 2000; Diggs, 2002; Sarankov, 2009).

Studies conducted by Vlahov and Celentano (2005) as well as Posada and Gomez-Arias (2007) found that the introduction of Highly Active Anti-Retroviral Therapy (HAART) and Anti-Retroviral Therapy (ART) caused relapse into high risk sexual behaviours among gay men. This was because the respondents of these studied viewed the HIV/AIDS epidemic as a manageable disease and compared it to other manageable diseases such as diabetes. Additionally, the use of recreational drugs reduced the vigilance of safer sex among practices in the sexual behaviours of gay men (Essein et al., 2004; Griensven et al., 2004; Hidaka et al., 2006; Lampinen, Matthis, Chan, & Hogg, 2007; Schwappach & Bruggman, 2008).

High risk sexual behaviour and safer sex guidelines for gay men

For the gay male population, safer sex guidelines included the constant and consistent use of condoms during penetrative sex (Tucker, Chang, & Tulsky, 2007; Van de Bij, 2007), careful selection of sexual partners, reduction of the number of casual sexual partners, negotiation of safer sex and open communication with sexual partners (UNAIDS, 2000a, 2000b; World Health Organisation, 2009a, 2009b). Careful selection of sexual partners means knowing their HIV status (ACON, 2009) and reduction of the number of sexual partners (Ainslie, 2002), while negotiation of safer sex and open communication with sexual partners means discussing condom

use, allowing and disallowing sexual acts, as well as engaging in only external sexual activities (AMFAR, 2008, 2009).

Challenges to these guidelines, as reported by scholars, included condom use interrupted spontaneity during sex (Beyrer et al., 1995), condoms limited pleasure (Beyrer, 2008), condom use marked a lack of trust and intimacy between sexual partners (Holmes, Levine, & Weaver, 2004; Ventura, Felippe, & Newman, 1998) and inaccessibility, as well as lack of durability of condoms for anal sex (UNAIDS, 2000b). Careful selection of partners, reduction of sexual partners and negotiations of safer sex were challenged by persuasion, threats, attractiveness and rejection of the present and potential sexual partners (UNAIDS, 2006b; World Health Organisation, 2009a, 2009b).

Intent to use versus actual use of condoms

Studies on intention to use condoms and actual condom use differ in their theoretical premise as well as findings, but suggest an interesting longitudinal pattern. Albarracin, Johnson, Fishbeing, and Muellerleile (2001) used the theories of reasoned action and planned behaviour to test attitudes, behavioural norms and normative beliefs to predict condom use. The results of this research showed that while attitudes, behavioural norms and normative beliefs made the respondents acknowledge that condom use was important, they did not necessarily use condoms each time they engaged in penetrative sexual activity. Interestingly, ten years after that research was published, Schutz et al. (2011) also used the theory of planned behaviour in a cohort study and their findings showed a positive relationship between acceptance of condoms, self-efficacy, past behaviour and intention to use condoms with actual condom use. This suggests that a positive relationship with and view of condoms increased condom use, and that attitudes and the corresponding behaviour to condoms has changed (and potentially can be changed) over time. In short, if gay men could be persuaded to view condoms as an ally and not an impediment, then the decreasing trend in condom use in Malaysia may be reversed.

METHODOLOGY

Sampling

As the nature of this research is sensitive and the individuals who are open to being respondents are small in number, the purposive sampling method and the snowball method were utilised to gather the respondents who met the criteria set for the research. All the respondents were self-identified gay men who were residents of Penang, Malaysia; are citizens of the country and above the legal age of consent at the time of this study. No age, educational or ethnic parameters were set for the research. The respondents were sought up to the point of data saturation was achieved. In total, the responses of 33 respondents were gathered.

Research tool and research analysis tool

All the respondents were interviewed using the in-depth interviewing method. This allowed the researcher to probe the respondents deeply on their sexual behaviours and condom use. This method also allowed the researcher to gather rich data that would allow him to understand the relationship that the respondents had with condoms, as well as their intimate use of it. This was necessary to the focus of the research and would glean appropriate, necessary and detailed data (Delaney, 2005; Barbour, 2008).

The questions posed to the respondents were designed to be semi-structured. This method of question design was chosen as it provides the researcher with opportunities to be flexible with the order in which the questions were presented to the respondents, as well as allows the researcher to ask supporting and probing questions wherever necessary (Berg, 2009). The questions in the semi-structured interview questionnaire focused on the following two topics and their respective sub-topics:

1. Types of sexual behaviour engaged in.
    a. Safer sex practice implementation.
    b. Non-implementation of safer sex practices.
2. Challenges to safer sex implementation.
    a. Internal/personal challenges
    b. External challenges/challenges created by another person/party

These questions were derived from the literature that was reviewed on safer sex as it pertained to the sexual behaviour of gay men. The respondents were informed that the research was on risky sexual behaviours of gay men, but the author did not elucidate what was meant by safe and unsafe sexual behaviours so as not to influence the responses of the respondents.

Furthermore, it allowed the respondents to provide answers that were expressive and in-depth. All the interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and analysed via a content analysis matrix. Verbatim responses, accurate transcription and a content analysis were important to capturing the experience of the respondents (Barbour, 2008) in terms of their condom use when engaging in sexual activities. The content analysis matrix allowed for analysis of the findings of the risky sexual behaviours of gay men as put forward in the literature reviewed. The content analysis matrix additionally allowed the respondents all the expressiveness of the respondents' responses to provide the answers sought by the questions put forward in this research (Delaney, 2005).

Privacy, confidentiality and ethical approval

As privacy and confidentiality are paramount, the in-depth interviews were managed within a private room or at a venue that was chosen by the respondent. Confidentiality is maintained through a signed consent form that met the guidelines of the Ethics Committee of Universiti Sains Malaysia, from whom ethical clearance was also received. All relevant information pertaining to the identity of the

respondents was locked within a secured and confidential location known only to the researcher. The privacy and security of the respondents was maintained through the use of assigned numbers instead of pseudonyms so that their ethnicity could not be ascertained.

Limitations

The research faced resistance from some of the respondents in opening up about the sexual activities they engaged in. While some openly shared with the researcher that they engaged in penetrative sex, others chose to equivocate and only mentioned that they placed a positive value on safer sex practices. Creating rapport with the respondents also had limitations as several respondents sought confirmation from the university in the form of a formal letter to be convinced that the research was legitimate and not a trap. Also, some respondents repeatedly asked if the confidentiality of their identity would be guaranteed during the interview process despite being assured several times by the researcher.

FINDINGS

Safer sex and condom use

The findings suggest that the respondents are aware that safer sex encapsulates condom use, knowing their sexual partners' sexual history and HIV status, as well as reduction of the number of sexual partners. In particular, condom use is noted among the respondents as the mainstay of safer sex practices. The following interview excerpts from the respondents express their views on condom use.

> What I do know about HIV and safer sex is that we must always use condoms. If we want to have oral sex we also have to use condoms so that we are safer. Actually, I am more of the receiving partner in anal sex and I always ask my partner to use a condom as it is safer for him and for me. – Respondent 1, Undergraduate, 22 years of age.

> I think it is important to use condoms if you have anal sex. If your partner ejaculates in your rectal cavity and you are bleeding or when there is a tear you can contract HIV that way. – Respondent 2, Entrepreneur, late 30's.

> The basic thing of safer sex is you must know about condoms. If we talk about anal sex we need to use condoms and the condom is just used one time. You must also use good quality condoms. – Respondent 3, Blue collar worker, mid 30's.

Successful condom use for safer sex requires negotiation with sexual partners. Based on the findings, the respondents stated that assertiveness and good communication while negotiating safer sex produced positive outcomes. The positive outcomes of the negotiation of condom use are best exemplified in the following interview excerpts.

> To me, negotiating safer sex is like negotiating a business contract and I am very good at negotiating. I ask my partner to use a condom and I use one too. In the past before I got together with my present boyfriend I would ask a guy to put on a condom and would explain to him the benefits of doing so. If the guy did not want to put on a condom, then we would not have sex. Those are my conditions. I mean, you will not die from not having sex; it is not the end of the world. – Respondent 4, Entrepreneur, 39 years of age.

> I am very straightforward. If he does not want to have safer sex then I will not have sex with him. There is no further negotiation. You take it or you leave it. – Respondent 5, Hotelier, 23 years of age.

Challenges to safer sex negotiation

The findings point out that the respondents face definite challenges in the negotiation of safer sex with their sexual partners. The following interview excerpts show some of the challenges faced by respondents when negotiating safer sex with their partners.

> Sometimes the guy says that using condoms is a turn-off. That makes wanting to use a condom challenging. – Respondent 6, Professional, 23 years of age.

> Usually the challenge I face is because he (sexual partner) says that it is not comfortable. He says it makes us closer when we do not use a condom and also that it is more romantic. He says since we are both HIV negative why use condoms? This is the excuse he uses when he does not want to wear a condom. – Respondent 7, Undergraduate, 22 years of age.

> The other person will say that it will lessen their pleasure. That is the usual complaint I get when I tell the other person to put on a condom. – Respondent 8, Professional, 46 years of age.

> My partner does not like to use condoms during sex; he says it is a sign of mistrust between us. He often accuses me of infidelity when I try to negotiate condom use. He says I want him to use a condom because I have been unfaithful and have been sleeping with a lot of men when he is not around. – Respondent 9, Undergraduate, 22 years of age

Erratic use of condoms

Other findings in the data show that condom use by some other respondents is erratic, leading to the risky behaviour of engaging in penetrative anal sex without the use of condoms. The reasons for the erratic use of condoms range from familiarity with sexual partner, lack of sensation, desirability of sexual partner, lack of availability, sex outside a primary relationship and fear of

rejection by a sexual partner. The following interview excerpts are the most detailed of these findings that were shared with the researcher.

> To be honest I do not practice safer sex even though I know I have to use condoms. If it is sex with a new partner then I use a condom but if I already know the person and am familiar with him then I do not use a condom. I realize that I may get infected from familiar sexual partners, but I still do not want him to wear a condom because the sensation is different. – Respondent 10, Undergraduate, 25 years of age.

> I use it (condom) for anal sex. If I see the guy is different or *Mat Salleh* (Caucasian), then if I give him a blowjob I use condoms. If the guy is handsome and muscular and I am very sexually excited, I do not use a condom. But for older guys, I use condoms or if I feel there is something different about the guy, then I use condoms. – Respondent 11, Undergraduate, 26 years of age.

> There are times when I use condoms and there are times when I do not use condoms. Most of the time I use it but sometimes if it is not available or my supply is finished then I do not use condoms. – Respondent 1, Undergraduate, 22 years of age.

> Normally like for my boyfriend of many years it depends on him. Sometimes we use condoms and sometimes we do not. Because we have an open relationship, I also have sex outside of the relationship. I try to have sex with condoms when I have sex with other guys. – Respondent 12, Professional, 35 years of age.

> Some of the partners I have I tell them not to insert into me, but they feel that they want to so they forcefully insert so it is very painful. No, they are not wearing a condom. I do not want them to penetrate me but they still want to. Even though I do not want them to penetrate me without a condom I feel as if I have to let them to please them. I let them do this because I want to please them, and I do not want them to be angry. If I do not let them do what they want they may reject me. – Respondent 13, Professional, 32 years of age.

Desire, multiple sexual partners, sexual history and HIV status

The data showed that the respondents allow desire to overcome consideration of safer sex and have multiple sexual partners, challenges in discussing sexual history and inquiring about the HIV status of their sexual partners. First, the following interview excerpts highlight the finding that sexual desire often overrides any consideration of safer sex.

> I think it is in the heat of the moment where some people are so driven by lust that they forget to talk about safer sex. They may have talked about it before but when the moment comes to do it they give in to lust and forget to use protection. You may meet someone a few times and be so full of desire that you choose to forego safer sex and just do it. – Respondent 14, Graphic Designer, 31 years of age.

> When I think of wanting sex I forget all about AIDS. When I want to *main* (have sex) I think of it, but when I actually get sex I do not think any more about safer sex. I am afraid of being infected but I still want to have sex. – Respondent 10, Undergraduate, 25 years of age.

The findings on the multiple sexual partners of the respondents are shown in the next set of interview excerpts.

> Let us not go there, really. Let me put it this way, quite a lot. – Respondent 14, Graphic Designer, 31 years of age.

> Many, many, many. When I was in Singapore I had all the freedom I wanted and being a creative person I always want something different all the time. That includes sexual partners as well. I need the change. – Respondent 15, Educator, 36 years of age.

> I would say above one hundred sexual partners. – Respondent 16, Professional, 36 years of age.

> I have not had any long-term or short-term relationships. I have had a lot of one night stands, exactly how many I do not know. If I had to estimate the number of sexual partners I have had I would say between 150 and 180. – Respondent 13, Professional, 32 years of age.

The next set of findings is on the discussion of respondents with their sexual partners regarding their own sexual history and that of their sexual partner, as well as inquiry regarding the HIV status of their partner.

> I do not really ask. After all, if he is clean, it must mean that he does not have HIV or any other *penyakit kelamin* (sexually transmitted disease). – Respondent 10, Undergraduate, 25 years of age.

> How do I ask such questions? It is embarrassing, so *malu* (shameful) and not giving face to the guy, as if I think he has AIDS and will give it (HIV) to me on purpose. Look, I am selective in my sexual partners, so I do not need to ask such questions. Like I said, it is so *malu*. – Respondent 17, Self-employed, 44 years of age.

It is a tricky situation. I do not ask how many sexual partners a man has because I do not want to share my "secret number" with him. What if he thinks I am a slut and will not have sex with me? So, I avoid asking him about how many sexual partners he has so that he will not ask me the same question either. – Respondent 18, Professional, 40 years of age.

Let me answer your question this way: it is better if I do not know his HIV status. This is not because I do not want to be safe, but because I honestly do not know my HIV status either. Plus, why would you tell a sexual partner the truth about HIV status unless it becomes serious and you decide to take your series of sexual adventures to the level of making it a relationship? – Respondent 6, Professional, 23 years of age.

HAART, ART and Sexual Behaviour under the Influence of Drugs

While it was noted in the past work of scholars that the advent of HAART and ART had reduced the perception of HIV infection to that of a manageable disease among some gay male populations and therefore created unsafe sex practices, the use of HAART and ART was not reported in the findings as a justification for engaging in unsafe sexual practices. Additionally, none of the respondents reported the use of recreational drugs as the reason for engaging in unsafe sexual behaviours.

Summary of the Findings

Overall, the findings with regard to condom use show inconsistency between intent and actual use, with challenges that prevent or dissuade the respondents to practice consistent condom use. The disjoint suggested by the findings between intent to use condoms when engaging in sexual activity and actual use is summarised in the following table.

Table 1
Intent, challenges and actual condom use

Intent to use condoms	Challenges to condom use	Actual condom use
• Condoms were deemed a necessity for prevention of HIV infection. • Consistent use of condoms is necessary to prevent HIV infection. • Good quality condoms were necessary to prevent HIV infection. • Knowledge of tears in the rectal area led to high risk of HIV infection. • Open communication and negotiation were necessary to facilitate condom use.	• Unwillingness of sexual partner to use condoms. • Condoms caused physical discomfort during sex. • Condoms lessened sensation during sex. • Condoms viewed as a sign of mistrust and infidelity. • Inconsistent discussion with sexual partner regarding sexual history and necessity for condom use.	• Inconsistent condom use based on level of familiarity with sexual partner. • Inconsistent condom use so as not to displease or anger sexual partner. • Inconsistent use of condoms based on level of sexual attraction felt for sexual partner. • Inconsistent use based on level of lust or sexual desire for sexual partner.

DISCUSSION

The findings suggest that there is a disjoint between the appreciation of the necessity of safer sex and the actual application and implementation in terms of sexual behaviours. This disjoint occurs when the respondents' attempts to practice safer sex are derailed through various challenges. Joint responsibility of the utilization of safer sex in sexual behaviour does not always exist when sex is engaged in as shown in the findings. This is despite expressed assertiveness and confidence in negotiating safer sex practices. This set of findings point out that the respondents intended to use condoms when they engage in sexual behaviour. As the theory of planned behaviour and the study by Schutz et al. (2011) outlines, the attitudes and normative behaviours that recognise the importance of condom use are acknowledged. However, the actual outcome remains to be decided by extenuating factors that are external to the respondents.

Based on the findings, three main points may be raised. The first is that while the respondents are aware of the importance of safer sex, they do not necessarily implement the practices of safer sex constantly in their sexual behaviour. The second is that challenges to safer sex practices may derail the intentions of the respondents to place safer sex practices in motion within the sexual behaviour they engage in. The third is that constant and consistent application of safer sex into the sexual behaviour of the respondents is a matter of personal choice. In other words, to know about safer sex is a choice, and to practice safer sex constantly and consistently is another. Based on the findings, there is a disjoint between these two choices for the respondents. This disjoint is of concern within both the theory of planned behaviour and the context of the goals of the NSP, specifically because the intended safer sex behaviours are not followed through with and if they are not then the goals of the NSP cannot be achieved by the year 2030. While the present NSP recognises that sexual transmission is the main driver of HIV infection in the MSM population and that the MSM population is still an MARP, it has to take further steps of engagement with the MSM community to manage the challenges faced by this community with regard to consistent condom use.

On an intrinsic level, the respondents consciously choose between valuing safer sex and practicing safer sex based on the context or situation they are in with their sexual partner. They also consciously choose between wanting to safeguard their health and wanting to enjoy the sexual behaviour they engage in with abandon. While this research began with the intent to identify the sexual behaviours of the respondents, what is more significant is that the research finds that gay men are bound by the choices they make between the knowledge they have regarding safer sex practices and the actual execution of safer sex practices in their sexual behaviour. This signals an individualised approach to safer sex as well as autonomy of thought in implementing safer sex practices. As

such, recommendations based on the findings include individualization of safer sex messages to the gay male population via the internet media that take into account the challenges they face, as well as training and counselling by the relevant government bodies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to assist members of the gay male population in addressing individualized challenges.

Implications for the policy

In light of the goals of the NSP to end the AIDS epidemic in Malaysia by the year 2030, the findings of this research show that aside from the previously mentioned strategies that are put in place, it is necessary to understand that condom use is a personal decision that is often detoured by various arguments. To ensure that the policies put into place are effective, it becomes imperative that continued rapport with members of the gay community becomes a lynchpin to understanding the challenges faced by gay men in the context of consistent condom use. The purpose of the NSP would be defeated if policies are implemented, but the individual and actual challenges of gay men within the context of condom use are not fully understood from a grassroots standpoint. This approach of more deep engagement with the gay community would be an innovative and effective way of decreasing HIV infection among gay men.

The component of open communication needs to be stressed in educational programs for gay men, with an emphasis for negotiation of condom use with their sexual partners. This effort, from a policy perspective, may include empowerment to choose to refuse to give into the reasons given by sexual partners for not wanting to use condoms when engaging in sexual activity. Empowerment may come in the form of support groups, educational programs and targeted marketing campaigns that focus on gay men. The latter may be executed via allied organizations, entertainment areas frequented by gay men and media frequently utilised by gay men. This may be another innovative way for approaching the issue of decreasing HIV infection among the gay male population.

Policy makers should also take into consideration that outreach efforts involving distribution of condoms do not necessarily equate condom use. When taken into the perspective of gay men having multiple sexual partners and assessing whether to use condoms for sexual activity or not, mechanisms should be put into place to measure the effectiveness of condom distribution against actual condom use. Community programs where information on distribution of condoms versus use of condoms by gay men would assist this effort to some extent, but one a larger scale, innovation using information technology (IT) and smart phone applications can assist in tracking this information. Additionally, such IT and smart phone applications may be developed to create support groups that remind gay men to consistently use condoms, irrespective of who their sexual partners are, irrespective of the level of

desirability that a sexual partner has and irrespective of the level of familiarity they have with the sexual partner.

Future research

Future research along the lines of psychosexual and psychosocial needs of gay men within the context of sexual engagement with sexual partners would, in the opinion of the researcher, enhance efforts of reducing the HIV infection rate among gay males especially within the context of condom use. Other areas of future research that would aid policy making would be the combined use of condoms, PrEP and PEP in reducing HIV infections among the gay male population; and longitudinal studies of the effectiveness of such a combination. Additionally, future research may investigate the rate of use of condoms from an attitudinal and behavioural standpoint based on the theory of planned behaviour, and this research should be conducted longitudinally. The changes in attitude and behaviour from this research would aid policy makers in adjusting policy to meet the changes in attitude and behaviour within the gay male population.

CONCLUSION

The disjoint between intention and implementation of safer sex practices based on the sample population is seen at two levels in this research. First, despite national policy implementation to reduce the HIV infection rate within the gay male population, it is the gay men themselves and not the national policy that makes the decision to engage constantly and consistently in safer sex practices. Second, in the sample population of the research, there is the intent to practice safer sex, although the intention is not perfectly executed into consistent implementation due to challenges from internal (personal) and external (sexual partner) motivations. It cannot be denied that national policy is vital to the reduction of HIV infection rates. However, cognisance of how gay men make their safer sex choices is equally vital in this endeavour.

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A Contrastive Pragmatic Study of Speech Act of Complaint in Terms of Main Components in English and Persian

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ABSTRACT

This study attempted to compare the speech act of main components of complaint strategies in English and Persian in varying situations in two contextual variables, namely, social power (P) and social distance (D). The performance of Iranian EFL learners was also investigated to see how they performed complaints in the target language. A Discourse Completion Test (DCT), composed of six open-ended items, was administered to 24 Iranian students majoring in English Language and Literature at Shiraz University, who were selected based on their score on TOEFL proficiency test (2004) and 16 Australian English native speakers. Data collected through the DCT, were coded and analysed based on taxonomy of complaints developed by Rinnert and Nogami (2006). The focus of the study was on the main component taxonomy. Chi-square tests were conducted to compare the performance of the groups. The results of chi-square for teacher situation showed that the Australian English native speakers (AE) significantly used an initiator more frequently than the Persian EFL learners (PE) and the Persian native speakers (PP). In the case of the academic advisor situation, the AE speakers significantly employed complaints more frequently than the PP. On the part of student situation, the AE speakers started the conversation with a complaint more frequently than the PP speakers. The participants in the PE group significantly used a request more frequently than the AE, but the AE and PP speakers used this semantic formula exactly equally. In the case of other situations, the results of chi-square revealed no significant differences in the frequencies of using complaint patterns between the groups. The performance of Iranian EFL learners showed that they sometimes significantly diverged from their

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English counterparts. It was concluded that other factors, along with negative transfer, were responsible for such a divergence.

Keywords: Speech act theory, complaint, social distance, social power, politeness

INTRODUCTION

To use a language is different from knowing it. The term "communicative competence", with its focus on using the language rather than knowing (Hymes, 1972) is in contrast to Chomsky's linguistic competence. Hymes observed that a person who had only linguistic competence would produce a lot of sentences unconnected to the situation in which they occur. In other words, s/he would be unable to communicate. Based on his observation, he came to the conclusion that speakers of a language need to have more than grammatical competence to communicate effectively. He also added that speakers of a language need to know how a language is used by the members of a speech community to accomplish their purposes. In other words, they need to use their language in both linguistically and socially appropriate ways. Unlike linguistic appropriateness, social appropriateness depends on the social and cultural context in which the language is used. A sentence can be linguistically appropriate, but it may or may not be socially appropriate. In communicative acts or speech acts, both linguistic and social structures are working together in communication.

Speech acts are "the basic or minimal units of linguistic communication" (Searle, 1969, p. 16). He claimed that speaking a language is performing speech acts. In other words, when we say something, we are simultaneously performing communicative acts. Second language learners should be able to produce different speech acts both linguistically and socio-culturally appropriate. Appropriateness of language use can be realised by acknowledging the social identity of the listener in terms of the relative social status and degree of familiarity between participants (Moon, 2001). In other words, speakers should know who they are talking to, what the relationship with the listener is, what makes them talk, what they are talking about and which way of speech fulfills the goal of communication. Since languages are different, these socio-cultural rules may be realised differently in different languages. Thus, second language learners should know how these socio-cultural rules function in the target language so as to avoid communication breakdown.

As a cross-cultural study, the present study investigates similarities and differences between English and Persian native speakers' production of complaint. It also investigates complaints in the interlanguage of Iranian EFL learners.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Speech acts are of the key areas of pragmatics. The speech act theory came into existence as a result of Austin's (1962) theories of illocutionary acts, and later on, it was developed by Searle (1976). Austin (1962) makes a distinction between constative and performative utterances.

According to Austin, constatives are those utterances which are evaluated along a dimension of truth, while performatives can be evaluated along a dimension of felicity rather than truth. He mentioned several characteristics for performatives, as follows:

1. They do not describe or report or constate anything at all
2. They are not true or false
3. Uttering a performative is part of doing an action.

He argued that every speech act has three kinds of meaning as follows:

1. Locutionary (propositional) meaning: this is the literal meaning conveyed by particular words and structures which the utterance contains. For example, if someone says "I'm thirsty", the propositional meaning is what the utterance says about the speaker's physical state.
2. Illocutionary meaning: this is the social function of the utterance, or the effect the speaker wants the utterance to have on the listener. The sentence "I'm thirsty" uttered by someone who is thirsty is not only a mere description of his physical state, but also an indirect request to the addressee or someone nearby to bring him something to drink.
3. Perlocutionary meaning: it deals with the effect produced by the utterance. For example, bringing the speaker something to drink is the perlocutionary effect of the utterance "I'm thirsty" (Austin, 1962, pp. 14-15).

Based on the notion of illocutionary force, Austin then developed a classification of speech acts or performative verbs (1962, pp. 150-163):

(1) Verdictives, which express verdicts or evaluations given by judges. This category includes verbs such as to condemn, to absolve, to judge, to estimate, to appraise.

(2) Exercitives, which express the exercising of powers and rights. It includes verbs like to vote, to appoint, to excommunicate, to order, to warn.

(3) Commissives, which express commitments or undertakings. Verbs belonging to this category include to promise, to guarantee, to contract, to commit.

(4) Behavitives, which have to do with social behavior or reaction to it. This category includes verbs such as to thank, to refuse, to apologize, to complain.

(5) Expositives, which are used to explain or clarify reasons, arguments and communications. Verbs belonging to this category include to reply, to argue, to concede, to assume.

Searle (1969), inspired by Austin's work, mentioned three types of acts:

1. Utterance acts consist of the verbal employment of units of expression such as words and sentences.
2. Propositional acts are those matters having to do with referring and predicting.

3. Illocutionary acts have to do with the intents of speakers such as stating, questioning, promising or commanding.

Refining the notion of speech act, Searle (1976) extended them into five categories:

1. Declarative: a speech act which changes the state of affairs in the world. For example, "I pronounce you man and wife".
2. Representative: the speaker describes states or events in the world. For example, "this car is brown".
3. Directive: the speaker gets the listener to do something such as a suggestion, or a command. For example, the utterance "Please sit down".
4. Commissive: the speaker commits the listener to do something in the future, such as a promise. For example: "I'll be back soon".
5. Expressive: the speaker expresses his feelings and attitudes about something, such as an apology, or a complaint.

The speech act of complaint belongs to the expressive category of Searle's (1976) classification of speech act. Olshtain and Weinbach (1993, p. 108) stated that "in the speech act of complaining, the speaker expresses displeasure or annoyance as a reaction to a past or going action, the consequences of which are perceived by speaker as affecting her unfavourably".

For a complaint speech act to occur, several conditions should be met. Olshtain and Weinbach (1993, p. 108) enumerated several preconditions for the occurrence of this speech act:

1. Hearer performs a socially unacceptable act that is contrary to a social code of behavioural norms shared by speaker and hearer.
2. Speaker perceives the socially unacceptable act as having unfavourable consequences of herself, and/or for the public.
3. The verbal expression of speaker relates post facto directly or indirectly to the socially unacceptable act, thus having the illocutionary force of censure.
4. Speaker perceives the socially unacceptable act as: (a) freeing speaker from the implicit understanding of a social commiserating relationship with hearer; therefore chooses to express her frustration or annoyance…; and (b) giving speaker the legitimate right to ask for repair in order to undo the socially unacceptable act, either for her benefit or for the public benefit. It is the latter perception that leads to instrumental complaint aimed at "changing thing" that do not meet with our standards or expectations.

A complaint speech act serves many functions; some of which are as follows:

1. To express disapproval, annoyance, threats, or reprimand as a reaction to a perceived offense (Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993).

2. To hold the hearer responsible for the offense made and possibly request him/her to undo the offense (Olshtain & Weinbach, 1993).
3. To allow ourselves to let off steam. For example: "oh rotten luck!" and "what a shame!" are utterances expressed by a speaker in order to calm him/herself down. (Boxer, 1993).
4. To confront a problem with the intention of improving the situation (Brown & Levinson, 1978).
5. To share a specific negative evaluation and establish a common bond between the speaker and addressee. For example: A. "I really think his grading is unfair. I worked so hard for this exam." B. "Same here. He wouldn't be satisfied even if we copied the whole book." (Boxer, 1993).

Previous Studies on Complaint

Although the speech act of complaint has not been widely studied, as it is the case with other speech acts like thanking, promise, apology and request, there are a number of studies conducted in this area, which would help provide a framework for this investigation.

Olshtain and Weinbach (1987) studied the complaint strategies produced by native and non-native speakers of Hebrew and identified five complaint strategies: (1) below the level of reproach, "No harm done, let's meet some other time"; (2) disapproval, "It's a shame that we have to work faster now"; (3) direct complaint, "You are always late and now we have less time to do this job"; (4) accusation and warning, "Next time don't expect me to sit here waiting for you"; and (5) threat, "If we don't finish the job today, I'll have to discuss it with the boss" (p. 202). The results of the study indicated that both native and non-native speakers of Hebrew produced the five strategies, but disapproval, complaint and accusation were used by them more frequently.

A study performed by Rinnert and Nogami (2006) aimed to determine what English complaint strategies are preferred by Japanese university EFL (JEFL) learners. The first stage compared Japanese complaint formulations with previously collected English responses by JEFL learners and native English speakers in two complaint situations. The second stage elicited judgments of appropriateness and effectiveness of various complaint formulations in the same two situations. The findings of this study indicated the aspects of complaints may cause difficulties for JEFL learners. The findings suggest that a complex combination of linguistic, pragmatic and socio-pragmatic factors affect learners' knowledge of appropriate and effective ways to complain. Thus, in order to teach appropriate ways to perform:&cate face-threatening acts such as complaints, English teachers need to raise their own awareness of the complexity of the factors involved.

In a study conducted by Al-Tayib Umar (2006), an open-ended questionnaire designed to elicit complaint strategies was distributed among 46 Sudanese students pursing graduate programs in English at

four Sudanese universities, as the English non-native group and 14 British native speakers of English, as the English native group. After collecting the questionnaires, he analysed the responses in terms of six components: (1) Excusing Self for Imposition, "Sorry to bother you boss"; (2) Establishing Context or Support, "This letter is really very important, they said"; (3) A Request "Could you please help me clean the room before you leave"; (4) Conveyance of Sense of Dissatisfaction, Disappoint or (5) Annoyance, "I am very disappointed and a bit angry"; (6) Warning or Threat, "I would think twice before I let you or anyone else use this place again". It was revealed that complaints produced by Sudanese learners of English were significantly different from those produced by English native speakers and lacked sufficient pragma-linguistic knowledge to employ the speech act of complaint appropriately in the target language.

Another study of complaint strategies was conducted by Farnia, Buchheit, and ShahidaBanu (2010). In order to collect data, they administered a questionnaire, involving two situations (Professor Situation and Roommate Situation) to 14 American native speakers of English and 28 Malaysian native speakers of Malay. Then, the data were analysed based on the level of directness and their components. The results showed that the Americans were much more direct in making complaints than the Malaysians in the roommate situation. Moreover, the Americans used significantly greater mitigation than the native speakers of Malay did in the formal situation (Professor Situation). In terms of the complaint components, the Malay native speakers used more initiators and com

the native speakers of English, while the Americans significantly used more complaints as the main component of complaints in a situation where social status of the addressee (complainee) was higher than that of the speakers, i.e. the professor situation.

In order to investigate the ways power relations influence politeness strategies in disagreement and determine whether and to what extent the realisation of the speech act of disagreeing by Iranian EFL learners across different proficiency levels differ in relation to people with different power status, a more recent study conducted by Behnam and Niroomand's (2011) using a Discourse Completion Test (DCT). The findings of this study provide some evidences for the relation between the learners' level of language proficiency and type and frequency of disagreement and choice of politeness strategies associated with people with different power status. It was revealed that learners are more sensitive to the use of more politeness strategies in disagreeing to high status people than low status people. Power relationship, social distance and degree of imposition constrain communicative action universally, but the values of these factors vary from context to context. Therefore, in order to have successful communication, it is important that each community provides

enough knowledge for their people about these factors and politeness strategies. In conclusion, it was argued that the results can be closely related to learning contexts and textbook contents.

Statement of the Problem

The speech act of complaint involves a face-threatening act (Olshtain & Weinbach, 1987; Sauer, 2000). Second language learners may not be aware of the conventions governing the expression of complaints in the target language, so they employ this speech act inappropriately in their speeches.

Another problem that foreign or second language learners of English may face is that they may think that complaint strategies are universal to all languages; therefore, transfer them from their first language (L1) to English. The result of such generalisation is usually a negative transfer, which may cause communication breakdown.

Significance of the Study

Despite the importance of the speech act of complaint, this part of language has not received as much attention as other speech acts like apology, thanking and request in Iran. Nevertheless, there have been a number of studies such as Salmani-Nodoushan (2008) who investigated the effect of speakers' age, sex and social class on conversational strategies produced in their responses to complaining behaviours; Abdolrezapour and Eslami-Rasekh (2012) who studied the effects of interlocutor's gender on politeness strategies; and Azarmi and and Behnam (2012) who investigated face-keeping strategies used by intermediate and upper intermediate Iranian EFL learners in reaction to different complaint situations. To the best of the researcher's knowledge, this study is the first attempt investigating the influence of the interlocutor's social status and social distance on complaint strategies employed by English and Persian native speakers.

Findings of this study will be helpful for Iranian EFL learners to develop their sensitivity and awareness of English so as to produce polite and meaningful complaints in English. The study will also have several pedagogical implications for teachers of English to pay more attention to the sociolinguistic aspect of English to help learners communicate effectively and successfully in the target language. The current study is a pragmatic contrastive one which intends to investigate how the speech act of complaint is realised in English and Persian and to study the complaint strategies in the interlanguage of Iranian EFL learners to see whether there are any significant differences between the complaint strategies employed by English and Persian speakers. Thus, this study tries to provide answers to the following questions.

Q_1. Is there any significant difference between the complaint strategies used in English and Persian in different situations varying in interlocutors' social status and social distance?

Q_2. If so, how do Iranian EFL learners express their complaint in English?

METHODOLOGY

Participants

In order to conduct the study, the researcher selected two groups of undergraduate students as participants of the study. A purposive sampling method was adopted to select participants of the study. The participants of the first group comprised 24 Iranian native speakers of Persian majoring in English Literature at Shiraz University and the participants of the second group were 16 Australian college-aged native speakers of English selected from Australia. As for the participants of the second group, the researcher selected from among Australians because they are native speakers of English and it is somehow easier to access them. The participants in the two groups were both male and female and their age ranged from 18-26 years.

INSTRUMENTS

For the purpose of this study, two instruments were used: a TOEFL Proficiency Test (2004) and a questionnaire.

TOEFL language proficiency test (2004)

In order to examine the EFL learners' language proficiency level, the researchers used a TOEFL proficiency test (2004), which was an actual retired test. The test was composed of 90 multiple-choice items covering grammar and reading comprehension. The grammar section contained 40 items including fill-in the blanks, multiple-choice items and ungrammatical item recognition. The reading comprehension section contained 50 items. In the reading comprehension section, each passage was followed by several multiple-choice items. Sixty minuteswere allocated to the completion of the test. The students' performance was assessed based on their scores on the test. The total scores for the test ranged from zero to ninety.

Questionnaire

In order to collect data on the complaints of the participants, the researchers used a questionnairecomposed of two parts: a demographic survey and a Discourse Completion Test (DCT).

Demographic Survey

In the demographic survey, the participants were asked to provide the researcher with information including gender, native language, nationality and age.

Discourse Completion Test (DCT)

Kasper and Dahl (1991) defined DCT as a written questionnaire containing short descriptions of a particular situation intended to reveal the pattern of a speech act being studied and mentioned it as

one of the major data collection methods in pragmatic studies. It is a controlled procedure to obtain data from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

To conduct this study, the researchers used a DCT in which two situations were adopted from Rinnert and Nogami's (2006) and were modified to incorporate into them the two variables - social power and social distance. It was prepared in English. The DCT was then translated into Persian to collect data on Iranian EFL learners' responses in reaction to different complaint situations. In order to ensure the content validity of the DCT, firstly, it was checked by the researcher's two TEFL instructors to see whether the DCT items were properly designed and then the researcher piloted it on a ten participants similar to the participants of the study and those items which did not elicit the desired responses were either changed or modified. A Cronbach's alpha was applied to determine the overall internal consistency of the DCT and it turned out to be 0.89, which is an acceptable and high index of reliability. It was composed of six items representing six complaint scenarios varying in the contextual factors of the speaker's social power and his/her degree of social distance with the hearer. The relationships between the speaker and hearer in terms of social distance and social power in six scenarios are given below in Table 1, followed by a summary of each scenario:

Table 1
Description of DCT items

Scenarios	**P**	**D**	**Social status**
1. student vs. teacher	-	-	S<H
2. student vs. academic advisor	-	+	S< H
3. student vs. student (his/her roommate)	=	-	S=H
4. student vs. student	=	+	S=H
5.student vs. waiter	+	+	S>H
6.student vs. university bus driver	+	-	S>H

Note: D=social distance, P= social power, S=speaker, and H=hearer.

Summary of each situation of the DCT is as follows:

Situation 1: A student goes to his/her teacher with whom s/he has a close relationship to complain about his/her low grade.

Situation 2: A student complains to his/her academic advisor about giving him/her the wrong advice in the last semester.

Situation 3: A student complains to his/her roommate about the noise after 11:30 p.m.

Situation 4: A student complains to another student whom s/he does not know about cutting in line in the university self-service.

Situation 5: A student complains to a waiter whom s/he meets for the first time in a restaurant about spilling the drink over his/her new shirt.

Situation 6: A student complains to the university bus driver whom s/he is familiar with about driving fast.

Procedure

The TOEFL test (2004) was administered to 60 EFL learners from Shiraz University and they were given an hour to complete the test. After collecting the test papers, the researcher calculated the mean (M) and standard deviation (SD) of their scores. The mean score was 80.83 and the SD was 4.45. Those students whose score fell 0.5 SD (2.23) above the M were selected as the participants of the first group. The Persian EFL learners were administered the English version of the questionnaire first, and one week later they were administered the Persian version of the questionnaire. They were given the questionnaire in English first so that the transfer from Farsi to English would not be encouraged by the procedure. The questionnaire was emailed to a university professor in Australia. He administered it to the English native speakers. They provided the necessary data via e-mail.

Data Analysis

The taxonomy of complaints developed by Rinnert and Nogami (2006) was used for the analysis of the data. This taxonomy consists of three categories, namely, main components, level of directness and amount of mitigation. Since the focus of the current study is on the main component category of complaint, it is described below in detail:

Main component

A complaint consists of three main components including initiators, complaints and requests, which are presented as follows:

- Initiators
  Initiators include greetings (e.g., "hi" and "good morning") address terms (e.g., "hey guy", and "sir"), and other opening formulas.
- Complaints
  Complaints refer to utterances expressing negative evaluation, including justification (e.g., "I studied hard in your class so how come I was given such a low grade?"
- Requests
  Requests refer to direct or indirect attempts to get the hearer to redress the situation (e.g., "I highly appreciate if you consider my case."

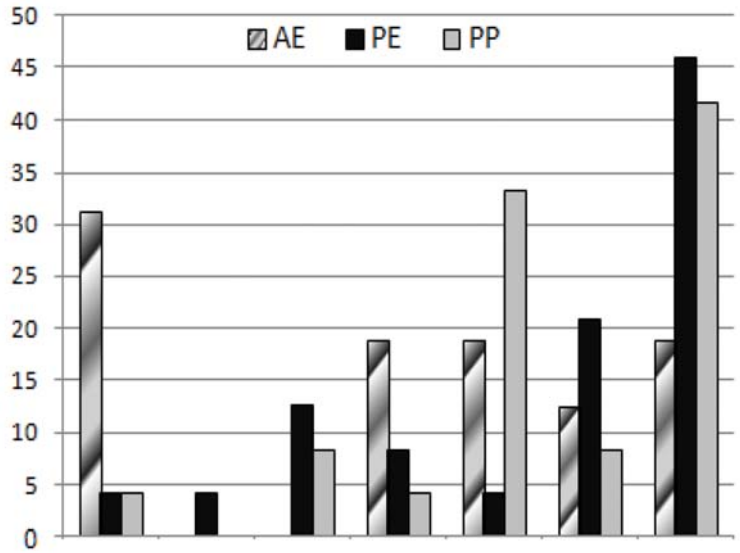
After the coding was completed, descriptive and analytical procedures were conducted. Frequency of responses containing a given complaint pattern

in each DCT situation was calculated by finding out how many times each complaint pattern was used by each group in each situation. In order to address the first research question, perceiving to what extent complaint strategies used by Australian and Iranian speakers are similar or different. The data elicited from Persian native speakers of Persian (PP) and Australian English native speakers (AE) were entered into the SPSS version 20 and chi-square tests were conducted for comparing the complaint responses between the AE and PP groups in terms of main components across all situations. The alpha level was set at .05 or less. Chi-square tests were also conducted between the AE and Persian EFL learners (PE) to address the second research question.

RESULTS

Teacher situation

Scenario 1 represents a situation in which the speaker, who is a student complains to his/her teacher, who is socially higher than him/her and has a close relationship with him/her about marking his/her exam paper unfairly (-P,-D). The relative frequencies of each complaint pattern used by the participants of the three groups in interaction with this scenario are presented in Figure 1.



	I	C	R	I+C	I+R	C+R	I+C+R
AE	31.2	0	0	18.8	18.8	12.5	18.8
PE	4.2	4.2	12.5	8.3	4.2	20.8	45.8
PP	4.2	0	8.3	4.2	33.3	8.3	41.7

Figure 1. Complaint response patterns (teacher situation)

In interaction with this scenario, the Australian English native speakers (AE) started their conversation most frequently with initiators (31.2%), while their Persian counterparts used initiators followed by complaints and requests (41.7%) more frequently than other complaint patterns. The AE group used initiators followed by complaints, initiators accompanied by requests and initiators followed by complaints and requests exactly equally (18.8%). Requests preceded by complaints were employed by the AE speakers in 12.5% of the situations. Persian native speakers (PP) used initiators followed by requests in 33.3% of the situations, complaints followed by requests in 8.3 % of the situations, and requests in 8.3% of the situations. Initiators and complaints preceded by initiators were equally used by the PP group in 4.2% of the situations. A notable pattern observed in the interlanguage of Persian EFL learners (PEFL) was the use of all three response s *excuse me, may I take your time to talk about my final grade*. I think you have scored it wrongly. Would you please recheck it?").

Results of the chi-square showed that the Australian English native speakers significantly used an initiator more frequently than the Persian EFL learners ($\chi 2$= 5.52, df =1, P<.05) and the Persian native speakers ($\chi 2$=5.52, df= 1, P<.05). This situation indicates that the Persian EFL learners adhere to their L1 norms in using initiators.

Table 2
Results of chi-square tests between AE and PE speakers

Complaint patterns / Situations	I	C	R	I+C	I+R	C+R	I+C+R
S1(teacher situation)	5.52	0.00	0.06	2.26	1.02	0.18	2.29
S2(academic advisor situation)	0.08	5.00	0.68	0.68	2.16	0.96	0.42
S3(roommate situation	0.46	0.00	0.13	0.06	1.40	0.02	3.44
S4(student situation)	0.00	5.52	0.18	0.55	2.33	0.18	0.02
S5(waiter situation)	1.53	0.71	2.33	0.41	0.96	0.00	0.08
S6(university bus driver situation)	0.00	0.46	0.55	2.09	2.16	021	0.00

Table 3
Results of chi-square tests between AE and PP speakers

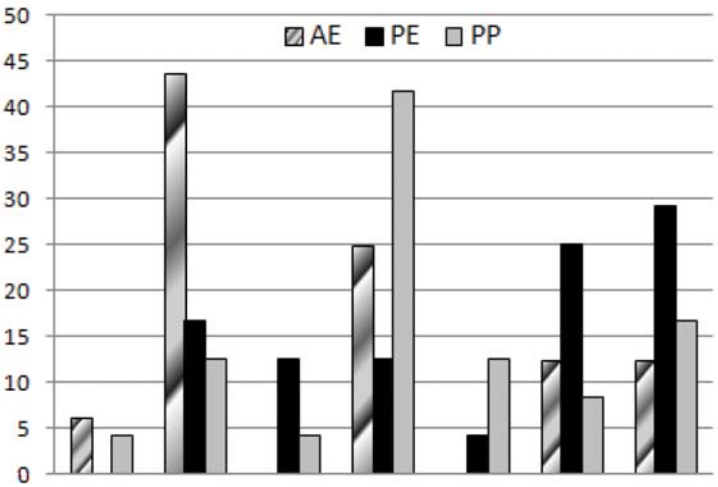
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S4(student situation)	0.00	5.52	0.18	0.55	2.33	0.18	0.02
S5(waiter situation)	1.53	0.71	2.33	0.41	0.96	0.00	0.08
S6(university bus driver situation)	0.00	0.46	0.55	2.09	2.16	021	0.00

Academic Advisor Situation

This scenario represents a situation in which the speaker, who is a student, is complaining to his advisor, whom s/he met for the first time about giving him/her wrong advice on taking a course in fall semester. In this situation, the speaker is socially lower than the hearer and there is a social distance between them (-P, +D).

As shown in Figure 2, to express dissatisfaction towards their academic advisor, the AE group mostly resorted to complaints (43.8%). Twenty five percent of the participants in the AE group used initiators accompanied by complaints (e. g., "*I've come to you to talk about the course you advised me to take*, but it wasn't necessary") to complain to the advisor. The English speakers employed complaints followed by requests by 25%, and initiators followed by complaints and requests in 25% of the situations.

The PP speakers tended to use an initiator followed by a complaint (41.7) more frequently than other complaint strategies. However, that was not the case in English; the AE speakers used a complaint (43.8%) more frequently than other complaint patterns.



	I	C	R	I+C	I+R	C+R	I+C+R
AE	6.2	43.5	0	25	0	12.5	12.5
PE	0	16.7	12.5	12.5	4.2	25	29.2
PP	4.2	12.5	4.2	41.7	12.5	8.3	16.7

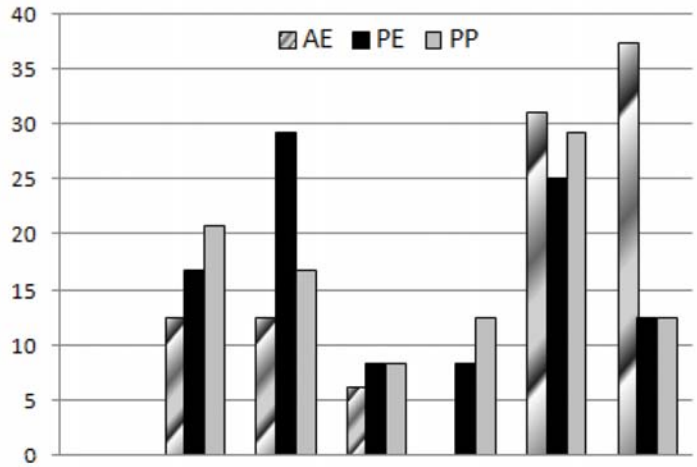
Figure 2. Complaint response patterns (academic advisor situation)

The most notable complaint pattern used by the PE respondents was initiators followed by complaints and requests (i.e., *excuse me sir/madam*I think there is something wrong with my mark. I think I have done better than what this mark shows. Would you please recheck my answer sheet?").

The findings of the statistical tests demonstrated that in dealing with the academic advisor situation, the AE speakers employed C significantly more frequently than the PP speakers ($\chi 2=5$, df=1, P<.05). The statistical findings also showed that the PE respondents performed complaints similar to the way their English counterparts did as no statistically significant differences were found between the two groups regarding the use of complaint patterns.

Roommate Situation

In this scenario, the speaker and hearer, who are roommates, are socially equal and there is no social distance between them (=P, -D).



	I	C	R	I+C	I+R	C+R	I+C+R
AE	0	12.5	12.5	6.2	0	31.2	37.5
PE	0	16.7	29.2	8.3	8.3	25	12.5
PP	0	20.8	16.7	8.3	12.5	29.2	12.5

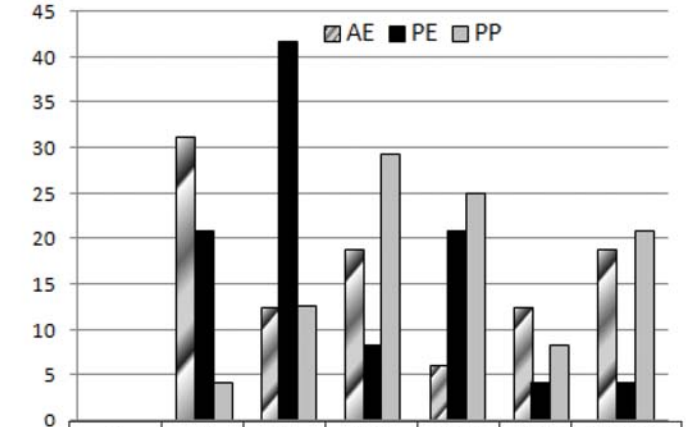
Figure 3. Complaint response patterns (roommate situation)

As shown in Figure 3 above, in this situation, the AE speakers tended to use all three response segments (e.g., *Hey James*. It's very late in the night. Please be quiet) in 37.5% of the situations, and complaints followed by a request (e.g., I am really tired and you sound that you wouldn't be noisy, so can you please be quiet.) in 31.2 % of the situations. A complaint followed by a request was the most frequently used strategy by the Persian native speakers. They mostly tended to start the conversation with complaints followed by a request (29.2%). The PP respondents, compared to their English counterparts used more complaints, and requests. In

their interlanguage, the Persian native speakers showed a tendency to express his or her dissatisfaction to the hearer, who is his/her roommate using a request without an initiator (e.g., "either turn it off or put on the headphones or move out!") in 29.2 % of the situations. The Persian native speakers used I+C+R in both their L1 and L2 equally (12.5 %), but the English native speakers used it almost three times more than both the PP and PE speakers (37.5%). However, the results of the chi-square tests for this scenario, like the advisor situation showed that the differences between the AE and PE groups regarding the percentages of complaint patterns usage were not statistically significant.

Student Situation

Item 4 in the DCT was designed to elicit complaints of the participants in a situation in which the speaker, who is a student, stops another student, who is trying to jump the queue in the university self-service to talk to him/her (=P, +D).



	I	C	R	I+C	I+R	C+R	I+C+R
AE	0	31.2	12.5	18.8	6.2	12.5	18.8
PE	0	20.8	41.7	8.3	20.8	4.2	4.2
PP	0	4.2	12.5	29.2	25	8.3	20.8

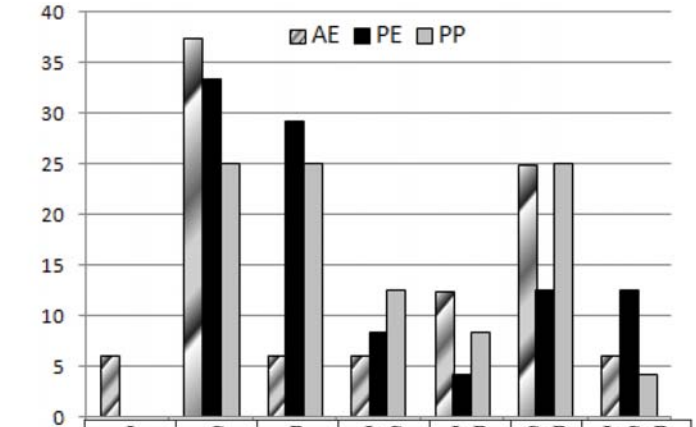
Figure 4. Complaint response patterns (student situation)

As shown in Figure 4, a salient pattern among the AE group (31.2%) was using a complaint without a request and an initiator (e.g., what are you doing? The rest of us have been waiting a long time). They showed a similar tendency to use both a request and a request preceded by a complaint equally (12.5%). Unlike the AE participants, the PP participants used initiators followed by a complaint (29.2%) more frequently than other complaint patterns in interaction with scenario 4. A notable pattern among the PEFL learners' responses produced in interaction with this scenario was a request with no other complaint segments.

Regarding the patterns of complaint used by the participants in this situation, no statistically significant differences were found between the AE and PP groups in all semantic formulas except for C complaint pattern ($\chi 2=5.52$, df=1, $p<.05$), i.e., the AE speakers started the conversation with a complaint more frequently than the PP speakers. The participants in the PE group used a request significantly more frequently than the AE speakers ($\chi 2=3.88$, df = 1, $p<.05$), but the AE and PP speakers used this semantic formula exactly equally (12.5%).

Waiter Situation

This scenario represents a situation in which the speaker is socially higher than the hearer and they do not know each other (+P, +D). Complaints elicited from the participants in the three groups were analysed in terms of their segments, the results of which are shown in Figure 5 below.



	I	C	R	I+C	I+R	C+R	I+C+R
AE	6.2	37.5	6.2	6.2	12.5	25	6.2
PE	0	33.3	29.2	8.3	4.2	12.5	12.5
PP	0	25	25	12.5	8.3	25	4.2

Figure 5. Complaint response patterns (waiter situation)

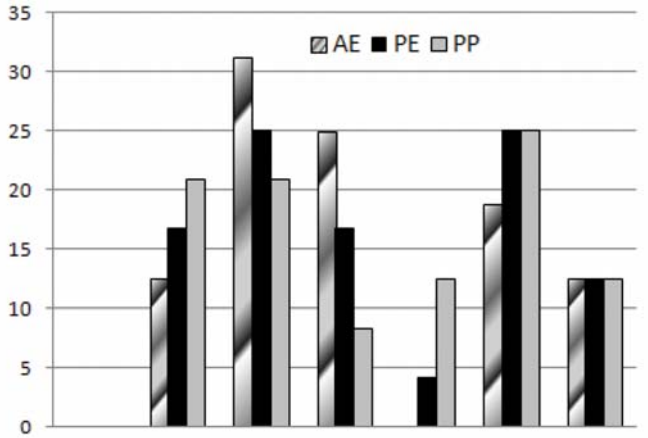
The AE speakers showed a tendency to use a complaint (37.5%) more frequently than other semantic formulas. The relative frequencies for other complaint patterns used by the AE group showed that they started with only initiators, only requests, initiators accompanied by a complaint, and initiators followed by a complaint and a request in 6.2% of the situations for each complaint strategy. Unlike the AE group, the other two groups did not use only initiators in interaction with this scenario. The PP speakers used the three response segments only in 4.2% of the situations, while they used complaints, requests and complaints, accompanied by requests, each one by 25%. The frequency of using complaints accompanied by requests (25%)

for both the AE and PP groups are the same. A salient semantic formula among the PE group was a complaint with no initiator and request (e.g., "what's wrong with you man!").

Despite differences in the frequencies of complaint patterns used by the AE and PP speakers, the results of chi-square for this situation showed that the differences were not statistically significant. The differences between the AE and PE groups were not also statistically significant.

University Bus Driver Situation

The last item in the DCT represents a situation in which the speaker is socially higher than the hearer and the speaker is familiar with the hearer (+P,-D). As shown in Figure 6 below, using requests was the most frequently used strategy by the AE group (31.2%), while using complaints followed by requests was the most frequently used strategies by the PP group (25%). The Australian English native speakers used initiators followed by complaints in 25% of the situations, complaints accompanied by requests in 18.8% of the situation, and initiators followed by complaints and requests in 12.5% of the situations. They began the conversation with only initiators in 12.5% of the situations. Respondents in the PP group produced complaints in 20.8% of the situations, requests in 20.8% of the situations, initiators accompanied by complaints and requests in 12.5% of the situations, initiators followed by requests in 12.5% of the situations, and complaints preceded by initiators in 8.3% of the s



	I	C	R	I+C	I+R	C+R	I+C+R
AE	0	12.5	31.2	25	0	18.8	12.5
PE	0	16.7	25	16.7	4.2	25	12.5
PP	0	20.8	20.8	8.3	12.5	25	12.5

Figure 6. Complaint response patterns (university bus driver situation)

The results of chi-square for this situation showed that there were no significant differences in the frequencies of using complaint patterns between the AE and PE groups, and also between the AE and PE groups.

DISCUSSION

As for the first research question, the findings demonstrated that some cross-cultural differences were identified between English and Persian regarding the way speakers of the two languages performed their complaint in lower, equal and higher settings. Therefore, the answer to the first research question is obviously positive.

Both the teacher and academic advisor situations represent lower social settings, with the difference that in the first one the speaker is interacting with someone whom s/he is intimate with (-D) and in the second one the speaker and hearer do not have a close relationship with each other (+D). For the complaint patterns, it was shown that English native speakers showed more tendency to start their complaining expressions with "I" semantic formula in the teacher situation because this semantic formula is the least face-threatening complaint strategy as it may contain greetings, apologising expressions, or address terms. However, the findings of the study are in contrast to the study conducted by Rinnert and Nogami (2006), which demonstrated that English native speakers in the teacher situation employed I+C+R complaint pattern more frequently than other complaint patterns. This divergence may refer to age factor as participants in Rinnert and Nogami (2006) were older than the participants of the current study. Unlike the teacher situation, they mostly used C semantic formula in the academic advisor situation. This refers to the fact that Australians showed a tendency to state their annoyance in most situations, even when speaking to an individual in socially higher position. However, it does not imply that they do not show deference to someone superior. They used other downgrading devices to mitigate the threat. Unlike English native speakers, Persian native speakers did not use C semantic formula in the academic advisor situation at all. They mostly employed I+C+R, and I+C semantic formulas in the teacher and academic advisor situations, respectively. One explanation for this situation can be that in Iranian society when complaints are preceded and followed by initiators and requests respectively, they are perceived by hearer(s) as their threatening force mitigated, while that is not the case with Australian society. Instead, Australian English native speakers preferred using more number of softeners to mitigate the threat to the hearer's positive face. As an indicator of politeness towards their teacher and academic advisor, Persian speakers used address terms such as *ʔɔːstaːd* (teacher, instructor, professor), *aːqaːjemɔːšaːver* (advisor) and English native speakers used titles such as *sir*, *Mr.*, and *professor*. According to Wolfson (1989, p. 79), address terms are a "very salient indicator of status relationship". In lower

settings, interlocutors used address terms more frequently. The result is in line with the findings of Behnam and Niroomand's (2011) study, which found that lower status interlocutors used more address terms than higher status interlocutors. In this study, address terms were more frequent in the first and second situations because in these two situations, the interlocutors were expected to complain to higher status individuals.

In lower settings, where the hearer has dominance over the speaker, the speaker tended to express their complaint as indirectly as possible. In the teacher situation, both Persian and English speakers violated the maxim of manner as majority of them expressed their complaints indirectly. Maxim of manner wants every interlocutor to speak directly, not ambiguously and abundantly. English native speakers interacted with the teacher situation without mentioning the offense and taking the hearer responsible for it. They expressed complaints indirectly mostly through using initiators (e.g., *excuse me Mr.? May I speak with you about my exam?*), initiators followed by requests (e.g., *Hi Mr. /Ms.??? I just wanted to ask you about my exam paper.* Could you please explain your marking approach to clarify some aspects for me?), while that was not the case for the PP group. Persian native speakers did so within initiators and a request for action (e.g., *sæla:m ʔɔ:sta:dxæstenæba:šid*mitu:n æmbærgæmrɔ: bebinæm?), initiators (e.g., *sæla:m ʔɔ:sta:dbebæxšidmɔ:za:hemetu:nm išæm.mixa:stæmdærmɔ:redenɔ:mreemteha :næmba:tu:nsɔ:hbætkɔ:næm*) and requests (e.g., lɔ:tfænbærgæjeemtehɑ:niæmrɔ: dɔ:bɑ:rebæræsikɔ:nid). As compared to the teacher situation, both Persian and English speakers tended to make complaints directly more frequently in the academic advisor situation. This difference can be justified on the ground that in dealing with unfamiliar individuals, they feel more comfortable to challenge the hearer less indirectly.

Both the roommate and student situations in the DCT represent equal social settings, with the difference that in the former, the speaker is dealing with an intimate (-D) and in the latter, the speaker is dealing with a stranger (+D).

As for the complaint patterns used in the roommate situation, the results showed that all complaint patterns except for I complaint pattern were used by both English and Persian native speakers. It seems that some sort of formality is associated with this complaint pattern as it was used in lower settings only, where the hearer has dominance over the speaker. English native speakers (37.5%) expressed facts of annoyance by saying "It's very late in the night. You're so much noisy," but employed an initiator (e.g., Hey James) and a request for action (e.g., Please be quiet) prior to and after the complaint respectively to avoid producing an act which was too face-threatening to his/her roommate. However, Persian native speakers (29.2%) preferred to express their annoyance followed by a request (e.g., æslænræɑ:jætnemikɔ:ni. æxiræn xeIlisærɔ:sedɑ: mikɔ:ni.

xɑːmuːšeškɔːnnimešæbe.) without an initiator. It shows that in Iranian society, there is a tendency to express complaints to familiar equal status individuals more explicitly. In the student situation, Persian native speakers (29.2%) tendency to express their annoyance towards someone socially equal and unfamiliar to them with complaints preceded by initiators (e.g., *bebœxšidxaːnɔːm*nɔːbæt-ešɔːmɑː nist) may be justified on the ground that they are more concerned about the hearer's face as they used apologizing expressions as part of initiators. Unlike Iranians, English native speakers (31.2%) felt it more comfortable to express their complaint without other segments to someone unfamiliar to them.

Both the waiter and university bus driver situations represent lower social settings in which the speaker is interacting with a stranger (+D) and someone very familiar to him/her (-D), respectively.

Because a power inconsistency exists between interlocutors and the addressees complained by speakers are in a lower power and position than the speaker, as compared to their performance in higher social setting, they employed initiators less frequently and complaints more frequently. This situation can be justified on the ground that they have power over the hearer and do not feel it necessary to use initiators to redress the threat to the hearer's face.

Based on what has been discussed, the main components of complaint strategies used by English native speakers were different from those used in Persian to some extent.

In the case of the second research question which was posed in relation to the first one, it was indicated that although Iranian EFL learners performed complaints appropriately enough in the target language, some evidence of negative transfer from their L1 were found. Regarding the main components of complaint, they showed a tendency similar to their L1, i.e., they employed I complaint strategy very less frequently than English native speakers. One explanation for this situation can be that due to their lack of practical knowledge in English, they adhere to their L1 socio-cultural norms in expressing their dissatisfaction to individuals of higher social position. However, in the student situation, the significant difference found between EFL learners and English native speakers in using R semantic formula cannot be attributed to the influence of their L1 due to the fact that the participants in both the AE and PP groups employed this complaint strategy exactly by the same percentage (12.5%). One explanation can be that learners follow their own IL rules, rather than relying on transfer all the time or they may have little experience in performing complaints in English.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

In order to fully investigate the speech act of complaints in Persian and English, studies should be conducted using other ethnographic methods such as role-plays, besides the DCT to offer more in-depth data regarding Iranian and Australian socio-

cultural values. Other studies are needed to include a large number of participants so that the results will be more reliable and generalisable. Gender difference of the participants may be a factor affecting their politeness strategies in interacting with people of different social statuses. Thus, further investigation of complaints should select participants from different genders with similar distribution.

CONCLUSION

This study explored differences and similarities between complaint strategies used by English and Persian native speakers in terms of main components. It also investigated complaints in the interlanguage of Iranian EFL students. With regard to the use of complaint patterns, it was found that the complaint patterns used by the two native groups were quite similar, but some significant differences were found between the frequency use of each complaint pattern by the two groups. In the teacher situation, English native speakers used I complaint pattern significantly more frequently than their Persian counterparts. Iranian EFL learners, due to inadequate knowledge of that pattern negatively transferred from their L1 to English. As the study was focusing on the communicative competence of speakers, its findings will be helpful for EFL learners to learn socio-cultural rules governing the L2 in order to communicate competently in the L2 community. They will get familiar with the way native speakers make complaints in different situations, and they increase the quality of their interactions by learning how to use complaint speech act appropriately. They will also be aware of what factors affect the realization of the speech act of complaint in order to perform complaints appropriately so as to avoid communication breakdown.

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Current Perception and Willingness towards Organ Donation and Transplantation: A Survey of Undergraduate Students at University of Malaya

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ABSTRACT

The poor number of organ donation is becoming a very worrying phenomenon especially to those patients with chronic diseases, as well as those who require an immediate transplant. Although a variety of programmes and promotional campaigns have been organised and promoted by the agencies responsible for handling the organ donation, the number of donors is still at a discouraging level. Therefore, the objective of this study is to analyse the perceptions of young generation in regard to organ donation. Random samplings of 387 respondents consisting of undergraduate students at University of Malaya were selected for this study. The study found that young people's perceptions were very much influenced by their family members and friends, as well as family history. There is a significant difference between mean of gender and willingness towards organ donation and transplantation (t = -2.60, df = 385, p = <.05). The Spearman correlation shows a positive but weak correlation between the intention of the surveyed students towards registering as donors and their perceptions about organ donation and transplantation (r = .354, p <0.05). In sum, discussions on the issue of organ donation and transplantation should be held regularly in Higher Learning Institutions in order to change the misperceptions and misconceptions of the younger generation about organ donation and transplantation.

Keywords: Family history, organ donation and transplantation, perception, public health campaign, survey, University of Malaya, youths

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INTRODUCTION

In recent years, organ donation has been a widely discussed topic among the public. We often hear and read news from mass media channels, either traditional media or social media like Facebook, about the sufferings of patients who are in need of organ transplants in order to continue their lives. Although organ donation is gradually being accepted by more and more people recently, Malaysia has one of the worst records for organ donation (below 5 per million population [pmp]) in Southeast Asia, as well as in the world; this is followed by Philippines, Guatemala, India, Bulgaria, Kazakhstan, UAE, Tunisia, Morocco, Ukraine, Algeria and Myanmar (Global Observatory on Donation and Transplantation, 2012; "15,420 Malaysians", 2012; Goh, 2013; Makmor et al., 2014).

Organ donors in Malaysia are palpably low compared to other countries. The number of patients who need organs falls for short of needs and demands. As of October 2014, there were 18,444 patients still waiting for organ transplants, of which 18,418 were waiting for new kidneys, 13 were waiting for livers, five were waiting for hearts, six were waiting for lungs and three were waiting for lungs and hearts (*Unit Perkhidmatan Transplan dan Pusat Sumber Transplan Nasional* [Transplantation Service Unit and National Transplant Resource Centre], 2014). Comparing these figures against the registered organ donors, there were only 270,000 people who pledged to donate their organs; that is 0.9% of Malaysia's strong population (±30 million as of 2014). When compared to some European countries, we are still far behind from getting 30% to 40% of registered organ donors of the country's population (Ahmad, Ibrahim, Mustafa, & Chang, 2011; Hillson, 2012).

Since its inception in 1997, the National Transplant Resource Centre (NTRC), through the Ministry of Health and the Transplantation Service Unit, *has worked closely with the media to promote and educate the public about organ donation. Various media campaigns, news write-ups and social media promos have been used. It has also worked closely with various non-governmental organisations, public groups, universities, schools, teachers, students and many others in order to reach the public and create an informed public. These include* mass media, social media campaigns and education interventions strategy approaches for a more effective increase in the organ donation registration rates and simultaneously change the public attitude towards organ donations. This strategy is said to be effective in decreasing the gap between the need for organ donation and supply, as well as to increase the consent and conversion rates for transplantable organs (Feeley & Moon, 2016). A positive approach was made by the NTRC, Ministry of Health, Department of Islamic Development (JAKIM) and the Institute of Islamic Understanding of Malaysia (IKIM) to openly discuss the *Dos* and *Don'ts* in Islamic teaching and ruling regarding organ donation. It was a much-

needed guideline for those of the Muslim faith to understand the right and wrong with regard to organ donation. A national level forum entitled, "Organ Donation for the Islamic Perspective", held in Putrajaya, in conjunction with Organ Donation's Week Campaign, was broadcasted in 2014 by TV Al-Hijrah, presenting panellists from the health professionals, the Islamic leaders and the media practitioners discussing the topic. A huge media coverage entailed the forum, which was a positive campaign towards educating the public about and encouraging them to sign up for organ donations.

Nonetheless, recent figures showed that more than 15,000 patients are still awaiting organs for a second shot at a healthy life, and this number is rather alarming (Hillson, 2012). Due to the shortage of organ donors, especially for kidneys, it was reported that Malaysian patients take risks in purchasing cadaveric kidneys from overseas, especially from the People Republic of China (Medical Development Division, Ministry of Health Malaysia, 2007; Hillson, 2012). The reason is simple; the longer kidney patients wait for renal transplants, the worse their health conditions will be. Dialysis treatment only helps the kidneys to function at 10%. As a consequence, the longer the time taken for the patients to undergo dialysis, the less fit they will be for kidney transplant surgery (Ng, 2014).

Many researches have denoted that the factors responsible for organ shortfall across the world are insufficient information, lack of awareness, lack of trust and traditional cultural beliefs (Badrolhisam & Zakaria, 2012; Noordin et al., 2012; Perenc, 2012; Makmor et al., 2014). Findings of some previous studies show that majority of the Malays believe that Islam does not allow them to donate their organs (Noordin et al., 2012). This finding contradicts with Badrolhisam and Zakaria's (2012) research, in which they found that most Muslims agreed to donate their organs to someone who is in need even though the *fatwa* (i.e., statement issued by the Islamic Scholar Council) denies it. This apparently shows that the former result projects lack transparent disclosure or discussion about organ donation among the Muslim respondents, although Islam is a religion which inculcates love and caring among its followers in order to benefit other people who are in need of help, let alone saving a life of an individual through organ donation (Badrolhisam & Zakaria, 2012; Tham & Zanuddin, 2015).

In many cases, the early steps of informing and advocating an individual about health issues, prevention and cure are always through awareness, and this are what many health care practitioners and institutions usually do in this era of health communication (Nelkin, 1991; Caburnay et al., 2003; Mallika & Katare, 2004; Tong, 2006; Ibrahim, Mustaffa, & Chang, 2010). Health communication is essentially an indispensable component of an integrated public health response plan and an important element to achieving greater empowerment of individuals and

communities through dissemination of information and public engagement in disease prevention and cure (World Health Organisation [WHO], 1998; Santibañez, Siegel, O'Sullivan, Lacson, & Jorstad, 2015). It is the key to the dissemination of information and public engagement with disease prevention and cure, as well as to ensure quality health care (WHO, 1998; Schiavo, 2014).

Communication is of paramount importance in health communication. Without it, doctors and nurses are unable to inform patients of the severity of various diseases and the need for prevention and cure. Rimal and Lapinski (2009) revealed that communication lies at the heart of public health and plays an important role in exchanging information. In the field of communication, when the public is exposed to an issue through the media, it allows the issue to become salient among a group of people. Based on what the mass media have reported in the communicating text, these people who are much interested in a reported issue, talk to others and may even mobilise their own groups and organisations in response.

Therefore, it is essential to provide clear information and knowledge about organ donation at the youngest age. Youths bring a new perspective to organ donation. Therefore, educating the public and improving transparency of the organ donation, transplantation process and performance are critical to narrowing the donor-organ gap, especially among the youths who are the hope of a nation. This study generally sought to examine the willingness and perception of undergraduate students at University of Malaya about organ donation. More specifically, this study serves the purpose to: (1) find out the types of media used by students in seeking information about organ donation and transplantation; (2) find out if there is statistically significant difference between gender and willingness of undergraduate students towards organ donation and transplantation; and (3) find out the barriers for students to sign up for organ donation and transplant.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study adopts the theory of reasoned action (TRA) to study youths' intention and attitudes towards organ donation and transplant. The Theory of Reasoned Action has been employed in a variety of research on examining behavioural intentions. These works include blood donation (Burnkrant & Page, 1982), bone marrow donation (Bagozzi, Lee, & Van Loo, 1996), religious donation (Chuchinprakarn, Greer, & Wagner, 1998), behaviour on internet banking (Albarq & Alsughayir, 2013) and organ donation (Weber, Martin, & Corrigan, 2007; Jeffres, Carroll, Rubenking, & Amschllinger, 2008). Nonetheless, very little research on organ donation and transplant has used the theory to further explore the public's intention on this health issue. The theory (presented in Figure 1) essentially attempts to explain that someone is ready to take an action or respond to a certain behaviour if he/

she has the intention and is ready to do so (Fishbein, 1967; Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). According to this theory, the most accurate determinant of behaviour is behavioural intention. As defined by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980), intention is the "probability, as stated by the respondent, that he/she will perform the stated action" (p. 180). In other words, intention is the extent to which someone is ready to engage in a certain behaviour or likelihood that someone will perform a given behaviour. Based on the theory, two components are expected to influence one's behavioural intention, which are attitudes and subjective norms.

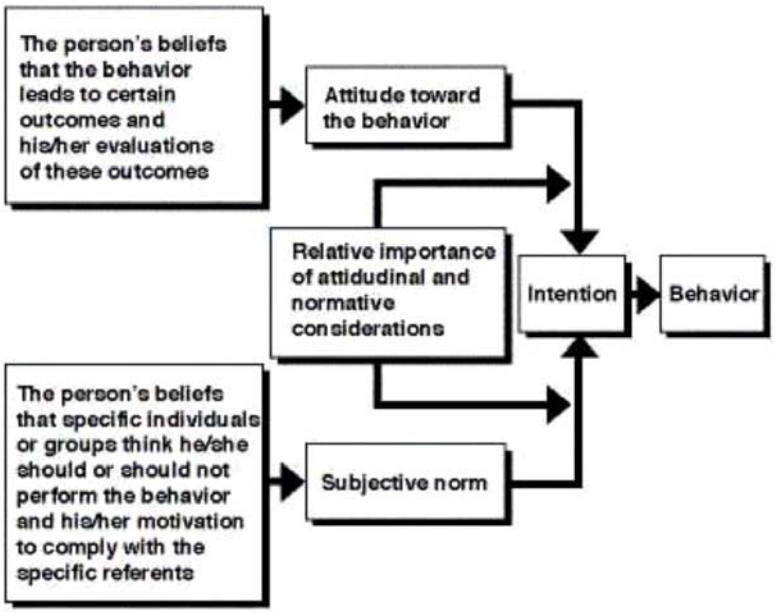


Figure 1. Reasoned action model (Adopted from Azjen & Fishbein, 1977).

Attitudes towards Behaviour

Attitude is a stands for a person's general feeling of favourableness or unfavourableness towards a behaviour (Albarq & Alsughayir, 2013). At times, a person will endorse either a positive or negative reaction or emotion towards another person, a concept, or an idea, based on his self-evaluation. The person will evaluate a behaviour whether it gives a positive, valuable, beneficial, desirable and advantageous outcome to him if he performs a given behaviour (Hayden, 2009). On that count, this is associated with one's behavioural beliefs. Thus, in organ donation context, when a person has a positive salient belief about his behaviour towards organ donation and transplant, he will the have a positive attitude vis-à-vis that behaviour. In contrast, when he has a negative salient belief regarding the outcome of performing organ donation and transplant, which is then considered to be a negative attitude, in return, he will not perform the behaviour.

Subjective Norm towards Behaviour

According to Azjen and Fishbein (1980), subjective norms are "a person's own estimate of the social pressure to perform or not to perform the intended behaviour" (p. 6). It refers to whether important referents, who are important to the person, approve or disapprove of the performance of a behaviour—which is called normative beliefs, weighted by the person's motivation to comply with those referents (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). In short, a subjective norm is the perceived social pressure to engage or not to engage in a certain behaviour (Hayden, 2009). Putting this into the context of organ donation and transplant, their behaviour and decisions depend on how and what their family and friends think about the outcome of performing organ donation and transplant (normative belief), and the degree to which this influences the behaviour or action of the person responsible (motivation to comply). It is not about the "individual's opinion", but most importantly are the "people around him/her and their opinions" that matter in determining the behavioural outcome. These people are those we hold high esteem like parents, friends or peers, religious figures, health care providers, etc. Due to a person wishes to "please" and comply with these people's expectations, subjective norm then plays a role in influencing one's intention to engage in a particular behaviour.

HYPOTHESES

Guided by the theory of reasoned action, this study aims to study how male and female students differ in their willingness to donate organs to those in need and register as organ donors. Is intention of registering as an organ donor associated with their beliefs in organ donation and transplantation? Based on the central propositions of the theory of reasoned action, that intention is influenced by someone's attitudes and subjective norms. Thus, the following (two) hypotheses were proposed in the present study:

H1: There is a statistically significant difference between male and female students on their willingness towards organ donation and transplant.

H2: Intention of students to registering as organ donors is positively associated with their behavioural belief about organ donation and transplant.

METHODOLOGY

Sample and Sampling Methods

This study used cross-sectional data that were collected by using structured questionnaires. Survey questionnaires were distributed to 387 undergraduate students who were from different faculties and years of studies at the university. The researchers employed Yamane's formula to systematically ascertain the sample size (Yamane, 1967). Respondents in this study were selected based on their willingness to participate in the study. The

researchers obtained the consent from the respondents prior to collecting the data. All the respondents were informed that their responses to the questionnaire of this study would be strictly treated as private and confidential.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire used in this study consists of closed-ended questions. Scoring was based on a 5-point Likert Scale, in which a value of one (1) to five (5) was assigned to each respondents' response options, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The instrument was developed and modified to suit the Malaysian setting based on previous research (Sanner, 2002; Albright et al., 2005; Ozer, Ekerbicer, Celik, & Nacar, 2010; Milaniak, Przbylowski, Wierbicki, & Sadowski, 2010; Noordin et al., 2012). Some words in the questionnaire were added or amended after pre-test to ensure its validity and also its compatibility to the culture in Malaysia. The questionnaires comprised questions in Section A, which represent factor of perceptions of the younger generation about organ donation with Cronbach Alpha α = .67 and factor B focused on their willingness and barriers to registering as organ donors that was gained Cronbach Alpha α =.64. Factor C, which focused on Media Role Effectiveness initially gained a rather weak Cronbach Alpha α =.52. Item 5C (I got more information from organ donation awareness campaigns) was eliminated in order to improve the Cronbach Alpha value to α = .66. Fundamentally, the alpha value should be positive and usually greater than 0.70 in order to provide a good support for internal consistency reliability. Nevertheless, Kline (1999) noted that Cronbach's alpha value below .70 could be accepted when dealing with psychological constructs. This is due to the diversity of constructs being measured in the questionnaire (cited in Field, 2009).

Table 1
Validity and reliability test

No Item	Factors	Alpa Value (α)
A1-A6	Perceptions to Organ Donations	.670
B1-B7	Barriers to Organ Donations	.639
C1-C6	Media Role Effectiveness*	.660*

Note: Asterisk indicates that item C5 was deleted as suggested in order to improve α value =.52 to α =.66

Data Analysis

The data collected were analysed using descriptive analysis and Spearman correlation to find out the relationship between the variables (namely, intention to register as organ donors and belief about organ transplant), while *t*-test was employed to find out the difference between them. Predictive Analysis SoftWare (PASW) was used as to produce descriptive statistics and conduct statistical tests.

RESULTS

Demographics

Table 1 presents the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample. The overall

response rate for this survey was 100%. Out of 387 respondents, more than 50% of the respondents are female (62%) and 38% are male. In terms of religion, majority of the participants are Muslims (79.8%), followed by Buddhists (12.1%), Hindus (2.8%) and other religions (5.2%). Out of all the studied participants, 37.7% were third year students, 31.3% second year's students, 25.1% first year students, 4.4% fourth year students, 0.8% fifth year students, 0.5% sixth year students and 0.3% seventh year students. As far as pledging as an organ donor is concerned, only 6.2% of the total respondents have pledged to donate their organs to people who are in need.

Table 2
Socio-demographic characteristics

Variable		#	%
Gender	Male	147	38.0
	Female	240	62.0
Religion	Islam	309	79.8
	Buddhist	47	12.1
	Hindu	11	2.8
	Others	20	5.2
Year of Studies	First Year	97	25.1
	Second Year	121	31.3
	Third Year	146	37.7
	Fourth Year	17	4.4
	Fifth Year	3	0.8
	Sixth Year	2	0.5
	Seventh Year	1	0.3
Pledged as an Organ Donor	Yes	24	6.2
	No	363	93.8

N=387

Source of Information about Organ Donation and Transplantation

As shown in Table 3, the survey results showed that majority of the respondents obtained organ donation-related information from the social media (72.4%), followed by television (63.3%), media campaigns (62.5%) and newspapers (59.4%).

Table 3
Source of information about organ donation

Source	**#**	**%**
Social media (Facebook, YouTube, the Internet, etc.)	280	72.4
Television	245	63.3
Media campaigns	242	62.5
Newspapers	230	59.4
Posters	189	48.8
Radio	146	37.7
Health care practitioners	138	35.7
Friends	132	34.1
Family members (parents and siblings)	85	22.0

Perceptions and Willingness towards Organ Donation and Transplantation among Respondents Who Use Social Media

Among those who used social media like Facebook, YouTube, the Internet, etc. to obtain information vis-à-vis organ donation and transplantation, they have a strong perception towards health issues. The survey results showed that 45.4% of the respondents were ready to donate their organs to those who are in need after their death. Although more than 50% of the respondents had the intention to register

as organ donors (55.7%), 80% of them said that they had to get prior permission from their family members before registering as organ donors. In terms of their behavioural belief about organ donation and transplant, the results showed that the surveyed undergraduate students have strong belief that organ transplant is an effective treatment to save someone's life (84.6 %).

Willingness towards Organ Donation and Transplantation

In this study, 46.5% indicated their willingness to donate their organs after their death. The finding was indeed encouraging. More than 50% of the students stated that they had the intention to register as organ donors (54.2%). Independent *t*-test was conducted to compare the difference between the mean of gender and willingness towards organ donation and transplant. The hypothesis postulated that there is a significant difference in the respondents' willingness towards organ donation and transplantation between males (M = 3.64, SD = .66) and females (M = 3.81, SD = .63) respectively, t = -2.60, df = 385, p=<.05. The mean difference (M = -.17) showed that the female students were more willing to donate their organs to people who are in need compared to the male students. Interestingly, a high proportion of the surveyed students (77%) stated that they would have to obtain an agreement or consent from their family members before registering themselves as organ donors.

Table 3 shows a positive correlation between the surveyed students' intention to registering as organ donors and their perceptions about organ donation and transplant (r = .354, p=<.05). Although the results showed a weak correlation between the variables (Chua, 2013), it indicated that the higher the intention of a student to register as a donor, the higher the positive perception about organ donation of that particular student would be.

Table 4
Relationship between respondents' intention to registering as organ donors and their perception about organ donation and transplant

	I have the intention to register as an organ donor.	**I believe that organ transplant is an effective treatment to save someone's life.**
Spearman's rho	1	.354**
Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
N	387	387

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Barriers towards Organ Donation and Transplantation

The participants who expressed their concerns about the barriers to organ donation and transplant gave a variety of reasons: "I lack exposure to the concept of brain death" (236; 60.9%); "I have negative perception about organ donation and transplantation because the influence of my family members and friends" (52; 13.4%); "I am afraid of and worried about post-mortem when I am dead" (150; 38.3%); "I

am influenced by the video in YouTube on organ transplant surgery, which it scares me to death" (114; 29.5%); None of my family members or close friends has chronic diseases which they need to undergo organ transplant surgery" (242; 62.5%); Religion is a hindrance for me to donate my organs" (35; 9%).

DISCUSSION

This cross-sectional study revealed the current perception and willingness towards organ donation and transplantation among undergraduate students at University of Malaya. Several important findings merit further consideration. The proposed theoretical framework indicates that students' intention in registering as organ donors is associated with their behavioural beliefs about organ donation and transplant. This finding supports the theoretical assumption. The researchers found that out of 387 surveyed students, only 6.2% or 24 students had pledged as organ donors. This portrays that our students are not ready for organ donation and transplant. Makmor et al. (2014) revealed that the lack of information and trust were the factors contributing to apathetic to organ donation among the respondents. Therefore, they need more motivation and certainty about the perceived costs and also benefits of registering as donors.

Many times, much of the public's understanding about health issues is not from their direct experiences, but from mediated sources (Brännström, & Lindblad, 1994; Miller, Kitzinger, Williams, & Beharrell, 1998; Tong, 2006; Chanda, Mchombu, & Nengomasha, 2008; Ibrahim et al., 2010; Tham & Zanuddin, 2012; Ahmed & Bates, 2013; Tham, 2014). Although health care practitioners have historically been the primary sources of health and medical information, with the advancement of communication and media technologies, everyone now has easy access to a varied arrays of alternative sources of health information, much of it is available at our fingertips (World Health Organisation [WHO], 1998; Brodie, Kjellson, Hoff, & Parker, 1999; Kremer & Ironson, 2007; Slooten, Friedman, & Tanner, 2013). In terms of sources of information about organ donation and transplantation, social media such as Facebook, YouTube and the Internet are the most preferred sources for the surveyed students to obtain organ donation and transplant-related information. Nevertheless, some respondents revealed that these social media could also be one of the obstacles for them to attain a better understanding of organ donation. About a quarter of surveyed students responded that they were influenced by the videos in YouTube, portraying scary pictures of organ transplant surgery. This provides an important insight into ethical issues concerning organ donation and transplant in social media. This aspect must be developed into school curriculum in order to improve both students' and online users' awareness, kñ259

The willingness towards organ donation and transplant varied to a statistically significant degree according

to the surveyed students' gender. Females were more willing to become organ donors. This might be due to females having greater affection for suffering compared to the males. Nonetheless, the result is different from the research conducted by Perence, Radochonski, and Radochonski (2012), in which they found out that the male respondents were more willing to become donors in the case of sudden death.

As far as the traditional culture is concerned, a high proportion of the surveyed students stated that a decision about organ donation should be made after consulting their family members about it. This subjective norm factor can be seen in other research as well. Among other, Perence et al. (2012) also revealed that 6.7% (compared with 77% of the surveyed students in this study) of the participants would have to consult with their family members about organ donation; without their family's support, they would not agree to donate their organs after death. This gives some insight to us that family influence could be one of the factors in motivating younger generation to pledge as a donor. In fact, the survey shows that the students had a negative perception about organ donation and transplant because of the influence by their family members and friends.

As such, public health campaigns organised by non-governmental organisations or the Ministry of Health should not be limited only to the younger generation, but also their parents and relatives. Therefore, the public can have a better understanding and knowledge of the importance of organ donation, and thereafter influence their children to help more people's lives by donating their organs.

When examining the association between the surveyed students' intention towards registering as organ donors and their perceptions about organ donation and transplant, there was a weak and yet positive correlation between the two variables. This indicates that the higher the intention of a student to registering as a donor, the higher his / her positive perception would be about organ donation.

Although some studies have shown religion as the main constraint to organ donation in Malaysia (see for instance, Loch, Himi, Mazam, Pillay, & Choon, 2010; Muda, 2012; Badrolhisam & Zakaria, 2012; Noordin et al., 2012), this research revevaled that religion was not an outstanding hindrance to organ donation and transplant among the surveyed students. In this study, when the researchers asked the students on *"what are the barriers to organ donation and transplantation?"*, more than 50% of them answered that they would only perform organ donation if their immediate family members or best friends were suffering from chronic diseases such as kidneys failure, liver cancer, etc. This, again, suggests that reaching out to the niche group (family members of chronic patients) may enable them to better relate to problems of organ failure, thereafter triggering one's affection for patients' suffering.

LIMITATIONS

As far as the methodological perspective is concerned, this research used only the quantitative approach to study the students' perception of organ donation and transplant. From the post-positivism point of view, the researchers cannot observe the world in a purely objective way as people's perceptions are rather subjective. Due to the limitations mentioned above, it is recommended that a mixed method approach would be applied in future studies in order to provide discourse of knowledge to organ donation and transplant. Other than this, the study is also limited to only undergraduate students at University of Malaya. Hence, a future comprehensive study could be conducted by examining members of public about their perceptions, intentions and behavioural beliefs about organ donation and transplant. As Malaysia is a multi-ethnic country, the religious element could also be further explored so as to grasp a better understanding of the role of religion in exploring the issue.

CONCLUSION

These results highlight both a disturbing issue and a great potential for public health communication regarding organ donation and transplant. Lack of knowledge and exposure to organ donation and transplant contributes to the low responses to organ donor registration in Malaysia. This study suggests that while networked media and social media become ever-increasing popular among youths, public health campaigns and social marketing campaigns can be targeted at youths via these channels. More open discussions about organ donation and transplant should be conducted using these platforms, as well as face-to-face interpersonal communication among parents and youths. While many people have misinterpretations about the role of religion in prohibiting its followers to donate organs, religion leaders can be invited to schools and public health campaigns to discuss about and highlight the relationship between religion and organ donation. Research related to organ donation and religious beliefs from each ethnic group should be delved further so as to improve and re-evaluate the current national policies, educational policies, public health policies and public health campaigns.

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Posthumanism in "Amnesty" by Octavia Butler: A Feminist Theological Analysis

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the tension between the humanistic, eugenic concept of identity and that of posthumanism in Octavia Butler's "Amnesty" (2005). Using Daphne Hampson's feminist post-Biblical perspective, the article argues that the story exposes a posthumanist perspective where the existence and subjectivity of human kind is defined based on a mutual, non-hierarchical relation between the human and nonhuman worlds. This article suggests that "Amnesty," reflecting an unothered perspective of life through an unorthodox theological perspective, illustrates the potential for a more humanitarian life on Earth.

Keywords: "Amnesty", Daphne Hampson, Octavia Butler, post-Biblical feminism, posthumanism

INTRODUCTION

"Amnesty" focuses on a mission from plant-like Communities for a black woman to connect them to human societies. In "Amnesty", Butler is obsessed with a concept of survival, which embodies a postmodern "dialogic" interaction between post-Biblical and African-American slavery discourses, as well as "sociobiological" determinism, to use a phrase by Cathy Peppers (1995, p. 48). By adopting these discourses, "Amnesty" creates a context which represents a feminist ecotheological sensibility, which beyond the traditional Christian hierarchical view on woman and nature[1], puts nature and woman on par with men.

In an interview with Frances M. Beal, Butler denies that there are utopian tendencies in her writing, "I don't believe that imperfect humans can form a perfect society" (1986, p. 14). Zaki (1990) believes

[1] Refer to Hamson, 2002, pp. 6-9.

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that this statement is linked to Butler's deterministic view towards human nature which she denounces as fundamentally "violent" and "flawed" (p. 241). What we are going to explore in our discussion is what could be seen as a promising reflection of characters as posthuman in "Amnesty," using a post-Biblical feminist perspective.

Posthumanism considers the human being as a "subject" who "comes to be by conforming to a strictly dialectical system of difference" (Wolfe, 2010, pp. 11-12). This dialectical system is based on the recognition of communication between divinity, human, and nonhuman worlds in a way which exceeds the fixed boundaries between divinity, as a "Transcendent" entity[2], humanity, the natural world, and "the mechanical or technical" world (p. 6). Due to its egalitarian stand, which unlike the orthodox Biblical perspectives, does not presume the hierarchical dominance of God on human and human on nature, Hampson's post-Biblical feminist perspective provides us with a useful tool to understand this posthumanism in "Amnesty". As such, Hampson's perspective provides a base to investigate the potency in "Amnesty" to embody a humanitarian life free from violence.

[2] A transcendent monotheism believes in an Almighty God who, "set over against" universe, exerts His power unilaterally, beyond the natural, causal system of universe (Hampson, 2002, p. 244). For further information refer to Daphne Hampson's After Christianity, chapter VI, and Griffin's God and Religion in the Postmodern World.

METHODOLOGY

From the post-Biblical standpoint, "Amnesty" enacts the spiritual sensitivity that Hampson (2002) recognises as the right of "other life" to live (p. 259). From her perspective, any attempt to control "other life" whether that of "other persons" or "animal creation" is a practice "inimical to being a spiritual person" (p. 259).

Hampson (2002) introduces three practices for being spiritual: "attention," "honesty," and "ordering." "Attention" or "attending" is "an ethical stance" which entails "listening to, and watching both oneself and others" and in so doing, helps a person "to grow and change and so make appropriate response when response is called for" (p. 260). Based on this definition, the practice of "attention" is "caring for that to which one attends" (p. 260). By "honesty," Hampson explains that she means "seeing oneself in a true light," that is "to be integral to one's whole self-understanding" and "gain a sense of oneself" (p. 265). She furthers her debate by connecting "honesty" to "attention," saying that "honesty" is to have a "fundamentally friendly attitude towards others rather than a tendency to take oppositional and defensive stance (p. 265). The third practice "ordering" is "having a certain control over one's time and one's affairs" (p. 266). "Ordering" is related to the other practices because "[a] person drowning in the chaos of her own life is unlikely to be free in herself to be present to another" (p. 267) that is to say to practise "attending".

SYNOPSIS AND CRITICAL BACKGROUND

"Amnesty" reflects the mutual "attentive" practices of sample representatives of humanity and the alien communities of special plants who have settled on Earth and strive to have a symbiotic, non-hierarchical coexistence with humanity. This attentiveness is embodied in a discipline of "honesty" through which a chosen representative of humanity and a bunch of these Communities work together to put in "order" and harmonise the relationship among humans, on the one hand, and humanity and the Communities on the other hand. Butler, as will be argued, accomplishes this in "Amnesty", which demonstrates the embrace of difference by humanity as a means of survival.

The notion of survival reflects "a new beginning." This new beginning entails the acknowledgment of a new way of life that, in its postmodern nature, negates the "outmoded reifications of humanist, essential notions of identity" (Peppers, 1995, p. 47). It embodies the recognition of the "'post-gender' origin-less" concept of the posthuman body and identity that confronts the Othering eugenic as well as sexist notions of identity. Peppers explains the eugenic concept as the modern preference for safeguarding the purity of race and species through limiting the scope of relations within approved boundaries. She relates it to the Darwinian notion of "natural selection" as a means to determine the survival of the fittest (pp. 47-48)[3]. "Amnesty" confronts such a eugenic understanding.

The entire story concretises the confrontation between two eugenic and post-human concepts of humanity. The representation of this eugenic consideration turns "Amnesty" into a narration that one might suspect reproduces the wicked side of human nature. But the characterisation of Noah Cannon in the story reflects the Other of the eugenic, "humanist," essentialist (biological) perspective. By humanism, we are referring to modernist "scientism" which, presuming human kind as the exclusive representative of God, regards the human being as the master of the universe, whose mission is to discover the mechanism of natural laws governing the world (Griffin, 1989, pp. 2-3). This focus creates a kind of centrism on the human being which continues to threaten "*the very survival of life on our planet*" (p. xi). "Amnesty" challenges this centrism. "Amnesty" presents a post-modern notion of humanity – posthumanism – which challenges the traditional "humanist" reflection of femininity as the other of the perfect human who is always a male in science fiction even in science fiction by women – which usually presents weak, masculinised women (Hollinger, 2003, pp. 129-134). They are humanist in the sense that they focus on the human being, disregarding non-human world.

[3] Refer to Charles Darwin, On the Origin of Spices, London: John Murray, 1859.

The plot of "Amnesty" revolves around the interactions among the Communities, free human beings, and those ones who have already been abducted by the Communities and started to have a coexistence with them. There are six free humans who have applied for "translating" work in one of the Communities that is the stranger-Community. The depicted free humans represent an aggressive perspective which views the other two groups as unintelligent in the case of the Communities and betrayers in the case of the pre-abductees.

The Communities are interested to expand their relations with humanity. The coordinators of this communication are "Translators" like Noah who are pre-abductees and have developed a signifying code of communication with the Communities.

From the beginning it becomes evident that communication is the major concern for all the three groups. Nevertheless, it is also shown that this concern is accompanied by a deep sense of hatred and distrust in both the humans and the Communities:

> *Her employer had warned her that the job ... would be unpleasant not only because of the usual hostility of the human beings she would face, but because the subcontractor for whom she would be working would be difficult.* (Butler, 2005, p. 150)

The quote reflects the unwillingness of the free humans to deal with difference and points to the difficult conditions that living and working with strangers will impose on humanity.

The story seems to support a pessimist and dystopian reading. However, the ensuing discussion hopes to show that a consideration of the presence and function of the Communities, the free and abducted humans, as represented by the protagonist, suggest another possible reading. Noah's role will also be investigated in order to ascertain whether she does indeed epitomise an alternative version of human understanding in the face of difference.

DISCUSSION: POSTHUMAN VERSUS HUMAN

To start, we will regard the concept of survival in "Amnesty." It is the central theme of the story. To figure out whether the concept embodies a negative view about imperfect human nature or a positive one which sees the overcoming of the schism between Self and Other, it is necessary to investigate if survival in "Amnesty" represents a merely physical notion or a sustainable concept. If we accept the biological determinism that Butler argues for (i.e., the imperfect nature of human beings), it would mean that physical survival is the story's main concern. In such a case, the Darwinian concept of "natural selection" comes to the fore and a reconsideration of the perfect/imperfect reflection of human nature becomes indispensable.

As pointed out in the previous section, survival reflects a new beginning. "Amnesty" is about the emergence of an alternate life. It is about the "immersion and gradual orientation in its wholly

other structures of kinship and relation" (Luckhurst, 1996, p. 35) in the text to reflect a new understanding which is tolerant and receptive of what has already been Othered as alien or strange. These new structures take root in the biological, historical, and theological background of the story and illustrate how the protagonist's growing awareness equips her with the necessary knowledge to "attentively" cooperate in the reshaping of a new life of coexistence on Earth. These structures will be explored in the following discussion.

In the case of natural selection in "Amnesty", one point must be stated. The story "is not about a stronger race annihilating a weaker, or incorporating weaker difference into its sameness," a model which Luckhurst (1996) distinguishes as a reflection of a "racial science" (p. 36). On the contrary, it illustrates "another, muted Darwin – one of the view that 'man resembles those forms called by naturalists protean and poly morphaic'" (p. 36). What Luckhurst terms as "racial science" here points to the eugenic notion of "purity" that, according to modernist notions of the "integrity of the same" (p. 37), confers a rigid notion of human identity. According to this view, what has emerged as "pure humanity" is due to the evolution of the fittest and, therefore, embodies a final version of the perfect species. "Amnesty" challenges this understanding. Imagining a mutual striving for coexistence between humanity and the Communities of the unicellular-like plants, the story envisions a new picture of human identity whose essence is redefined in direct contact with the Communities. This mutuality implies sameness of essence between the two species and connects the apparently independent and intelligent humans to the unintelligent, unicellular entities. Based on this, "Amnesty" emerges as a reflection of a postmodern identity that deconstructs the unified sense of self as an isolated entity.

Butler's Noah represents the embodiment of the postmodern view about "decentered subjects and bodies" (Luckhurst, 1996, 30). Paralleling it, "Amnesty" envisions the "dissolution of the boundaries between human and the alien" (Wolmark, 1994, p. 38):

> *The tips of what looked like moss-covered outer twigs and branches touched her bare skin. ...*
>
> *This subcontractor enfolded her immediately, drawing her upward and in among its many selves, first hauling her up with its various organisms, then grasping her securely with what appeared to be moss. ...*
>
> *Enfolded ... She closed her eyes ... She felt herself surrounded by ... dry fibres, fronds, rounded fruits of various sizes, and other things .... She was at once touched, stroked, massaged, compressed in the strangely comfortable, peaceful way ... She was turned and handled as though she weighed nothing. ... She had lost all senses of direction....* (Butler, 2005, p. 151)

This violation of bodily boundaries by the Communities concretises a new structure of physical body which decentres the modernist human concept of physical integrity. This new concept of body, metaphorically, suggests the emergence of a new sense of relation and communication.

Besides references to Noah's captivity and blackness in the story, the extract automatically provides readers with an understanding of the text as dealing with the theme of sexual harassment in the narratives of slave history. Accordingly, one wonders if the text puts forward a reverse irony, recreating the same imperfection recorded in humanity's unpleasant past history of slavery. The currently dominant plant-like Communities seem to apply a modern system of slave holding. However, considering the overall concerns and arguments of the text, we cannot accept this view.

Despite the vivid images related to slavery, there are scenes that both embody the longing of the Communities to know humanity and reflect Noah's compassionate concern for her fellow beings, despite the terrible experiences she had with them. The feelings come from a conscious belief in the possibility of constructive communication and understanding from both the Communities and Noah:

> *The communities liked her signs to be small, confined gestures ... She had wondered ... if this was because they couldn't see very well. Now she knew that they could see far better than she could ...*
>
> *[T]he reason that they preferred large gestures when she was out of contact and unlikely to hit or kick anyone was because they liked to watch her move. ... the Communities had developed a real liking for human dance performances and for some human sports events—especially individual performances in gymnastics and ice skating.* (Butler, 2005, p. 152)

At the beginning of the extract, Butler reviews Noah's gradual understanding of the capacity of the Communities. Though they are concerned with physical abilities but, as the rest of the extract reveals, there is also a strong hint at the wide scope of the Communities' perspective. Theirs is an inclusive perspective which observes and understands humanity not only as a biological entity, but also as the embodiment of a specific sociocultural heritage. As such, this highlights an "attending" practice. According to Hampson (2002), attending "can also involve allowing oneself to be affected by art or great literature, or being observant of nature" (p. 260). It is because of this understanding that the Communities are determined to start a new form of communication and safeguard a peaceful coexistence with human beings. They do not want to fix the bases of their dominance on Earth, which then would reflect narratives of colonisation and slavery.

One of the strategies that the colonising powers used against the colonised nations was to learn their language and culture. They groomed a generation of locals who

were trained in the dominant language and once they internalised the alien culture and values, they acted as agents of change to render the native culture more malleable in the hands of the coloniser. Noah's mission as a "Translator" to train other human translators, is in line with the stories of slavery or colonisation. Nevertheless, the attitude of the Communities towards humans does not coincide with what Coogan-Gehr (2011) describes as the "homogenising" attitude of coloniser towards colonised culture. Based on her explanation, colonisation is a homogenising practice through which the cultural differences of the colonised are ignored or obliterated (p. 94). The Communities of "Amnesty" do not follow such a policy. In the entire story, they appear as eager learners who struggle to know much about humanity and use that knowledge for a constructive relationship. They never consciously force any human to behave as they do or follow their habits.

One reading of the story could be that the abduction of humans from their homes and their transfer into the Communities symbolise the hunting of slaves in Africa and their transfer to America by white colonisers. In this huge transfer, big groups of people were abducted from their homeland and smuggled to America where they gradually dissolved into an American way of life. Clarifying the motivation of the Communities in "Amnesty" to kidnap humans, Noah explains that the Communities abducted humans because they wanted to know and communicate with the human species; they had no understanding that this was an act of abduction. This fact distinguishes their act from that of humans. The actions of humans were based on consciousness and free will, while what the Communities did were based on unfamiliarity with human behaviour and needs:

> *"The Communities didn't know anything about us." ...*
>
> *"They wanted to understand us and communicate with us. ... They wanted to know how we got along with one another and they needed to know how much we could bear of what was normal for them."* (Butler, 2005, pp. 159-60)

After the Communities release Noah, humans capture her:

> *"the so-called human beings knew when they were hurting me. They questioned me day and night, threatened me, drugged me, all in an effort to get me to give them the information I didn't have."* (Butler, 2005, p. 170).

As the story stipulates, some Communities and abducted humans have succeeded "to put together a code—the beginning of a language" (Butler, 2005, p. 161) that has helped the two species to start communicating and, consequently, understanding each other. The Communities have not imposed their language and culture on human societies. Moreover, the launching of this new

system of communication, as appears from references like "without hands, God knows how they manage to sign anything" (p. 157), is due to the biological limitations of the Communities that prevent them from using human ways.

Humans are not under the control of the Communities. Though there is a mission from the Communities for Noah which suggests a hierarchical order of control, yet the nature of the relationship and the physical unity that the story reflects, embody a horizontal sense of understanding where human free will and control are recognised. It is particularly reflected in the permission of the Communities to those humans who wanted to return to their own human societies:

> *"Years later when the Communities ... understood more of what they'd done to us, they asked ... whether we would stay with them voluntarily or whether we want to leave. I thought it might have been just another of their tests, but when I asked to go, they agreed."* (p. 169)

Noah goes towards her fellow beings. But she encounters their dark side and returns to the Communities. Experiencing peace and serenity when co-living with the Communities, she ends up sharing these feelings with her fellow humans. It is a practice of "attending" and "honesty" through which she struggles to advise her people to guarantee their survival through conscious control of their negative views towards the Communities and starting friendly relations with them. We cannot assume that Noah's attempt to reconcile humans and the Communities demonstrate her dependence on the Communities. What is discernible from her explanations is that it is human society which, diverted from its essential nature, has threatened natural life and, therefore, needs to change.

Moreover, according to the explanations about the habitat of the Communities, they have settled in deserts. It shows that the settlers had no intention to occupy human settlements: "They've taken over big chunks of the Sahara, the Atacama, the Kalahari the Mojave and just about every other hot, dry wasteland they could find. As far as territory goes, they've taken almost nothing that we need" (Butler, 2005, p. 181). Nowhere in the text have the Communities appeared as colonisers who usurp and exploit human habitats.

Reviewing Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, Apap (2011) distinguishes a cultural homogenising policy, followed by the American Colonisation Society (ACS). The policy, propagating the relocation of blacks to their ancestral land (Liberia as part of Africa), "envisioned a nation void of racial differences, in which undesirable others, whether African or Indian, were continually and safely "outside" of the nation's borders" (p. 326). The Communities do not follow such a policy. Their interest to contact and mix with humanity contrasts with homogenising colonisation. Though they are settled in locations far removed from

human settlements, they are determined to be connected to these societies. In addition, after gaining the knowledge and ability to communicate with humans, the Communities never try to drive them away from their lands. The fact that Noah invites her people's representatives to learn to live with the Communities shows that there is no obligation on them to leave their home, Earth.

In addition, the Communities have come to stay. When they started to land on Earth, the allied forces of several countries had tried "'to knock them out of the sky'" but had failed (Butler, 2005, p. 183). Later, they "'coordinated nuclear strikes at the aliens when it was clear where they were establishing their colonies'" (p. 183). But these attacks had been repelled and "'half of the missiles that had been fired were returned. … armed and intact'" (p. 183), whereas, it seems the other half were in the hands of the Communities "'along with whatever weapons they brought with them and any they've built since they've been here'" (p. 184). This hints at the Communities' invulnerability. Therefore, it would be reasonable to avoid any tension with them.

Claire Light (2005) believes that Butler's protagonists are characters who are balanced between two hostile cultures, and choose to absorb that hostility to create a bridge. They allow her to put them through hell, so that she can report on what hell is like, and maybe report a way out of it. (para. 2)

This pattern is true when applied to Noah Cannon. Noah embodies a character who vacillates between choosing the perspective of two species who have their separate cultural and biological lives. Despite the hostilities, "Amnesty" reflects a struggle towards mutual understanding and unity. Noah acts as an agent to fulfil this unification.

The mechanism that Butler uses for this end is the recreation of a context that is reminiscent of the historical condition of slavery. This racial dimension helps Butler to replace the "amnesiac severance from the past … by an assumption of some kind of responsibility" (Luckhurst, 1996, p. 32). This responsibility is fulfilled by "confrontation with a disavowed history" (p. 32). As Butler in her interview with Randall Keenan (1991) explains, black history is a background which black generations have not been eager to bring to the fore during their activities for social recognition and equality in the recent century (p. 496). Referring to this past through a reflection on the postmodern dimension, "Amnesty" allows the readers, particularly its black addressees, the opportunity to face and deal with their racial heritage. This illustration acts like a healing model through which the protagonist gains the knowledge and ability to manage and control her life through connection with others. It enables her to familiarise her people with the same understanding to help them live meaningfully in radically different conditions.

Connecting the historical allusion to slavery with the coming of the interplanetary aliens, "Amnesty" reflects the permanent presence of the Othered figures in human life. Wolmark (1994) believes that "Butler uses the device of the alien being to explore the cultural determinants of definitions of the other as a signifier of threat" (p. 29). "Amnesty" deals with this concept of Othering when it reflects the hatred and distrust of the free humans and the Communities towards each other. Yet this is not the only voice heard in the story. "Amnesty" also reverberates with the promising voice of change which works to bring together the Othered, separated voices of the story. This is done through focusing on the concept of communication between the two communities of humans and plant-like beings. The strategy employed for this development is training and learning. It is reflected in Noah's mission to train translators and the Communities interest to lea h(

Noah is a woman who is determined to start a mental change in humans. Discussing her mission with her employer, she says:

> *I want to make them think. I want to tell them what human governments won't tell them. I want to vote for peace between your people and mine by telling the truth. I don't know whether my efforts will do any good ... but I have to try.* (Butler, 2005, p. 155)

The quote reflects Noah's sense of responsibility. Despite the disappointing feature of humans in the story to Other not only the Communities, but also people of their own kind, Noah represents an emblem of hope to change this propensity. Her sense of responsibility is actualised through an "attentive" commitment to train a generation of translators who will work to bridge the gaps between human and non-human societies. The commitment, verbalised in "I want to vote for peace … by telling truth," entails a conscious practice of "honesty" to establish "a fundamentally friendly attitude towards others rather than a tendency to take an oppositional and defensive stance" (Hampson, 2002, p. 265).

Noah has an open view towards others. This openness, gained from her interaction with the Communities, enables her to adopt the spiritual practice of "listening" with some representatives of her own people. Embedded in her patient dialogue with these people, the practice works as a therapy that reduces the tensions by "speaking and being listened to" (Hampson, 2002, p. 263). The excerpt above highlights the protagonist's dedication to work towards complete acceptance between her people and the Communities. Noah is fully aware that dialogue is key to creating peace and integrity on Earth and, therefore, uses her knowledge and experience to establish communication between humans and the Communities and, in this way, heal the scars of misunderstanding.

Another post-Biblical aspect of the concept of survival in the story is its name symbolism. The symbolism offers a post-Biblical retelling of a Biblical story and connects it to the posthuman historical and biological dimensions of the story. As a female, the protagonist has the name Noah which is entirely strange and uncommon for a woman:

> *"Noah Cannon," Rune Johnsen said, ... I remember seeing your name on the lists of abductees. ... you were listed as female. I had never run across a woman named Noah before".* (Butler, 2005, p. 159)

The name Noah alludes to the Biblical name of Prophet Noah who, under God's guidance, made an ark and saved selected members of humanity and natural life from global destruction and extinction. Butler's post-human recreation of Noah in "Amnesty" embodies a post-Christian theological discourse of selection different from the Biblical one. It also challenges Butler's deterministic view of human sociobiological entity.

Noah does not go through the same process of selection as the traditional Biblical Noah. Her concern for the unification of humanity and the communities does not exempt any one as "unwanted" in both groups. She embodies an attending guide who does not neglect or banish any one. On the contrary, she represents an ideologically open-minded figure that stands ready to accept the world around her.

Through the entire interactions with her fellow humans and the Communities, Noah attempts to remove the tensions between the two species. To achieve this, she struggles to cope with the condemnation she receives from her fellow beings. Unlike her Biblical forerunner, she does not embody a missioner who leaves the majority of her people, denouncing them as cursed ones.[4] Embodying a threatening situation of annihilation similar to the Biblical Flood story, "Amnesty" narrates a saving story in which the saving function is not practiced though selection of a chosen group to the destruction of the Others. Noah does not limit the scope of her mission to either humans or the Communities. Her vision includes both of them, working hard to help them understand and come together. This theological non-selectivity has a natural-biological dimension as well.

In the traditional Biblical story, Noah selects pairs of various animals to save their species. The Communities in "Amnesty" reflect this same sense of ark. But this is a post-Biblical ark which epitomises postmodern co-existence. The gathering of biological types in these Communities does not follow a natural or biological selection to ensure preservation. On the contrary, the argument of the story follows a non-essential biology in which the symbiotic co-existence of all is sought as the best way to achieve sustainable survival. Though the early random locating of the kidnapped

[4] For the Biblical story of Noah and the Flood, refer to Genesis 6:11-7:5

humans by the Communities embodies a natural selection, this practice is abandoned when the Communities learn more about humans. In natural selection, survival is the result of natural abilities. "Amnesty" is not only obsessed with the natural abilities and experiential knowledge of the survivors. It also considers the factor of awareness. This awareness emerges from a conscious assessment of experiential knowledge and is practiced via recognising, and not ignoring or deleting, the presence of others.

CONCLUSION

Hampson (2002) argues that "a disregard for the beauty and integrity of other life, an inclination to stamp it out, does seem to me to be contrary to what I could count a true spirituality" (p. 259). "Amnesty" entirely enlivens the same spiritual standpoint. It constructs an imaginary world in which the disappearance of hierarchical classifications works to envision a more fully integrated co-existence. Recruiting the historical discourse of slavery, which philosophically rests on the New Testament implication "that the use of slaves, provided it is humane, does not contravene the will of God" (Hampson, 1991, p. 26), the story transforms this history to develop alternative, non-Christian theological and sociobiological discourses. In the new conceptual world that emerges in "Amnesty", Noah is convinced that cooperating for openness towards difference is vital in paving the way for an "integrated" life.

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Banking Liquidity and Stock Market Prices in Three Countries in ASEAN

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports evidence of a banking liquidity impact on stock prices in the three Asean countries. Banking liquidity impacts suggested by Friedman is yet to be fully investigated nor verified despite several attempts. If improved liquidity of banks leads to credit expansion, which in turn leads to more positive net present value projects undertaken by firms, earnings of the latter must go up, and hence the share prices should rise. This link is worth an investigation. According to an influential of the US stock market, up to 52% of share returns are due to changes in the macro economy. Using a 3-equation structural model as well as employing corrections for cross-section dependence, we examine the link between money supply, liquidity and stock prices over 2001:4Q and 2012:2Q in three developing countries. It is found money supply changes lead to a *positive liquidity effect* and banking liquidity impacts share market prices positively. These findings are new and in support of Friedman's liquidity proposition, and also constitute evidence of a banking liquidity having a positive effect on asset prices.

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INTRODUCTION

This paper supports a six-decade old proposition of Friedman that money supply should have a positive effect on liquidity through credit expansion associated with money-to-banking-liquidity. Banking liquidity in turn, by improving firms'

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earnings, should impact on share market prices positively. Announcements of Federal Fund target rates cause large price changes in the US Treasury market (Fleming & Remolona, 1997). More than 30% of identifiable events that caused a large immediate price change in the stock market were due to monetary announcements (Fair, 2002). King, (1966) in a study, suggests up to 52% of share prices are from market-wide common factors while another study (Bernanke & Kuttner, 2005) says a 25-basis point cut in the federal funds target rates caused a one percent stock price increase. Few events are watched by market players with avid interest than monetary authority announcements. This research arises from the interest to study the role of monetary news on asset prices. Friedman's proposed positive money supply influence on inflation and a negative influence on interest rates have been empirically verified. Not so the third proposition of a money-supply-liquidity (credits) impact on asset prices. Fluctuations in share prices affect a firm's cost of capital and also its capacity to raise new capital and invest, and hence, through the wealth effect on consumption and economic growth, money supply should influence share prices, which is the subject of this paper. There is a gap in knowledge about this effect and our motivation is to find evidence to support this prediction for three countries in the Asia Pacific region.

In tracing the impact of monetary policy, the first step in the transmission channels, however, is the effect of monetary policy on the share market, through bank credit expansion from money supply changes. Policy makers are keen to understand what determines the share market's reaction to policy moves. Studies have shown a significant cyclical variation in the size of the impact of monetary policy on share prices. In those studies, the size of the response of share returns to monetary shocks has been shown to be not symmetrical - it is more than twice as large in recessionary periods and during tight credit conditions.

In the finance literature on share valuation, macroeconomic forces are assumed to have systematic influences on share prices as the so-called market-wide factors, apart from the present value of expected future cash flows. Macroeconomic influence could also be studied using the arbitrage pricing theory (APT: Ross, 1976 & Chen et al., 1986) model. In the financial economics literature, the standard aggregate demand and aggregate supply (AD/AS) framework also allows for the roles of equity markets especially in the specification of money demand (see Friedman, 1988), which linkage was labelled the monetary transmission mechanism (Mishkin, 1998). These models provide a basis for the long-run relationship and short-run dynamic interactions among macroeconomic variables on stock prices.

The specific issue discussed in this paper is the monetary transmission to share market via the bank credits to earnings of firms. This paper shows how share prices in the three ASEAN countries (Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand) are influenced

by liquidity factor emanating from money supply and in our specification of macroeconomic factors. This paper links the macro-economic aggregates of money supply to banking liquidity on share prices. In the long run, fundamental factors – economic *and* firm-specific - should influence pricing, although attention in theory-building has long been on fundamental factors to the exclusion of macro factors. According to Musílek (1997), if investors want to be successful, they need to focus on price-shaping macroeconomic factors. Flannery & Protopapadakis (2002) consider macroeconomic factors as important. Another factor accounting for 10% of stock returns is the industry factor, and firm-specific factors, most commonly used in valuation models, contribute to the remaining 38% in price changes.

National income, liquidity from money supply, inflation and interest rates are important macroeconomic factors. Friedman (1969) suggested that money-supply-based liquidity has a positive influence on asset prices, which is not yet fully verified. His proposition of a *negative* money supply effect on interest rate has been confirmed by a number of studies.[1]

The main objective of this paper is to support money-to-banking-liquidity to stock price effect in each of the selected three countries. These three countries have an open capital market, and have, since 1997, deregulated their economies with large-scale financial liberalisation. Our paper differs from previous studies in that we apply the new dynamic heterogeneity panel unit root and panel co-integration test to examine the dynamic relationship between stock price, liquidity and money supply. The first step in the empirical analysis is to investigate the stochastic properties of the time series involved. Hence, we performed unit root tests on a per country basis. The power of the individual unit root tests can be severely distorted when the sample size is too small (or the span of data is too short), as in individual country data set. For these reasons, the combined data set provide reliable testing with information across countries. The Johansen co-integration test is useful to determine whether observed relationship is spurious or structural. The information is combined and to perform panel cointegration tests.

Finally, since tests verified are in a structural relationship, we estimate parameters using fully modified OLS (Ordinary Least Squares) rather than OLS to estimate the cointegrating vector for the heterogeneous cointegrated panels, which helps to correct the parameter bias induced by endogeneity and serial correlation in the regressors: that is, we avoided the errors from cross-section dependence. The long-run and short-run relationships are estimated using a vector error correction model (VECM) appropriate for

[1] The literature on the liquidity effect dates back at least to Cagan & Gandolfi (1969), Gibson (1970a; b), Leeper & Gordon (1992), Goodfriend (1997), Pagan & Robertson (1995), Christiano, Eichenbaum & Evans (1996), Hamilton (1997), Thornton (2001), Carpenter & Demiralp (2006) and Thornton (2007).

heterogeneous panels. Unlike in the past studies, monetary regime changes that may cause structural relationship to shift so introducing errors in parameter estimated, are controlled by specifying regime change controls and also controls for the Global Financial Crisis, and the Asian Financial Crisis.

This rest of the paper is organised as follows: Section 2 is a very brief discussion of the money supply theory, also its variations, by focusing the discussion on (i) liquidity and (ii) share price effect. Section 3 contains data preparation, data transformation steps, and the final test models. The findings are discussed in Section 4 before the paper concludes with relevant comments in Section 5.

MONEY SUPPLY, LIQUIDITY, SHARE PRICE AND MONETARY REGIME CHANGES

A brief review of literature is provided in this section. First, we describe the liquidity effect proposition before establishing a link between banking liquidity and share prices in the context of monetary transmission mechanism.

Money Supply Effect in the Transmission Mechanism

The effect on interest rates as a result of a change in monetary policy (Friedman's interest effect) is a proven. Many studies have examined the effect of interest rate in the monetary transmission mechanism. Such effects, following standard textbook specifications, could be represented in a money demand and money supply relationship as shown stylistically below:

$$m_t^{\,d} = \alpha_1 + \alpha_2 r_t + \varepsilon_t^{\,d} \quad [1.1]$$

$$m_t^{\,s} = \beta_1 + \beta_2 r_t + \varepsilon_t^{\,s} \quad [1.2]$$

$$\therefore m_t^{\,d} = m_t^{\,s} \quad [1.3]$$

where ^{d} indicates demand, ^{s} supply, m_t is the log of nominal money, r_t, is the nominal interest rate, while $\varepsilon_t^{\,d}$ and $\varepsilon_t^{\,s}$ are mutually correlated demand and supply shocks. r_t responds to shifts in money supply engineered by varying β_1 and the relation $dr_t/d\beta_1 = (\alpha_2 - \beta_2)^{-1}$ means that interest rate decreases when money supply increases, provided $\alpha_2 < 0$ and $\beta_2 < -\alpha_2$. This negative reaction to interest rate as a result of rise in money supply is termed the liquidity effect. Hence, the two-equation model as above for testing money supply and interest rates.

Share prices are expected to rise as a result of increase in money supply since a decline in interest rate would reduce the discount rate (costs of equity and debt capital) of future cash flow. This was described as a direct influence of money supply by Sprinkel (1964) for the first time. He explicitly tested a model incorporating Simple Quantity Theory (SQT) as an asset pricing model. As money expands, the portfolio of desired versus actual cash holding is thrown out of balance. Since the stock of money must be held by some agents, the prices of other assets as well as goods and services for consumption are bid up to a new equilibrium level. The channels on how the money supply influences the asset prices in the portfolio rebalancing

process have newer interpretations, as for example, in Effa et al. (2013, 2011 for banking stock prices). Therefore, the relationship between money supply and stock prices is said to be positive through this adjustment mechanism on stocks.

In summary, a combination of SQT and portfolio theory is the most plausible explanation for a relationship between money supply changes and stock price changes from interest-rate-to-liquidity effect . Monetary theory is enhanced by the introduction of liquidity as it is the missing link between money and aggregate demand. Increases in liquidity can be observed during business upturns, and when money supply is eased (Quantitative Easing by the Fed from 2012 to 2015), strengthening investment, and expanding the volume of money while also enhancing financial activities. Studies by post-Keynesian economists provide new insights on money supply being endogenously rather than exogenously determined. In theoretical as well as in empirical finance, the role of liquidity has been highlighted in recent policy debates especially after the credit splurge between 1994 and 2004 that led to asset price bubbles resulting in the Global Financial Crisis (Ariff et al., 2012).

Liquidity Effect

The liquidity effect proposed by Friedman (1969) describes the first of three effects on interest rates from an unexpected change in money supply. The others are money supply effect on income as being positive and on inflation as being positive. There is a controversy (Bryant et al., 1988) as to whether money supply changes do in fact lead to negative interest rate changes as some authors conclude (Laidler, 1985). The linkage between money supply and interest rates has been recognised by policy makers on the basis of evidence of its interest rate effect more so than the unproven liquidity effect.[2] Changes in the supply of money are, therefore, a proxy for likely changes in return for money holdings.[3]

This provides a view on how the central bank uses statutory liquidity reserves to influence money supply. Among potential purchasers of assets such as institutions, dealers, and wealthy individuals with the bulk of the floating supply of corporate stock are responsive to changes in their money balances. Thus, the returns on corporate stocks will be affected, and this is called the liquidity effect. Stock prices will be responsive to movements in money supply with a negative coefficient through this channel. Despite its prominent role in conventional theories of monetary policy transmission mechanism, there has been very little empirical evidence of a

[2] The inability to find conclusive evidence has led researchers like Pagan & Robertson (1995) to suggest that this could be due to different i) definitions of money, ii) models, iii) estimation procedures and iv) sample periods.

[3] Duca (1995) adds bond funds to M2 and finds the expanded M2 provides a better explanation of the missing M2 from 1990:3 to 1992:4. As an alternative to this approach, Mehra (1997) suggested redefining the opportunity cost of M2 to include long-term bond rate to capture the increased substitution of mutual funds for bank deposits.

statistically significant or economically meaningful liquidity effect to-date.[4] It is probable that previous attempts to verify the liquidity effect have been unsuccessful because of the use of low frequency data, which necessarily mixes the effects of policy on economic variables with the effects of economic variables on policy. Hamilton (1997) sought to develop a more convincing measure of a liquidity effect by estimating the response of federal funds rate to exogenous reserve supply shocks by estimating the daily liquidity effect.

Share Prices

Where stock markets are heading and how volatile they are could well be pointed to macroeconomic as well as microeconomic factors notwithstanding the likely psychological and subjective factors. This means macroeconomic factors do have a dominant impact on share prices as suggested in the Arbitrage Pricing Theory and tested in Chen, et al. (1986).

Some of these studies examined this relationship in developed markets such as the United States, Japan and Europe (Chen, et al., 1986; Chen, 1991; Clare & Thomas, 1994; Mukherjee & Naka, 1995; Gjerde & Saettem, 1999; Flannery & Protopapadakis, 2002). Other works looked at developing markets in East Asia (Bailey & Chung, 1996; Mookerjee & Yu, 1997; Kwon & Shin, 1999; Ibrahim & Aziz, 2003). There are also studies that compare the situation in different countries (Cheung & Ng, 1998; Bilson, et al., 2001; Wongbangpo & Sharma, 2002). Studies focusing on developing markets are mostly on East Asia, to the exclusion of medium size developing economies, such as the countries included in this study.

The portfolio model of Cooper (1970) assumes that individuals could hold wealth in two forms: money and common stock. The marginal returns of stock assets determine the quantities of assets individuals will hold. A portfolio is said to be balanced when the marginal returns to holding these two assets are equal.

$$MNPS_t^M - \bar{P} = MNPS_t^S + \bar{r}_t^s \qquad [2]$$

where, the left side is the return to money asset and the right side is the return to stock asset; $\bar{P}_t$ is anticipated percentage change in general price level; $\bar{r}^*_t$ is the anticipated real pecuniary return of stocks (dividend plus change in stock prices); $MNPS_t^s$ is marginal pecuniary return to the j-th asset (the risk of j-th assets is incorporated into its pecuniary returns. $MNPS_t^M$ is implicitly a function of demand for money except for returns on alternative assets. An underlying assumption is that the positive income effect on $MNPS_t^{M,S}$ cancel each other. Thus, the

[4] A number of researchers including Bernanke & Blinder (1992) and Christiano & Eichenbaum (1991, 1992a, b) have argued that the lack of empirical evidence *is due to the Fed's attachment to interest rate targeting in one form or another* (not clear). They argued that innovations to monetary aggregates, M1, reflect shocks to money demand rather than to money supply. Consequently, the incapacity to locate the liquidity effect is due to the inability to isolate a statistically significant variable that reflect the exogenous policy actions of the Fed.

difference between $MNPS_t^M$ and $MNPS_t^{M,S}$ is primarily a function of money. In this model, money changes induce portfolio adjustments through $MNPS_t$ schedules and prices. The result is that money supply leads to stock returns.

By re-arranging this equation, the stock return can be expressed as:

$$\bar{r}_t^S = (MNPS_t^M - \bar{P}) - MNPS_t^S \quad [3]$$

Thus, Cooper's model is equivalent to the asset pricing model in finance. It would be interesting to examine the link between the liquidity effect as a result of money supply and its effect on stock prices, as proposed in this study, from Cooper's portfolio theory. Friedman's proposition could be extended as money supply having an influence on asset prices, namely share prices, in this study.

The popular finance model of equity pricing used in the industry is akin to Cooper's:

$$P_0 = \sum_{t=1}^{N} \frac{D_o\ (1+g_t)^t}{(1+i_t+r_t)^t} \quad [4]$$

where P_o is the current price of a share; D_o is the dividend at time 0; g is the constant growth rate of dividends; i_t is the risk-free rate at time t; and r_t is the equity risk premium at time t.[5] By noting the equation "D = EPS (payout)", a relationship could be shown that stock prices are correlated with EPS or some proxy such as industrial output (IPI) as representing corporate earnings, since payout ratio tends to be constant in most economies. Share prices being leading indicators of earnings is expected to lead earnings.[6] In light of current perennial financial crisis in the world, liquidity impact of money supply on stock prices has become a hot topic in policy circles to understand what ails financial systems.

The relationship between money supply and stock prices as stated by Sprinkel (1964) could also play an important role in building a model of money supply leading to asset price changes like the common stock prices.[7] Over time, interest in this topic waned until the eruption of the Global Financial Crisis, which was diagnosed as a result of *liquidity surges* that created imbalance in the financial sector and real sector (Ariff et al., 2012).

[5] By substituting EPS (payout ratio), the numerator may be replaced as (POR) . Thus, a proxy to represent EPS could be used to test if P_O is significantly affected by earnings proxy using the IPI.

[6] Chen et al. (1986) used macroeconomic variables to explain stock returns in the US stock markets. The authors showed industrial production to be positively related to the expected stock returns. Tainer (1993) is of the view that the industrial production index is procyclical. It is typically used as a proxy for real economic activity. Fama (1990) and Geske & Roll, (1983) hypothesised a similar positive relationship through the effects of industrial production on expected future cash flows. Stock & Watson (1989) have shown share prices to be a leading indicator of US economic activity as indicated by IPI and ICI in their studies covering the period 1958-1988.

[7] However, studies by Cooper (1970), Pesando (1974), Kraft & Kraft (1977), and Rozeff (1974)) have questioned this linkage between stock prices and money supply.

THE ASEAN-3 (MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE AND THAILAND) COUNTRIES

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) inaugurated in 1957 with four countries now include 11 countries. The group's aim is to prevent conflict among member states by creating an integrated economic bloc through sustained modernisation. The ASEAN countries can be divided into two major categories. The inner core countries account for four percent of world trade and there are four countries in this group which have achieved greater degree of economic and financial integration among themselves and with the developed countries. The core group is generally richer and more developed than those at the periphery. There is a greater degree of financial integration among the core group with trade, economic and financial regulations similar to those in newly industrialising nations. The ASEAN group is a net exporter of merchandise and net importer of commercial services. Development of the group's financial sector has been its salient policy goal from about the mid-1980s resulting in capital market reforms.

The banks dominate the development process so the reform in this area has been the most crucial, especially because it was the banking sector that bore the brunt of the two recent financial crises, which also led to further reforms being implemented. They have been trying to diversify their heavy reliance on the banking sector in favour of direct intermediation via equity and fixed-income markets. Banks play a central role in developing countries, more than in the developed countries. This group took several measures to push for the achievement of a common ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), which was realised in 2015; for this, they adopted a scorecard to keep track of the implementation of key elements in the AEC Blueprint issued in 2007. A sanitised version of this scorecard is available in the ASEAN Secretariat website. The published version largely focuses on intergovernmental agreements, their ratification, work plans, studies, committees and other government actions.

The present study aims to find out whether there is a significant relationship between stock prices and banking liquidity arising from money supply in the three member states of Asean. We also explore how money supply affects other macroeconomic factors.

METHODOLOGY

Cointegration[8] analysis enables us to test the relationship between share prices and underlying macroeconomic variables. As mentioned in the first section, the long-run equilibrium is first examined applying a test within the VECM. Johansen cointegrating technique in this test requires the variables in the model be integrated in first order to

[8] Cointegration implies that deviations from equilibrium are stationary, with finite variance, even though the series are nonstationary and have infinite variance (Engle & Granger, 1987).

pass a test of stationarity. A further vector autoregressive VAR-like model is applied (Johansen, 1991; 1995).

Provided the residuals are I (0) or stationary, the model can be considered to be cointegrated and a valid long run relationship is assumed to exist among variables. The OLS approach, while being simple to implement, is not without problems. Parameter estimates may be biased in small samples as well as in the presence of dynamic effects; these biases are known to vary inversely with the size of the sample and the calculated R^2. When the number of regressors exceeds two there can be more than one cointegrating relationship, whence it would be difficult to give economic meaning to any finding. These problems have to be overcome so that no issues arise using the least-square estimators.

These difficulties associated with the OLS approach have led to the development of alternative procedures, the most well-known of which is proposed by Johansen (1991) using a maximum likelihood procedure to improve the OLS estimates. We adopt this procedure in our study. The existence of at most one cointegrating vector is not assumed *a prori*, but is tested for in the procedure. However, since the OLS estimator ignores the error-component structure in a model, the estimates are not efficient. Another problem with panel data modelling is when we introduce heterogeneity in order to obtain different slope coefficient for the different cross section units; the estimator bias problem emerges again for both static and dynamic models. Pesaran & Smith (1995) showed that the Fixed Effects (FE) and the Random Effects (RE) estimators will provide inconsistent results and there are two proposed solutions. One is to introduce exogenous variables into the model. If exogenous variables are added, the bias in the OLS estimator is reduced and the magnitude of the bias on the exogenous variables is biased towards zero, which is an under estimation. However, the Least Squares Dummy Variable estimator for small sample remains biased even with added exogenous variables. A second way is to use the instrumental variable methods of Anderson & Hsiao (1982).

Pool Mean Group (PMG) and Mean Group (MG)

Pesaran et al. (1999) suggest two different estimators in order to resolve the bias due to heterogeneous slopes in dynamic panels. These are: the mean group (MG) estimator and the pooled mean group (PMG) estimator. The MG method derives the long-run parameters of the panel from an average of the long-run parameters using autoregressive distributed lag ARDL models for individual countries. Using this method, they estimate separate equations for each group and examine the distribution of coefficients of these equations across groups. It provides parameter estimates by taking the means of coefficients calculated by separate equations for each group. It is one extreme of estimation because it just makes use of averaging in its estimation

procedure. It does not consider any possibility of same parameters across groups.

Pesaran & Smith (1997) suggest pooled mean group estimator (PMGE) as dynamic panels for large number of observations and large number of groups. Pesaran et al. (1997; 1999) added the PMGE model. Pooled mean group estimator considers both averaging and pooling in its estimation procedure, so it is considered as an intermediate estimator. The PMGE allows variation in the intercepts, short-run dynamics and error variances across the groups, but it does not allow long-run dynamics to differ across the groups. The PMG technique is pooling the long run parameters while avoiding the inconsistency flowing from the heterogeneous short run dynamic relationships. Additionally,, the PMG relaxes the restriction on the common coefficient of short run while maintaining the assumption on the homogeneity of long run slope. The estimation of the PMG requires re-parameterisation.

Dynamic Fixed Effects Estimator (DFEE)

In addition to PMGE and MGE, Dynamic Fixed Effects Estimator (DFEE) is also used to estimate the cointegrating vector. The DFEE specification controls the country specific effects, estimated through least square dummy variable (LSDV) or generalised method of moment (GMM). The DFEE relies on pooling of cross-sections. As in the PMGE, DFEE estimator also restricts the coefficient of cointegrating vector to be equal across all panels. Adopting Pesaran et al. (1997; 1999), the PMGE model has an adjustment coefficient φ_i that is known as the error-correction term. In fact, this error-correction term φ_i indicates how much adjustment occurs in each period.

Hausman test is used to decide on the appropriate estimator between Mean Group Estimator and Pooled Mean Group Estimator. Null hypothesis test for PMGE is efficient and is consistent but MGE is inefficient against the alternative hypothesis i.e. PMGE is inefficient and inconsistent but MGE is consistent. It allows for a choice between MGE and DFEE. Therefore, we apply Hausman test on MGE, DFEE and PMGE cointegration estimates in order to decide the most efficient estimator among them. These results are supported by the Granger representation theorem (Engle & Granger, 1987) which implies that the error correction term would be significant; if significant, there is cointegration.

The long run model in (5.1)

$$SP_{it} = \mu_{it} + \beta_{1t}LQ_{it} + \beta_{2t}MS_{it} + \beta_{3t}IPI_{it} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad [5.1]$$

will be transformed into the auto-regressive distributed lags ARDL (1,1,1) dynamic panel specification as follows:

$$SP_{it} = \mu_{it} + \lambda SP_{i,t-1} + \beta_{1t}LQ_{it-1} + \beta_{2t}MS_{it-1} + \beta_{3t}IPI_{it-1} + \eta_{it} \quad [5.2]$$

By putting changing sign to the SP_{it}, the model in (5.2) becomes

$$\Delta SP_{it} = \mu_{it} + (\lambda\text{-}1)\, SPi_{,t-1} + \beta_{1t}LQ_{it-1} + \beta_{2t}MS_{it-1} + \beta_{3t}IPI_{it-1} + \jmath_{it} \quad [5.3]$$

From (5.2), by normalising each coefficient of the right-hand side variables by the coefficient of the SP_{t-1}, i.e. (λ_i-1) or -(1-λ_i) since λ_i<1,

Let ϕ_i = - (1-λ_i)

$$\theta_{0i} = \frac{\mu_i}{1-\lambda_i} \qquad \theta_{1i} = \frac{\beta_{10i} + \beta_{11i}}{1-\lambda_i}$$

$$\theta_{2i} = \frac{\beta_{20i} + \beta_{21i}}{1-\lambda_i} \qquad \theta_{3i} = \frac{\beta_{30i} + \beta_{31i}}{1-\lambda_i}$$

By considering the normalised long run coefficient of (5.2), the error correction re-parameterisation of (5.2) will be:

$$\Delta SP_{it} = \mu_{it} + \phi_i (SP_{i,t-1} - \theta_{0i} - \theta_{1i} LQ_{it} - \theta_{1i} MS_{it} - \theta_{1i} IPI_{it}) + \beta_{1i} \Delta LQ_{it} + \beta_{2i} \Delta MS_{it} + \beta_{3i} \Delta IPI_{it} + \zeta_{it}$$

← Long run relations → ← Short run dynamics →

(5.4)

The MG estimator can easily be computed from the long run parameters from the averages of the parameter values for individuals in the groups. For instance, the dynamic specification is:

$$SP_{it} = \mu_{it} + \lambda SP_{i,t-1} + \beta_{1t} LQ_{it-1} + \beta_{2t} MS_{it-1} + \beta_{3t} IPI_{it-1} + \varepsilon_{it} \qquad [5.5]$$

The long-run parameter coefficient for the equation above will be: $\theta_{0i} = \frac{\beta_{1i}}{1-\lambda_i}$

So, the entire long-run parameter will be represented as the average of long-run parameter across a group as follows:

$$\bar{\theta} = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^{N} \theta_i \qquad \bar{\mu} = \frac{1}{N} \sum_{i=1}^{N} \mu_i$$

When the number of groups and cross sections is considerably large, the estimator for MG will be efficient even when the series is I (1). But the estimator tends to be biased when the number of time series observations is small.

The estimation of PMG and MG will be based on the model as in [5.4]. From the error correction model of (5.4), the primary interest is to see the long run coefficients (i.e. θ_{1i}, θ_{2i}, θ_{3i} and θ_{4i}). The long run coefficients provide information on the elasticity of LQ, MS and IPI factors towards the SP (stock prices) across different stock markets. Due to the uniqueness of the operation for each country, the coefficient for each factor might vary across the panels. As the coefficient provides long term equilibrium, it contains the theoretical information which is very important for each country's policy making. The error correction speed of adjustment, $\phi_{i,}$ also provides significant information to the investors: ϕ_i in equation [5.4] provides information on how long it is needed for the short run dynamics to return to long run equilibrium.

In normal situations, the short run coefficient will usually stay away from the long run equilibrium due to seasonality effect (noise), economic boom or recession. But this temporary effect as explained by the short run dynamic will eventually return to the long run equilibrium. The positive sign of the ϕ_i implies return to the long run relationships (Blackburne & Frank, 2007) from points above the regression line. The negative ign also shows the return to long run equilibrium but in opposite direction

(from below). The ϕ_i is expected to be statistically significant since an insignificant coefficient of ϕ_i (i.e. $\phi_i = 0$) implies the absence of long run equilibrium. When the long run equilibrium does not exist, then is no theoretical information that could be extracted from the analysis.

Panel Unit Root Tests

Our panel dataset has time dimension of 10 years which is composed of a substantial length of time series and therefore, the existence of unit roots in variables cannot be ruled out. To test for unit root in panel data, Maddala & Wu (1999) and Choi (2001) suggest a non-parametric Fisher-type test which is based on a combination of the p-values of the test statistics for a unit root in each cross-sectional unit (the ADF-test or the PP-test).

Let p_i are U [0,1] and it is independent, and $-2\log_e p_i$ has a χ^2 distribution with 2N degree of freedom, this can be written in Equation (6.1).

$$P_\lambda = -2\sum_{i=1}^{N} log_e p_i \qquad [6.1]$$

where:

P_λ = Fisher (P_λ) panel unit root test;

N = all N cross-section;

$-2\sum_{i=1}^{N} log_e p_i$ = it has a χ^2 distribution with 2N degree of freedom.

In addition, Choi (2001) demonstrates in Equation (6.2):

$$Z = (1/\sqrt{N_{i=1}})[\sum_{i=1}^{N} \varphi_i^{-1}(p_i)] \text{ --> } N(0,1) \qquad [6.2]$$

where:

Z: Z-statistic panel data unit root test;

N: all N cross-section in panel data;

φ_i^{-1}: the inverse of the standard normal cumulative distribution function; and

p_i : it is the P-value from the *i*th test.

Both Fisher (P_λ) Chi-square panel unit root test and Choi Z-statistics panel data unit root test have non-stationary property. The null hypothesis is:

H_0: *null hypothesis as panel data has unit root (assumes individual unit root process) and*

H_1: *panel data has no* unit root

If both Fisher (P_λ) Chi-square panel unit root test and Choi Z-statistics panel unit root test are significant, then the conclusion is to reject the null hypothesis, meaning the panel data has no unit root. If both Fisher (P_λ) Chi-square panel unit root test and Choi Z-statistics panel unit root test are not significant, it can be inferred that the null hypothesis is accepted meaning the panel data has unit root, so the series is non-stationary. Maddala & Wu and Choi tests are based on Fisher type unit root tests that are not restricted by sample sizes (Maddala & Wu, 1999).

We use two different tests to confirm our results. Maddala & Wu (1999) argued that "… other conservative tests (applicable in the case of correlated tests) based on Bonferroni bounds have also been found to be inferior to the Fisher test.". The selection of the appropriate lag length is decided using the Schwarz Bayesian Information Criterion.

Hypotheses

It is an empirical question whether principal economic indicators such as industrial production, inflation, interest rates, Treasury bill rate, liquidity, and money supply are significant explanatory factors for share returns (Litzenberger & Ramaswamy, 1982; Keim, 1985; Hardouvellis, 1987), although King (1966), and Thorbecke & Coppock (1996) have shown that share prices are affected predominantly by macroeconomic factors up to 50% and 32% respectively. In addition, if changes in economic variables are significant and consistently priced into share prices, they should be cointegrated. If there are no significant relations between macroeconomic variables and share returns, we can conclude that the stock markets of these countries do not signal changes in real activities picked up by macroeconomic factors.

It is hypothesised that money supply (MS) is endogenously determined by economic activity, mediated via the deposit-taking institutions (Effa et al., 2013). The literature on post-Keynesian theory on endogenous money is extensive.[9] Economic activity is proxied by real gross domestic product (Y), liquidity (LQ) is endogenously determined by money supply (MS) passing through the banking institutions and the share prices (SP) are endogenously affected by liquidity (LQ). Money supply (MS) is also determined by share returns (DLSP), inflation (CPI), real GDP (Y) and Treasury bill rates (TBR). Liquidity is determined by real GDP (Y), money supply (MS) and lending rate (LR).

A system of equations comprising equations for stock returns (SP), money supply (MS) and banking liquidity (LQ), is developed to be solved endogenously as follows:[10]

$$SP_{it} = f[LQ_{it}^{-}, MS_{it}^{+}, IPI_{it}^{+}] \quad [7.1]$$

$$LQ_{it} = f[MS_{it}^{+}, Y_{it}^{+}, LR_{it}^{-}] \quad [7.2]$$

$$MS_{it} = f[LQ_{it}^{+}, Y_{it}^{+}, TBR_{it}^{-}, SP_{it}^{+}, CPI_{it}^{+}, CPI(1)_{it}^{+}] \quad [7.3]$$

where SP_{it} is aggregate share price index, LQ_{it} is liquidity as proxied by reserve money, MSit is money supply as defined by M2, IPI is industrial production index, Y is real GDP, LR is lending rate, TRB is Treasury bill rate and CPI is inflation. All variables are difference in log.

Operational Model

The structural or behavioural equations can be parameterised as:

[9] Influenced greatly *by Kaldor and Moore (1982) developed* the post-Keynesian view on money, which is today the cornerstone of the PK theory of endogenous money (Rochon, 2006). The core of this theory is that causality runs from bank lending to bank deposits, instead of the traditional notion that deposits create loans.

[10] The basis of the model in this section stems from Effa et al. (2011). Not all the variables in that paper are used in this study because the focus of this study is on liquidity and stock returns; see also Dhakal et al. (1993) on causality between money and share prices observed directly.

$$\ln SP_{it} = a_0 + a_1 \ln LQ_{it} + a_2 \ln MS_{it} + a_3 \ln IPI_{it} + e_{it} \quad [8.1]$$

$$\ln LQ_{it} = b_0 + b_1 \ln MS_{it} + b_2 \ln Y_{it} + b_3 LR_{it} + z_{it} \quad [8.2]$$

$$\ln MS_{it} = c_0 + c_1 \ln Y_{it} + c_2 \ln LQ_{it} + c_3 \ln SP_{it} + c_4 TBR_{it} + c_5 \ln CPI_{it} + v_{it} \quad [8.3]$$

Separate tests for the two following hypotheses were conducted to evaluate the above models.

H_1: MS causes Liquidity: this follows from Friedman's proposition.

H_2: Liquidity causes Share Prices.

Data and Variables

Quarterly data for all variables are from the DataStream while the macroeconomic variables are compared with the International Financial Statistics (IFS) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for consistency. The data period: 2001:4Q – 2012:2Q. It is important to note that income is included as an explanatory variable in some equations specified above. Real gross domestic product is used as a proxy for income and since only quarterly data are available for income, the highest frequency that could be used in all regressions is quarter.

The industrial production index (IPI) is highly correlated with national income, which in turn is known to determine the earnings of firms in a modern economy.[11] Hence, we use the log change of IPI as a proxy for earnings in the equation for asset pricing: if IPI goes up, the earnings of the firms rises. Liquidity is a difficult variable to specify. There are three alternative proxies: bid-ask spread used in market studies (Amihud & Mendelson, 1986); volume of transactions (Chordia et al., 2001; Amihud, 2002); reserve money (Gordon & Leeper, 2002). Using reserve money at the central banks appears to be a right choice because if the banking system has more money in the central bank, liquidity declines, and if it keeps less reserves, liquidity rises. Hence, liquidity is inversely related to reserves. Data for money supply, M2, values are used.[12] The Treasury bill rate and the bank lending rate are the domestic 3-month Treasury-bill rate and lending rate respectively. The MSCI stock index values reported in DataStream is widely used for stock returns, P, computed as log change and adjusted as composite index for cash outflows. The log change in consumer price index is used as a proxy for inflation, INF. The bank lending rate, LR, deposit rates, TBR, and real gross domestic product, RGDP, are also obtained. All variables are seasonally adjusted where available and transformed to logarithmic form, with the exception of interest rates, which are the country-specific local 3-month Treasury bill rate, TBR and the Lending Rate, LR.

[11] A cointegration test of GDP and IPI show that these variables are cointegrated in the long-run and therefore, IPI can be used as a proxy for earnings: Chung (2013). "A Test of their Linkage between Money Supply, Liquidity and Share Prices", an unpublished PhD thesis, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Serdang, Selangor, Malaysia.

[12] The choice of monetary aggregate has been discussed earlier and its implications on the demand for money have been discussed in Pagan & Robertson (1995), and Duca (1995) on finding the liquidity effect, and for the stock market in Parhizgari (2011) on the share price effect.

The asset pricing theory discussed in Section 2 suggests a relationship between share prices and corporate dividend streams growing at g-rate of growth. The values of g and dividends depend in the long run on the earnings of the corporations, which directly depends on IPI. Although we are testing the relationship between liquidity and share prices, there is a need to control the effect of earnings changes in the system of equations. For this, we use the IPI after some initial tests using cointegration. Once the series are tested for stationarity, we run a cointegration test with income, RGDP, against IPI which confirmed these variables are cointegrated. As is evident from the test statistics, IPI is a good proxy for earnings. So, we specify this as a control in our liquidity equation for share prices. Finally, monetary regime changes and financial crises are controlled using dummies.

Descriptive statistics

Table 1 provides a summary descriptive statistics of the variables used in the regression (MG, DFE and PMG). Table 2 summarises the results of the Maddala & Wu (1999) and Choi (2001) Fisher tests. All variables are in logarithmic form except for TBR, the treasury bill rate and LR, the lending rate of banks.

The hypotheses tested are:

H_0: each series in the panel contains a unit root, against

H_1: at least one of the individual series in the panel is stationary.

Accept null if: p-value >10% (non-stationary) and

Reject null if: p-value<10% (stationary)

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics of the Panel Variables used in Tests

	LCPI	LR	LRGDP	LRIPI	LRLQ	LRM2	LSPRICE	DLSPRICE	TBR
Mean	4.66	6.04	6.73	0.00	4.64	7.03	5.39	0.02	2.14
Median	4.66	6.00	4.79	-0.01	5.55	7.93	4.85	0.03	2.28
Maximum	4.83	7.50	11.07	0.33	6.74	9.29	7.38	0.27	4.91
Minimum	4.51	5.30	4.36	-0.29	1.76	4.26	3.93	-0.42	0.21
Std. Dev.	0.08	0.67	2.92	0.14	1.86	1.90	1.14	0.10	1.15
Skewness	0.09	0.46	0.70	0.11	-0.61	-0.54	0.61	-1.04	-0.01
Kurtosis	1.84	1.91	1.51	2.40	1.52	1.52	1.69	6.64	2.23
Jarque-Bera	7.19	10.73	22.07	2.13	19.43	17.53	16.93	92.41	3.10
Probability	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.34	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.21
Sum	587.24	760.83	848.00	0.12	585.14	886.28	679.73	2.91	269.34
Sum Sq. Dev.	0.87	56.76	1063.96	2.37	430.78	450.85	163.68	1.36	165.60
Observations	126	126	126	126	126	126	126	126	126

Note: S.D. is standard deviation. LSPRICE, LRM2, LRIPI, LRGDP, LCPI, TBR, LR and LRLQ are Stock price index, Money supply, Industrial production index, Income, Inflation, Treasury bill rate, Lending rate and Reserve money respectively. All variables are in logarithmic form except for TBR and LR. DLSPRICE is the difference in stock prices, a return on stock prices.

The variables are first-differenced and computed by ratio relative to prior observation. The Jarque-Bera (JB) test indicates that all variables (except for LRIPI and TBR) are not normally distributed (JB >5.9 and *p* value of < 0.05 rejecting the null hypothesis of normality). Most of these variables are skewed (> 0, for normality should be close to 0). A quick read of the values of these variables suggest that these are as one would expect in the panel of three, namely Malaysia, Singapore and Thai economies. For example, the Treasury bill rate over the test period in these ASEAN countries is 2.14% and the lending rate is 6.04% . An expected value within known ball park values is inflation (mean of difference in log CPI) with a mean of 4.66% for the period 2001-2012. The mean of differences in LSPRICE or the share price returns is 2% over 2001-2012, with a maximum return of 27% achieved during the bull phase (2003) and a minimum of -42% during the bear phase (2008) of the market correction.

Panel Unit Root Tests Using Phillips-Perron Fisher Tests

The results indicate that, besides LRGDP and LRLQ, the null hypothesis that the series contains a unit root cannot be rejected for all variables at the one percent and 10% level of significance respectively. For example, the Fisher Chi-square statistic and Choi Z-statistic were 2.263 and 0.941 respectively for money supply (LRM2), with p-values of 0.89 and 0.83. The p-values are above the 10% level of significance, indicating the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. The variables are then tested for stationarity in first differences. The null hypothesis that the series is non-stationary when first differenced is rejected for the same variables. This means that all variables (besides LRGDP) are integrated of order one or I (1).

Since most of the variables (except for LCPI) are found to be integrated of order one (I (1)) as is also confirmed from other tests reported in the table below, the next step is to test these series to determine whether they are cointegrated. The panel cointegration test is based on Pedroni (1999, 2004) and the results are reviewed in the next section.

Pedroni Panel Cointegration Tests for Money Supply, Liquidity and Share Price

Cointegration refers to that of a set of variable that are individually integrated of order 1, some linear combinations of these variables are stationary. The vector of the slope of coefficients that renders this combination stationary is referred to as the cointegrating vector. Thus, in effect, panel cointegration techniques are intended to allow researchers to selectively pool information on common long-run relationships from across the panel while allowing the associated short-run dynamics and fixed effects to be heterogeneous across different members of the panel. Thus, the test for the null hypothesis of no cointegration is implemented as a residual-based test of the null hypothesis:

Null: H_0: γ_i for all i

Alternative: $H_{A:}$ $\gamma_i = \gamma < 1$ for all i.

Table 2
Panel Unit root tests – Fisher Phillips-Perron tests

Fisher chi-square statistic			**Choi Z-statistic**	
Variables	Level	Difference	Level	Difference
LSPRICE	5.65265	30.1579***	-0.33782	-4.25075***
	(0.4632)	(0)	(0.3677)	(0)
LRM2	2.26398	48.5210***	0.94176	-5.72605***
	(0.8939)	(0)	(0.8268)	(0)
LRLQ	16.4100*	157.704***	-1.8000	-10.6652***
	(0.0117)	(0)	(0.0359)	(0.)
LRIPI	8.54115	136.321***	-1.00672	-10.3019***
	(0.2011)	(0)	(0.1570)	(0)
TBR	2.59157	33.7573***	0.78759	-4.50771***
	(0.8581)	(0)	(0.7845)	(0)
LCPI	5.10797	57.1310***	0.18243	-6.21384***
	(0.5300)	(0)	(0.5724)	(0)
LRGDP	17.4731***	180.647***	-2.60151***	-12.1164***
	(0.008)	(0)	(0.0046)	(0)
LR	3.24330	33.4376***	0.38150	-4.49963***
	(0.7777)	(0)	(0.6486)	(0)

Note: Δ or L denotes first difference. Both variables are taken in natural logarithms. All tests take non-stationarity as null. The table shows the individual statistics and p-values with the lag length selection of one. Intercept is included in all terms with or without first differences. Probabilities of fisher type test use asymptotic $\chi 2$ distributions while other type of tests assume asymptotic normality. Numbers in parentheses are *p*-values. ***, **denote significance at the 1% and 5% level respectively. *LSPRICE rice* is stock price index, *LRLQ* is liquidity, *LRGDP* is real gross domestic product, *LRM2* is money supply, *LRIPI* is industrial production index, *LCPI* is inflation, *TBR* is Treasury bill rate and *LR* is lending rate.

Table 3 presents the result of panel cointegration test for share price, liquidity and money supply based on Pedroni panel (v, rho, pp and ADF) and group (v, rho, pp and ADF) statistics.

Lsprice: The *p*-value for Panel PP-statistics and ADF-statistics was <1% within dimension and between dimensions respectively. Thus, we can reject the null hypothesis of no integration. We can safely say that the common and individual auto regression coefficients are cointegrated. Similarly, for Lrlq: *p*-values for group-pp for between dimension was less <1% and for lrm2, *p*-values for panel v-statistic was less <5%. Thus, we can reject the null hypothesis of no cointegration. We can safely say that the common and individual auto regression coefficients are cointegrated for share price, liquidity and money supply.

Table 3
Pedroni Residual Cointegration Test Values for the Panel

Alternative hypothesis: common AR coefs. (within-dimension)						
	Lsprice		Lrlq		Lrm2	
	Statistic	Prob.	Statistic	Prob.	Statistic	Prob.
Panel v-Statistic	0.60132	0.2738	-0.4235	0.6641	1.83068	0.0336*
Panel rho-Statistic	-0.8081	0.2095	0.45856	0.6767	1.62933	0.9484
Panel PP-Statistic	-2.1612	0.0153*	0.09237	0.5368	0.92784	0.8233
Panel ADF-Statistic	-3.0326	0.0012*	0.52307	0.6995	1.14167	0.8732
Alternative hypothesis: individual AR coefs. (between-dimension)						
	Statistic	Prob.	Statistic	Prob.	Statistic	Prob.
Group rho-Statistic	-0.0431	0.4828	-0.828	0.2038	1.9884	0.9766
Group PP-Statistic	-1.7587	0.0393*	-2.9274	0.0017*	1.01873	0.8458
Group ADF-Statistic	-3.0095	0.0013*	-0.9376	0.1742	1.44894	0.9263

FINDINGS ON ESTIMATED COEFFICIENTS

The estimates of these carefully-run tests are presented in this section. The cointegrating equations using PMG, MG and DFE on panel data of 3 countries are presented in the following section.

Cointegrating Equations Using PMG, MG and DFE on Panel Data – a comparison

Table 4a presents the results of the long-run relationship of the modelling of share price, liquidity and money supply. All of the variables appear with both the correct sign. In Table 4, the long-run coefficients of lrm2, lrlq and lripi seem to be consistent across the three estimators for LSP for stock price. There is a negative relationship with liquidity (LRLQ) and positive relationship with money supply (LRM2) and industrial production index (LIPI). The error correction term (φ_i) is negative and is less than 1 in absolute sense. φ_i is statistically significant for MG and DFE at 1% while for PMG the value is not significant at 0.10.

However, in the short run (SR), we can see the elasticity of LSPRICE as against LRLQ, LRM2 and LRIPI. The p value for ECT is 3%, 31% and 12%. For LRLQ, it is <5%, and so we accept the null hypothesis of correlation. For money supply and industrial production index the value is > than 10%, so we accept the null hypothesis of no correlation. This means that in the short run (short term), ECT for LSP (RM) and LRIPI are not significantly affecting stock prices. We can safely say that stock prices depend on the long run equilibrium in our tests of these variables (LSP(RM)), LRM2 and LRIPI).

The ECT coefficient of 0.44 reflects the period in which LSPRIC will return to equilibrium. Here, in the long run, it will take roughly 2.3 periods, or 2 quarters (referring to our data time scale in quarter) for LSPRICE to return to equilibrium if it deviates from regression line (taken as 1 / 0.44).

Table 4a
1st Equation – Share Price (LSPRICE)

	Table 4a : Cointegration Results					
	MG		DFE		PMG	
		Long Run	Parameters			
Variables	Coefficient	p-value	Coefficient	p-value	Coefficient	p-value
LRLQ	-0.79	0.51	-0.63	0.37	-2.61	0.00
LRM2	1.59	0.01	1.14	0.00	2.61	0.00
LRIPI	0.84	0.00	1.17	0.00	1.07	0.00
	Average Convergence		Parameters			
φi	-0.44	0.00	-0.29	0.00	-0.30	0.15
		Short Run	Parameters			
ΔLRLQ	0.38	0.03	0.15	0.09	0.42	0.00
ΔLRM2	-0.58	0.31	-0.63	0.39	-0.41	0.58
ΔLRIPI	0.47	0.12	0.37	0.01	0.46	0.17
Constant	-0.44	0.36	0.09	0.85	-0.34	0.27

In Table 4b, the long-run coefficients of lrm2, lrgdp and lr seem to be consistent across the three estimators for lrlq. There is a negative relationship with money supply (LRM2) and positive relationship with gdp (lrgdp) and lending rate (lr). The error correction term (φ_i) is negative and less than 1 in absolute sense. φ_i are statistically significant for MG at 0.06 while for DFE and PMG are not significant since the p-values are 0.12 and 0.11 respectively.

Table 4b
2nd Equation – Liquidity (LRLQ)

	MG		DFE		PMG	
		Long Run	Parameters			
Variables	Coefficient	p-value	Coefficient	p-value	Coefficient	p-value
LRM2	-0.29	0.64	0.93	0.21	0.44	0.08
LRGDP	2.13	0.10	0.54	0.24	0.53	0.10
LR	1.21	0.22	0.12	0.63	0.87	0.02
	Average Convergence		Parameters			
φi	-0.36	0.06	-0.08	0.12	-0.11	0.11
		Short Run	Parameters			
ΔLRM2	0.69	0.01	0.70	0.00	0.83	0.00
ΔLRGDP	0.56	0.16	0.65	0.05	0.73	0.11
ΔLR	-0.46	0.33	-0.03	0.03	-0.30	0.30
Constant	-3.29	0.00	-0.50	0.00	-0.68	0.05

"LR" means log returns of the named variable.

Table 4c
3rd Equation – Money Supply (LRM2)

	MG		DFE		PMG	
		Long Run	Parameters			
Variables	Coefficient	p-value	Coefficient	p-value	Coefficient	p-value
LRLQ	0.98	0.00	0.14	0.43	1.01	0.00
LSPRICE	-0.26	0.38	0.11	0.27	0.13	0.02
LRGDP	2.52	0.38	1.50	0.00	-1.25	0.00
TBR	-0.12	0.35	0.02	0.68	0.00	0.76
LCPI	-3.65	0.28	-0.38	0.38	1.21	0.00
	Average Convergence		Parameters			
φi	-0.26	0.02	-0.08	0.00	-0.14	0.32
		Short Run	Parameters			
ΔLRLQ	-0.07	0.72	0.15	0.01	0.03	0.92
ΔLSPRICI	0.03	0.38	0.02	0.65	0.03	0.46
ΔLRGDP	-0.10	0.78	-0.15	0.02	0.01	0.96
ΔTBR	-0.02	0.02	0.00	0.93	-0.02	0.00
ΔLCPI	-1.03	0.22	-1.39	0.01	-1.42	0.04
Constant	0.39	0.72	-0.19	0.07	0.35	0.17

In Table 4c, the long-run coefficients of LRLQ, lsprice, lrgdp, tbr and lcpi seem to be consistent across the three estimators for LRM2. There is a negative relationship with share price (LRPRCE), Treasury bill rate (TBR) and inflation (LCPI) and positive relationships with liquidity (LRLQ) and the GDP (LRGDP)). The error correction term (φ_i) is negative and is less than 1 in absolute sense. φ_i is statistically significant for MG and DFE at 2% and 8% respectively, while for PMG is not significant.

Table 4d
Hausman Test for Selection

MG and DFE	MG and PMG
Ho: DFE estimator is efficient and consistent but MG is not efficieint.	**Ho**: PMG estimator is efficient and consistent but MG is not efficieint.
Eq1 : **p-value** = no values	Eq1: **p-value** = no values
Eq2: **p-value** = no values	Eq2 : **p-value** = no values
Eq 3: **p-value** = 1.0 > 0	Eq 3 : **p-value** = 0.88 > 0
For EQ1 and 2, no coefficients in common.and no tests conducted. For Eq3 - Since **Ho** is not rejected, DFE estimator is efficient and consistent than MG estimator.	For EQ1 and 2, no coefficients in common and no tests conducted. For Eq3 : Since **Ho** is not rejected, PMG estimator is efficient and consistent than MG estimator
Overall Decision: Both DFE and PMG estimators are found to be more efficient and consistent than MG estimator in both Hausman tests, respectively. While PMG estimator dominates the DFE estimator because it permits heterogeneity in short run coefficients. Hence PMG estimates should be relied upon, among the three estimators.	

In Table 5, the statistics refer to final PMG regression of individual countries. We notice that, in the long run, ECT for all countries are the same. However, this cannot be said to be the same in the short run. The short run for each country is different, due to the uniqueness of one country behaviour from the others. For LSPRICE, all countries (except Thailand) have p value of < than 1%. This means that, for all countries except Thailand, we do not accept the null hypothesis of no correlation, suggesting a liquidity effect on share prices.

Table 5
PMG Final Estimation of ECT and SR (individual countries)

Lsprice

Country	ECT	p-val	Lrlq	p-val	Lrm2	p-val	Lripi	p-val
Malaysia	-0.10	0.01	0.20	0.26	0.93	0.09	1.01	0.03
Singapore	-0.71	0.00	0.64	0.35	-0.52	0.56	-0.15	0.49
Thailand	-0.07	0.31	0.42	0.22	-1.63	0.02	0.53	0.08

Lrlq

Country	ECT	p-val	Lrm2	p-val	Lrgdp	p-val	LR	p-val
Malaysia	-0.09	0.04	1.05	0.00	1.44	0.01	0.02	0.01
Singapore	-0.24	0.00	0.66	0.00	-0.11	0.39	0.88	0.06
Thailand	0.00	0.84	0.77	0.00	0.84	0.00	-0.03	0.20

Lrm2

Country	ECT	p-val	Lrlq	p-val	Lsprice	p-val	Lrgdp	p-val	tbr	p-val	Lcpi	p-val
Malaysia	-0.02	0.10	0.11	0.08	0.09	0.02	-0.53	0.02	-0.03	0.15	-0.28	0.39
Singapore	0.02	0.42	0.42	0.00	0.03	0.34	0.04	0.75	-0.02	0.07	-1.34	0.02
Thailand	-0.42	0.00	-0.46	0.01	-0.04	0.32	0.54	0.00	-0.02	0.10	-2.65	0.00

For LRLQ, (except in Thailand), all countries have p-value of < than 1%. This means that, for the two with supporting evidence, we do not accept the null hypothesis of no correlation. For LRM2, all countries (except Thailand) have p-value of > than 1%. This means that for Thailand the null is accepted, while for Malaysia and Singapore, the null of no liquidity effect is rejected.

However, the D1 for LRLQ for liquidity, D11 for LRM2, D11 for LRIPI denote some very diverse patterns as can be seen in Table 5 above. These diverse results are because of the heterogeneous panel of countries. For the dependent variable LSPRICE, LRLQ has no correlation because p-value is > 10%, (so we accept the null hypothesis of no correlation) while the variables LRM2 and LRIPI are correlated with LSPRICE (so we reject null hypothesis of no correlation because p-value is < 10%, except for Singapore.

For the dependent variable LRLQ, the LRM2 is correlated with LRLQ because p-value is < 10% (so we reject the null hypothesis of no correlation) while the variables LRGDP and LR are correlated with LRLQ (we reject the null hypothesis of no correlation) because p-value is <

10%) except for Singapore for LRGDP and Thailand for LR. For the dependent variable LRM2, the following variables are correlated:

- LRLQ is correlated with LRM2 (all countries, because p-value is < 0.10)
- LSPRICE is correlated with LRM2 (except for Singapore),
- LRGDP is correlated with LRM2 (except for Singapore),
- TBR is correlated with LRM2 (except for Malaysia and Thailand), and
- LCPI is correlated with LRM2(except for Malaysia).

CONCLUSION

Using the most recently advocated estimators PMG, MG and DFE to obtain accurate results from panel regressions of data set from three countries, this paper reports evidence of money supply effects on (i) interest rates and (ii) liquidity, as well as a liquidity effect on share prices. The literature on money supply effect has been widely followed in policy circles, yet proposition (ii) and (iii) have yet to be verified. By adopting all the refinements needed to obtain robust parameter estimates described in the methodology section of this paper by using a system of equations developed for this study, this paper has offered new findings relevant to money supply and share price literature.

In conclusion, all our estimations confirmed the existence of a long run cointegration between share prices and banking liquidity, money supply and industrial production index and that they are significant. With respect to the critical assumptions of the panel analysis and with regard to the homogeneity across the panel of countries (3 in this study), empirical evidence has shown that Pool Mean Group (PMG) is the best model for the estimation of a short run and a long run relationship of share prices, liquidity and money supply.

The evidence from this paper answers our first research question that money supply causes liquidity in the short run as shown in our second equation. Liquidity causes money supply in the long run, and this impact is statistically significant. Following this, our evidence on the second research question that liquidity causes share prices is shown to be valid for the countries that we examine. In addition, while there exists a strong link between stock price and liquidity, money supply and industrial production are significantly related in the long run, but not in the short run. This is due to the money supply effect needing more time to convert credits to investments and then secure profits in the production process.

These results, as far as we know, are the first from relatively small economies, two of which (Malaysia and Thailand) are developing countries. More studies on developing countries are needed to generalise our results to developing economies. The methodology we have developed carefully to secure econometric sophistication should be followed if the results are to be reliable given the problems of stationarity, serial correlation, country heterogeneity, regime changes, crisis-effects, all of which could introduce errors in the estimates.

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Exploring the Role of Human Resource Management Practices on Labour Productivity in Libyan National Oil Corporations

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to explore the effect of human resource management practices on labour productivity in the Libyan national oil corporation. Labour productivity demands high staff selection and job training, decentralised decision making and high employees' motivation of the human factors. Hypothetical deductive approach was used to carry out the research through structural equation modelling. This study involved a cross sectional survey through 339 respondents among three top Libyan national oil corporation. Results revealed that decentralised decision making and on-the-job training had a positive and significant relationship with labour productivity. Meanwhile, employees' motivation and staff selections were found to be non-significant in the Libyan context. The findings implied that the oil and gas industry must concentrate on the key antecedents of HRM in order to increased long-term productivity and turnover. The role of employees' motivation and staff selection as HRM practices contradict the results of previous studies that found these factors to be crucial for labour productivity. Thus, such relationships need to be further explored and investigated. The study commemorates the rising argument among researchers that organisational human resource policies can improve labour productivity and organisational goals. Labour productivity is significantly influenced by two major dimensions towards progressive HR practices. This

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study contributes to the existing empirical analyses of HRM practices and labour productivity.

Keywords: HRM practices, Staffing, on-the-job training, decentralised decision, employee motivation, labour productivity

INTRODUCTION

Some previous studies have shown that labour productivity is the central theme of all productive units. This productivity can either be measured in direct units of out per worker or in terms of sale volume per worker. Productivity of labour is a direct proxy of organisational output such as production and revenue generation. Therefore, increasing labour productivity means improvement in organisational objectives. A prior study has confirmed that labour productivity is majorly influenced by progressive HR practices (Ruël & Bondarouk, 2014). HRM practices used in this study are derived from the study performed by Masood (2010) who mentioned that HRM practices like staffing, training and employee motivation are crucial for any organisation. Human capital supports this relationship and provides a theoretical basis.

Standard HR practices and labour productivity among employees of oil producing companies are still very much lacking. This has necessitated key issues that need urgent solutions especially in the Libyan national oil corporation. There are many issues in relation to optimal productivity by employees, followed by standardised enrolment and staffing policies by the HRM within the oil sector. HR practices, like selection of staff, hiring employees, along with their motivation, decentralised decisions, job security, pay for performance and internal career ladders for employees, have great impacts on organisational objectives. HRM practices in the oil and gas sector, especially in an emerging and developing country like Libya, are of primary importance due to the huge reliance of its economy accounting for over 90% of the country's GDP. Thus, it is obvious that the pros and cons of Libyan energy in relation to labour productivity must be investigated, with a special focus on HRM practices. Bloom and Reenen (2011), Delaney and Huselid (1996) and Park and Shaw (2013) concluded that HR practices have positive influences on organisational outcomes across countries. Even though many studies have discussed the linkage between HRM practices and labour productivity, revenue and performance, other studies are critical of the relationship (see for instance, Tharenou, Saks, & Moore, 2007; Ruël & Bondarouk, 2014; Woodrow & Guest, 2014), citing concerns over the methods employed to determine the relationship between HRM practices and labour productivity. Thus, it is a challenging issue to compare the findings across studies with the acceptable HRM practices for enhancing employee labour productivity and organisation outcomes (Delaney & Huselid, 1996; Huselid, 1995). Additionally, this study aims to identify the relationship between HR practices and low labour productivity.

Investigation and improvement in the labour productivity of oil sector is imperative for the Libyan economy to increase the total oil production and hence annual revenue from the export of petroleum products. The oil and gas sector added up to 71% in 2007 and 97% in 2009 the total export earnings to the Libyan economy (Mobbs, Taib, & Wallace, 2012). Petroleum products, being the dominant exporting products and a major source of revenue for the Libyan economy, the labour productivity analyses of the oil sector is indispensable to identify pros and cons of this important sector and suggest ways for smooth economic activities so as to accelerate the growth of the sector. As a sole dominant exporting product and major source of export revenue for the Libyan economy, the investigation of how HR practices effect labour productivity through the mediating effect of social skills is a central question. This investigation can help in designing optimal policy agenda to stabilise the production and suggest ways for further improvements in the production of oil by improving HR practices and labour productivity.

Investigating the reasons for low oil production in Libyan companies resulting from inefficient human resource practices through the mediating effect of social skills will help to pinpoint the reasons which adversely affect labour productivity. Enhancing labour productivity in Libyan oil companies requires a careful integration of social skills practice, as well as strategic implementation of the key HRM practices, especially staffing, on-the-job training, decentralised decision and employee motivation.

This study is significant in many contexts. This is a well-documented evidence that the Libyan economy is a highly hydrocarbon dominated export economy (Ahlbrandt, 2010; Chami et al., 2012; AEO, 2013). Examining reduced oil production by investigating labour productivity reveals the extent inefficient HR practices effect productivity. As the crude oil production in Libya is decreasing, while the crude oil reserve of the country is increasing, the issue seems to be one of productivity. Thus, an analysis of labour productivity will help to understand whether the labour productivity is up to standard. It will also help identify the sources of inefficiencies of these companies. This study will also help to decompose the sources of labour inefficiency in terms of HR practices and individual characteristics. This information may further help to design optimal policy agenda to enhance labour productivity.

The measurement of labour productivity is essential, especially in the Human Resource Management (Fletcher, 2001). Historically, organisations had always come out with methods to measure performances. However, traditional performance measures, which are based on cost accounting information, only served organisations in little way to determine organisation's quality journey. There are various theories used in the past in relation to labour productivity and HRM practices. For the purpose of this study, human capital

theory and contingency theory are used to measure labour productivity and HRM practices in the Libyan context.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Definition of Terms

Labour productivity is defined by actions that are relevant to the organisations desired outcomes and which are controllable by the individual employees (Campbell et al., 1993). The direct determinants of job performance as referred to by Campbell et al. (1993) are skills and motivation. Labour productivity is measured from the skills, as well as from HR practices. From the HR perspective, employment selection process and decentralisations play important roles. Employees' skills and motivation to work are other important factors for labour productivity. These are based on the reasoning that individual performance is a function of the aptitude and effort/ motivation at the individual level of analysis (De Grip & Sauermann, 2013). Numerous researchers have suggested that employee skills, incentives to use the skills (motivation) and progressive HR practice such as a decentralised decisions making process contribute to an organisation's productivity improvement (Sun et al., 2007; Fallahi et al., 2010; De Grip & Sauermann, 2013). According to Bowen and Ostroff (2004), human resource management should consider how it can alter the organisational environment to promote certain traits in employees because it contributes to the organisational performance such as labour productivity and organisational outcome. Labour productivity, through the HR system, may contribute to organisational effectiveness. The employees in an organisation play a vital role to determine the organisational objectives. The employees help to achieve a desired goal (Klein, & Kozlowski, 2000). This shows a link between HR practices and organisational goals through labour productivity.

Labour Productivity (Organisation Performance)

Siebers et al. (2008) revealed that research findings on HRM practices and labour productivity are mixed. Some studies have found a positive relationship between HRM practices and labour productivity, while some revealed negative and no association between them. The lack of universal consensus on the effects of HRM practices might be driven either by measurement issues or by the level of analysis. Using 144 firms, Gamage (2015) examined the relationship and mediating link of HR outcomes between HRM practices and labour productivity and found a strong positive relationship between HRM practices and labour productivity mediated by HR outcomes in manufacturing SMEs in Japan. Sang (2015) used structural equation modelling to analyse the relationship between HRM practices and labour productivity. The findings showed that HRM practices have a positive and significant effect on Labour productivity while employee motivation have an overall

enhancing effect indicating a strong significant moderation effect on labour productivity. This shows that the nation's prosperity depends on the efficiency of labour towards output generation. Labour productivity has been discussed in relation to manufacturing, public sector and other related services but minimal studies have discussed labour productivity in relation to the oil and gas sector.

Some studies have pointed out decentralisation and on-the-job training as the main determinant of labour productivity. Employees' motivation and labour productivity have been shown to have a positive relationship, while staff selection based on favouritism has a negative effect on productivity. A progress in the level of productivity may suggest scrimping on the use of inputs. The general idea of productivity is a supply-side measure, that is, it pertains to the technical production relationships between inputs and outputs. However, the underlying idea of this term may also be about the production of desired, valued, as well as demanded goods and services. Meanwhile, productivity can be expressed as a physical and monetary measure. Within this specified measure, inputs can be broadly defined according to principle as to cover the aspects such as people's time, their skills, land, raw materials, machinery, equipment and energy. However, inputs are commonly defined in terms of labour (i.e., the number of employees or hours of work) and capital (buildings, machinery and equipment, etc.).

Among other types of productivity measures, labour productivity is significant in the economic and econometric analyses of a country. Labour productivity indicates economic status as it gives a view on the dynamic measure of economic growth, competitiveness, and living standards within an economy (McGuckin & Van, 2003). Hence, it is the measure of labour productivity (and all that this measures takes into account) which crucially forms the understanding of the principal economic groundwork that is necessary for both economic growth and social development.

Determinant Factors of Human Resource Management Practices

Staff Selection. Staff selection is an important process in an organisation as it determines the portfolio of workers as per required job specifications (Iles, 1998). Gemage (2015) defines staffing as "the process of acquiring, deploying, and retaining a workforce of sufficient quantity and quality to create positive impacts on the organization's effectiveness". Job specification should be based on areas of expertise. Mangaleswaran and Kirushanthan (2015) argued that staff selection and job specification should provide a basis for attracting qualified applicants and discouraging unqualified ones in order for the organisation to select appropriate staff in the production process. Professional expert needs to be hired in order to improve labour productivity. In simpler words, staff selection is the process

of making decision about employment opportunity for a candidate (Mohamed et al., 2015). This process (staff selection) is based on the match and mismatch between job requirements and a candidate skills, qualifications and his/her willingness about the persuasion of that position (Iles, 1998). Despite the importance of qualifications, people should be hired based on their ability to perform. This shows that staff selection should be based on quality and not quantity. This process is supported by some previous studies that a careful recruitment process may bring a balance between what is needed (organisational requirements) and what is provided (candidate abilities) to satisfy organisational needs (Martín-Alcázar et al., 2008).

Staff selectivity is an important HR practice that directly and indirectly affects organisational outcomes such as productivity and sale (Huselid et al., 2005). Organisations can apply various HR practices to enhance employee skills and labour productivity. Previous research have pointed out that staff selection has positive relationship between labour productivity and organisational performance (Huselid et al., 2005). Katou and Budhwar (2007) revealed that there is a strong relationship between organisational goals and staff selection. On the basis of these discussions, the following hypothesis is formed:

H1: There is a positive and significant relationship between labour productivity and HRM practices (staffing).

On-the-Job Training. Gemage (2015) defines on-the-job training as the HRM function that systematically provides new learning to increase employees' capabilities. One major HRM practices that is used in training and re-training the workers is on-the-job training. On-the-job training improves the skills from traditional methods to technological routine. Consistent on-the-job training will improve labour productivity. This is supported by a prior study that states on-the-job training enhances the productive capacity of workers and helps them achieve their organisational goals. It also helps the workers to reduce their anxiety level during working hours and reducing the turnover rate (Sahinidis & Bouris, 2008).

Workers' skills are important for the progress of organisational productivity. A recent study shows that a large gap between the skills leads to a higher lack of job satisfaction among the employees and reduced their productivity. Hassan (2016) determined the impact of HRM practices on employees' productivity using 68 employees of an industry. The results indicated that HRM practices (such as training) have a positive impact on employees' productivity. Antwi et al. (2016) also examined the impacts of these HRM practices on the productivity of employees using 80 employees. Training of employees was found to be a significant slot and accounted for about 21% of the variance in the overall impacts of the measurement dimensions on employees' productivity. If employees are trained, the productivity of the organisation will increase. Therefore,

organisations can improve the quality of their current employees by providing comprehensive training and development activities after selecting them. Meanwhile, considerable evidence suggests that investments in training produce beneficial organisational outcomes such as increasing labour productivity and optimal achievement of organisational goals (Bartel, 2004). Job-related training increases employees' stability. On the basis of these discussions, the following hypothesis is formed:

H2: There is a positive and significant relationship between Labour productivity and HRM practices (On-the-Job Training)

Decentralised Decision Making. Decentralisation is an HRM practice to improve labour productivity. Giving positions to lower level employees will motivate them to improve their productivity. It will also reduce workload on the top management. This will also improve the timing of production and welfare of the employees. Bloom et al. (2012) surveyed decentralisation across 4000 different firms located in three different regions. The results revealed that decentralisation could improve aggregate labour productivity. The results further pointed out that many factors had allowed decentralisation to improve labour productivity of organisations. Richardson et al. (2002) noted that there are many benefits involved in the decentralization of decision making ranks to low level employees.

Decentralisation is indispensable for the formation of large firms because it is not possible for a CEO to go through each and every small matter of the company. Decentralising some positions towards will improve the timing of production. Menial activities can be carried out with passion by lower level employees. Thus, we can conclude that decentralisation is related to firm productivity because the CEO of a more centralised firm does not make all decisions due to a lack of time. High performance also requires commitment to high performance goals that reward the organisation and its workers. On the basis of these discussions, the following hypothesis is formed:

H3: There is a positive and significant relationship between labour productivity and HRM practices (Decentralized Decision Making).

Employee Motivation. Motivation is one way of encouraging workers to improve their productivity level. This can be achieved through promotion, rewards and compensations, etc. Employee motivation is crucial to the growth of a firm. The process of motivating employees through compensation and reward will lead to higher productivity (Abozed et al., 2009; Kanfer et al., 2012). Employee competencies improve organisational performance, enhance effectiveness and encompass all forms of monetary returns. Mathis (2004) suggested if a reward is competitive and balanced, it can motivate productivity.

Strategic human resource management has played a key role in management practice and contributed towards organisational success in the past thirty years (Boxall & Purcell, 2011). However, integrating HRM into an organisation's strategy and applying specific sets of human resource (HR) policies and practices introduce complexities in managing employees effectively. Therefore, performance of individuals and organisations could be hampered as well (Holbeche, 2001; Farnham, 2010). Douangphichit (2015) measured employees' motivation and job performance. The findings revealed that money, opportunities for growth and fairness are the most influential factors that motivate employees to work and satisfy them at workplace. Antwi et al. (2016) examined the impacts of HRM practices on the productivity of employees using 80 employees; however, employees' motivation was found to be significant and accounted for 22.9% of the overall variance in employees' productivity. Therefore, in this study, employees' motivation was explored to support productivity in the oil companies in Libya. This tends to circumvent constrains associated with the previous policies applied in organisations w6XVW&–Y&

Järvalt and Randma-Liiv (2010) found that policies change across regions. This affects the level of productivity, especially in situations where no central HRM strategy is in place. The integration of HRM in the present study provides opportunities to explore the potential capabilities to enhance labour productivity in Libyan oil companies. This need arises from high dependency of the Libyan economy on oil. On the basis of these discussions, the following hypothesis is formed:

H3: There is a positive and significant relationship between labour productivity and HRM practices (Employees' Motivation).

Research Framework

Before discussing the research framework, this study defines the underlying concepts, variables and their mutual relationship. This study focuses on the HR practices to gauge the cause of low labour productivity in selected oil companies. After going through various HR practices and their influences on the labour productivity and link with labour productivity, the study proposed the following research framework (see Figure 1).

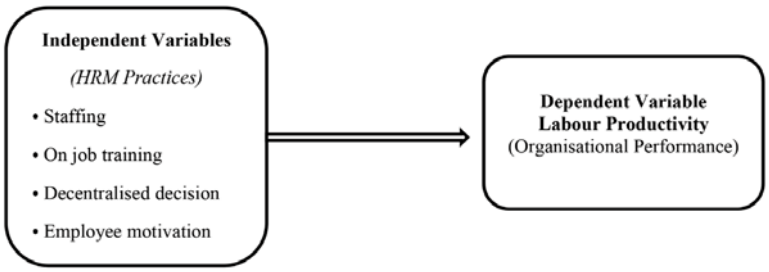


Figure 1. Research framework

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Research Design

This study is descriptive in nature. The unit of analysis is at the firm level (workers). The methodology of this study is quantitative using Covariance-Based SEM analysis (CB-SEM). The time horizon is cross sectional, while the selected companies represent 70% shares of the total oil sector output. The survey design is quantitative and deductive in approach. Meanwhile, the sampling design is simple random sampling.

Population and Sample size

This study uses the 5-point Likert scale. Primary data were collected through the survey of 600 employees of some selected oil companies in Libya. A total of 378 questionnaires were returned and 339 questionnaires were useable for the study. Therefore, the sample size is 339. The sampling frame is based on the following top government owned oil companies in Libya. Waha Oil Company with total employees (3200), Arabian Gulf Oil Company (2400) and Sirte Oil Company employees (6652). Thus, the total population is 12,252 employees working across the three companies at different managerial levels.

Table 1
Population and Sample Size

Names of Oil Companies	Year of establishment	Total Employees (Populations)	Samples	Number of Questionnaire (%)
Waha oil Company (C1)	1956	3200	Total Questionnaire distributed	600 (100%)
The Arabian Gulf Oil Company (C2)	1979	2400	Completed Questionnaire Received	378 (63.0%)
Sirte Oil Company (C3)	1981	6652	Unusable Questionnaire	39 (< 20% unanswered items)
			Usable Questionnaire	339 (89.6 %)

Data Screening. The process of data analysis was begun with coding, detecting and screening for missing data and outliers. Date screening ensures that the data are correctly entered without any outliers to determine normal construct distribution. Confirming normality is similarly important and fundamental to performing SEM (Hair et al., 2006).

Response Rate. Purposive sampling technique was utilised to select the sample for the study. Purposive sampling is a technique that is used to glean knowledge from individuals who have particular knowledge or expertise. In order to achieve an appropriate response rate, 600 questionnaires were distributed to the selected government oil companies

in Libya that represent the NOC. Of the 600 questionnaires distributed, 378 were received with an equivalent percentage of 63%. However, 39 questionnaires were found to be unusable due to missing data or provided the same responses to all the questions. Thus, overall, 56.5% of the total questionnaires were usable, with an effective sample of 339.

Coding and Editing of Data. Editing of the raw collected data was performed after the data had been collected through surveys. According to Zikmund et al. (2012), it is important to check the quality of the data in the form of its omissions, legality and consistency. However, Sekaran (2006) mentioned that considering and fulfilling the purpose of the study, the respondents must be able to answer at least 75% of the questionnaire. Statistical package of social science (SPSS) software was used for coding and keying the data collected through the survey.

Homoscedasticity. Homoscedasticity assumes that the standard deviations of error of prediction are approximately equal for all predicted DV's scores. The band enclosing the residual is approximately equal in width at all values of the predicted DV. Thus, when the band becomes wider at larger predicted values, heteroscedasticity is diagnosed (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013). Homoscedasticity can be due to the presence of outliers or measurement error at some levels (Kline, 2011). Figure 2 shows the scatterplot for labour productivity variable.

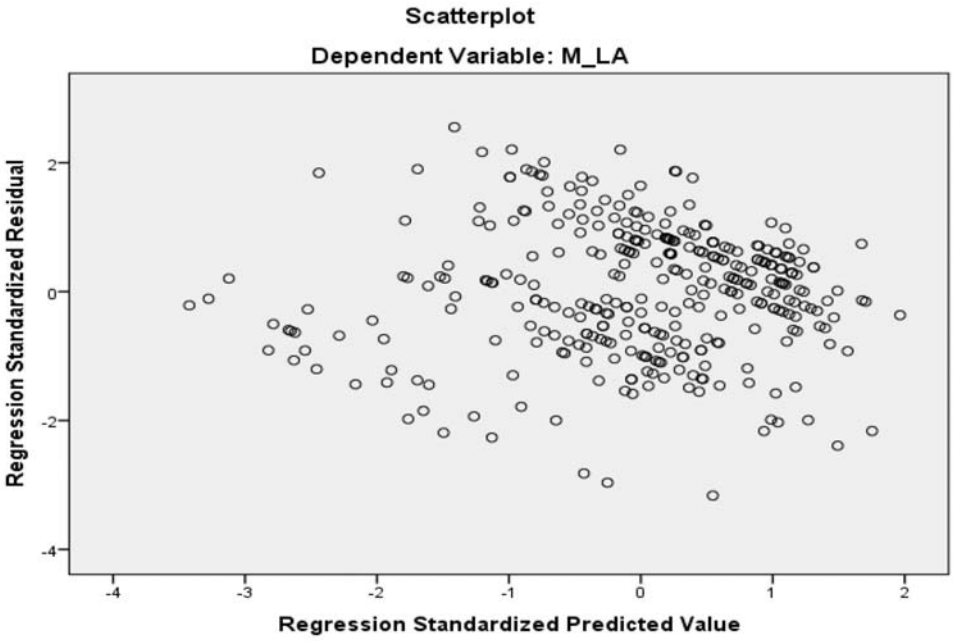


Figure 2. Homoscedasticity for labour productivity

In addition, Hair et al. (2010) recommended scatter plot diagram for detecting homoscedasticity. From Figure 4.2, the scatter plot diagram of standardised residuals shows no sign of curve pattern or residual existence on one side of the diagram. This indicates that there is no issue of heteroscedasticity and therefore, the assumption for homoscedasticity is accepted.

Measurement Model

For the CFA procedure, every model is required to measure the validity and reliability of the construct. According to Zainudin (2014), the assessment for unidimensionality, validity and reliability for the model is necessary for modelling the structured model. Using AMOS software, the data for the current research were subjected to CFA, following the recommendations of several studies (see for instance, Mallinckrodt et al., 2006; Babin et al., 2008; Schlomer et al., 2010; Oke et al., 2012). Two-stage SEM was used to test the hypothesised model. The first stage model was performed in order to confirm the reliability and validity of the data. Figure 2 represents the measurement model. This measurement model is used to carry out the multi-group Confirmatory factor analysis. This is very essential in order to identify items that are reliable and valid for the structural analysis. After confirming the valid and reliable data, the next stage is to perform the structural model known as Regression Analysis to test the hypotheses of the study. The structural analysis is represented by Figure 3. The factor loadings for these measures were all above 0.60 thereby meeting unidimensionality. The loadings of items range from staff selection (from 0.72 to 0.77), job training (from 0.69 to 0.74), decentralisation (from 0.67 to 0.76), employee motivation (from 0.64 to 0.76) and labour productivity (from 0.66 to 0.79). From the measurement model, it is confirmed that the all factor loading levels have been achieved. Hair et al. (1995, 2010) and Holmes-Smith (2006) recommended using at least one fitness index from each category of model fit. The three model fit categories are Absolute Fit, Incremental Fit, and Parsimonious Fit. The choice of index to choose from each category to report depends on which literature is being referred (Zainudin, 2014). This study used Discrepancy Chi Square (Wheaton et al., 1977), Root Mean Square of Error Approximation-RMSEA (Browne & Cudeck, 1993) and Goodness of Fit Index-GFI (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1984) for absolute fit index. For Incremental fit Index, this study used Adjusted Goodness of Fit- AGFI (Tanaka & Huba, 1985) and Normed Fit Index- NFI (Bollen, 1989). For Parsimonious fit index, this study used Chi Square/Degrees of Freedom (Marsh & Hocevar, 1985). All fit indices were met, as shown in Figure 3 below.

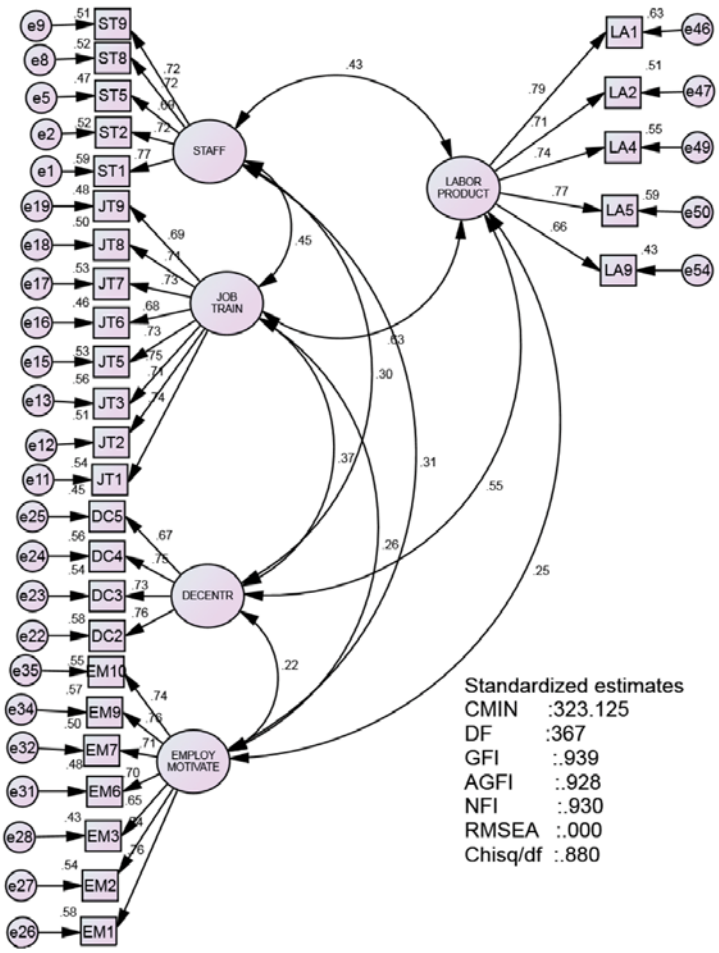


Figure 3. Measurement Model of HRM Practices and Labour Productivity

Table 2
Reliability and Validity of Measurement Model

Model Construct	Number of Items	Cronbach Alpha	Composite Reliability	Average Variance Extracted
Staff Selection	5	0.873	0.8570	0.5248
On Job Training	8	0.874	0.8947	0.5153
Decentralisation	4	0.844	0.8185	0.5305
Employees' Motivation	7	0.913	0.8848	0.5239
Labour Productivity	5	0.907	0.8304	0.5409

From Table 2, all the constructs achieved Average Variance Extraction (AVE) ranging from 0.5153 to 0.5409, which are greater than the 0.5 threshold (Zainudin, 2014). Another requirement for discriminant validity is the correlation

between exogenous constructs should be less than 0.85 (Zainudin, 2014). As depicted in Figure 3, the correlation of this study ranges from 0.31 to 0.45. Some of the items with MI greater than 15 were deleted (Zainudin, 2014). All the constructs (Cronbach's Alpha coefficients) are above the 0.7 threshold. All the composite reliability values are higher than 0.6 thresholds ranging from 0.8185 to 0.8947. Labour productivity has the strongest AVE of 0.5409 and others are greater than the 0.5 threshold, as shown in Table 1.

RESULTS

Table 3 and Figure 4 show the unstandardized regression results of the independent constructs (Staff Selection, on-the-job training, Decentralisation and Employees Motivation) on the dependent construct (Labour Productivity).

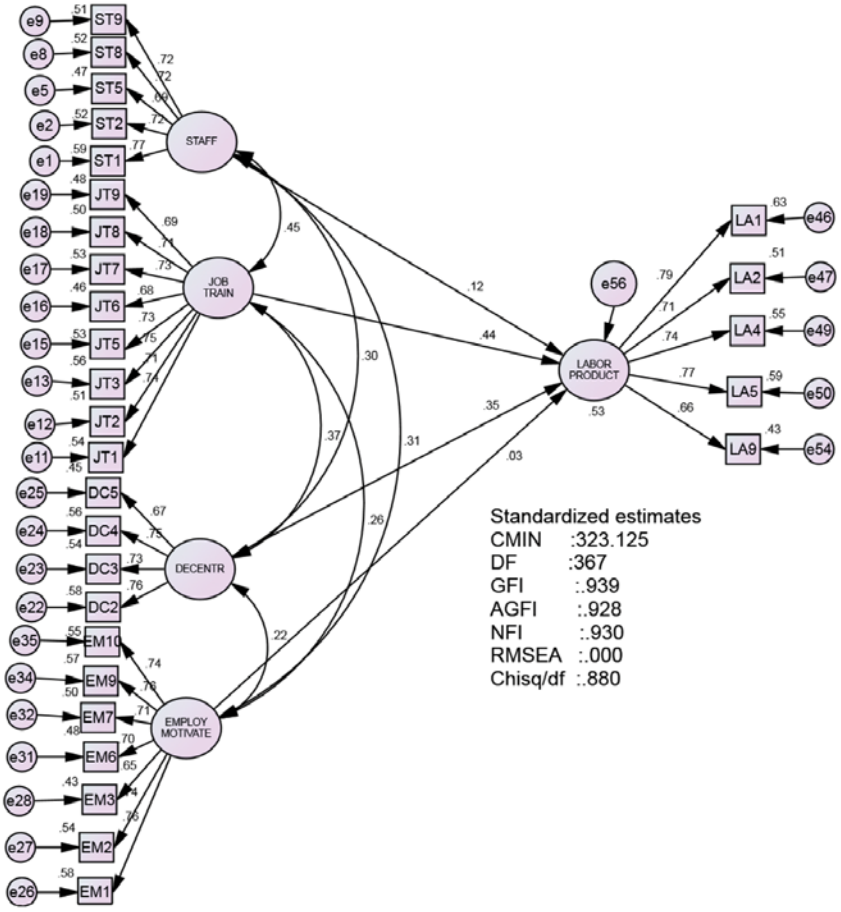


Figure 4. Structural model of HRM Practices on Labour Productivity.

Table 3
Regression Weights

Construct	Path	Construct	Estimate	P-value	Hypothesis Result
Labour Productivity	<---	Staff Selection	.12	0.278	Positive and Not Significant
Labour Productivity	<---	On Job Training	.44	0.045	Positive and Significant
Labour Productivity	<---	Decentralization	.35	***	Positive and Significant
Labour Productivity	<---	Employees Motivation	.03	0.299	Positive and Not Significant

Goodness of fit:
Absolute fit: *χ2 = 323.125 (p-value=0.000); RMSEA=0.000; GFI=0.939.*
Incremental fit: AGFI=0.928; NFI=0.930
Parsimonious fit: χ2 /d. f. =0.880.
Note. * P < .05; ** P < .01; *** P < .001 (two-tailed). n = 339. R^2*=0.53*

Considering the effects, the results presented in Table 2 revealed that staff selection, on-the-job training, decentralisation and employees motivation are the determinant factors of labour productivity because all of them have shown positive effects. As shown in Table 3, Labour productivity in the Libyan national oil corporations are positively and significantly influenced by Decentralisation *(β = 0.35, P < .001)* and On-the-Job Training *(β = 0.44, P < 0.05)*. However, no significant effect was found for the construct - Staff Selection *(β = 0.12, P < 0.05)* and Employees Motivation (β = .03, P < 0.05), despite the positive effects of the latter two variables. The *χ2 = 323.125, absolute fit incremental fit and parsimonious fit shows that the constructs measure and fit the model of the study*. The R^2 of the four constructs explains 53% of the variance of labour productivity. Therefore, hypotheses H2 and H3 are supported, while H1 and H4 are not.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The research findings revealed that HRM practices such as decentralisation and on-the-job training have significant impacts on labour productivity in Libyan national oil corporations. The study further revealed that both employees' motivation and staff selection have positive, but not significant, impacts on labour productivity. Meanwhile, the finding for Staff selection is consistent with Huselid et al. (2005), i.e. positive relationship occurs. The result for the on-the-job training of this study is also consistent with De Grip and Sauermann (2013). In addition, result for decentralisation shows higher impacts on aggregate labour productivity, which is consistent with Bloom et al. (2012). The finding for employees' motivation is consistent with Chiu and Xihua (2008), i.e. there is a positive relationship between employee motivation and labour productivity. This shows that the areas of employee motivation and staff selection in

productivity need to be further examined. Despite the fact that rewards are very important towards higher productivity, it should be done with care in order not to have negative influence on productivity. Staff selection on productivity in Libyan national oil corporations should be based on areas of expertise and not favouritism. This will not only improve labour productivity but also have larger effects on the economic growth in Libya.

The main contribution of the research is the development of a new model for measuring labour productivity and HRM practices in Libyan national oil corporations. This will not only help production processes but also improve motivation, hiring and firing processes, as well as the required skills to improve the expertise and oil production in Libya. Libya is one of the largest oil producing countries in Africa and one of the top influential countries of the Organisation of the Oil Exporting Countries (Annual Statistical Bulletin, 2012). Unfortunately, in spite of these facts, the average oil production of Libya is decreasing due to administrative and political issues.

The employee recruiting process through the oil sector does not show standard HRM recruitment practices and this has become a major issue that has affected labour productivity. Investigation into reduction of oil production, done through the investigation of labour productivity, reveals these factors and the extent to which this important sector is affected by the lack of well-established HR practices. Thus, investigating the reasons for low oil production via labour productivity, with respect to employees' characteristics and progressive human resource practices, will help to pinpoint the reasons that adversely affect labour productivity.

The limitation of this research is that the study used the quantitative and cross-sectional approach for testing the relationships of HRM practices and labour productivity in Libyan national oil corporations. A longitudinal study might have yielded richer insights. In addition, existing time and resource constraints did not allow this study to consider other oil companies especially the private-owned oil companies in Libya. Therefore, future research should consider either using qualitative or triangulation to further contribute to a better understanding of labour productivity in Libya.

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Identity Politics of Being and Becoming of the *Chetti Melaka* in Singapore

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this paper is to explore identity politics in the representations of the *Chetti Melaka* identity at a one-day symposium entitled *The Lost Tribe of Chetti Melaka – Who Are We?* in Singapore. The paper focusses on three speakers whom we found most engaged in identity politics in their presentation at the symposium. Engaging with Stuart Hall's ideas of "being" and "becoming" and Farish Noor's ideas of "fluid *Peranakan*-ness," we employ discourse analysis to explore the sense of displacement seen at the symposium and *Chetti* identity in Singapore. Our discussion and findings reveal the interesting minoritisation dynamics of the *Chetti Melaka* in terms of ethnic and national identity, particularly in the context of modern, postcolonial, globalised and cosmopolitan Singapore.

Keywords: Chetti Melaka, *Peranakan*, identity politics, discourse, being and becoming

INTRODUCTION

The *Chetti*[1] *Melaka* community, also known as *Peranakan* Indians (the latter phrase meaning locally born or creolised community), are descendants of South Indian merchants and local women of Malay and Chinese ethnic origins. Dating

[1] Sometimes "Chitty" is also used. The founding secretary, David Bok, of The Association of Chetti Melaka (Peranakan Indians) Singapore, explained to us that Chitty is a family name; thus, Chetti has been officially adopted as it more objectively and accurately refers to the community. The sign that stands on the ancestral land of the Chettis in Melaka reads "Kampung Chetti". We will, therefore, in this paper be using Chetti since that is how the community wishes to refer to itself and have officially adopted this term. Chetti is not to be confused with Chettiar, which is another Indian group found in Malaysia and Singapore.

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back to the Malacca Sultanate between 1402 and 1511, the community settled in the *Chetti* Village, also known as *Kampung Chetti*, Melaka (Dhoraisingham, 2006). From their initial birthplace in Melaka, members of the community travelled and settled in other parts of Malaysia as well as overseas, including Singapore.

The *Chetti* are a minority group that is under-researched. According to Che Ann Ab. Ghani and Shahrim Ab. Karim (2011, p. 72), "Most Malaysians are unaware of their existence"; we believe this is also the case in Singapore. Samuel S. Dhoraisingam's book, *Peranakan Indians of Singapore and Melaka: Indian Babas and Nonyas – Chitty Melaka*, published in 2006, is so far the only book on the community. According to him, *Peranakan* Indians are "a product of Indian, Malay and Chinese admixture and have traces of Malay, Javanese, Batak and Chinese influences in their distinctive culture" (Dhoraisingam, 2006, p. xi). Referring to this unique heritage mix, Singapore's former president, S. R. Nathan also sounded a note of concern when he described the *Chetti* as a "fascinating and unique minority community whose numbers have diminished with each passing year" (Dhoraisingam, 2006, p. ix). Dhoraisingam (2006) notes that there are only about 50 *Chetti* families numbering about 400 persons in Melaka, and approximately 30 homes in the *Gajah Berang* area. But Ghani and Karim (2011) estimate 50,000 *Chettis* in Malaysia, 2,000 families in Melaka and only 60 remaining in Gajah Berang in 2011. The statistics provided by these two sources are not consistent and it is difficult to ascertain the true numbers of the *Chetti* population as the official census in Malaysia and Singapore categorise them as Indians. Nevertheless, these statistics underline the community's minority status.

More concerns have surfaced in recent years regarding the status of the community. In Melaka, a place vital to *Chettis* in Malaysia and Singapore for its ancestral links, they are an endangered culture. Encroachments on the ancestral village, *Kampung Chetti*, as a result of ongoing development projects, have affected their way of life. When Melaka was accorded UNESCO world heritage status in 2008, *Kampung Chetti*, despite its 600 years of *Chetti Peranakan* existence in Melaka (Dasgupta & Raja, 2012), was excluded from the heritage zone, further exemplifying the lack of official acknowledgement. Such concerns regarding identity recognition and marginalisation appear to have galvanised members of the community into efforts to preserve and sustain the identity of the community. A symposium, jointly organised and attended by the *Chetti* community of Malaysia and Singapore, was one such initiative launched by members of the community to raise awareness and preserve their cultural way of life.

The First Peranakan Indian Symposium: *The Lost Tribe of Chetti Melaka – Who Are We?*

On 4 Orctober, 2014, the first *Peranakan* Indian symposium was held at the Ngee Ann Auditorium of the Asian Civilisations Museum in Singapore. The title of

the symposium, The *Lost Tribe of the Chetti Melaka – Who are We?*, quite poignantly captured and exemplified their marginalisation. The one-day event comprised these presentations: 'Challenge of Diaspora Communities: The Chinese Peranakan' by Lee Su Kim; 'Challenge of the Diaspora Communities: The Jawi Peranakan' by Farish Noor; 'Challenge of the Diaspora Communities: Overseas Indians' by V. P. Nair; 'History of the Chetti – Continuity versus Change' by Ryna Mahindapala; 'The Chetti Melaka – Who are We?' by Gerald F. Pillay; 'Panel Facilitator: Challenge of Diaspora Communities and Chetti Melaka' chaired by K. Narayanasamy; 'Chetti Melaka Wedding' by Jennifer Rathabai Kunciram; and 'Community Heritage Conservation' by Pierpaolo De Giosa.

This event brought together members of the *Chetti* community from Melaka, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, among other places. A deep sense of displacement emerged in addition to the varied presentations and ideas of being *Peranakan*. Assistant Curator of The Peranakan Museum (Singapore), Maria Khoo Joseph, in a conversation, noted that 30 years ago, the *Peranakan* Chinese had experienced a similar displacement.

These observations stimulated our curiosity and led us to further investigate the identity politics displayed at the symposium. We hope our analysis will further open the discussion on identity and minoritisation, particularly *Peranakan* identity, that is unique to this region.

Chetti Melaka and the Problem of Identity in Singapore

In *Reframing Singapore*, historian Wang Gungwu (2009, p. 9) described the island-city of Singapore as "a migrant multicultural state"; therefore, it does not have a racially homogeneous but rather, a heterogeneous population. In the same volume, Derek Heng and Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied (2009) note the limited nature of officially acknowledged ethnic groups that do not take into account the many different ethnic groups to be encountered in the nation-state. Thus, discussing identity in Singapore against such a cultural and racial backdrop is complex.

According to Heng and Aljunied (2009, pp. 11–12), there is no better word than "paradox" to describe Singapore and its migrant population, which "contribute to the hybrid cultural mosaic of modern Singapore," which has "the policy of attracting 'foreign talent' to stimulate a trans-regional trading framework" that continues today. Therefore, hybrid cultures and identities are very much part of Singapore.

Another relevant reality pertains to the issue of the "sinicisation" of Singapore since the 1980s (Yang, 2014, p. 411). Until 1965, Singapore was part of Malaysia; since Singapore's separation from Malaysia, Singapore has maintained a dominant Chinese population of about 70%. This dominance has been maintained through the continually large influx of Chinese immigrants (Yang, 2014). The apparent reluctance of the government

to release such sensitive information makes it impossible to know exactly what proportion of foreign talent comes from the People's Republic of China (Yang, 2014).

Heng and Aljunied (2009, p. 14) also wrote that "Singapore's attainment of a globally renowned cosmopolitan outlook has been primarily attributed to the postcolonial project of capitalist modernity." In this light, Yang (2014) also observed that Singapore's remarkable economic success relied on international trade and global flows of capital, knowledge and people, which acted as a double-edged sword that also challenged the state's efforts in symbolic and cultural nation-building. He showed how Chinese foreign sports professionals and foreign students were a threat to Singapore's national identity, as many, particularly the students, may treat Singapore as a "stepping stone" to somewhere they consider better (Yang, 2014, p. 425).

Yang (2014) further explained Singapore's paradoxical position as a catch-22. Because of the country's constitutive cultural hybridity, the Singapore state emphasises a national identity that is more pragmatic than cultural; however, when authentic cultural traditions are invoked, they seldom promise to create the common identity that all Singaporeans can comfortably assume. Rather, they pose the danger of further entrenching ethnic and cultural divisions among the multiracial population. Put simply, the problem is the lack of a uniquely "Singaporean" cultural authenticity. According to Heng and Ajunied (2009, p. 14), "It has often been said that Singapore is a place without an identity, and that Singaporeans do not possess any real sense of belonging to their homeland."

The *Chetti* community in Singapore is an offspring from the *Chetti Melaka*. Many moved to Singapore when the British developed Singapore. In Malaysia,[2] it is difficult to establish the numbers of the *Chetti* population as they are classified as Indians. However, we think it is more difficult in postcolonial Singapore to establish its number and negotiate its identity as there is no *Kampung Chetti* or ancestral land where the *Chetti* community is concentrated; rather, they are scattered and more fragmented in Singapore.

Such a context clarifies the remark made by the Assistant Curator of The Peranakan Museum about the *Chetti* community experiencing a similar displacement as the *Peranakan* Chinese 30 years ago. While the Association of Chetti Melaka Singapore was formed in 2008, the *Chetti* community is still not very visible. The association estimates the *Chetti*

[2] Both Malaysia and Singapore inherited the British colonial system, whereby the official national census was categorised according to the main races found in the Straits Settlements – Malay, Chinese, Indian and Other. It does not accommodate variations outside of these categories such as *Peranakan*; therefore, the *Peranakan* are classified under one of the three races (*Baba-Nyonya* under Chinese; *Chetti* under Indian; and *Jawi Peranakan* under Malay). This does not capture the reality of Malaysia and Singapore when miscegenation is a reality in both these countries.

population to be approximately 1000 in Singapore.[3] It is currently leveraging on the revival of *Peranakan* Chinese culture that is particularly strong in Singapore; they have attended, used *Peranakan* events and also published in *The Peranakan* magazine in the last few years to gain publicity.

Identity Politics of Being and Becoming

Stuart Hall's article, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora" explored and provided some interesting insights into the phenomenon of identity and diaspora. According to him, practices of representation or positions of enunciation are crucial to the idea of cultural identity. Hall (1990, p. 222) expounded that "who speaks, and the subject who is spoken of, are never identical, never exactly in the same place. Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think…" This is apparent in our discussion of the speakers at the symposium later. Hall argued that we should see identity as a "production" that is never complete, always in process and constituted from within representation.

Farish Noor was one of the invited speakers focussing on the *Jawi Peranakan*. He controversially opened his address with, "I don't really have much to say because there's nothing to talk about…" He qualified and explained this by the fact that there is "no ostensible definition" of *Peranakan* and that it is a hybrid culture. According to Noor, *Peranakan* cultures are about "fluid borders and overlapping communities" and the "coming into being of a *Peranakan* in itself was an aberration." *Peranakan* culture is a product of colonialism. He cautioned, instead, against any attempts to characterise and essentialise the *Peranakan* identity, an exercise that he referred to as "museumisation" of the culture. At the same time, he raised a pertinent question regarding current socio-political realities that have led to this need. Noor's address and position at the symposium essentially articulated the complexities and paradoxes of Hall's ideas of Being and Becoming in the *Peranakan* context.

Snyder's (2012) views suggest some concurrence with Noor's ideas when he pointed to the central role of political ideology in identity politics. He asserted that issues of identity politics signalled a context where dominant hegemonic forces marginalised and repressed less powerful communities. In such a context, minorities struggled to challenge dominance and repression.

According to Hall, there are two positions of "cultural identity," with one in terms of a shared culture, history and ancestry. This cultural identity reflects common historical experiences and shared cultural codes, which provide "stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning, beneath the shifting divisions and vicissitudes of our actual history" and it is this core identity or Being that the "…diaspora must discover, excavate, bring to light and express…" (Hall, 1990, p. 223). Hall's (1990) second view of cultural identity was based on "*difference*" (nuancing Jacques Derrida);

[3] In consultation with researchers, the founding secretary, David Bok, made this estimation.

hence, "what we really are" and "what we have become," which encompasses the inevitability of ruptures and discontinuities. Therefore, cultural identity in this second sense is a matter of Becoming that belongs to the future as much as it belongs to the past and is subject to the play of history, culture and power, far from being grounded in the mere recovery of the past. Identity encompasses imagination and histories, and Hall (1990, pp. 231–232) invokes Edward Said's ideas of "imaginative geography and history," calling up Benedict Anderson's idea of "an imagined community" that involves the real, material and symbolic effects, constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth.

Cultural identities, according to Hall, are unstable points of identification and sutured within the discourses of history and culture, not an essence but a positioning, which we think is evident in our discussion of the problem of identity in Singapore above. It involves similarity and continuity, difference and rupture, a dialogic relationship between these two axes, which Hall (1990, pp. 225–228) called the "cultural play" of "doubleness." He profoundly stated that "meaning is never finished or completed, but keeps on moving to encompass other, additional or supplementary meanings…" that it continues to unfold (Hall, 1990, pp. 229–230). Within these complex dynamics, Hall (1990, pp. 233–235) spoke of the "ambivalence of desire" and the profound splitting and doubling that occurs in relation to the Other, referring to Homi Bhaba's "ambivalent identifications of the racist world…the 'otherness' of the self inscribed in the perverse palimpsest of colonial identity"; this dialogue of power and resistance, refusal and recognition, which he profoundly said was "always-already fused," "syncretized" and "creolized," the act of "remembering" by first "forgetting," is seen in our later analysis. Hall's (1990, p. 235) comment on the diaspora experience is interesting; he defined it not by essence or purity but by a necessary heterogeneity and diversity, by a conception of identity that is founded on difference and hybridity, explaining, "Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference." We think this is very apparent in the above discussion of Singapore.

In this paper, we will engage with Hall (1990) and Noor's conception of identity and diaspora with regards to *Peranakan* culture. We assess and analyse *Chetti* identity at the symposium through the means of language, centring on *Chetti* as an empty signifier of identity (Laclau & Mouffe, 2005). Our interest is in the manner in which this identity is interpreted and understood through the means of the language of particular speakers.

METHODOLOGY

Our purpose in this paper is to qualitatively examine the ethnic minority identity of the *Chetti* community as represented by particular speakers at the symposium. We focus on two Singaporean presenters

and an academic: the President of The Association of Chetti Melaka Singapore, Ponnosamy Kalastree, who delivered the opening speech; Gerald F. Pillay, an elder of the community, who presented "The Chetti Melaka – Who are We?"; and Farish Noor, a Malaysian political scientist and historian who is currently the head of the doctorate programme at the Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. The other speakers at the symposium presented topics such as the *Chetti Melaka* wedding, history, issues of development and ideas of "*Peranakan*"; but for the purposes of this examination, the three speakers mentioned were chosen as their talks dealt directly with issues of identity politics. Therefore, their presentations allowed us to explore issues of identity and displacement apparent to the hybrid community of the *Chetti*.

In terms of theoretical framework, we engage with Stuart Hall's perspectives of identity and Farish Noor's ideas of "*Peranakan*-ness" (presented at the symposium) using the discourse approach. Hall (1990), in particular, noted that the creation and recreation of identities are ongoing processes in particular socio-political contexts. One of the ways in which identity may be constructed is through the social practice of discourse by means of which group identity, belonging and membership may be established. It is also noted that this identity construction also entails the creation of an 'Us' versus 'Them' distinctiveness (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Such differences may be expressed in specific references to social actors as well as in the collectivised references such as the use of the first person plural, 'we'.

Hall's (1990) theories of identity are operationalised through a micro-level examination of the discourse of three presenters at the symposium. The micro-level examination focusses on the reference to representations of social actors as well as the use of modality in representing the *Chetti* identity.

In examining social actors, inclusive references such as "we" as well as van Leeuwen's (2008) sociosemantic categories were employed to note the means by which the dichotomy of 'Us' versus 'Them' was constructed. In referring to social actors, van Leeuwen (2008) notes the role allocation of social actors in utterances, their assimilation as well as nomination and categorisation. In particular, the framework takes note of the means by which social actors are referenced in excluded or included roles in statements. Also, the framework considers the positioning of social actors in the extracts of the speeches, whether in an activated, foregrounded role showing dynamism or in a passivated, backgrounded role as a less powerful actor. In the speeches, such references were noted to examine how the community was positioned in relation to the Other.

Modality is another means by which positioning is established. In particular, this positioning in representing social practices as a certainty was of interest in this study. This may be represented in the use of the simple present tense that Fairclough

(2003, p. 152) referred to as the "timeless present." In a later text, Fairclough (2006) referred to such constructions to represent a high level of truth or factuality as epistemic argumentation.

CHETTI IDENTITY

The dynamics of both Being as well as Becoming (Hall, 1990) are evident in the linguistic analysis below of the said speakers at the symposium seen in the references to social actors as well as the legitimation strategies employed.

How Should They See Us?

The opening remarks of the symposium suggest external motivations being significant in the need to fix a community identity. In these remarks by the President of the association (Kalastree), references were made to the attitudes of ethnic Indian communities to the *Chetti* identity when he stated:

> *"Among other Indian communities, we are not accepted easily..."*
>
> *"Among our Indian friends, we are always different, perhaps even outcastes."*
>
> *"It was a dilemma for us while growing up, not knowing our heritage."*
>
> *"This is one of the reasons for our association."*

The self referential "we" is countered with "other Indians," thus representing the dichotomy of Us versus Them. The construction of these sentences foreground the external social forces such as "other Indians" and "our Indian friends," placing them in activated roles as powerful actors while the *Chetti* community as an assimilated social actor is depicted in passivated roles, at the mercy of the Indian community. The foregrounded reference to Indians rather than Singaporeans as the identity is interesting. This foregrounding suggests that the need for identity is being driven by the need for integration. This exemplifies the "doubleness" and ambivalence of desire that Hall (1990) spoke about in regard to the diaspora experience. At the same time, it is this denial of integration by the Indian community that appears to drive the need for recognition of the *Chettis* as a unique grouping. In this context, the qualification of 'other' in "other Indians" suggests that the *Chetti* identity is being considered a sub-ethnic category of the ethnic Indian category. However, this assimilated identification is not possible or complete on account of the lack of acceptance mentioned from ethnic Indians.

In his speech, the President raised a question: "Why do we call ourselves *Chetti Melaka*?" and a little later, "We are actually Tamilians." The use of a rhetorical question shows the hybrid, paradoxical and third space of *Chetti* identity, the idea of remembering by first forgetting. However, the response to the President's question appeared to be answered in his statement about the lack of acceptance of the community by the Indian community,

presumably of Singaporean origin. The formation of the association seems to be attributed to this lack of acceptance by the external grouping, Indians.

Later in the day as part of the panel discussion, the President represented *Chetti* identity as being more welcoming of other cultures and races, stating, "We are more welcoming of other races, as a result of our varied identity." The use of the assimilated "we" represents a homogeneity in hospitality, intended as a possible identifying mark of the community. The implication here in "more welcoming" also appeared to suggest a mark of difference from other communities that have been less welcoming. This presents a positive representation of *Chetti* community characteristics while making an implied comment on the negative reception of other communities. At the same time, the unique feature of the community was stressed in the phrasing "our varied identity" as a crucial depiction of the *Chetti* identity. The use of the present tense underlined this to be a given fact, without exception.

Another external agency that the President mentioned was the National Heritage Board: "The National Heritage Board should recognise us." Similarly, he stated that the community "should be identified as Singaporean." Both statements underlined external forces and the need for external socio-political acknowledgement and affirmation. In both situations, the community was shown to be in passivated roles, ostensibly at the mercy of more powerful forces that decide its recognition and survival. While in the first instance the activated social actor, "National Heritage Board" was specifically identified, in the latter statement about being considered Singaporean, the state actor was excluded. However in the latter case, it is apparent that the state and its agents were intended in the recognition being required. These references point to socio-political motivations that may underline the quest for fixing of identities.

The quest for identification is further underlined in the comparison with ethnic Indians. When it comes to the "[d]ifferent ethnic groups among the Indians," the "national authority recognises them, but does not recognise us." The justification for identification is expressed through comparison with the larger ethnic Indian community, with the implication of the community not being accorded the same acknowledgement and space on the socio-political landscape.

A prescriptive note was apparent in the comments of the President during the panel discussion. The need to maintain a separate and distinct identity was seen in the reference to his sister. "My sister is a Tamil school teacher...I have to force her to wear a *kebaya*." The desire to establish a clear and bounded identity that is marked in dress was stressed here: "We are proud of what we are, whether we like it or not...so that we can be recognised." The objective of such emphasis on appearance is made clear in the purpose clause "so that we can be recognised."

The comments above serve to underline the role of external actors crucial to the establishment of *Chetti* identity. The activated roles allocated to the Indian community as well as to the state actors suggest possible causal factors for seeking to fix *Chetti* identity. At the same time, the call for official acknowledgement of this identity was articulated through reference to state agencies. The specific mention of the National Heritage Board stressed the community's history and rootedness in the land, which is, similarly, not recognised in Melaka.

Noor noted the postcolonial condition of minorities in search of identity. An urgent note struck here was the obligations that were being placed on state actors for the recognition of the community. In the context of Singapore, such recognition would help to provide the means for acquiring some benefits.

How Should We See Ourselves?

Our other focus is a community elder (Pillay), who addressed the main question posed by the symposium, "Chetti Melaka: Who are We?" The objective of his talk was to present what he referred to as "core DNA" or characteristics of the community in order to clear up any confusion that members of the community may have regarding their identity. The speaker stated at the start that his task was to "form a consensus" regarding *Chetti* identity. Such an objective announced at the outset of the presentation was indicative of the prescriptive nature of the message. It also suggested a perspective of identity as a stable set of markers, recalling Stuart Hall's reference to Being.

In keeping with the prescriptive orientation, the first part of the speaker's presentation stressed the basis for considering an individual a *Chetti Melaka*. As noted by the speaker:

> *"A person is a Chetti Melaka because he or she is born a Chetti Melaka, that is he or she is born into a Chetti Melaka family and that family is in turn a member of the Chetti Melaka community or as we say in Malay, kaum Chetti Melaka."*

Firstly, he referred to the right to claim the identity by being born a *Chetti* into a *Chetti* family and being part of the *Chetti* community. He also went on to two further ways in which such an identity is acquired: through marriage or by being adopted into a *Chetti* family. These are seen as what Hall called positions of enunciation and practices of representation and are interesting for the references to who and how they are spoken.

As with the opening remarks of the President, these statements regarding primordial ties were represented as factual and indisputable with high epistemic certainty as seen in the use of the simple present tense indicating a "timeless present" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 152) employed for positive representation of conditions described. In the present case, the use of the present tense also suggested that the conditions being laid out for a *Chetti* identity were indisputable.

While the timeless present indicates a high level of certainty about identity, its use also suggested a limit to the identity discussion and a desire to fix this identity in stable terms. In so doing, the definitions regarding ethnic identities do not venture to unpack further the influences such as Malay, Chinese, Indian, Portuguese and other indigenous roots that have been responsible in the forging of this identity, particularly in the context of the present day. For if this line of thinking could be explored further, the question that may arise as to the reason why a person of such a mixed heritage should foreground the *Chetti* identity over other ethnic identities. Also, in the context of Malaysia and Singapore, intermarriage between Chinese, Malays and Indians is a reality. In terms of heritage, it would appear that these 'transgressions' of fixed ethnic borders may raise questions as to whether offspring of such unions may also be considered *Chetti* or whether they are, as it would appear to be the norm in present-day Malaysia and Singapore, to be identified according to the ethnic origins of the father. Discussion regarding these identity influences and their implications on the *Chetti* identity appeared to be curtailed by the use of the timeless present as well as the silence in relation to the multiple identities of *Chetti*, producing, instead, a boundedness for the *Chetti* identity.

The speaker then proceeded to present the "core features" or the "DNA" of the community. These are again presented as stable features of the community that the presenter suggested were invariable. These included being of Tamil ancestry and having mixed blood, initially of a Malay matrilineal lineage, but later with Chinese and other ethnic mixes as well. In addition, the birthplace of the community or the land of origin being Melaka was also noted. Added to these invariable features, other core features that were subject to change over time were also mentioned. The variable core features mentioned included the practice of the Hindu faith, the role of Malay as the mother tongue and distinct cultural practices.

In a written draft of the speech, the writer provided further information that may throw light on his reference to the variable core features. He noted that the Association of Chetti Melaka Singapore offers full membership to all Singaporeans of *Chetti* origin regardless of race and religion and an associate membership to non-*Peranakan* Indians. However, membership to the Association of Chetti Melaka is restricted to *Chettis* of Melaka of the Hindu faith. The talk appeared to focus on this area of contention in referring to the dynamic nature of the variable core features. This is also to accommodate *Peranakans* in Singapore who have converted to Christianity or have other religious persuasion.

Nevertheless, the presenter referred to these as the six DNA characteristics of the community. He called on the audience to write it down and to check all identities against it to establish their right to assert their *Chetti* identity. In concluding his

presentation, he presented a statement to the audience and asked all *Chetti* members of the audience to read it out as an oath to assert this identity further:

> *"...we say that we who are of the Chetti Melaka family proudly claim that we are a living community who possesses a unique set of core features or DNA, which nobody else has, which identifies our community as originating in Melaka some 600 years ago and deriving from Tamil, Malay and Chinese and other ancestry, with a long history of adherence to the Hindu Faith, strong social customs of their own, and a continuous history up to today."*

In the discussion of the core features, the use of the "timeless present" served to underline the essentialism in *Chetti* identity. In particular, this was seen in the reference to the invariable core features of ancestry and land of origin. The terms were sufficiently broad in nature in this description, particularly in the references to "mixed blood." The generic reference to the community as an assimilated actor removed all individual differences and portrayed the community as a homogenised community. These stated characteristics of the community leave little room for any possible deviation from the norm. In presenting the variable core features, the speaker stressed the view of identity as unstable and dynamic. In particular, this change was ascribed to the generational differences. Thus, the changes in mother tongue, religion as well as social and cultural practices represent some of the areas where this dynamism is expected.

Overall, this address appeared to be an attempt to boost confidence regarding *Chetti* identity while dispelling doubt regarding how this identity is to be defined. For this process, the presenter proposed specific measures for establishing the boundaries of this identity. The language employed in the use of modality as well as the reference to the social actors served to indicate that the identity that was established was naturalised as stable, as "the way things are" (van Leeuwen, 2008). The views represented here of essentialised and stable identities struck a discordant note when considering views expressed by Noor earlier in the symposium. The latter referred to the notion of *Peranakan-ness* as a construct with "fluid borders and overlapping identities." Noor further noted the practice of the colonial census that required identities to be drawn in inflexible ways for ease of census-taking. In his view, this led to the postcolonial preoccupation of regarding identity as a rigid and boxed-in construct.

The Dynamics of Being and Becoming

It is possible to state that from the remarks of the community elder that a deep sense of alienation and displacement was discernible. Primarily, these remarks as well as the opening remarks by the President suggest that the search for identity is motivated by the need to belong to a community as well as a perception of a

lack of recognition from other communities and institutions, socially and politically. The question that Noor raised in relation to the socio-political context being an important consideration in the search for identity could be significant here, underscoring the nature of identity as Becoming.

Overall, the tone of the presentation of the community elder was highly prescriptive, focussing on the nature of *Chetti* identity, providing measures that members of the community may employ to identify themselves as *Chetti*. It provided the measures of a *Chetti* identity. The speaker, in fact, announced this intention and objective at the start of his presentation when he referred to people's confusion regarding their identity. Addressing the audience, he asserted, "You are not a remnant of history." He also noted that once he had given them the means for self-identification, that identity was their "birthright" to be held "in perpetuity." They were then told that they had "the right to transmit the lineage to your descendants and they to theirs."

Aside from appearing to address possible confusion regarding *Chetti* identity, the presentation also appeared to address some perceived inadequacies regarding identity that may possibly be found among the *Chetti* community or in the perception of outsiders. The outsiders in this case may also refer to ethnic Indians whose negative perception regarding *Chetti* identity was mentioned by the President in his opening remarks. It could also refer to comments by Noor at the same symposium when he cautioned against museumisation of cultures, among other matters.

As we can see, identity is complex. There are no clear linear trajectories of Being or Becoming; in fact, they are imbricated and often both are happening at the same time as seen in how the *Chettis* were articulating (being and becoming) their identity at a one-day symposium. In a way, we think that the *Chettis* in Singapore are further displaced, moving away from their ancestral land/village, with many having even given up their Hindu faith that the *Chetti Melaka* in Malacca hold to dearly and strongly.

CONCLUSION

This paper explored the identity politics of Being and Becoming of the endangered culture and community of the *Chetti Melaka* in modern, postcolonial, globalised and cosmopolitan Singapore in one public event, the first *Peranakan* Indian symposium entitled *The Lost Tribe of the Chetti Melaka – Who are We?*. As noted at the start of this paper, this community is facing minoritisation on many levels. It is a small, minority group to begin with, and has experienced dwindling numbers. The preceding discussion highlighted the perception of their marginalisation from ethnic Indians, despite being frequently considered under that category in official matters. At the same time, the lack of official acknowledgement of such a culture unique to this region should be a concern to the community as well as to the nation.

This qualitative examination of identity in the content of two significant speeches offers some understanding, albeit limited, of the current concerns of such marginalised communities in the identity formation of nation-states. Snyder (2012) stated that such expressions of concern by marginalised groups are struggles that seek to challenge a dominant cultural order.

But more importantly, although Singapore is a "migrant," "settler country" that touts multiculturalism, it does not create nor does it allow much space to negotiate and recognise the *Chetti Melaka* community. An example of this is seen in the President's lament that the National Heritage Board should recognise them. While Singapore is said to lack a common identity, it might be worthwhile to ask if the state's apparent emphasis on "sinicisation" (Yang, 2014; p.411) raises obstacles in recognising marginal ethnic groups.

Singapore in the last half century has achieved developed world status with its rapid development and modernisation. Its population has doubled, and as mentioned, only 60% of its 5.4 million population are citizens, with an ever increasing number of immigrants and foreign talent. With the multiplicity of identities, the questioning, development and its assertion, therefore, become more apparent and urgent. In such a setting, a small but unique minority that is the *Chettis* face the very real threat of disruption and disappearance, and their quest for preservation and survival is a concern for all.

The *Chetti Melaka* community is an extremely fascinating and under-researched area. We have simply explored a miniscule aspect of a topic that holds huge potential to understand the nature of identity, "*Peranakan*-ness" and perhaps even Southeast Asia. We hope that our meagre effort here will generate more and further studies.

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The Politics within the Issue of the Indonesian National Language: A Sociolinguistic Perspective

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ABSTRACT

The Indonesian politics of the national language has long been overshadowed by the interests of the dominant elites and it has tended to serve the ideologies of the power holders. Decisions regarding the national language policy are made top-down and ignore the ideologies of the grassroots people. In the name of the language slogan, "*Bahasa Indonesia sebagai bahasa pemersatu bangsa* (the Indonesian language as the nation's unifying language)", the country's language policy and planning has ardently been promoting Indonesian as the national language, but puts the heritage languages in danger of extinction. In this article, discussion will focus on conflicts over language preferences and assessment of their significance for the development and modernisation of the Indonesian language. This paper will also emphasises on the fact that the conflict is difficult to resolve due to the pluralist dilemma. Despite this dilemma, minority language speakers are able to take the initiatives to exercise their agency, reconstruct their identities and maintain their home languages. They use their heritage languages to appropriate and resist dominant languages. In this paper, such a practice is referred to as *grassroots performativity.*

Keywords: The national language, pluralist dilemma, minority language speakers, identities, home languages, dominant language

INTRODUCTION

The rapid global spread of English has recently forced the Indonesian government to take an educational policy initiative to abolish the teaching of English from the national curriculum for all elementary schools nationwide. The fear, often voiced by the state officials, is that the early

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teaching of the English language will only decrease the use of *Bahasa Indonesia* (the Indonesian language) as the national language among school children, making them less proficient in the latter. However, such a policy has ignited a spat among educational observers and practitioners alike for its sensitivity toward the need for the import of the early mastery of English in anticipating the imminent ASEAN integration in 2015, which obliges the use of English as a lingua franca within the ASEAN's member states. This is stipulated in the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Roadmap: "Support the citizens of Member States to become proficient in the English language, so that the citizens of the Association of South East Asian (ASEAN) region are able to communicate directly with one another and participate in the broader international community" (p. 69; see also statements on pages 68 and 111).

Meanwhile, Indonesia's language pundits, teachers, as well as social and cultural observers, though acknowledging the importance of the maintenance of the national language and the mastery of English for global purposes, have expressed concerns over the promotion of both the use of the Indonesian language in schools and the unprecedented rise of the numbers of private educational institutions which employ English as medium of instruction at the expense of the use of vernacular languages. They view the enthusiasm of promoting these languages as auguring ill to the fate of hundreds of Indonesia's living indigenous languages. Thus, to raise an awareness of the looming threat to these local languages, the Indonesian Linguistic Society has of late made the following pledge during the 2014 International Linguistic Congress held in Indonesia:

> "In the past decades, home languages have suffered from a loss of transmission to younger generations. Many youth are no longer able to speak their mother tongue, even though learning the mother tongue provides a child's earliest opportunity to develop their academic potential as well as increasing their aptitude in learning additional languages. We the members of the Indonesian Linguistics Society pledge to pay special attention to the mother tongue languages spoken in our respective regions, to encourage their use, and to help the transmission of these languages to younger generations through education, research and community service."

In this paper, the author will first show that the unresolved conflicts over the preferences over the national, local and foreign languages which have been in existence for quite a long time, and that this has become the legacy of the past Indonesian politics of the national language. As the contemporary discussions on the Indonesian politics of the national language tend to resort to political quietism, the author will then go on to examine and

explain these protracted conflicts in terms of the conceptual framework of *identity politics* (Schmidt, 2006). Finally, I argue that while identity politics can be proven helpful to understand the significance of conflicts in language planning and policy, it views identity as something fixed and stable. Nonetheless, it does not say how identity gets constructed in response to the presence of dominant discourses. To this end, the author shall propose the term *grassroots performativity* as *the politics of location* (Canagarajah, 1999) in order to understand how the grassroots from ethnolingustic minorities exercise their agency by aligning their linguistic competence to diverse semiotic resources to make a space to index their ethnic identity.

CONFLICTS IN THE INDONESIAN POLITICS OF NATIONAL LANGUAGE: HINDSIGHT AND INSIGHT

The Indonesian politics of the national language – now manifested through the national language policy (the plan) and planning (policy implementation)[1] – has always been centring on issues related to the status and functions of the national language, regional languages and foreign languages. With the benefits of hindsight, both the status and functions of these languages can be seen from the consensus of the National Language Congress held on 25-28 February 1975: *Bahasa Indonesia* (the Indonesian language) occupies its status as the national language. This status is stipulated in the Youth Pledge declared on October 28, 1928, the Indonesia's 1945 Constitution, especially in Article 15, Paragraph 36, and the Law Number 24, 2009. In terms of its function, the Indonesian language serves as the symbol of national pride, national identity and an instrument for unity of people from different cultures and regions. As for the regional languages, their status is considered as a component of national cultures protected in the Indonesia's 1945 Constitution (Article 15, Paragraph 36), while its functions include the symbols of regional pride, regional identity and the instrument of communication in the families and regional communities. Finally, foreign languages, as their names imply, are seen as foreign tongues among the Indonesian and are only taught at certain levels in education institutions in Indonesia. These languages serve as a tool for an international communication, for the process of modernisation of the Indonesian language, and for modern science and technology, which can aid national development.

Interestingly, as it was Indonesia's then *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* (the National Centre for Language Development and Cultivation), which was later renamed in 2000 as *Pusat Bahasa* (the Language Centre), that was assigned by the Indonesian government to be responsible for issues pertaining to the national language policy and planning, critiques of

[1] See Baldauf (2005) for the distinction between language policy and language planning.

the products of national language policy and planning are often directed toward this Centre. For example, with regard to the above formulated national language policy, critics have argued that there is a politically motivated effort in the part of the Language Centre to manipulate the national language (i.e., Indonesian) for serving the political interests of the New Order (see Sneddon, 2003). Similarly, critical scholars such as Heryanto (1995, cited in Sneddon, 2003, pp. 140-141) saw the choice of Indonesian as the national language as elite-centred, pointing out that "the vast majority of the population, which forms the lower strata of the social hierarchy, is practically excluded, or at best marginalised, from the dynamic productive process of legitimate Indonesian." In addition, critics also said that the Language Centre's planning activities are too overly concerned with the formal language – the language used in such domains as education, business, law, government, and the press - neglecting the sociolinguistic aspect of the Indonesian language, which is by nature diglossic, *viz*. the presence of both high and low variants of the language (Sneddon, 2003). Because the Indonesian language has non-formal living variants or dialects as well, as language scholars have argued, considerations about them in the Centre's planning activities have been deemed paramount (Ruddyanto, 2004).

Yet, the often-voiced criticisms of the Indonesian language policy and planning are the Language Centre's tendency to valorise the national language and to elevate it to a position of high national import without rethinking the roles of the regional languages in planning activities. While it is true that both the status and functions of regional languages are acknowledged and valued in the policy, they are viewed by many as only playing an ancillary role. That is, they serve only as "carriers of "tradition" or "historical identity"" (May, 2005, p. 1057). Furthermore, the policy and planning activities have been lambasted due to its sheer disregard to a cultural orientation. Within this context, it is understandable that Alwasilah (2006), one of the staunchest critics of the national language policy, urges that any effort for the revitalisation of the Indonesia's regional language ought to be contextualised within the cultural strategies. His rationale is that the real value of a language lies in its meanings it symbolises, and that implicit in these meanings are the ethnics' cultural values.

Another scholar observes that despite the presence policy that promotes Indonesia's regional languages and protects their survival, the implementation is cast into doubt (Kosonnen, 2014). These criticisms seem to find their justification when the 2013 Indonesian Language Congress, choosing the theme *Penguatan Bahasa Indonesia di Dunia International* (The Strengthening of the Indonesian Language in the International World), produced thirty exclusive recommendations on the internationalisation of Indonesian; however, none of which mentioned the role of Indonesia's vernacular languages.

Another instance that might ignite another conflict came from the enthusiastic endeavours on the part of the Language Centre in promoting the use of Indonesian and in rejecting the use of foreign words. In retrospect, under the leadership of the then head of the Language Centre the late Anton Moeliono, the Centre was entrusted by the New Order to initiate a language project, the goal of which is to prohibit foreign terminologies found in billboards, advertisement, buildings and names of shopping centres and to replace them using mostly the Indonesian equivalents, though one can also find some equivalents taken from certain regional languages. To assist the people in finding the Indonesian equivalents of foreign terminologies, the Language Centre under the auspices of the Indonesia's Ministry of Education and Culture published a manual on the *Pedoman Pengindonesiaan Nama dan Kata Asing* (the Guidelines of the Indonesianisation of Foreign Terminologies).

It is important to note here that the conflict over the preference of Indonesian and its regional languages over foreign terminologies is reminiscent to the historic clash of the Titans between the two Indonesia's renowned language experts, Anton Moeliono and Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana. As an attempt to modernise the lexicon of the Indonesian language, both scholars were progressive in seeking and adopting terminologies from different languages, with the former tending to resort to either the Indonesian language or its regional languages, and the latter to foreign influences (both European and Western languages). Moeliono (1989) found it necessary to recycle the available lexicon derived from either Indonesian or its regional languages. "I want Indonesians to be proud of their national language, and making sure Indonesian is used is one of the most effective ways to safeguard it" (Sugiharto, 2009, personal communication). However, Moeliono's preference has often been misunderstood as cultivating a purism attitude among the Indonesian people, and as if he rejected the influx of foreign terminologies in the Indonesian language. Sneddon (2003) clarifies Moeliono's position, saying that "His position…is in part a reaction to the indiscriminate and unplanned adoption of a great many English words, expressions and constructions by the Indonesian press and educated public, even when perfectly good Indonesian words are available (p. 131).

By contrast, Alisjahbana (1971) argued that adopting foreign terminologies would help transform Indonesian people into a modern society that is poised to face the advances in science and technology. "Since the scientific, technological, and other modern concepts were already available and easily assessable in the existing modern languages, the process of the codification of modern Indonesia terms could proceed steadily without too great difficulties" and can unite "Indonesia with the world of science and technology (Alisjahbana (1971, p. 183).

Moeliono's position seems to have formed an important linguistic legacy

among his former protégées. In the post-Moeliono era, the Language Centre under the new headship of Dendy Sugono was even more ambitious in its attempt to raise the people's awareness of using Indonesians in almost all domains by banning the use of foreign terms. Unlike Moeliono who was motivated by desires to enrich the lexicon of Indonesian, Sugono's motive was rather emotional than rational. Probably irked with the excessive use of foreign terms among the Indonesian people, the Language Centre under his direction proposed a language bill (comprising nine chapters and 32 articles, which stipulated that the Indonesian language is given preference over foreign languages in such domains as politics, government institutions, education, business and journalism. The legal action taken by the Centre – in the hope that people can be legally sanctioned and punished should they violate the regulation – seemed to indicate its frustration over its attempt to influence people's language behaviour (Sugiharto, 2007). Quite surprisingly, despite this legal action, people remained recalcitrant, and they still kept using foreign terminologies, mainly those from English.

In sum, these conflicts, which reflect the pressure Indonesia (as one of the nation-states in South-East Asian) is facing hitherto, emanate from two sources: externally and internally (see also May, 1998). Externally, the pressure derives from globalisation where politically and economically powerful countries often impose hegemonic ideologies to other developing countries via amongst other the elevation of the former's cultures and languages. Internally, as a multilingual and multicultural nation state Indonesia faces the pressure from the language minority groups, who insist that their cultural and language ideologies be represented in the national agendas.

IDENTITY POLITICS IN LANGUAGE POLICY AND PLANNING: UNDERSTANDING THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CONFLICTS

The recognition of the roles of politics and ideology in language policy and planning can be said to be a relatively new phenomenon. This is because in its early phase, the field was seen by its proponents as non-political, non-ideological, pragmatic and technicist, adopting the so-called "presentist" approach (May, 2005). Historical evidence suggests that early Indonesia's language policy and language planning activities subscribed this view (see Moeliono, 1989; Sneddon, 2003). This is evident, for example, in the Indonesian Language Centre's language cultivation program whose eventual goal is "to improve language use, ... and to raise the level of communicative competence *of language users* (Moeliono, 1989, p. 5, italics added). This programme had two dimensions, the first having to do with changing language attitudes, and the second being the dissemination of language information (mainly through mass media and language manuals) to language users. This programme, as part of language

planning activity, is akin to Cooper's (1989, p. 45) classic definition of language planning and policy as "deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocations of their language codes."

In its latter development, the field evolved and began to embrace insights from the works of scholar affiliated in the critical theory, from which political and ideological perspectives were embedded into language policy and planning scholarship (see Tollefson, 2006). From the critical theory vantage point, the fact that conflicts, contradictions and disagreements occur in the formation of the Indonesian politics of the national language needs to be viewed as something natural. The formulation process of the language policy (the plan) and language planning (plan implementation) is in itself ineluctably a political activity, which involves political actors, the planners. Also, as the process of coming into a final language policy decision and the evaluation of its resultant end-products are ripe with differences and fissures in vantage points of view, conflicts are subject to happen, and thus needs to be "dealt with in ways that we call political" (S&OM

In this section, drawing on Schmidt's (2006) notion of identity politics, the author will also examine and explain the significance and meaning of conflicts that have occurred in the contexts of the Indonesian politics of national language. Schmidt (2006, p. 97) contextualises the study of language policy, which he defines as "the development of public policies that aim to use the authority of the state to affect various aspects of the status and use of languages by people under the state's jurisdiction" in terms of the political theory because he believes that language policy activity cannot be divorced from its political actors, along with their political agenda. Linking the study of language policy to insights from political theory, Schmidt also contends that insights from the latter can usefully be used to help illuminate the occurrence of political conflicts over issues of language policy. As he said "...political theory can be quite helpful in enabling us to better understand just what is at stake when political conflicts erupt over issues of language policy" (p. 7). Yet, as it is humans (both as individuals and groups) who act as the political actors playing the political, Schmidt found it useful to reconceptualise the notion of politics from the perspective of an identity construction, hence identity politics.

At the core of the politics of language, I argue, lies a form of *identity politics*, in which language policy partisans compete to shape public perceptions about the "we" that constitutes the relevant political community, and to embody their aims in the language policy of the state (ibid).

The relevance of the notion of identity politics here to language policy and planning conflict is that every individual and group as political communities are always struggling and contesting to represent their identities and ideologies,

thus often creating ideological fissures. With such a conceptual framework in mind, we can argue that the conflicts over language preferences above are motivated by different political or ideological positioning and stances of the scholars. Meolino's insistence on promoting the Indonesian language (see Sugiharto's personal communication, 2009), Alisjahbana's Western-oriented attitude toward the use of Western terminologies and Heryanto's (1995, cited in Sneddon 2003) and Alwasilah's (2006) stances on the elevation of regional languages all clearly mirror identity politics. Moeliono subscribed to the nationalist ideology, while Alisjahbana to Western-oriented ideology. Both Alwasilah and Heryanto tend to represent the pluralist ideology. Thus, *who they are* constitutes identity politics, which matters in their political life.

Without doubt, the conflicts initiated by scholars with different identity politics have brought about significance at least in terms of the relative national language maintenance and modernisation as well as of a critical awareness of minority ethnolinguistic scholars. To begin with, Moeliono's strenuous efforts to boost Indonesian as a modern language through its lexical enrichment bore fruitful results, as many of its creative lexical innovation have been widely used by the Indonesian people. For example, words such as *rekayasa* (engineering), *tenggat* (deadline), *penyelia* (supervisor), *senarai* (list), *kudapan* (snack) and *pelantang* (loud speaker) have become common to the ears of many people. Despite the people's acceptance of these words, there is also Moelino's legacy which is less popular among the Indonesian people. Words such as *jasa boga* (catering), *warta merta* (obituary), *umpan tekak* (appetizer) and *setakat* (hitherto) are hardly used in either spoken and written communication. They are used only by a limited segment of society such as Indonesian language scholars and the print media. During his tenure as head of the Language Centre, Anton Moelino managed to publish the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Great Indonesian Dictionary) as part of the effort to standardise the lexicon of the Indonesian language (Moeliono, 1988). This authoritative dictionary has undergone a thorough revision (now in its fourth edition), reprinted and renamed the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Pusat Bahasa* (Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language of the Language Centre). In term of the standardisation of Indonesian Grammar, Moelino was also successful in initiating the publication of the *Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Indonesia* (Standard Grammar of Indonesian) (Moeliono et al., 1988).

Furthermore, Alisjahbana's political stance on adopting Western languages has contributed to the development and modernisation of Indonesian lexicons. The adoption of foreign terminologies has been seen as useful in narrowing the lexical gap in the Indonesian language. Furthermore, as lexicon in Indonesian is considered insufficient in describing certain new concepts derived from Western

languages, Alisjahbana's thoughts on the borrowing of foreign terminologies have been felt necessary to enrich the semantic fields of Indonesian.

Finally, the language policy and planning conflict initiated especially by scholars advocating the elevation of regional languages at both national and international levels reflects an ethnolinguistic critical awareness. For example, Alwasilah (2006), a Sundanese scholar, has been ambitious in his effort to revitalise the dignity of Sundanese people and propose the renaissance of Sundanese culture in international fora. In fact, minority language scholars' critiques levelled against the ideology of political nationalism has evoked a strong sentiment from the grassroots, resulting in critical consciousness among them of the possible hegemony of dominant languages. Voices of minority language scholars have also partly become the impetus for the grassroots' initiative endeavours to maintain and preserve the existence of regional languages through various creative means, a point I will discuss later. The initiation of these efforts in many cases exemplifies a sort of overt resistance against the prevailing use of thE

THE PLURALIST DILEMA

The protracted conflicts over the Indonesian politics of the national language seem to portray what Bullivant (1981, p. x) calls the "pluralist dilemma", which he defines as "the problem of reconciling the diverse political claims of constituent groups and individuals in a pluralist society." May (1998, p. 274, italics in original) reinterprets this in terms of the problems in "reconciling social cohesion (civism)... with...a recognition and incorporation of ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity within the nation-state", arguing that. " In the end, civism must be favoured over pluralism..."and "the 'claims of the nation-state as a whole' – emphasising the apparently inextricable interconnections between social cohesion and national homogeneity – are invariably invoked against more pluralistic conceptions of the nation - state where ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences *between different groups* are accorded some degree of formal recognition." May's conclusion is not surprising, as the notion of *nation* in the phrase of *nation- state* is believed to have been "organized around *coercion* rather than around ideological *consent*" (Blommaert, 2006, italics in original).

Related to Indonesia, while paradoxically the nation was originally established around the ideological consent by young people (hailing from diverse regions) who pledged to embrace one fatherland (Indonesia), one people (the Indonesian people), and one language (the Indonesian language), hence known as the Youth Pledge, the policy and regulation on language it imposed on the people can have coercive effects[2]. The call

[2] For example, a recommendation on the name and information related to media – formulated in the 2013 Conggress of Bahasa Indonesia – imposes a legal sanction to those who violate the Law No. 24, 1990 on the use of Bahasa Indoensia. See also Shohamy (2006) on the possible coercive effects of language policy.

for using the Indonesian language as the only national language as stipulated in the Indonesia's 1945 Constitution and the Law Number 24, 2009 is a clear case in point. It is this legal stipulation that has probably been used as a strong ground to promote the Indonesian language at the national and international levels and to seemingly demonstrate "a denial of practices that point toward factual multilingualism and linguistic diversity" (Blommaert 2006, p. 244). It is therefore no wonder that even an early effort to formulate the country's politics of the national language was concerned primarily, if not exclusively, with the development and modernisation of the Indonesian language of the standard variety (see also Moeliono 1989; Sneddon, 2003; Heryanto, 2007).

Sneddon (2003), for instance, has noted that the early goal of Indonesia's language planning and policy was to develop a standard form of Indonesian in order to make it an effective national language. Despite numerous numbers of regional languages and the diglossic sociolinguistic situation, early advocates of language planners in Indonesia concerned primarily with the formal language – the language used in law, education, the press and government businesses, summarily dismissing the non-standard one. As Sneddon (2003) further says:

> *Any willingness to give colloquial language the dignity of being studied and described would appear to contradict their purposes of promoting the formal language. Calls to use bahasa yang baik dan benar (good and correct language) mainly refer to improving formal spoken and written language; for many planners, there is a suggestion that formal ('correct') language is the only appropriate variety for any social situation* (p. 124).

This statement remains germane until when the recent 2013 Congress of the National language sponsored by the Indonesia's Education and Culture Ministry reiterated the called to promote a good and correct *bahasa Indonesia* in most domains of life. Recommendations 26 and 27 from the Congress, for example, respectively stipulate that the Indonesian Broadcasting Commission (KPI) need to remind all the broadcasting institutions to use good and correct Indonesian language, and the KPI can rebuke all broadcasting institutions which do not use good and correct Indonesian language.

There is here a deliberate effort to romanticize and sustain the legacy of the past politics of the national language, resulting in what Blommaert (2006) calls "monoglot ideology", which "may not only deny the existence of linguistic diversity, it may also sustain practices that actually and effectively prohibit linguistic diversity in the public domain" (p. 244). State, as Blommaert argues, functions as "the guardian of the monoglot idealization" and "offers (and often impose by coercion) particular ascriptive ethnolinguistic identities for its citizens (p.244)." While

this function augurs well for the anticipation of the imminent 2015 ASEAN integration for the sake of maintaining the use of the national language and promoting a feeling of nationalism through this language, it severely relegates the fate of Indonesia's hundreds of regional languages, a concern most minority languages scholars have expressed.

Interestingly, Indonesia is not the only ASEAN country facing the pluralist dilemma. By way of comparison, Singapore is likewise facing this dilemma. Lee and Norton (2009) reported that there has been a systemic effort taken by the Singaporean government to promote Standard English as the national benchmark in order to increase social cohesion by delegitimising the local variety of English known as Singlish (Singaporean English), which is often linked to identity and culture of Singaporeans. While the proponents of language pluralism fear that the national unification of the city state's multi-ethnics via the advocacy of Standard English leads to the destruction of linguistic and cultural ecology, the government equally expresses fear that "an increase in non-standard English usage was interfering with Singapore's potential for national economic prosperity as well as with its ability to compete with countries that spoke standard English" (Lee & Norton 2009, p. 279).

In sum, as noted in the preceding section, identity politics has helped us to understand the significance of language policy and planning conflicts, especially those voices from minority language scholars that admittedly have partly played a role in raising critical language awareness among speakers of these languages. Yet, despite its usefulness in acknowledging the import, the identity of the *we* in political life and conflicts, the notion of identity politics lacks explicitness in the potential nature of individuals' and groups' agency in resisting the domination of hegemonic language ideologies. For example, it remains silent on how an individual or a group takes actions in negotiating and appropriating dominant languages to gain voice which favours their rhetorical and ideological purposes. To remedy this limitation, the author shall propose a term *grassroot permormativity* as the "politics of location" (Canagarajah, 1999) or 'locus of enunciation' (Canagarajah, 2013) in order to showcase both individuals' and groups' potential to critically engaged with and creatively resist (albeit mostly covert), negotiate, and appropriate dominant languages.

GRASSROOT PERFORMATIVITY AS THE POLITICS OF LOCATION

The idea of grassroots performativity is predicated on the assumption that humans are complex and creative beings that continuously construct and reconstruct their identity through the use of their language, culture and other diverse symbolic resources. The construction and reconstruction of the identity can also be seen as part of the people's efforts to maintain their home languages and

cultures amid the pressure of using other dominant languages. These also portray what Shandu and Higgins (2016) call "discursive (re)production of ideologies" (p. 179). This is the politics of location or locus of enunciation –the construction and shaping of knowledge from one's relative positionality. However, this by no means implies the insistence on purifying one's language and the blatant rejection of dominant languages, the latter having been accused of suppressing the survival of regional languages.

Thanks to the paradigm shift in sociolinguistic scholarship from "a sociolinguistic as immobile languages" to "a sociolinguistic of mobile resources" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 43), contemporary sociolinguistic orientation has generated invaluable insights into how language is now treated not as a monolithic and stable entity, but rather as mobile and dynamic resources which enable one to cross from one language to other languages (see Pennycook, 2010). Studies adopting this new orientation have shown that speakers or writers of a certain heritage language managed not only to maintain their home language, but also to reconstruct it by meshing codes of dominant languages, with the former acquiring new indexicalities in new spatiotemporal contexts (see Canagarajah, 2013a; Sugiharto, 2015). The eventual goal of this practice is the creation of hybrid discourses.

It is important to highlight that the term grassroots performativity entails the importance of the process of aligning the *we* (i.e., one's identity politics) or one's *self* with myriads of ecological resources surrounding him/her to achieve desired purposes. It is thus practice-based in its orientation and values multimodality for sources of identity reconstruction or revision (see Canagarajah, 2013b). With this orientation in mind, the pluralist dilemma can be mitigated, though not totally resolved.

In order to understand how this can be done, I will provide three illustrations on the maintenance of regional languages via different strategies: first, the use of the exclusive Javanese (language spoken in Central Java) in a social media like facebook to critically interrogate the domination of political power in Indonesia; second, the use of exclusive Manado Malay (a language spoken in North Sulawesi province) in a pop-song with vulgar contents and the use of code-switching of different languages, *viz*. Sundanese (language spoken in West Java), Indonesian and English in a comedy programme.

The selection of the cases is based on two criteria: the use of pure regional languages without being mixed with the national language, and the distinctiveness of the meaning evoked by certain expressions of the languages. Among the expressions from the samples shown, it is those expressions that bear the notions of vulgarism, cynism, playfulness and insult that were analysed and linked to the resistance theory. The analysis was used in order to reveal what motives undergirded the grassroots in resisting the use of the

dominant language and maintaining their home languages.

First, consider the following poem which tries to mock in an elegant manner the power holders or politicians who –having been elected as the people's representatives in the government – have become insensitive towards the aspiration of the grassroots:

NEGARA KERE II

ingendi dununge katentreman / awit kahanan wis ora nyawisake papan/kanggo pisambat lan
ngutahake pangrasane rakyat / sabab kabeh panguwasa / padha rumangsa wis dadi malekat
hee,,panguwasa…!!! / galo sawangan / matamu rak ya weruh ta / bengawane padha asat
iwake megap-megap / padha ngelak gorokane / ya gene kowekok mung pamer esem rupa kucem / kok gendhong, kok indhit / jebul isine mung genthong-genthong mlompong / lan mblegendhuke weteng kadut isi wisa sarta / jerohan rempela atine kawula / sing kok kaniaya
sadawaning dalan sing ana mung pipihan gombal ora pakra
kanggo sumpel kupinge jaran lan / kacamata ireng jebul ora tembus panyawang…!!!
SIKAT…!!! GASAK…!!!
SRUDUK…!!! MAJU…!!!
ASU…!!!

(Ismawati, 2014, pp. 43-44).

The literal translation might read as follow:

A VERY POOR COUNTRY III

where is the place of peace / because the situation can no longer able to provide a place / for complaining and pouring the people's feelings / because all power holders / all have felt as if they were angels
hi…power holders…!!! / look around / your eyes still can see, can't they? / all the rivers turn dried / the fish is gasping / its throats are thirsty / but why you only show off your bleak-looking smile / you cuddle, you carry / it turns out they are only the empty earthenware bowls / and the rubber-like pot belly which has poison on it and / innards of the people / whom you torture / along the way are only pieces of valueless empty, false promises / used for closing off the horse's ears and / black spectacles which in fact cannot penetrate the sight …!!!
DEFEAT IT….!!! ATTACK IT…!!! BUTT IT WITH OUR HEAD…!!! COME FORWARD…!!! SON OF A BITCH…!!!

The deliberate and exclusive use of Javanese in the posted social critique above is intended to serve the writer's distinctive purpose, which is to satirize the politicians whom she thinks arrogant, snobbish, and insensitive toward the social and economic condition of the grassroots. The use of the

Indonesian language to convey the same critique may not be felt effective, for the language cannot completely capture and may erase the very nuance of the moral lesson the writer wishes to convey. Thus, in the context of strong linguistic nationalism, the use of Javanese for public consumption in social media mirrors an overt resistance, or as in the context of post-colonialism, a resistance to neoliberalism (Kubota, 2016).

The writer eloquently begins his critique by first asking a rhetorical question, a strategic beginning to invite the readers to ponder (with her) about the situation the community is facing now. Then, she likens the situation using a Javanese metaphoric expression of *bengawane padha asat* (the river turns dry), *iwake megap-megap* (the fish is gasping), and *padha ngelak gorokane* (its throats are thirsty). Her purpose here is to describe a painful situation that compels many people to painstakingly struggle to make ends meet. Yet, those who hold the power remain ignorant of, and indifferent to the people's suffering.

Note also that she aligns his critique with diverse ecological resources and symbolisms typical of her ethnic identity. In doing so, he/she tries to base her critique by elevating her community local wisdom. For example, the metaphoric use of the word *bengawane* (river), *jaran* (horse), and *genthong* (earthenware bowls), all of which are familiar words to the ears of the Javanese community. In fact, the community's life is surrounded by these things.

Furthermore, it is quite intriguing to analyse the way the writer "violates" the principle of politeness when at the end of the poem she employs a rather vulgar word ASU and other harsh-sounding and provocative words such as SIKAT, GASAK, SRUDUK. The latter words are commonly used to incite anger. Used in the context above, these words invoke a strong sentiment toward the solidarity of the grassroots to fight unjust practices. In general, the traditional Javanese community, which is diglossic by nature, is known for tightly holding the principle of politeness in communication. A youngster must use a high variety known as the *Krama* when conversing to the elders; yet, the elders are allowed to use the *Ngoko* as the low variety when speaking to the youngsters. In the case of the poem above, despite the writer's elegant use of metaphoric language to locally situate her critique and to mitigate her emotional voice, the use of ASU, SIKAT, GASAK, and SRUDUK at the closing of the poem might not be considered proper by many if used to launch criticisms against the government officials who are supposed to be the country's respected figures. However, this is the politics of location where the writer is trying to subvert the domination of what she probably sees as the unjust political power through the display of his ethnic identity.

Another creative strategy used to help maintain regional languages takes the form of a pop-song containing a vulgar content. Consider the following Manado-Malay written lyric with its Indonesian version:

Ngana kira kita ampas kalapa (kau anggap, aku bekas orang lain-tidak resmi)
Na ramas na buang (kau puas menikmati 'tubuh 'ku lalu kau campakkan begitu saja)
Tasisa santang kong na mo beking minya (setelah kau puas melampiaskan 'nafsu' kau bagi kepada yang lain)
Memang ngana so banya tai minya (kau ternyata pendusta, tak dapat dipercaya)…
Bukang tampa ba colo (saya bukan tempat persinggahan pelampiasan nafsu belaka)
Deng bukang tampa batera cinta palsu (dan bukan tempat pelampiasan cinta palsumu)
(Kudati & Arbie, 2014, p. 562)

The literal English translation reads as follows:

You consider me as the ex-sexually used woman unofficially

You're already sexually satisfied in enjoying my 'body' and then you dumped me

After you're sexually satisfied in releasing you lust, you share me with the other people

I'm not a temporary place for releasing your lust

And I am not a place for releasing you false love

While the Indonesian translated version of the song above sounds offensive, the original Manado Malay does not. Kudati and Arbie (2014) pointed out that the vulgar content in the song contains a deep philosophical outlook about a husband-wife relationship and mirrors the genuine situations faced by the local people in Manado. They also say that written with such vulgarism, the song can easily be understood by the local people, and is therefore so popular that it is often sung at such events as birthday and wedding parties. No less important, the song has been considered an effective means for the preservation of Manado Malay, for the content help to index the ethnic identity of the Manado people.

Finally, another common strategy adopted by speakers to maintain their regional language is through code-switching. Consider the following data obtained from an audio which broadcasts a comedy program titled *Curahan Hati* (A Heart to Heart Sharing) (Mulyanah, 2014, pp. 500-509).

(a) Aku mengeluh dengan hidup ini, aku selalu dicurigai. Aku bertamu ke rumah orang *dibangsatkeun*. Aku *ngetrekan awewe* di jalan, *dicopetkeun*.

(b) Ah sudahlah pokoknya aku mengeluh dengan hidup ini. Aku ke Indomaret *dituturkeun* kasir? *Marukankeun urang rek maok*? *Enya da enya beungeut urang mah beugeut sikasaeun.*

(c) **Please** *deleu* **Beb**. *Ieu mah* bukan tato tapi balas bogo.

These can be translated as follows:

(a) I'm complaining about this life, I'm always suspected. When I visit others' people house, I'm called a thief. When I tease a girl, I'm called a pickpocket.

(b) Just forget it I'm complaining about this life. When I go to Indomaret, the cashier always follows me? They think I want to shoplift? Right my face looks like a face that is deserved to be punched.

(c) Please have a closer look, Beb. This one is not a tattoo but a white spot.

The switching of different codes in the examples above signals the speaker's competence in shuttling into three languages: Sundanese (as his/her home language), Indonesian (as his/her second language), and English (as a foreign language). The use of Sundanese language in the three examples above is deliberate in order to produce perlocutionary effects (humorous). Thus, this regional language is deliberately embedded in both Indonesian and English to convey the intended performative acts, that is, to make the audience burst into laughter. However, more than this purpose, the infusion of the Sundanese code in Indonesian and English depicts the speakers' critical awareness of representing and indexing his ethnic identity as a Sundanese, with hybrid codes ensuing. Also implicit in these switches is the reconstruction of pragmatic ideologies of language and ethnicity that makes the speaker easily crosses languages. Although the switches in the three instances above may give the impression of lacking serious purposes and aims, we need, as Maher (2010, p. 584, italics added) reminds us through his notion metroethnicities, to understand that even "Ethnicity can be a toy. Something *we can* play with."

The three instances of language preservation above are only a handful of evidence of healthy multilingual practices in many regions in Indonesia. These, despite a heighted linguistic nationalism, are feverishly advocated by the Indonesian government, and despite the external pressure of globalization which compels people to use English, minority language speakers are able to deal with the internal pressure of nationalist ideology and the external pressure of Western-hegemonic ideology by maintaining their regional languages in astonishingly creative ways through everyday linguistic and cultural practices. This indeed exemplifies covert resistance against both pressures. In a recent edited volume *Bahasa Ibu: Pelestarian dan Pesona Sastra dan Budayanya* (Mother Tongue: The Maintenance and the Exquisiteness of Its Literary and Culture) by Khak et al. (2014), scholars hailing from diverse ethnic backgrounds in Indonesia have convincingly demonstrated the vibrancy of multilingual practices in many parts of Indonesian remote regions such as West Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, West Sumatera, Sulawesi, South Sumetera, Papua and Riau, among other. These different regions have their own typical

ways of practicing multilingualism, depending on their respective cultural traditions.

As for the far-flung regions where the orthographic systems of the language are not known, undocumented, or even non-existent, cultural practices which are heavily reliant on the oral medium are of paramount importance for the maintenance of heritage languages. Khak et al. (2014) manage to document scholarly works that show the vibrancy of the practices, many of which include fairy tales, folklores, rituals (such as in marriage, customs, delivery, mourning and religious ceremonies), *pantun* (traditional poem) reading, animal-loving practices, artistic performances (such as plays, puppet shows), traditional songs, mantra reading, and other mythic rituals.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

What implications do the instances of grassroots performativity shown above have especially for the pluralist dilemma? Admittedly, while contesting voices emanating from two different camps – those affiliating with the nationalist ideology (against English) and those adhering to the pluralist ideology (against the feverish promotion of Indonesian) – have their own significance in throwing light on the controversies over the Indonesian politics of the national language, we should not lose sight of the fact that the grassroots language speakers through their everyday linguistic and cultural practices (grassroots performativity) are able to exercise their agency by creatively devising ways of maintaining their home languages from both external and internal linguistic pressures. Through these practices they are able to covertly display resistance to the exhortation of using the national language in many linguistic contexts. Quite interestingly, they also show prowess in appropriating other dominant languages to suit their rhetorical purposes.

From the above instances (and of course other ethnolinguistic communities in Indonesian regions) of vibrant linguistic performativity conducted by communities in different regions, the implication for conflicts of language preferences becomes clear. Excessive concerns over the survival of a certain language and its living varieties and over the loss of ethnic identities can undermine language users' potentials to critically engage and deal with the pressure of dominant languages. Similarly, feverish linguistic endeavours to advocate, for example, regional languages in the context of heightened linguistic nationalism will be suspected of spreading linguistic and cultural essentialism.

However, the argument often put forward by the advocates of the nationalist ideology is that the national language can be seriously threatened by the sweeping wave of globalization unless it is safeguarded via the imposition of a strict policy of using the Indonesian language in almost domains of life. Likewise, the proponents of pluralist ideology claim that both globalisation and the elevation of the national language can have devastating effects on the survival

of regional languages. The latter claim is furthered buttressed by the empirical data showing that innumerable numbers of regional languages have vanished, and that many more are on a moribund state, which is of course a cause for concern.

Nevertheless, while this predicament has long been relatively unresolved, grassroots language users are able to find creative ways of settling this quandary. As have been shown previously, they take their own initiative to preserve their regional languages by aligning their linguistic competence with diverse ecological resources and other modalities to make a space for them to index and represent their ethnic identity. Ironically, these vibrant multilingual practices have been summarily dismissed and not been put on a pedestal by the proponents of pluralist ideology when they are engrossed in both past and present language policy and planning conflicts.

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The Case of an "Ambiguous Regime": Malaysia's Political Experience

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to explain the resilience of the "ambiguous regime" commonly assumed by proponents of transition paradigm as the "halfway house" that is unstable and will not stand. Transition theorists assume that countries that come out of the "gray zone" during the "third wave of democratisation" as having failed the democratisation process. In this paper, Malaysia is chosen as a case study to refute this assumption. Well known for its ambiguous political system, Malaysia has remained resilient in the face of political challenges. Instead of falling apart as predicted by the transition proponents, Malaysia's ambiguous regime has persisted. This paper examines how "hybrid political configuration" has served as a tool to strengthen and sustain the so-called "ambiguous" regime. It argues that democracy and authoritarian attributes that exist in this ambiguous political system have helped to uphold the regime and sustain it. This paper seeks to explain and display the mechanism in which a hybrid political system works. This analysis hopes to fill in the gaps left by the transition scholarship. Thus, this paper proposes that transition analysts should focus more on how a particular and "ambiguous" regime really works rather than 'standardising' the democratisation process.

Keywords: Third wave democratisation, gray zone, hybrid regime, hybrid political system, Malaysia

INTR&

Countries that come out of the "gray zone" during the Third Wave Democratisation (Huntington, 1991) are considered as politically ambiguous and a manifestation of a failed democratisation attempt. Their "hybrid" characteristics, portraying neither a full democracy nor outright authoritarian practices entrenched in the system, may possibly serve as a panacea to governing, especially in a troubled

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state. These ambiguous regimes,[1] more commonly known as hybrid regimes, have become a trend in governing, in particular, in the developing world (Schedler, 2006).

Instead of viewing these regimes as dysfunctional and unsustainable, effort should be made to seriously study them in depth to see how they function. This effort has received little attention from democratisation scholarship. According to Linde (2009), this is due to the "democratic bias" that has dominated the literature on democratisation. Many studies that have depicted the "hybrid" political system have focused on its conceptualisation, using adjectives to describe its democratic traits (Levitsky & Collier, 1997).

This study suggests that the mechanism that supports and sustains the hybrid regimes should cover the gaps in democratic transition scholarship. This paper begins with a brief review of main literature on democratisation followed by a discussion of interpretive approaches in political sciences, namely methodology, used in this study. The method displays the meaning of the peculiar phenomena in the case study. Mechanism or tools (i.e. electoral institution; institutions of control; strong state and dominant one party system; patron clientele; internet and new social media; peaceful social movement and elites strategies) that support and sustain the political system in Malaysia are analysed. These tools are depicted in Figure 1. The study concludes with suggestions for future research on ambiguous or hybrid political system.

The Paradox of Democratisation Paradigm

Third wave democratisation[2] is teleological in nature. It is premised on the modernisation theory that assumes democracy is inevitable once a country has gone through certain stages of development. The process assumes a lineal and untroubled relationship between capitalism and democracy, and tends to alienate other factors such as history, ethnocentricity and the sensitivity of countries outside the western hemisphere (Lipset, 1959; Almond & Verba, 1963; Moore, 1966). Critics argue that this assumption based solely on the experience of the Western world ignores the particular developmental processes of the Third World. More unfortunate is that the proponents of these modernisation theories set this platform for others to follow (Grugel, 2002, 49).

As with democratization theories, they argue that democracy is the only panacea to solve the problems of governance in

[1] I used the term regime and system interchangeably in the discussion because the concept of regimes in my study presents the method or a system of governance. It also means a state system or a political system.

[2] Third wave democratisation had spread after the development of regime transitioning to democracy in South Europe and Latin America. This development of democracy then spread in Asia starting in the late 1980s and into the 1990s.

any regime. This is where the problems emerge regarding the Third Wave theory in particular and the democratisation paradigm in general. The issue is not all regimes that have gone through regime transition become fully democratic. Instead of transitioning to democracy, these regimes defy the democratisation thesis by having both attributes of democracy and autocracy at the same time (Levitsky & Way, 2010). In fact, it can be said that these regimes are secure in their place because of these peculiar attributes.

The "Gray Zone" Regimes

Thomas Carothers (2002) in his seminal article argued that the transition paradigm has lost its purpose and should be replaced with a better paradigm that can explain the current phenomenon. The teleological assumption of the transition paradigm is clearly flawed as new regimes did not transform fully into a functioning and vibrant democracy. Instead of completing the journey of consolidating democracy, these regimes are stuck in an area called the "gray zone".

Countries emerging from the gray zone vary politically; what is known as "hybrid regimes" are partially democratic with regular elections and democratic institutions while at the same time, imposing restrictions on the freedom to dissent. These regimes, mostly in the developing world, are not dysfunctional, rather they possess a functioning political system (Diamond, 2002; Linde, 2009).

According to the democratic paradigm championed by Huntington and other proponents of democracy that this type of regime with an ambiguous political system is unstable and will not last; rather, Huntington's predictions that this "halfway house"[3] can easily crumble were proven wrong as these regimes remained stable. To the dismay of democratic proponents, an ambiguous regime such as Malaysia, with all the democratic preconditions of a middle class, high educational and income levels, and a large industrial working class has not led to the growth of liberal democracy and along with its institutional control system, has worked in contradiction to the ideas of liberal democracy.

The case of Malaysia, as with many other countries in the developing world, has made analysts and proponents of democratic transition theories question their paradigm. This paper argues that the hybrid political system, as ambiguous as it may be and a halfway house that will not stand based on the transition paradigm theory, actually serves as a mechanism that balances, supports and sustains the regime.

Method: Interpretive Method for Political Science

"All political scientists offer us interpretations" (p. 70), say Bevir and

[3] In his book (1991) *Samuel Huntington* and others argued that liberalised authoritarianism was a "*halfway house* [that] cannot stand", indication of a fragile regime that will not last.

Rhodes (2006) in defending interpretive methods. "They concentrate on meanings, beliefs, and discourses, as opposed to laws and rules, correlations between social categories, or deductive models" (p. 70). Many researchers of social sciences, especially in the field of cultural and political studies, are disheartened by the conventional approach of the empiricists and their well-established research strategies. This is because they realised the limitations of these standardised quantitative methods which did not reveal what the realities are. I have employed an interpretive approach to describe and explain the actual phenomena, in this case, the workings of an ambiguous political system in Malaysia.[4]

Interpretive approaches and methodologies have drawn greater attention in recent times. Due to their distinctive approach and research design, unique conceptual formation, vigorous methods of data analysis, and their assessment of standard phenomena, growing numbers of social scientists have given the interpretive approaches and methodologies greater attention in their research.[5]

Reality in social science cannot be found through a standardised and linear methodology. What is real in one part of the world may not be real in another and thus, different approaches are needed to explain and describe reality. This is where the gaps in democratisation paradigm lie, where it tends to universalise and standardise its ideas beyond its boundaries. The ambiguous regime type is living proof that democratisation paradigm cannot be applied universally. Thus, the interpretive method assists in correcting the flaws of the empirical methods. This paper is not aimed at criticising the conventional methods used in democratisation research, rather, it offers an alternative method in order to fix the gaps in democratisation scholarship.

Political Hybridity: Analytical Challenges

Does hybrid regime matter? Yes, because it presents the paradox of the democratisation

[4] In my dissertation (completed in June 2013), I employed an assessment method structured by the International Democratic and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) to analyse and assess Malaysia's ambiguous political system. I tackled my research through descriptive and interpretive approaches to discuss meanings of readings and texts to extract valuable information about the case study. I want to thank Professor Jack Donnelly for his guidance and supervision in this exercise.

[5] See Mark Bevir and Asaf Kedar. (2008) Concept formation in Political Science: an anti-Naturalist Critique of Qualitative Methodology. *Perspective on Politics* 6 (3): 503-17; Audie Klotz and Cecelia Lynch (2007). *Strategies for Research in Constructivist International Relations.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe; DvoraYanow and SchwartzShea (2006). *Interpretation and method: Empirical research methods and the interpretive turn.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe; and Pushkala Prasad. (2005). *Crafting Qualitative Research: Working in the Post-positivist Tradition.* Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.

paradigm. It indicates the "messiness" of democratisation linear ideas against the political realities. These so called ambiguous regimes have been variously described by analysts and experts of democratisation studies as "defective", "flawed", "illiberal", "diminished sub-types of democracy", or more generally, hybrid regimes. Some scholars have agreed to describe these ambiguous regimes as merely "hybrid" to denote their general ambiguous attributes (Morlino, 2012).

The obsession of democratisation studies on regime change can be blamed for the lack of rigour in the study of hybrid regimes and their uniqueness. In addition, the transition paradigm limits further understanding and reality of regimes in the "gray area". According to Cassani (2012), to understand the entire body of literature on the hybrid regime, analysts and researchers should focus on either the study of its origins, functions or its ability to survive. The limitations in understanding how hybrid regimes work should be given some reflection.

According to Hobson (2003), the assumption that the current status of regimes in the grey area is only temporary and that they will eventually become either a democracy or revert to authoritarianism is problematic. He does not agree that these regimes should be called democracies as they do not meet all the definitional criteria of what a democracy is. For those who assume that these regimes will end up reverting to authoritarianism, serving the teleological pitfalls and normative judgments, Hobson further argued that viewing these regimes from the dichotomy of a "democracy + elections' mindset" obscures the real nature of these entities. Only by changing this mindset can analysts progress towards a fuller understanding of the nature of these regimes.

Merkel (2004), in his analysis, showed that defective democracies are by no means regimes in transition. They tend to form stable connections with their economic and social structures and are often seen as part of the elite and as an adequate institutional solution to the specific problems of governing effectively. These regimes will remain for a long time, he says, as long as there is equilibrium in the system.

Brownlee (2007) opined that regimes that are partially democratic and partially autocratic in fact, are a "fortress – not a way station but a way of life" (contrary to being unstable as depicted by Huntington's halfway house). Brownlee also emphasised that regime continuity should be taken into consideration in explaining regime change.

Bogaards (2009), in his study of hybrid regimes, claimed that the prospect of democratic consolidation for these kinds of regimes are farfetched; thus, these regimes must be considered a type of their own rather than categorised as regimes undergoing a process of transition.

Hybrid Regime: The Malaysian Case

Malaysia is a paradigmatic case of a country with a hybrid political setup - partly democratic with authoritarian

practices. Praised for its high economic growth, political and social stability, the country has proven to be an anomaly in democratisation studies. Experts and analysts of democratisation studies have labelled the regime in Malaysia as a "semi-democracy" or "quasi-democracy" or "flawed" and "partly-free".[6] Levitsky and Way (2010) have categorised Malaysia as a stable hybrid regime. These categorisations are unconventional and Malaysia does not have what is commonly accepted as a normal political system.

Malaysia's hybrid regime stands for a political system which is labelled as neither democratic nor authoritarian, despite embodying both democratic and authoritarian characteristics. Crouch (1996) when commenting on Malaysia, argued that the democratic elements and authoritarian support system of a hybrid political system do not necessarily contradict each other; rather, this odd political setup can be mutually supportive. According to Crouch, Juan Linzed claimed that these "ambiguous" political systems cannot be adequately understood as a kind of regime that is situated at the midpoint along a continuum between democracy and an authoritarian system. Rather, these regimes should be understood as their own kind, with peculiar characteristics that distinguish them from either a democracy or an authoritarian system.

Slater (2009) argued that in order to study a regime, the stability and resilience of the regime to challenges and crises must be observed directly. Slater described Malaysia as a regime with endurance capacity, not because it has lasted more than five decades, but because it has shown a remarkable capacity to manage conflicts.

Hybrid Political Configuration in Malaysia: The Tools

The author argues in this paper that different political setups with hybrid elements of democracy and authoritarian attributes work differently in regimes around the globe. In Malaysia's hybrid political system, the political configuration shows how the positive components of democratic principles such as electoral institution, the internet and social media, peaceful social mobilisation and elite strategies work along with authoritarian elements such as electoral gerrymandering, institutionalised control system, strong state and dominant party, and patron-clientele. These democratic and authoritarian attributes function as forces that uphold and sustain the regime (see Figure 1).

[6] See William Case, 1993. Semi-Democracy in Malaysia: Withstanding the Pressures for Regime Change. *Pacific Affairs,* 66, no. 2, pp. 183-205; Zakaria Hj. Ahmad, 1989. "Malaysia: quasi-Democracy in a divided Society", in *Democracy in Developing Countries: Asia*, ed. Larry Diamond, Juan J. Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, pp. 347-81; The Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) has categorised Malaysia as a flawed democracy, ranking it 81 in 2007; The Freedom House, a renowned organisation, has ranked Malaysia as "partly free" rating it at No "4" in the country's level of civil liberties in 2011.

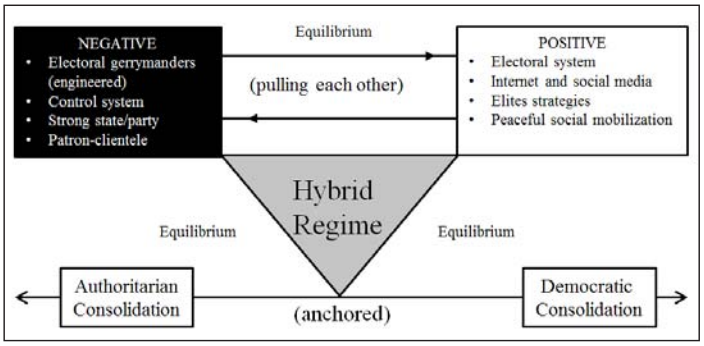


Figure 1. Hybrid Political Configuration in Malaysia[7]

Electoral Institution

As an ambiguous regime with authoritarian control and multi-party elections, Malaysia is categorised as an "electoral authoritarian" regime by analysts (Schedler 2006, Case 2011). Regime experts argue that the electoral system in Malaysia may appear to be a façade, but it is important for the regime's incumbency. The Malay-dominated ruling elite constructed the electoral system to virtually ensure that they could not be removed from power. Consequently, a manipulated election can open opportunities for opposition parties to contest the incumbent and to offer a strong competition. Ufen (2013) claims that voting offers opportunities for the opposition movement to effectively challenge the ruling regime. Recent developments in Malaysia's general elections in 2008 and 2013 show that even in an unfair environment the election in Malaysia is competitive enough to allow for the possibility of government and/or regime change. On one hand, the electoral system in Malaysia can sustain the regime and on the other hand, it can destabilise it.

Institutions of Control in Malaysia

The control apparatus in a hybrid political system is deeply institutionalised. Esman (1973) termed this kind of control system as being "institutionalised dominant" and suggested that this method is basically a coercive network of controls with the purpose of maintaining hegemony and that it is often highly sophisticated and deeply institutionalised. Geddes (1999) defines authoritarian regimes as being institutionalised under a ruling party that has some influence and control over policies and access to political power and the government.

These control mechanisms that serve as state apparatus for the incumbent regime, nevertheless, were a setback to the democratisation process. However, despite the state's acquisition of authoritarian powers, the system was far from fully

[7] This figure and the variables constructing it were first presented at an International Conference of Social Sciences (2015) organised by Social Science Faculty of University Sains Malaysia. The author has given full permission to share this figure for the purpose of this article.

authoritarian. The positive aspects of hybrid political configuration such as peaceful social mobilisation have worked to successfully demand the repeal of ISA and other draconian acts. In September 2011, Malaysia's 6th premier, Najib Tun Razak, had pledged to repeal ISA and three other emergency declarations (The Star [online] 15 September 2011). This indicates that the government has responded to the demand of the people, that is to fulfil and protect their basic rights.

Strong State and Dominant One Party System

Jesudason (1995) declared Malaysia as a "statist democracy that represents the situation in which power holders have much leverage in determining the rules of political competition. This situation allows the incumbents to ingrain their dominance in the society without exploiting a high degree of coercion" (pp. 335-356). This point is striking because the notion of a state in Malaysia overtook "Weber's definition of a legitimate use of physical force" (ibid) hence, it marks the attributes of Malaysia's semi-authoritarian political system.

Malaysia is a highly institutionalised hybrid regime. According to Mauzy (2006), one of the reasons for the resilience of the dominant party in Malaysia, the United Malay National Organization (UMNO), is because it is a "well-institutionalised party" that reaches down through a vast and complex system where it manoeuvres right through the "branch or division, flows up to district, the state, and national organizations" (pp. 47-68). Pempel in his work (1990) claimed that dominant parties are influential organisations that do not weaken over time. They work as an institution that shapes the social structure as much as they are constrained by it. They are capable of making new social bases of support, or discarding old ones in order to stay in power.

One characteristic of the hybrid regime in Malaysia is that there is no clear line separating the government and the dominant party, thus, when Malaysians talk about the party, we usually mean the state and the government.

Patron Clientele

In Malaysia's hybrid political scheme, Gomez and Jomo (1999) claimed that the UMNO-led *Barisan Nasional* (BN) has made important contributions to maintain its central power. This is due to its efficiency in acknowledging the grievances of its key constituents: the voters. Its main advantage is support from the masses through the patron-clientele relationships. The UMNO can be backed up by its political culture of support, especially from the ethnic Malays who help the dominant party sustain its political power. One mechanism that works in the Malaysian hybrid system is that the dominant party, UMNO, nurtures a patron-clientele relationship with the Malays. This is considered a legitimate practice in the political system. In response, the Malays vote for them in general elections.

In order to fulfil its "patronage obligations", Gomez and Jomo asserted that UMNO as the dominant party and along with other component parties in *Barisan Nasional* have developed and nurtured a strong relationship with the leaders of business communities (Gomez & Jomo, 1999). Political patronage and clientelism play a major role in Malaysia's hybrid system. The patron-clientele networks are carefully constructed by the state through its apparatus in the name of fixing the shortcomings in the socio-economic structure. On one hand, state intervention reasonably promotes economic growth and political competition (mistakenly assumed as democracy) and on the other hand, it is a sign of deeper authoritarianism (ibid).

Internet and New Social Media

George (2006) claims that the internet has been used to democratise public discourse in countries where liberal democracies and authoritarian characteristics coincide. The internet as an alternative media has galvanised and mobilised the masses previously dampened by state control over information and opinions. Fortunately, in Malaysia, despite laws that limit civil rights and freedom of the people, the Internet is free from regulatory control and monitoring. The new media breaks the information blockade and freely disseminates information previously inaccessible to the public (Weiss 2012).

Thanks to the promise made by former Prime Minister Tun Mahathir Mohamad not to impose internet restrictions in order to attract foreign direct investments into Malaysia, this loophole has worked to the advantage of Malaysians, especially those in the opposition parties who use the alternative media to disseminate information and garner support. The internet and new social media are a positive means of social movements in Malaysia.

Peaceful Social Movement

Protest movements are relatively new in Malaysia's political scene. Recent protests such as BERSIH[8] and Hindu Rights Action Force (HINDRAF)[9] that took place not too long ago, were the after effects of the *Reformasi* movement in the late 1990s. Beginning with *Reformasi*, social movements in Malaysia have been held in a peaceful manner. The aim was to deliver a message to the government about the people's dissatisfaction with the government's wrongdoings and ineffective governing. Scholars (Kok-Wah and Saravanamutu, 2003; Weiss, 2009) have described this development in social mobilisation as the new politics in Malaysia. The problems are no longer focused on communal politics but more on social justice and good governance.

[8] *Bersih,* or clean, is a people's movement that demands for "clean" and "fair" elections from the government. The movement has held four rallies since 2006, when their demands had not been met by the Election Commission.

[9] HINDRAF is a protest movement by the Indian community in Malaysia demanding the government's attention and solution to their predicament based on social justice.

The hybrid political system has provided an avenue for people's participation in the form of peaceful protests. Although democracy is partially practised, it signifies hope for further development that aids the people's mobilisation in the near future.

Elite Strategies

According to transition theories, strategies employed by elites involve negotiated agreements between ruling elites and opposition elites, which move typical attitudes of self-interest toward accepting democracy as the finest possible form of governing under given conditions. However, elite strategies for democratisation do not apply in Malaysia, whose ruling elites are renowned for their tenacity and unity. According to Smith (2005), patronage-system practices in Malaysia contributes to the elites' cohesiveness and their support of the dominant party whose main task is to maintain the loyalties of in-groups by guaranteeing their long-term interests" (pp. 421-451).

However, one should not underestimate the agency's role, especially the political elite, in determining how the regime works in Malaysia. The elites representing the three major ethnic groups in Malaysia sought and agreed for a *consociational* democracy which collapsed after the May 13, 1969 racial riots, which was one of the primary reasons the Malay ruling elite sought a different form of regime preservation. These strategies have drifted towards a more hegemonic control which led to the unambiguous UMNO-led Malay dominance (Hwang, 2003, pg. 344).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This article has highlighted that the mechanisms of a hybrid regime does not turn a country into an unstable political entity as predicted by proponents of the democratic transition theory. The problem with democratisation and regime transition theories is that they focus too much on issues of regimes transitioning to democracy and consolidation, rather than considering how the regimes actually work even without being fully democratic. The tools provided in this study will serve as possible variables for future research for analysts interested on studying how an ambiguous regime from the gray zone really works.

This paper reminds us that democratic attributes such as elections, internet and social media, social mobilisation and elite strategies, can provide an institutional framework with the prospect for democratic openings and possible regime change. On the other hand, it is also a reminder that semi-authoritarian traits such as control system, electoral gerrymandering, strong state and dominant one party and its patron-clientele strategy, can hinder democratic openings yet sustain the regime.

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Does Equitable Income Distribution Influence Environmental Quality? Evidence from Developing Countries of ASEAN-4

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates income distribution-environment nexus in the context of country-specific time series data from four member states of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN-4), namely Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand. The short run and long run effects of income inequality, economic growth, domestic investment, trade openness and energy consumption on Carbon Dioxide (CO_2) emissions were examined by using Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) estimation. The annual data used in this study covers the period from 1971 to 2013. More equitable income distribution results in better environmental quality for Indonesia and Thailand but leads to a worsening environment in the case of Malaysia. Meanwhile, no significant relationship was detected between income distribution and environmental quality in Philippines. It was also found that domestic investment and energy consumption have beneficial effects on the environmental quality in Indonesia whereas trade openness and the expansion of the economy (GDP) will have a detrimental effect on its environment. However, these variables have shown mixed results in the case of Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand. The main contribution of this study is the introduction of income distribution as a new determinant for environmental quality for these ASEAN-4 countries, thus giving new insights for policymakers to propose better policy recommendations on achieving sustainable growth.

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INTRODUCTION

The implication of economic development on environment [also known as Environmental Kuznets Curve (EKC)] is one of the critical topics that has been studied and discussed by many researchers. Scholars are particularly interested in this area of studies due to increasing concerns about environmental degradation issues in which a worsening environment causes global warming through its greenhouse effects. Earlier studies by Grossman and Kruger (1991), Shafik (1994), and Agras and Chapman (1999) have concluded that there is an inverse U-shaped relationship between economic growth based on Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and environmental quality (e.g decrease in CO_2 emissions) in which environmental quality worsens at low levels of income and improves as income increases. However, many of these studies suffer from omitted variable bias because factors other than economic growth could also be important determinants of environmental quality (Iwata et al., 2010; Kim & Baek, 2011).

Selected empirical studies on the relationship between economic growth and other common determinants of CO_2 emissions are reviewed as follows: Lean and Smyth (2010) tested the EKC hypothesis on ASEAN5 (Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines and Singapore) using a panel co-integration technique based on a pooled sample. The study found that the hypothesis is only valid for ASEAN5 as a group. With the exception of Philippines, no evidence of EKC was found for Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand. In the case of Indonesia, income seems to increase monotonically with CO_2 emissions. Narayan and Narayan (2010) argued that the EKC hypothesis is not supported for developing countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand. However, based on the long run relationship, the error correction term (ECT) for Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand was found to be negative and significant, thus confirming the existence of a long run relationship between growth and CO_2. In sum, while the growth-CO_2 emissions nexus is supported in general, the EKC is not supported for ASEAN, especially Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand. Hossain (2011) examined the relationship between CO_2, energy consumption, economic growth, trade openness and urbanisation for a panel of nine newly industrialised countries that included Malaysia, Thailand and Philippines. His findings showed that income and energy consumption have a significant long run impact on CO_2 emissions in Thailand and Philippines. A more recent study was conducted by Rafiq, Salim and Nielsen (2016) to test the impact of urbanisation and trade openness on emissions and energy intensity for 22 increasingly urbanised emerging economies by using panel estimation. The empirical tests revealed that population density, income per capita and non-renewable energy consumption are the major causes of emissions and pollutions. Urbanisation though does not influence emissions rate it significantly increases

energy intensity. Overall, the findings of this paper are consistent with earlier studies by Hossain (2011), Sadorsky (2013, 2014), and Shafiei and Salim (2014).

Meanwhile, studies that tested the impact of income distribution on pollution are very limited. Baek and Gweish (2013) tested the relationship between income distributions and environmental quality using an ARDL estimation technique in the United States over a 41-year period between 1967 and 2008. The authors found out that more equitable income distribution resulted in better environmental quality both in the short and long run. Additionally, the study confirmed that economic growth has a beneficial effect on environmental quality while energy consumption has a detrimental effect on the environment.

Based on recent EKC literature, several factors have been proposed as new determinants of environmental quality such as energy consumption, foreign direct investment and trade openness in addition to economic growth and income (Jalil & Mahmud, 2009; Iwata et al., 2010; Kim & Baek, 2011). However, this list of new determinants does not include income distribution (inequality) as one of the determinants of environmental quality. According to Torras and Boyce (1998), greater income equality will lead to lower levels of environmental degradation. Boyce (1994) argued that better income distribution will push society to demand for better environmental quality. Meanwhile, Heerink et al. (2001) showed that a redistribution of income has detrimental effects on the environment. Thus, these arguments based on political economy suggest that income inequality should be included as one of the determinants when testing the EKC hypothesis.

To the best of our knowledge, no study has been ever conducted thus far to examine the income inequality-environment nexus in Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand. This paper also offers a country-specific analysis to capture and account for the complexities of the economic environment and its determinants in the respective countries.

These ASEAN-4 countries were also selected because they have experienced steady growth rates in the past. Table 1 below shows the trend for income distribution (GINI) and level of pollution (CO_2 emissions) for the respective countries from 1971 to 2013. Overall, CO_2 emissions for all ASEAN-4 countries has shown an increasing trend. The highest rate of emissions is detected in Malaysia followed by Thailand, Indonesia and Philippines. Meanwhile, carbon dioxide release for Indonesia shows an increasing trend but occurs at a much slower rate compared with other ASEAN member countries. In the case of Philippines, CO_2 emissions occurred at a lower rate and remained almost stagnant from 1971 to 2013 with a slow decrease after this period. For income distribution, the GINI coefficients did not exhibit a consistent trend for all ASEAN-4 countries as such trend is usually influenced by a country's economic growth.

Table 1
GINI index and CO_2 emissions (metric ton per capita)

	Malaysia		Indonesia		Philippines		Thailand	
Year	GINI	CO_2	GINI	CO_2	GINI	CO_2	GINI	CO_2
1971	0.485	1.30	0.414	0.30	0.497	0.70	0.483	0.50
1975	0.491	1.60	0.476	0.40	0.500	0.80	0.483	0.60
1980	0.514	2.00	0.490	0.60	0.505	0.80	0.483	0.80
1985	0.511	2.30	0.423	0.60	0.527	0.60	0.538	0.90
1990	0.495	3.00	0.377	0.90	0.498	0.70	0.546	1.60
1995	0.502	4.20	0.393	1.20	0.517	0.90	0.580	2.70
2000	0.479	5.20	0.483	1.40	0.538	1.00	0.528	2.70
2005	0.460	6.70	0.500	1.60	0.531	0.90	0.526	3.40
2010	0.461	7.20	0.511	1.70	0.528	0.90	0.516	3.70
2013	0.461	7.70	0.520	1.80	0.528	0.60	0.516	4.00

Source: CO_2 emissions data is taken from Emission Database for Global Atmospheric Research EDGAR) database while GINI coefficient data is taken from Global Consumption and Income Project (GCIP) database.

The next section briefly explains the methodology and data used in this analysis while the remaining two sections will discuss the results and conclusions of this research paper.

METHODOLOGY

ARDL model

The empirical model used in this research is a modified version of a theoretical framework developed by Torras and Boyce (1998), Heerink et al. (2001) and Baek and Gweisah (2013) which is used to represent the long run relationship between CO_2 emissions and its major determinants in a linear logarithmic form (LN). The log-linear specifications can produce more consistent and efficient results compared with the linear model. Furthermore, as mentioned by Chang et al. (2001), this model is converted into natural logs to induce stationarity in the variance–covariance matrix. The proposed model by Baek and Gweisah (2013) is as follows: -

$$\ln(CO_2)_t = \beta_0 + \beta_1 LnY_t + \beta_2 LnG_t + \beta_3 LnE_t + \mu_{t_t} \ldots \quad (1)$$

where CO_2 is per capita CO_2 emissions; Y is per capita real income, G is the measure of income distribution; E is energy consumption and μ is the error term. Our study extends Equation 1 by including other relevant determinants such as domestic investment (GFC) as well as trade openness (TO). Therefore, the new proposed model for this study is shown as follows:

$$\ln CO_{2t} = \omega + \alpha_1 LnGDP_t + \alpha_2 LnDI_t + \alpha_3 LnTO_t + \alpha_4 LnENC_t + \alpha_5 LNGINI_t + \mu_t \quad (2)$$

CO_2 is CO_2 emissions (measured in metric tonnes per capita), GDP is gross domestic product per capita (2005=100), domestic investment is proxied by gross fixed capital formation as % of GDP, TO is trade openness (measured in trade share of GDP), ENC is energy consumption (measured in kg oil equivalent per capita), and GINI is the Gini coefficient representing income distribution.

With respect to the signs of coefficients in Equation (2), α_1, is expected to be positive while α_2, α_3, α_4 and α_5 are expected to be either positive or negative. It should be mentioned that recent research in econometrics has indicated that the Autoregressive distributed lag (ARDL) approach used in co-integration developed by Pesaran, Shin and Smith (2001) is superior compared with other conventional co-integration approaches such as Engle and Granger (1987) and Johansen and Juselius (1990). Thus, the hypothesised loglinear functional form between variables is used in order to perform an ARDL bound F test to examine the existence of a long run relationship. In this regard, an ARDL equation known as the Unrestricted Error Correction Model (UECM) is constructed a

$$\Delta LnCO_{2t} = \beta_0 + \sum_{i=1}^{a} \beta_i \Delta LnCO_{2t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{b} \gamma_i \Delta LnGDP_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{c} \delta_i \Delta LnDI_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{d} \xi_i \Delta LnTO_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{e} \psi_i \Delta LnENC_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{f} \omega_i \Delta LnGINI_{t-i} + \gamma_0 LnCO_{2t-1} + \gamma_1 LnGDP_{t-1} + \gamma_2 LnDI_{t-1} + \gamma_3 LnTO_{t-1} + \gamma_4 LnENC_{t-1} + \gamma_5 LnGINI_{t-1} + \mu_t \quad (3)$$

where Δ is the first-difference operator and u_t is a white-noise disturbance term. Residuals for the UECM should be serially uncorrelated and the model should be stable. This final model can also be viewed as an ARDL of order, (a, b, c, d, e, f). The model indicates that in order for environmental quality (CO_2) to be influenced and explained by its past values, it has to involve other disturbances or shocks. The null hypotheses of no co-integration against the alternative hypothesis of existence of a long run co-integration are defined as:

$$H_{0:}\ \gamma_0 = \gamma_1 = \gamma_2 = \gamma_3 = \gamma_4 = \gamma_5 = 0$$
$$H_{1:}\ \gamma_0 \neq \gamma_1 \neq \gamma_2 \neq \gamma_3 \neq \gamma_4 \neq \gamma_5 \neq 0 \quad (4)$$

and is tested using the usual F-test. However, the asymptotic distribution of this F-statistic is non-standard irrespective of whether the variables are I (0) or I (1). In Equation 3 above, the long run (cointegration) relationship is represented by the coefficients of γ, whereas the short run dynamics is determined by the coefficients of the summation signs, $\sum$. Hence, Equation 3 is called an error-correction representation of the ARDL model.

It should be noted that the annual data used in this study covers the period from 1971 until 2013. The data span has been chosen based on availability of data for all series. Most of the data were extracted from the World Development Indicator (WDI) 2016 released by the World Bank.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

We performed three types of unit root tests consisting of Augmented Dickey Fuller (ADF) and Philipp Perron (PP) in order

to determine the order of stationarity for each variable. These preliminary tests were run in order to determine the most suitable regression technique based on the evidence of stationarity on each data. If the data is only significant at I (1), then we can proceed with the analysis using either the Johansen and Juselius co-integration or the ARDL test. However, if there is mix evidence of stationarity at both I (0) and I (1), then we can only proceed with the analysis by using the ARDL estimation as long as the data is not stationary at I (2). Table 2 shows the results of unit root tests for all variables. Overall, mixed stationarities of variables were detected such as TO in Indonesia while DI and ENC were detected in Philippines based on ADF and PP unit root. All variables were found to be stationary (1% to 5% significance levels) only at the first difference when using ADF and PP unit root test for both Malaysia and Thailand. The condition described above fulfils the requirement to proceed with the analysis using ARDL estimation.

Table 2
Results of ADF and PP unit root tests

Country		Variable	ADF test statistic		PP test statistic	
		Intercept	Trend and intercept	Intercept	Trend and intercept	
Malaysia		$LNCO_2$	-0.943 (0)	-1.633 (0)	-0.958 (3)	-1.794 (1)
		LNGDP	1.248 (0)	-1.653 (0)	1.250 (1)	-1.705 (1)
	Level	LNDI	-2.443 (1)	-2.569 (1)	-2.068 (1)	-2.217 (1)
		LNTO	-2.287 (1)	-0.317 (1)	-1.770 (1)	0.306 (4)
		LNENC	-1.005 (0)	-2.043 (0)	-1.559 (11)	-2.081 (1)
		LNGINI	-0.608 (1)	-2.605 (1)	-0.517 (4)	-2.367 (3)
		$LNCO_2$	-5.957 (0) ***	-6.019 (0) ***	-5.948 (2) ***	-6.012 (2) ***
		LNGDP	-5.929 (0) ***	-6.186 (0) ***	-5.931 (1) ***	-6.186 (1) ***
	First difference	LNDI	-4.670 (0) ***	-4.607 (0) ***	-4.610 (3) ***	-4.543 (3) ***
		LNTO	-5.053 (0) ***	-5.858 (0) ***	-5.053 (0) ***	-5.863 (5) ***
		LNENC	-6.705 (0) ***	-6.784 (0) ***	-6.912 (6) ***	-9.821 (14) ***
		LNGINI	-3.772 (0) ***	-3.953 (0) **	-3.737 (2) ***	-3.955 (2) **
Indonesia		$LNCO_2$	-1.984 (0)	-1.613 (0)	-2.063 (1)	-1.353 (2)
		LNGDP	-1.0300 (1)	-2.252 (1)	-1.192 (1)	-2.001 (2)
	Level	LNDI	-2.234 (7)	-2.689 (7)	-1.873 (1)	-2.094 (2)
		LNTO	-3.481 (0) **	-3.421 (0) *	-3.433 (3) **	-3.382*
		LNENC	-1.124 (0)	-1.035 (0)	-1.164 (3)	-1.035 (0)
		LNGINI	-1.491 (4)	-1.689 (4)	-1.775 (3)	-1.871 (3)
		$LNCO_2$	-2.235 (4)	-2.700 (4)	-6.553 (3) ***	-7.276 (2) ***
		LNGDP	-4.717 (0) ***	-4.729 (0) ***	-4.717 (0) ***	-4.729 (0) ***
	First difference	LNDI	-4.547 (0) ***	-4.498 (0) ***	-4.485 (5) ***	-4.440 (5) ***
		LNTO	-3.481 (0) **	-3.421 (0) *	-6.013 (1) ***	-6.168 (1) ***
		LNENC	-6.364 (0) ***	-6.459 (0) ***	-6.364 (2) ***	-6.479 (3) ***
		LNGINI	-2.222 (3)	-6.060 (2) ***	-3.689 (37) ***	-3.834 (37) **

Table 1 (*continue*)

Philippines		$LNCO_2$	-1.654 (0)	-2.268 (2)	-1.691 (2)	-2.030 (2)
		LNGDP	0.555 (2)	-0.686 (2)	0.236 (2)	-0.802 (3)
	Level	LNDI	-3.409 (1) **	-4.191 (8) *	-2.573 (1)	-2.729 (2)
		LNTO	-1.476 (0)	0.020 (0)	-1.509 (3)	-0.086 (2)
		LNENC	-2.703 (3) *	-2.687 (3)	-2.613 (3) *	-2.485 (3)
		LNGINI	-1.665 (7)	-2.147 (7)	-2.023 (1)	-2.408 (0)
		$LNCO_2$	-3.857 (1) ***	-3.812 (1) **	-7.357 (2) ***	-7.269 (2) ***
		LNGDP	-3.373 (0) **	-3.305 (3) *	-3.373 (0) **	-3.476 (2) *
	First difference	LNDI	-4.903 (1) ***	-4.943 (1) ***	-4.603 (4) ***	-4.572 (4) ***
		LNTO	-5.085 (0) ***	-5.548 (0) ***	-5.085 (2) ***	-5.567 (1) ***
		LNENC	-8.902 (0) ***	-9.024 (0) ***	-8.538 (3) ***	-8.666 (3) ***
		LNGINI	-4.340 (6) ***	-4.417 (6) ***	-5.976 (3) ***	-5.933 (4) ***
Thailand		$LNCO_2$	-0.884 (2)	-1.658 (2)	-1.167 (2)	-1.021 (2)
		LNGDP	-1.250 (1)	-1.791 (1)	-0.969 (3)	-1.448 (3)
	Level	LNDI	-2.518 (1)	-2.481 (1)	1.875 (1)	-1.583 (0)
		LNTO	-1.207 (0)	-2.271 (0)	-1.216 (1)	-2.305 (2)
		LNENC	-0.017 (1)	-2.692 (3)	0.051 (4)	-2.024 (4)
		LNGINI	-1.453 (0)	-0.964 (0)	-1.526 (2)	-1.029 (1)
		$LNCO_2$	-2.836 (1) *	-3.034 (2)	-6.441 (2) ***	-6.584 (2) ***
		LNGDP	-3.945 (0) ***	-4.038 (0) **	-3.945 (0) ***	-4.067 (1) **
	First difference	LNDI	-4.465 (1) ***	-4.500 (1) ***	-3.927 (6) ***	-3.899 (6) **
		LNTO	-6.911 (0) ***	-6.899 (0) ***	-6.915 (1) ***	-6.902 (1) ***
		LNENC	-4.823 (0) ***	-4.783 (0) ***	-4.921 (3) ***	-4.885 (3) ***
		LNGINI	-5.642 (0) ***	-5.790 (0) ***	-5.642 (0) ***	-5.794 (2) ***

Note: 1. ***, ** and * denotes rejection of null hypotheses (nonstationarity for the ADF and PP) at 1%, 5% and 10% level. 2. The optimal lag length is selected automatically using the Akaike information criteria for ADF test and the bandwidth is selected using the Newey–West method for the PP test. 3.

Subsequently, to confirm the existence of a long run relationship between the variables for all four countries, the analysis proceeded with the F-tests and the results are displayed in Table 3. The maximum lag of 4 was imposed in each model using the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC). The F statistics for Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand (6.257, 5.576, 3.640 and 4.567, respectively) are higher than the upper I (1) critical value (significant either at 1% level, 5% level or 10% level), thus confirming the existence of a

Table 3
Results of ARDL co-integration tests

Model	Maximum lag	Lag order (a,b,c,d,e,f)	F Statistic
Malaysia	4	(1,0,0,0,1,0)	6.257***
Indonesia	4	(2,4,4,4,4,4)	5.576***
Philippines	4	(2,1,1,0,3,0)	3.640*
Thailand	4	(2,0,2,1,0,0)	4.567**
Critical Values for *F*-statistics[#]		Lower bound, I (0)	Upper bound, I (1)
k = 5	1%	3.41	4.68
	5%	2.62	3.79
	10%	2.26	3.35

Note: # The critical values are obtained from Narayan (2004), k is number of variables, critical values for the bounds test: case III: unrestricted intercept and no trend. *, **, and *** represent 10%, 5% and 1% levels of significance respectively.

Diagnostic tests were performed for all models to make sure that the long run estimation produces reliable results. Table 4 shows that the models have the desired econometric properties, namely that they have no autocorrelation problems, have a correct functional form, have residuals that are serially uncorrelated, and are free from homoscedastic problems given that the probability value of the t-tests are all above the 10% significance value (fail to reject H_0).

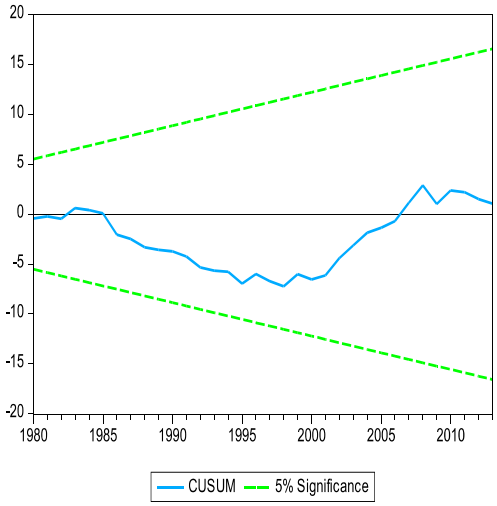
Table 4
Results of Diagnostic Checking

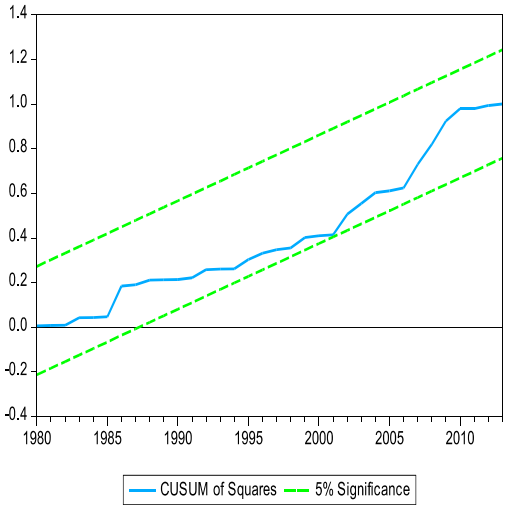
Country	Serial correlation	Functional form	Normality	Heteroscedasticity
	H_0=There is no autocorrelation	H_0=The model is correctly specified	H_0=Residual are normally distributed	H_0=There is no heteroscedasticity
Malaysia	0.825 [0.447]	0.0001 [0.991]	1.041 [0.594]	0.681 [0.686]
Indonesia	3.043 [0.157]	0.270 [0.625]	0.947 [0.622]	2.102 [0.179]
Philippines	0.742 [0.486]	2.636 [0.116]	3.117 [0.210]	0.434 [0.934]
Thailand	1.096 [0.347]	1.332 [0.257]	0.840 [0.656]	1.135 [0.370]

Note: 1. The numbers in brackets [ ] are p-values. 2. The tests run for diagnostic check are Jarque-Bera (normality), Ramsey RESET (functional form), Breusch Godfrey LM test (autocorrelation) and Breusch Pagan Godfrey (heteroscedasticity).

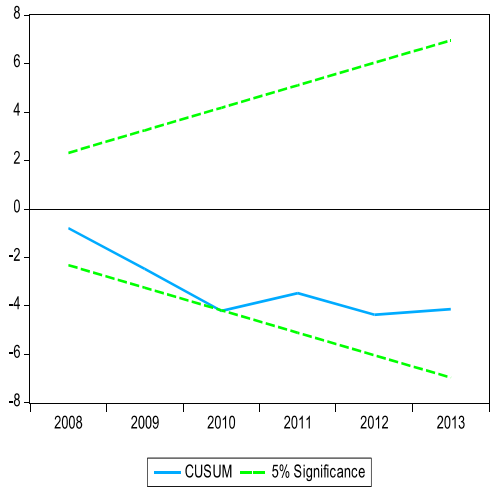
Additionally, the cumulative sum of recursive residuals (CUSUM) and CUSUM of squares (CUSUMSQ) tests were performed to test for structural stability of each model (Figure 1). The results show that the estimated coefficients are generally stable over the tested period. Overall, the ARDL models presented in this study are well defined and provide sound findings.

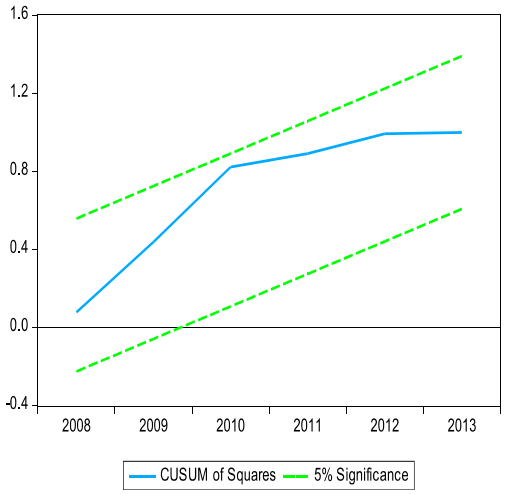
Malaysia



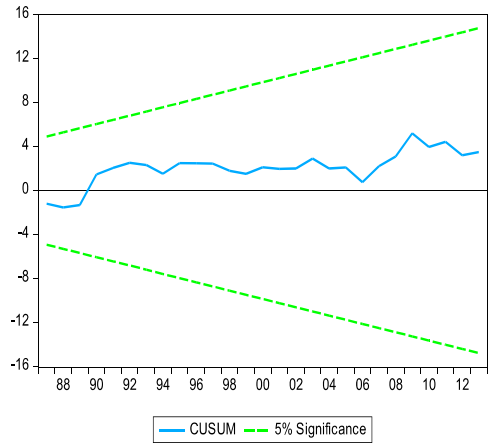


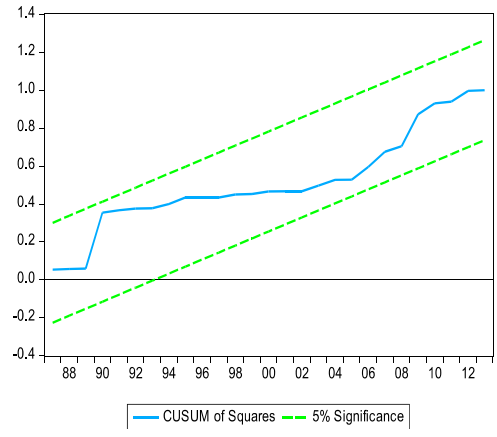
Indonesia

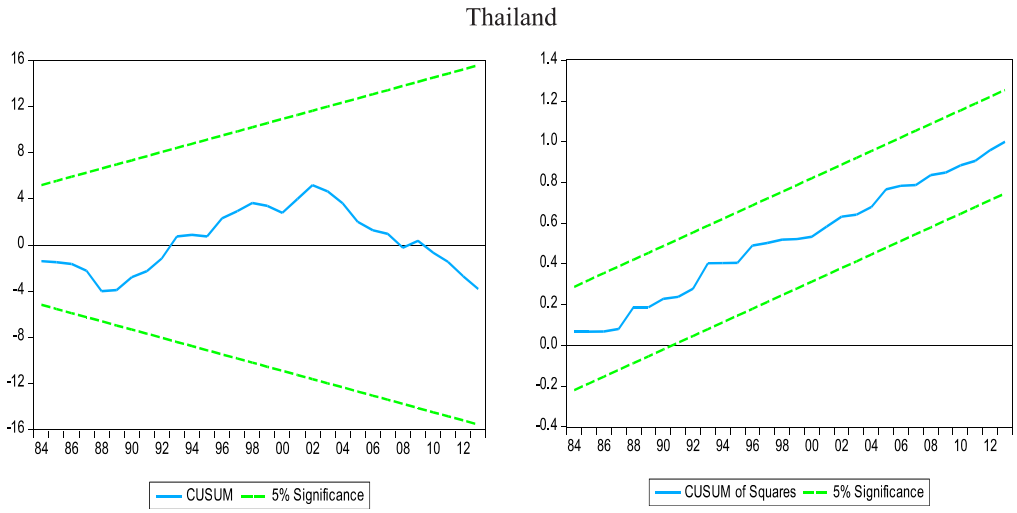




Philippines







Note: 1. The straight lines represent critical bounds at 5% significant level. 2. CUSUM graph is at the left side while CUSUM SQ graph is at the right side.

Figure 1. CUSUM and CUSUM SQ

Table 5 below presents the estimates of the long run elasticities from the ARDL analysis. It was found that GDP acts positively and significantly at 1% level to CO_2 emissions level in Malaysia and Indonesia respectively. This means that real GDP affects the level of CO_2 emissions in both countries and this result is in line with previous studies by Jalil and Mahmud (2009), Bhattacharyya and Ghoshal (2010) as well as Hakimi and Hamdi (2016). As for Philippines and Thailand, the GDP displayed a negative relationship with CO_2 emissions but was not significant at any level.

The impact of DI (proxies by gross domestic investment as % of GDP) on CO_2 emissions is found to be positive for Philippines but negative for Indonesia. No significant relationship is detected for ARDL estimation between DI and CO_2 emissions for Malaysia and Thailand. The significant and positive sign of DI in Philippines indicates that domestic investment or capital contributes to CO_2 emissions in the long run. This is not surprising since domestic production technologies in Philippines have not fully adopted advanced technologies that are able to reduce CO_2 emissions, therefore, contributing heavily to pollution. This finding is similar to Hakimi and Hamdi's (2016) who noted that domestic investment directly worsens the environmental quality of Tunisia and Morocco. As for Indonesia, surprisingly, domestic ventures use environmentally-friendly technology and thus, reduce environmental degradation.

The TO was found to have a positive correlation with CO_2 emissions for Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines at 1% and 5% significance level. Meanwhile, TO

cannot explain CO_2 emissions in the case of Thailand. Technically, 1% increase in TO will increase CO_2 emissions by 0.20% for Malaysia, 1.35% for Indonesia and 0.80% for Philippines. The positive relationship between TO and CO_2 emissions reveals that free trade damages environmental quality in these countries. Additionally, based on recent findings by Copeland and Taylor (2013), a higher degree of openness in trade will shift the polluting industry from developed countries to developing countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines as they could produce more 'dirty' goods in countries that have weaker environmental regulations.

Next, ENC (energy consumption) is statistically significant for all ASEAN-4 countries except for Philippines. The results imply that as ENC increases by 1%, the level of CO_2 emissions increases by 0.31% (Malaysia) and 1.18% (Thailand). Recent economic developments in these countries may have led to higher energy consumption, increasing CO_2 emissions. Our findings are supported by Linh and Lin (2012) and Tang and Tan (2015), who also noted that energy consumption contributes significantly to CO_2 emissions. Meanwhile, 1% increase in ENC will improve the environmental quality in Indonesia by about 3.15%. The outcome basically shows that Indonesia has successfully managed to convert its energy consumption by using cleaner energy which helps to reduce the release of CO_2 emissions.

The main contribution of this paper is assessing the impact income inequality (GINI) on CO_2 emissions. The only country which has a negative relationship between GINI and CO_2 emissions is Malaysia. This means that a higher GINI coefficient (lower income equality) is associated with higher CO_2 emissions or from the result, a 1% increase in GINI will increase environmental degradation by 2.35%. According to Boyce (1994), increased income inequality makes the distribution of political power more favourable to the rich group, enabling it to influence decisions on economic returns versus environmental damage. This scenario could occur in Malaysia. As for Indonesia and Thailand, the positive signs indicate that low GINI (greater income equality) decreases CO_2 emissions. In other words, a 1% decrease in GINI will decrease pollution by 0.69% for Indonesia and 2.76% for Thailand. This finding supports the political economy argument that more equal distribution of power and income over the past four decades for these countries has increased the demand by citizens of Indonesian and Thailand for a cleaner environment which in turn has induced positive policy responses leading to a more stringent environmental standards and stricter enforcement of environmental laws, thereby enhancing environmental quality. The above outcomes for Indonesia and Thailand are similar to those in the United States (Baek & Gweisah, 2013). As for the Philippines, there is no significant relationship between GINI and CO_2 emission levels.

Table 5
Estimation of Long Run Elasticities

Variable	Malaysia $LNCO_2$ (1,0,0,0,1,0)	Indonesia $LNCO_2$ (2,4,4,4,4,4)	Philippines $LNCO_2$ (2,1,1,0,3,0)	Thailand $LNCO_2$ (2,0,2,1,0,0)
LNGDP	0.6157***	3.757***	-0.261	-0.154
LNDI	0.098	-1.305**	0.719*	0.133
LNTO	0.201***	1.357***	0.802**	0.081
LNENC	0.313**	-3.152**	-2.970	1.181***
LNGINI	-2.353***	0.696***	0.835	2.764***
Constant	-9.055***	-6.502***	14.714	-5.199***

Note: 1. *, ** and *** indicate significant at 10%,5% and 1% significance level respectively.

Table 6 below shows the outcome for the estimation of short run elasticities. The GDP is positive and significant at the 1% level for Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand. Besides, DI has positive influence on CO_2 emissions for both Malaysia and Thailand. Moreover, TO and ENC also have a significant positive effect on CO_2 emissions for all ASEAN-4 countries. However, TO has a negative impact on CO_2 emissions at a higher lag order. This mean that in the short run, the ENC for all ASEAN-4 countries contributes towards higher environmental degradations. The short term impact between GINI and CO_2 emissions for all ASEAN-4 countries are similar with the long term impact.

The long run relationship based on the ECM model is also supported via the negative and significant values of error correction term (ECT) that was obtained for each model. It should be noted that ECT reflects the speed of adjustment for each model and the negative value means that the variables in the model will converge in the long run. In this respect, the highest speed of adjustment was detected for Indonesia (-1.14), followed by Malaysia (-0.55), Thailand (-0.45) and Philippines (-0.33). Given that the ECT value for Indonesia is more than 1, it shows that the adjustment speed is very fast from a short run to a long run equilibrium. Specifically, if the actual equilibrium value is too high, the error correction term will reduce it, while if it is too low, the error correction term will raise it. In this regard, the ECT coefficients for Malaysia (-0.55), Thailand (-0.45) and Philippines (-0.33) indicate that wh CO_2 emissions deviate from its long-run equilibrium level, it adjusts at about 55%, 45% and 33% respectively within the first year. The variables explain well over at least 89% of the variations in all three models. This is adjusted by the value of the coefficient of determination, Adjusted R-squared.

Table 6
Estimation of Short Run Error Correction Model (ECM)

Malaysia		Indonesia	
Variables	Coefficient	Variables	Coefficient
Δ(LNGDP)	0.341***	Δ ($LNCO_2$(-1))	0.958***
Δ(LNDI)	0.0543*	Δ (LNGDP)	1.208*
Δ(LNTO)	0.111***	Δ (LNGDP (-1))	-1.956**
Δ(LNENC)	0.425***	Δ (LNGDP (-2))	-1.687*
Δ(LNGINI)	-1.304***	Δ (LNGDP (-3))	2.313**
ECT	-0.554***	Δ (LNDI)	-0.441
		Δ (LNDI (-1))	0.2759
		Δ (LNDI (-2))	-0.398
		Δ (LNDI (-3))	0.330
		Δ (LNTO)	0.038
		Δ (LNTO (-1))	-0.310**
		Δ (LNTO (-2))	-0.552***
		Δ (LNTO (-3))	-0.159
		Δ (LNENC)	0.420
		Δ (LNENC (-1))	0.174***
		Δ (LNENC (-2))	2.211**
		Δ (LNENC (-3))	1.014
		Δ (LNGINI)	0.646
		Δ (LNGINI (-1))	-1.420**
		Δ (LNGINI (-2))	-0.801
		Δ (LNGINI (-3))	1.365***
		ECT	-1.140***
Ad.Rsquare	0.99	Ad. Rsquare	0.99
Philippines		Thailand	
Variables	Coefficient	Variables	Coefficient
Δ ($LNCO_2$(-1))	-0.247	Δ ($LNCO_2$(-1))	-0.437***
Δ (LNGDP)	0.938*	Δ (LNGDP)	-0.070
Δ (LNDI)	-0.147	Δ (LNDI)	0.244**
Δ (LNTO)	0.272***	Δ (LNDI (-1))	0.226*
Δ (LNENY)	0.902**	Δ (LNTO)	0.312**
Δ (LNENY(-1))	0.104	Δ (LNENY)	0.537***
Δ (LNENY (-2))	1.058***	Δ (LNGINI)	1.256***
Δ (LNGINI)	0.280	ECT	-0.454***
ECT	-0.339***		
Ad. Rsquare	0.89	Ad. Rsquare	0.99

Note: 1. Δ refer to first difference. 2. Dependent variable is Δ$LNCO_2$). 3. (*), (**), (***) indicate significance at 10%,5% and 1% levels. 4. Ad. Rsquare is refer to adjusted R square.

CONCLUSION

The primary objective of this study was to investigate the short and long term effects of income inequality, domestic investment, trade openness, per capita real income and energy consumption on CO_2 emissions in Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and Thailand. The results of the ARDL tests show that income inequality and CO_2 emissions for Indonesia and Thailand have positive relationships, implying that greater equality in the distribution of income of these countries has a favourable outcome on its environmental quality. Malaysia, on the other hand, shows a negative correlation between income inequality and CO_2 emissions, suggesting that increased equality in income distribution worsens the pollution levels. This study also concludes that more equitable income distribution that occurs in countries such as Indonesia and Thailand will encourage their citizens to demand for a cleaner environment in order to achieve a better quality of life. Improvement in income will increase awareness of these people of the need to take better care of their environment, besides imploring their respective governments to impose stricter laws or policies in order to reduce environmental degradation that can occur as a result of development in their respective countries.

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Finance-Growth Nexus in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria: Does the Proxy of Financial Development Matter?

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the finance-growth nexus in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria using different proxies of measuring financial development to ascertain whether the finance-growth nexus is sensitive to financial development proxies. Findings reveal that a co-integration relationship exists between financial development and economic growth in both countries. While supply-leading hypothesis is supported in Cote D'Ivoire, the feedback hypothesis is supported in Nigeria. Further evidence indicates that the finance-growth nexus is sensitive to the proxies used to measure financial development. The implication of this study is that financial development promotes economic growth. Hence, countries should implement policies and reforms that favour the advancement of those p[W

Keywords: Economic growth, finance-growth nexus, financial development
JEL Classification: G23, G21, O40

INTRODUCTION

Many empirical studies have examined the link between financial development and economic growth, but the debate on the causal relation is ongoing. Though McKinnon (1973) and Shaw (1973) argued that financial development is important for economic growth, there are four hypotheses that are still being tested with varying methodologies and proxies in different countries. First, the supply-leading hypothesis opined that financial development promotes growth through its impact on productivity growth; resource mobilisation and allocation; reduction in information, transaction and enforcement costs; capital accumulation

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and technological innovations (see Beck et al., 2000; Levine, 2005; Wong & Zhou, 2011; Amoro et al., 2014).

Second, Ang and McKibbin (2007), Blanco (2009), and Ratsimalahelo and Barry (2010) found evidence to support the demand-following hypothesis. Accordingly, economic growth promotes financial sector development. As the real GDP per capita of a country increases, the demands for financial products, services, instruments and intermediaries expand, resulting in more investments and financial system development. Third, the feedback or complementarity hypothesis found the existence of bidirectional causal relations between financial development and economic growth. Thus, as the financial system provides financial products and services to the real sector of the economy, investments, productivity and economic growth are stimulated leading to increased demand for financial instruments and institutions (see Apergis et al., 2007; Bangake & Eggoh, 2011; Adusei, 2013; C

Finally, evidence in recent times also supported the neutrality hypothesis stating that financial development has no causal relationship with economic growth. Evidences in support of the neutrality hypothesis were documented in Atindehou et al. (2005), Kar et al. (2010), and Grassa and Gazdar (2014). A cursory examination of previous studies on the nexus between financial development and economic growth revealed the absence of consensus among scholars who used same dataset and case-study. This could be attributed to differences in methodologies and the proxies for measuring financial development. Thus, the impact of finance on growth could be sensitive to the proxies used to measure financial development. Ang (2008) observed that although the positive impact of financial development on growth has become a stylised fact, there are some methodological reservations about some of the empirical findings.

Consequently, as the debate on the finance-growth nexus continues, it becomes necessary to empirically examine the relationship between financial development and economic growth in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria using different proxies of financial development. Hence, this study seeks (i) to examine the relationship between financial development and economic growth in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria; (ii) to determine whether the proxies of measuring financial development matter in the finance-growth nexus in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria.

In this regard, the contributions of this paper to existing literature are immense. It is expected to unveil the relationship between financial development and economic growth in these two countries. Cote D'Ivoire is the largest economy of the eight members of West Africa Economic and Monetary Union known as Union Économique et Monetaire Ouest Africaine (hereafter referred to as UEMOA) that adopts a common currency, a common central bank and a common stock market while Nigeria is the largest economy of the eight non-UEMOA member countries

that uses different currencies, different central banks and different stock markets. Apart from constituting more than 60% of the West African population and real gross domestic product, the two countries have also embarked on financial sector reforms over the past decades that are expected to have significant impacts on their economies.

Until recently, the financial sectors in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria were characterised by poor institutional environment, insufficient financial products, low financial liberalisation and openness as well as paltry monetary policy instruments. However, the two countries had recently embarked on several policy reforms with a view to restructure the financial sector. Such reforms had eliminated credit ceiling, liberalised interest rate, privatised banks and strengthened the regulatory and supervisory frameworks. Consequently, larger financial institutions emerged through consolidation or recapitalisation as well as merger or acquisition that provided varieties of financial services to individuals, firms and governments. Despite the improvement in the financial systems in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria, the relationship between financial development and economic growth remains unclear. Jalloh (2014) posited that empirical studies on the link between financial sector and economic growth in West Africa countries u5j
the reforms and development in the sector in recent times that was aimed at increasing the prospects for economic growth.

This study is expected to reveal whether the finance-growth nexus is sensitive to the proxies of measuring financial development. These are some of the gaps this study attempts to fill. Interestingly, this study found evidence to support the finance-growth nexus in both countries. Also, the finance growth-nexus is sensitive to the proxies of measuring the development of the financial system in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria. One of the main policy implications of this study is that countries should implement policies and reforms that favour the advancement of those proxies of measuring the development of the financial system that have positive and significant impacts on growth in order to achieve long-term economic growth.

This paper contains four sections. Section one is literature review, section two presents the methodology, section three discusses empirical results and discussion, and the last section concludes the study with some policy recommendations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Theoretical and empirical evidences suggest that financial development has a positive influence on economic growth. Modern growth theory developed by Romer (1986), Lucas (1988) and Grossman and Helpman (1991) posited that the financial system has an impact on sustained growth by catalysing human and physical capital accumulation as well as by increasing the rate of technological progress. This is because financial systems perform basic functions of pooling and mobilising

savings, monitoring investments and exerting corporate governance. The financial sector also facilitates trading, diversification and management of risks, as well as facilitates the exchange of goods and services. Thus, the financial sector provides financial services, intermediaries and instruments necessary for the growth of factor inputs, technology and investment that are fundamental for economic growth.

Consequently, the causal relation between financial development and economic growth has attracted the attention of scholars worldwide. In Sub-Sahara Africa, the nexus between financial development and economic growth has received considerable attention from some researchers. Using the ratio of broad money supply relative to GDP as a proxy for measuring financial development, Ndebbio (2004) examined the causal relationship between financial development and economic growth in 34 Sub-Sahara African countries. He concluded that financial development had positive impact on economic growth in Sub-Sahara African countries. However, the study did not show the causal link between financial development and economic growth in the 34 countries.

Based on data from 13 Sub-Sahara African countries Ghirmay (2004) examined the causal relationship between financial development and economic growth in these countries. His findings supported bidirectional causal relations in six countries (Ethiopia, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, Rwanda and South Africa), demand-following hypothesis in five countries (Cameroon, Mauritius, Nigeria, Togo and Zambia) and finance-leading hypothesis in Benin and Ghana only. Ghirmay's study used credit to private sector relative to GDP as a proxy to measure the development of the financial system.

Employing the Hsiao-Granger method, Gries et al. (2009) examined the link between financial deepening, trade openness and economic development in 16 countries Sub-Sahara African countries . Findings from the study supported finance-led hypothesis in three countries (Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and South Africa), demand-following hypothesis in three countries (Cameroun, Ghana and Madagascar) and bi-directional causal relations in Nigeria and Senegal. The study found no evidence of any causal relation between financial development and economic growth in eight countries (Burundi, Cote D'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Gabon, Kenya, Mauritius, Gambia and Togo), thereby, supporting the neutrality hypothesis. To proxy financial development, the study constructed a composite indicator to measure broad financial deepening using private credit by depositing money banks to GDP, liquid liabilities relative to GDP and commercial bank plus central bank assets.

Akinlo and Egbetunde (2010) used broad money supply relative of GDP as proxy to measure financial development in investigating the finance-growth nexus with time series data from 10 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. The findings from the

study revealed that bi-directional causality was dominant in five countries (Chad, Kenya, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Swaziland), finance-leading hypothesis in four countries (Congo Republic, Central African Republic, Nigeria and Gabon) while only Zambia showed demand-following responses.

Menyah et al. (2014) used data from 21 African countries for the period of 1965–2008 to investigate the causal relationship between financial development and economic growth. To proxy financial development, they constructed financial development index using four measures of financial development, namely broad money supply, liquid liabilities, total domestic credit provided by the banking sector and domestic credit to the private sector (all as ratios of GDP). The study confirmed a unidirectional causal link between financial development and economic growth in three countries (Benin, Sierra Leone and South Africa), while a unidirectional causal link was found between economic growth and financial development in Nigeria, and a bi-directional causality was noted in Zambia. However, the study found no evidence of any causal relation between financial development and economic growth in 15 countries, thereby supporting the neutrality hypothesis in Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Burundi, Central African Republic, Congo, Chad, Cote D'Ivoire, Gambia, Gabon, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Senegal, Niger, Sudan and Togo.

Other studies that found conflicting and inconclusive results on the finance-growth nexus in African countries include Agbetsiafa (2004), Ratsimalahelo and Barry (2010), Esso (2010), Adusei (2013) and *Madichie* et al. (2014). The proxies used to measure financial development in these different studies included total credit provided by banking institutions, domestic credit to private sector, liquid liabilities (all as ratios of GDP) and bank liquid reserves as a ratio of bank assets.

The above reviews showed that studies which examined the finance-growth nexus in Cote D'Ivoire were scanty with Gries et al. (2009) and Menyah et al. (2014) being the two main studies that concluded the absence of causal relation between financial development and economic growth. However, with the reforms in the financial system in Cote D'Ivoire in the past decades coupled with the high growth in real GDP per capita, it is expected that one of these two variables should Granger cause the other. This study attempts to investigate the finance-growth nexus in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria using different proxies of measuring financial development.

METHODOLOGY

This study employs Autoregressive Distributed Lagged (ARDL)-Bounds test procedure to investigate the co-integration relationship between financial development and economic growth in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria. The ARDL procedure was developed by Pesaran and Shin (1999) and further expanded by Pesaran, Shin and Smith (2001). It has several merits over

other co-integration procedures because it can be used in the case where some of the regressors are endogenous, with small sample size, and when the variables are integrated in order one [I (1)] or level [I (0)] because it does not impose any restrictive assumptions that all the variables should be integrated in the same order (see Odhiambo, 2009). The study period was 1980-2014 and data were sourced from the World Development Indicators of the World Bank.

Among the wide range of monetary aggregates to measure financial development as suggested in the literature, the present study uses three common proxies such as domestic credit to private sector, broad money supply and total bank credit (all as ratios of GDP) to examine the finance-growth nexus. Thus, credit to private sector is commonly used as a proxy of financial development because it deals with savings mobilisation that makes credit available to economic agents and facilitates transactions thereby reducing transaction costs. Nevertheless, broad money supply and total bank credit are also used to proxy financial development because the former measures financial depth and consists of the totality of currency outside the banks as well as demand, time and saving deposits. Also, total bank credit consists of all credit provided to the various sectors of the economy on a gross basis by the banking institutions such as deposit money banks, savings and mortgage loans institutions. The study uses the growth rate of GDP to proxy economic growth and includes two conditioning variables, namely government consumption expenditure as a ratio of GDP and inflation rate, to capture the effects of government policy and macroeconomic stability respectively (see Beck et al., 2000; Beck & Levine, 2004). All the variables except inflation are in natural logarithm.

Model Specification

The Autoregressive Distributed Lagged (ARDL) model employed in this study is specified as follows:

$$\Delta Y_t = \alpha_0 + T + \sum_{i=1}^{m} \alpha_1 \Delta Y_{t-i} + \sum_{j=0}^{n} \alpha_2 \Delta FD_{t-j} + \sum_{k=0}^{o} \alpha_3 \Delta GOV_{t-o} + \sum_{l=0}^{p} \alpha_4 \Delta INF_{t-l} + \alpha_5 Y_{t-1} + \alpha_6 FD_{t-1} + \alpha_7 GOV_{t-1} + \alpha_8 INF_{t-1} + \mu_t \quad (1)$$

$$\Delta FD_t = \beta_0 + T + \sum_{i=1}^{m} \beta_1 \Delta Y_{t-i} + \sum_{j=0}^{n} \beta_2 \Delta FD_{t-j} + \sum_{k=0}^{o} \beta_3 \Delta GOV_{t-o} + \sum_{l=0}^{p} \beta_4 \Delta INF_{t-l} + \beta_5 Y_{t-1} + \beta_6 FD_{t-1} + \beta_7 GOV_{t-1} + \beta_8 INF_{t-1} + \mu_t \quad (2)$$

Where: Y= economic growth (proxy by growth rate of real GDP); FD = financial development alternatively proxy by FD1, FD2 and FD3 for domestic credit to private sector, broad money supply and total bank credit, respectively; T = time trend; μ_t = disturbance term.

Equation 1 is made up of two segments of results with the first segment $(\alpha_1, \alpha_2, \alpha_3, \alpha_4)$ examining the short-run relationship while the second segment $(\alpha_5, \alpha_6, \alpha_7, \alpha_8)$ explores the long-run association between financial development and economic growth. Similarly, $(\beta_1, \beta_2, \beta_3, \beta_4)$ explores the short-run relationship while $(\beta_5, \beta_6, \beta_7, \beta_8)$ investigates the long-run relationship between financial development and economic growth in Equation 2. The

number of lags selection based on Akaike information criterion (AIC) are expressed by m, n, o, p . In testing for co-integration relationship using the ARDL procedure, the null hypotheses of no co-integration among the variables in the models are stated against the alternative hypotheses as follows:

$H_0 : \alpha_5 = \alpha_6 = \alpha_7 = \alpha_8 = 0$;
$H_1 : \alpha_5 = \alpha_6 = \alpha_7 = \alpha_8 \neq 0$ for Equation 1.

$H_0 : \beta_5 = \beta_6 = \beta_7 = \beta_8 = 0$;
$H_1 : \beta_5 = \beta_6 = \beta_7 = \beta_8 \neq 0$ for Equation 2.

The decision to either accept or reject the null hypothesis of no co-integration between the variables is based on a comparison of the calculated F-statistic with the tabulated F-statistic critical values. After establishing co-integration relationship between the two variables, the next step is to investigate the long-run and short-run causal relations between them using the error correction model (ECM) procedure. This approach is chosen ahead of other Granger causality techniques because it outperforms them in both small and large samples (see Guilkey & Salemi, 1982; Geweke et al., 1983; Odhiambo, 2009). The error correction model equation is as follows:

$$\Delta Y_t = \phi_0 + \sum_{i=1}^{m} \phi_1 \Delta Y_{t-i} + \sum_{j=0}^{n} \phi_2 \Delta FD_{t-j} + \sum_{k=0}^{o} \phi_3 \Delta GOV_{t-j} + \sum_{l=0}^{p} \phi_4 \Delta INF_{t-j} + \varpi ECT_{t-1} + \mu_t \quad (3)$$

$$\Delta FD_t = \delta_0 + \sum_{i=1}^{m} \delta_1 \Delta FD_{t-i} + \sum_{j=0}^{n} \delta_2 \Delta Y_{t-j} + \sum_{k=0}^{o} \delta_3 \Delta GOV_{t-j} + \sum_{l=0}^{p} \delta_4 \Delta INF_{t-j} + \lambda ECT_{t-1} + \mu_t \quad (4)$$

where ECT_{t-1} = lagged error correction term, m, n, o, p are the lag lengths that are chosen optimally using a step-down approach up to a maximum of 2 lags. Hence, we test the null hypotheses of no long-run or short-run causality against the alternative hypotheses of the presence of causality. The short-run null hypotheses in Equations 3 and 4 are stated against the alternative hypotheses as:

$H_0 : \phi_1 = \phi_2 = \phi_3 = \phi_4 = 0$;
$H_1 : \phi_1 = \phi_2 = \phi_3 = \phi_4 \neq 0$

$H_0 : \delta_1 = \delta_2 = \delta_3 = \delta_4 = 0$;
$H_1 : \delta_1 = \delta_2 = \delta_3 = \delta_4 \neq 0$

Hence, the short-run causality is examined by the statistical significance of the F-statistic of the coefficients of the independent variables, whereas the long-run causal relations are explored by the significance of the coefficient of the ECT_{t-1} at 5% levels. The null hypothesis is rejected based on the joint statistical significance of the regressors as well as the significance of the coefficient of ECT_{t-1} which should also be negative.

EMPIRICAL RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The summary of descriptive statistics of the proxies used to measure financial development and the real GDP growth rate for Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria as presented in Table 1 shows wide variations. For instance, the mean value of FD1 (credit to private sector relative to GDP) in Cote D'Ivoire is 24.3% compared with 15.0% in Nigeria for the period of 1980-2014. Also, FD2 (broad money supply relative to GDP) shows an average of 27.7% in Cote D'Ivoire while Nigeria shows 24.4%.

Furthermore, the mean values of FD3 (total bank credit as a ratio of GDP) for Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria are 31.5% and 25.7% respectively. This shows that Cote D'Ivoire performed better in financial development indicators during the period studied compared with Nigeria. Also, Cote D'Ivoire exhibits greater average government consumption expenditure as a ratio of GDP (GOV) than Nigeria. However, the average growth rate of GDP (Y) and inflation rate (INF) were greater in Nigeria compared with Cote D'Ivoire during the period studied.

Table 1
Summary of Descriptive Statistics

	Cote D'Ivoire					
	Y	FD1	FD2	FD3	GOV	INF
Mean	1.817	24.268	27.702	31.462	18.680	4.808
Maximum	10.700	42.300	38.400	51.300	162.00	26.100
Minimum	-11.000	12.200	17.800	16.900	10.500	-0.800
Std. Dev.	4.072	10.753	4.651	11.393	25.019	5.119
Skewness	-0.331	0.488	0.400	0.277	5.601	2.446
Kurtosis	4.678	1.493	3.029	1.434	32.604	10.003
			Nigeria			
	Y	FD1	FD2	FD3	GOV	INF
Mean	3.708	15.020	24.441	25.702	9.673	19.718
Maximum	33.700	38.390	43.270	48.670	17.900	72.730
Minimum	-13.100	8.7100	13.230	4.910	4.800	5.410
Std. Dev.	7.670	6.189	6.646	12.027	3.605	17.877
Skewness	1.156	2.433	0.730	0.499	0.513	1.627
Kurtosis	8.540	9.063	3.319	2.275	2.058	4.382

Notes: Y= growth rates of real GDP; FD1- domestic credit to private sector as a ratio of GDP; FD2= broad money supply as a ratio of GDP; FD3= total bank credit provided to all sectors as a ratio of GDP; GOV= government consumption expenditure as a ratio of GDP; INF= inflation rates.

Table 2
Unit Root Test Results

	Augmented Dickey Fuller (ADF)		Philip-Perron (PP)	
Variables	[I (0)]	[I (1)]	[I (0)]	[I (1)]
		Cote D'Ivoire		
Y	-4.511***	-8.455***	-4.526***	-9.465***
FD1	-1.421	-4.642***	-1.421	-4.264***
FD2	-1.536	-8.451***	-1.376	-8.525***
FD3	-0.927	-4.587***	-1.074	-4.614***
GOV	-16.157***	-20.014***	-12.208***	-44.512
INF	-4.332***	-5.939***	-4.301***	-10.897***
		Nigeria		
Y	-4.351***	-9.387***	-4.357***	-22.572***
FD1	-2.592	-5.111***	-2.429	-8.725***
FD2	-3.252**	-4.877***	-2.141	-7.178***
FD3	-2.455	-8.468***	-2.454	-8.468***
GOV	-4.774***	-6.472***	-2.574*	-6.466***
INF	-3.195**	-5.972***	-3.101**	-12.851***

Notes: ***, ** and * indicate statistically significant at 1%, 5% and 10% respectively or a rejection of the null hypothesis of a unit root. Y= growth rates of real GDP; FD1- domestic credit to private sector as a ratio of GDP; FD2= broad money supply as a ratio of GDP; FD3= total bank credit provided to all sectors as a ratio of GDP; GOV= government consumption expenditure as a ratio of GDP; INF= inflation rates.

To ascertain the order of integration of the variables, the study conducted unit root tests using both the Augmented Dickey Fuller (ADF) and Philip-Perron (PP) tests. The results as shown in Table 2 indicate that all the financial variables (FD1, FD2, FD3) are integrated at order one [I (1)] while the growth rate of real GDP (Y), government consumption expenditure as a ratio of GDP (GOV) and inflation rate (INF) are integrated at order zero [I (0)] at 5% significant level in Cote D'Ivoire. Similar results are obtained for Nigeria, with the exception of FD2 that seems stationary at 5% significant level with the ADF. Since e va
[I (1)] in both countries, the ARDL-bounds test can be appropriately applied.

The results of the ADRL-bounds test presented in Table 3 reveal the presence of co-integration relationship between the two variables in both countries. When financial development is proxied by FD1, FD2 and FD3 in the different economic growth equations, their respective calculated F-statistic are greater than the respective upper bound values at 5% significant level. Therefore, we reject the null hypotheses of no co-integration and conclude that long-run co-integration relationship exists between the two variables. Conversely, when financial development is used as the dependent variable in the different equations, co-integration relationship is only found in Nigeria as the respective computed F-statistic were greater than the respective upper bound critical values at 5% significant level. Hence, in all the financial development equations for Nigeria, we reject the null hypotheses of no co-integration while the reverse is found for Cote D'Ivoire.

Table 3
Cointegration Test Results

Dependent Variable	Function	Cote D'Ivoire F-test Statistic	Nigeria F-test Statistic
Y	Y = f(FD1)	6.012**	8.782***
FD1	FD1 = f(Y)	2.068	7.141***
Y	Y = f(FD2)	4.749*	7.804***
FD2	FD2 = f(Y)	0.270	9.335***
Y	Y = f(FD3)	4.687*	7.733***
FD3	FD3 = f(Y)	1.599	5.700**
Bound Test Critical Values			
		Lower Bounds I(0)	Upper Bounds I(1)
1%		5.17	6.36
5%		4.01	5.07
10%		3.47	4.45

Notes: ***, ** and * indicate statistically significant at 1%, 5% and 10% levels respectively or a rejection of the null hypothesis of no cointegration.

Y= growth rates of real GDP; FD1- domestic credit to private sector as a ratio of GDP; FD2= broad money supply as a ratio of GDP; FD3= total bank credit provided to all sectors as a ratio of GDP; GOV= government consumption expenditure as a ratio of GDP; INF= inflation rates.

For robustness check of the co-integration results, the study conducted structural breaks test using the test proposed by Bai and Perron (2003) to ascertain the presence of structural breaks in the series. After controlling for structural breaks, the co-integration results reveal that financial development and economic growth are still co-integrated in all the economic growth equations in both countries. This denotes that even in the presence of structural breaks in the series, financial development and economic growth remain co-integrated in the two countries.

After establishing the co-integration relationship between the two variables, the study explores the long-run effects of the variables. The results presented in Table 4 reveal that financial development (proxy by FD1 and FD3) has positive and significant impact on economic growth in both countries, thereby supporting the finance-led growth hypothesis. However, financial development is found to be insignificantly related to economic growth at 5% level when proxied by FD2. Thus, one percentage increase in FD1 (FD3) increases economic growth by 0.10% (0.08%) in Cote D'Ivoire and 0.02% (0.03%) in Nigeria. This implies that FD1 (credit to private sector) and FD3 (total bank credit) can accelerate g),.
is the case for FD2 (broad money supply). This reveals that the finance-growth nexus is sensitive to the proxies of measuring financial development in both countries. Fundamentally, the above results are also robust to the presence of structural breaks in the series.

Table 4
Long-Run Coefficients Results

	Cote D'Ivoire			Nigeria		
Variables	Y=f(FD1)	Y=f(FD2)	Y=f(FD3)	Y=f(FD1)	Y=f(FD2)	Y=f(FD3)
C	0.109 (0.066)	0.534 (0.278)	0.263 (0.153)	4.668*** (4.997)	4.739*** (3.343)	4.73*** (6.504)
FD	0.10*** (3.368)	0.123 (1.852)	0.081*** (3.194)	0.022** (2.746)	-0.007 (-0.196)	0.026* (1.697)
GOV	0.023 (0.368)	-0.024 (-0.321)	-0.020 (-0.323)	-0.075** (-2.746)	-0.064** (-2.621)	-0.050** (-2.333)
INF	0.862** (2.637)	0.797** (2.106)	0.872** (2.647)	0.012 (0.818)	0.006 (0.429)	0.005 (0.484)
T	0.01*** (4.103)	0.002** (2.079)	0.005*** (4.005)	0.002*** (3.094)	0.002*** (3.018)	0.002*** (2.618)
$\overline{R}^2$	0.763	0.697	0.686	0.682	0.659	0.658

Notes: ***, **and * indicate statistically significant at 1%, 5% and 10% levels, respectively. Figures in parenthesis are T-statistics. The dependent variable is growth rates of real GDP; FD1= domestic credit to private sector as a ratio of GDP; FD2= broad money supply as a ratio of GDP; FD3= total bank credit provided to all sectors as a ratio of GDP; GOV= government consumption expenditure as a ratio of GDP; INF= inflation rates; T=time trend.

This study confirms the findings of Onwioduokit (2007) who showed that credit to private sector (FD1) has positive impact on output growth. Adeoye (2007) and Alayande (2007) reported a negative relationship between broad money supply (FD1) and economic growth in Nigeria. These results refute the findings of Gries et al. (2009) and Menyah et al. (2014) who found no evidence of any link between financial development and economic growth in Cote D'Ivoire.

The set of conditioning variables included in the model indicate that government consumption expenditure has no positive impact on economic growth in both countries. This could be due to inefficiency associated with government consumption expenditure in both countries. Rousseau and Yilmazkuday (2009) and Ogujiuba and Ehigiamusoe (2014) posited that government consumption expenditure could have insignificant or negative effects on economic growth because of the crowding-out of potentially more productive private sector investments that are associated with large government consumption expenditures, poor budget implementation and inefficiency in many developing countries. Furthermore, inflation rate has no impact on economic growth in Nigeria, but has significant impact on economic growth in Cote D'Ivoire because of lower inflation rate in the latter. In theory, low inflation rate is vital to stimulate economic growth while high and volatile inflation rate are deleterious to economic growth (see Boyd et al., 2001; Rousseau & Wachtel, 2002).

Finally, the study examines causal relations between financial development and economic growth using the error correction model (see Table 5). The results reveal a long-run unidirectional causality between financial development and economic growth in Cote D'Ivoire. In the case of Nigeria, a bidirectional long-run Granger causality is noted between the two variables. The long-run Granger causality is supported by the significance of the coefficient of the ECT_{t-1} while the short-run Granger causality is supported by the statistical significance of the F-statistic at 5% level (see Granger et al., 2000). The lagged error correction terms are negative and statistically significant at 5% level for the three models in both countries. The existence of a negative and significant ECT_{t-1} indicates that the whole system is being adjusted towards a long-run equilibrium at the speed of their coefficients. This is because the coefficient of the ECT_{t-1} reveals the adjustment speed from short-run to long-run equilibrium over time. The findings are consistent with Gries et al. (2009) and Menyah et al. (2014) who found a bidirectional causal relation between financial development and economic growth in Nigeria.

However, the absence of short-run causality between financial development and economic growth in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria is not surprising following the usual assumption that economic growth interacts more with macroeconomic variables in the long-run than in the short-run (see Morley, 2006). Conversely, when financial

development is used as a dependent variable in the different equations, there is little or no evidence of short-run causal relation running from economic growth to financial development since all the computed F-statistic are not statistically significant at 5% level (except FD1 in Cote D'Ivoire and FD3 in both countries that are statistically significant at 10%).

Table 5
Granger Causality Test Results

		Cote D'Ivoire			Nigeria		
Dependent Variables	Causal Flow	F-Statistic	ECT T- Statistic	$\overline{R}^2$	F- Statistic	ECT T- Statistic	$\overline{R}^2$
Y	Y ← FD1	0.544 (0.588)	-0.210** [-2.431]	0.48	0.342 (0.713)	-0.044** [-2.065]	0.52
FD1	FD1 ← Y	2.989* (0.070)	-	0.31	0.424 (0.659)	-0.492* [-2.043]	0.37
Y	Y ← FD2	0.140 (0.699)	-0.557** [-2.039]	0.53	0.032 (0.968)	-0.019** [-2.430]	0.49
FD2	FD2 ← Y	0.387 (0.683)	-	0.22	0.649 (0.532)	-0.393* [-1.883]	0.36
Y	Y ← FD3	0.112 (0.984)	-0.236** [-2.799]	0.46	0.437 (0.651)	-0.024** [-2.038]	0.53
FD3	FD3 ← Y	2.711* (0.087)	-	0.36	2.509* (0.100)	-0.380* [-1.836]	0.37

Note: ***, ** and * indicate statistically significance at 1%, 5% and 10% levels respectively. P-values of F-statistics are in parenthesis while the values in squared brackets are the t-statistic of the coefficients of error correction term (ECT). Y= growth rates of real GDP; FD1- domestic credit to private sector as a ratio of GDP; FD2= broad money supply as a ratio of GDP; FD3 = total bank credit provided to all sectors as a ratio of GDP; GOV = government consumption expenditure as a ratio of GDP; INF= inflation rates.

C

This study seeks to provide answers to two basic questions: a) what is the relationship between financial development and economic growth in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria? b) does the proxy used to measure financial development matter in the finance-growth nexus? Using ARDL-bounds testing approach and data from Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria for the period of 1980-2014, empirical results support the existence of a co-integration relationship between financial development and economic growth in both countries. The long-run results reveal that financial development has a significant impact on economic growth, and the results are sensitive to the proxies used to measure financial development. Fundamentally, our key empirical evidence implies that financial development does contribute to econ].,./b.z..

credits (credit to private sector and total credit provided by the banking institutions to all sectors) accelerate economic growth. Since the proxies used to measure financial development matter, countries should embark on policies and reforms that favour the strengthening of those proxies that are growth-enhancing.

The findings from the Granger causality specifications reveal a long-run unidirectional causal relation between financial development and economic growth in Cote D'Ivoire and bidirectional Granger causality between financial development and economic growth in Nigeria. Thus, empirical evidence from this study supports the supply-leading hypothesis in Cote D'Ivoire and the feedback hypothesis in Nigeria. This is confirmed by the lagged error correction terms that are negative and statistically significant indicating the speed at which the entire system is adjusted towards a long-run equilibrium over time. Therefore, in order to promote economic growth, financial development is necessary in both countries, although economic growth also accelerates development of the financial sector in Nigeria. The implication of this is that efforts to advance the promotion of financial development and economic growth would be beneficial to the countries and spur lonxY5

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Lived Experiences and Narratives of De Facto Single Mothers in Penang Island, Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

This article presents the narrative and lived experiences of de facto single mothers (DFSM), a category of single mothers who, by law, are not 'single mothers' but in reality, are living like any other single mothers. In many cases, this category of single mothers is simply referred to as "abandoned wives". A substantial body of literature exist on single mothers in Malaysia; however, the literature that specifically focuses on the DFSM is scanty. Using in-depth interviews and observation, this article explores the experiences and narratives of five DFSM in Penang Island. Findings have shown that DFSM are more vulnerable and marginalised than legally separated mothers (divorced). Not having a divorce certificate would also mean that they are not legally a 'single mother' and therefore, in many cases, are not qualified to be registered as members of Single Mother's Association and almost often are deprived of government assistance. This has led to what is called a "Double Abandoned" phenomenon when not only are these women abandoned by their husbands (or sometimes families) but also by the relevant institutional agencies. It is suggested that the government should seriously address the struggles and challenges faced by these DFSM so that a better support and facilities are made available to this group.

Keywords: Gender, lived experiences, Malaysia, de facto single mothers, narratives

INTRODUCTION

This article is based on four months of research (January – April 2015) following the 2014 research on "Empowering Single Mothers through Entrepreneurship" conducted by the Centre for Research on Women and Gender (KANITA), USM.

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Based on that project, it was found that single mothers were not a homogenous group. There are other groups of single mothers who are vulnerable, marginalised and abandoned by their husbands. This group is referred to as "De Facto Single Mother" (DFSM). The DFSM refers to those women who are not recognised by law as single mothers, but in reality, they are living and facing hardships like any other single mothers because the structures and dynamics of their family relationship is similar to any divorced household and families (Bakri, 2002). They are still in the marriage because of polygamy or in the process of divorce proceedings, which usually will take years to settle but the wives have to provide materially for their children after being abandoned by their husbands. Based on a polygamy study conducted by SIS (Sisters in Islam) in 2007-2012, 56% of wives interviewed did not get adequate financial support while many others received none at all.

In this article, we argue that the livelihood of DFSM is more vulnerable because they are not legally divorced and therefore, do not have divorce certificate which deprives them from having access to government aid and support. This situation will push the DFSM into multiple vulnerabilities. In order to survive, they have to undertake multiple jobs to make ends meet. The focus of this research is to capture their lived experiences and narratives.

BACKGROUND

This paper defines a single mother as a woman who is not living with her husband and has to fend herself and her children; a woman who is in the process of getting a divorce; a woman who has a husband who is sick and needing special care, thus he is not able to provide for his wife and children, and a woman who is raising her children without the help of her husband (Majzub and Karim, 1999; Bakri, 2002; Wan Ibrahim, 2006). In 2000, there were 620,359 single mothers in Malaysia. The number accounted for widows (529,701) and divorcees (90,655) (Thuaibah @ Suaibah et al., 2004). It is estimated that in Malaysia, single mothers make up 5.4% (505,757) of the total female population (Department of Statistics Malaysia, 2010). It is reported that about 5% of single mothers in Malaysia belong to the DFSM category. In the state of Penang, at least two Single Mother's Association has 1000 single mothers registered with them. However, the actual number of single mothers in Penang is estimated to be much more. It is even more difficult to estimate the number of DFSM in Malaysia because many of them have never registered as members in any Single Mothers' Association.

Although a substantial body of literature exists on single mothers in Malaysia, those that focused on the narratives and the lived experiences of DFSM are very limited. This paper will examine how DFSM are coping with their lives without the support of their husbands.

De Facto Single Mothers (DFSM)

In Malaysia, DFSM refer to women who are in a polygamous marital relationship or in the process of divorce proceedings which usually take years to settle but in the meantime, the women have to provide for their children, especially after being abandoned by their husbands.

Problem Statement

Several issues pertaining to the status and well-being of DFSM have motivated this research. No doubt the government has provided various schemes and financial credit assistance to single mothers. However, these aids are not accessible to a majority of them. It is reported that fewer than 60,000 of the 500,000 Malaysian women whom are widowed, divorced or permanently separated receive aid as single mothers[1]. Only 66,243 of single mothers received aid from the Ministry of Women, Family and Community Development from January to June 2013. The situation is even worse for single mothers who are 'yet' to obtain their divorce certificate. Even though many programmes have been introduced to empower single mothers, such programmes have not contributed enough to the overall well-being of single mothers. Furthermore, most of the financial aids are only a temporary measure in solving the single mother's financial woes.

[1] "Deputy Minister: Fewer than 5% of single mothers receive aid", Star Online, November 2013.

Literature Review

Single parenthood is not a recent phenomenon. However, based on literature review, the study of DFSM in Malaysia is very limited. Studies have shown that the existence of children makes it less likely for low-income single mothers to have financial savings (Zarina & Kamil, 2012). Poverty among single mothers is caused by many factors such as low-income jobs, low-income self-employment, unemployment, low education level, lack of sufficient skills and age factor (Diyana et al., 2009; Isahak et al., 2009; Roddin et al., 2011; Faizah & Azian, 2013; Faizah & Hazirah, 2013). At the same time, single mothers also face challenges such as stigma, conflicting roles and emotional relationships with children, court visits and problems in dealing with ex-husbands (Majzub & Karim, 1999; Wang, 2004; Ahmad, 2006; Rani, 2006; Diyana et al., 2009; Hamid et al., 2010; Sharma, 2012) and the lack of formal support (Endut et al., 2015). Studies have shown that being a single mother is also connected to migration, for example, the wives are 'left behind' by their migrant husbands for extended periods of time. Sometimes, the migrant husbands will send remittances on a steady basis but there are also cases where the husbands disappear after migrating to the city (Kang'ethei & Mafa Itai (2014). In Zimbabwe, the phenomenon of single motherhood is associated with migration, mortality, unplanned births, as well as personal choices to be single mothers (Kang'ethei & Mafa Itai, 2014).

According to Meda (2013), urbanisation acts as a catalyst for change that weakens tradition as well as family ties and loyalties. Hence, the view that single motherhood is common only among women from socially, economically and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds is incorrect. There are also urban single mothers from the middle and upper class background.

METHODOLOGY

This paper is based on qualitative research examining the narratives of five respondents from a total of 15 respondents. They were chosen to present accounts of their journey as single mothers. The respondents were single Malay mothers, whose age ranged from 30 – 60 years old. Table 2 shows the sample of respondents. This paper takes a narrative analysis approach, using the narratives of respondents as empirical evidence from which anthropological information can be drawn (Franzosi, 1998). Teasing out common threads, this paper analyses how respondents construct the meaning of being DF□ □

Table 1
De facto single mothers cited in this article

Respondents (pseudonym)	Age	Age at the time of marriage	Duration of marriage (years)	Level of education	Recent job	Number of children
1. Neema	57	23	33	Standard 6	Not working	5
2. Rosiah	53	21	20	Form 5	Factory worker – supervisor	5
3. Sally	63	21 and 50 (twice married)	32	Standard 6	Not working	6
4. Saffa	34	23	8	Form 5	Factory worker	2
5. Julia	34	18	13	Form 3	Factory worker	5

Vulnerability Phase

The life of DFSM during the abandonment period is explained through three different phases: Phase 1 - when marital problems emerge leading to a marriage breakdown; Phase 2 - separation phase and Phase 3 - adjustment and coping phase. In each phase, the element of vulnerability is very significant, which includes the feelings of shocks and abandonment. The phases are described as below:

Marriage Breakdown and Separation Phase

There are two major issues that could lead to problems in a marriage: unemployed husbands and extra marital affairs. These issues usually lead to an even bigger problem, which would be financial. One of the respondents was in fact abandoned by her husband after practising polygamy. Financial problems as a result of unemployment have led to abusive relationships. One of the respondents, Neema, still remembers the day when her husband used to be very responsible, but after a decade of marriage, he "became another person" after he decided to take another wife who happened to be her good friend at work. She said, "…*rw had gotten married, he seldom came home and never gave me nafkah (maintenance) anymore. He used to come back once a week, but then not anymore*". Sally, who is unemployed, claimed that her marriage started to crumble when her husband began affairs with several women. Her husband was unemployed throughout their marriage and she had no choice but to find ways to provide income for the family. Sally said, *"...he was bad-tempered and never cared for the children. He would just leave us for a few weeks and sometimes months for several times throughout my marriage. Then, he would come back again and start asking for money and continuously getting angry at his children. After a few years, I said 'enough is enough".*

Similar to Neema, Sally described her 15 years of marriage as a "happy marriage" and never once she expected that leaving him was the best option for her and her children. Sally said, "… *he was a good husband but he changed when he was in his 50s after he got involved with some "bad people'. One day, I heard from a neighbour that he already pronounced talaq (divorce) in front of his friends at the nearby coffee shop. Since then, I never saw him again*".

The constant fights and being left alone to take care of the family for several weeks and sometimes months worsens the already abusive relationship . At this stage, the respondents realise that they have to make a major decision, either to continue in the marriage or to leave their husbands for good in order to protect themselves and their children from becoming victims of domestic violence.

Dealing Phase and Coping Phase

Respondents claimed that the dealing and the coping process after being abandoned by their husbands were the most emotional periods of their lives. They felt betrayed, shocked and numbed as well ashamed. The first thing they did after being abandoned was to move back with their parents while waiting for their emotions to stabilise before taking the next step to seek their 'rights' and to legalise their separation by visiting the Religious Department. It took months for them to pluck up the courage to go to the Religious Department to seek advice on their status and to find out the procedures for an a

Finding out my rights: Journey to the Court House

The courthouse experiences were the most emotional and exhausting journey as described by the respondents. Throughout this journey, they felt embarrassed, abandoned and "numbed" as they did not know their options for the future. Neema narrates, "… *my husband kept on pestering me to stop going to the Religious Department as he didn't want to divorce me".* When asked whether she really wanted to get a divorce, Neema took some time to say, *"...I don't want to ask for a divorce…if I kept on asking for a divorce, I will be accused of "shaking up the Arasy of the Lord". I will commit a sin if I kept on asking [for a divorce] because he did not want to leave me and he will never let that to happen.*

Sally, who had been twice divorced, described the journey to the courts as tiring and exhausting - physically and mentally. For her, a divorce certificate was not important anymore as she would banished any thoughts of remarrying. She said she had just wanted to lead a "peaceful life" with her children *"...I have gone through the first marriage and now the second. It was tiring and exhausting. I just couldn't care less to get the divorce certificate. Really…I don't want to have this unnecessary suffering".* Frequent trips to the Religious Department not only caused them physical and mental stress but they had a huge impact on their working life and their relationships with colleagues and employer. Jamilah, for example, who worked as a factory worker, had sacrificed her entire annual leave allocation to visit the Religious Department. She argued, "*...I spent this year to seek assistance from the Religious Department and now I don't have any more annual leave to take. My manager warned me if I kept on taking leave, I will lose my job. At this moment, my job is more important than the divorce certificate."*

The foregoing described the vulnerabilities as experienced by these single mothers throughout their abandonment phase. In the first two phases, the respondents had to deal with emotional vulnerabilities due to constant confrontations with their husbands leading to the breakdown of their marriage.

Livelihood Diversification

Finance and childcare are the two biggest challenges faced by the DFSM. A majority of them have to find new sources of income (Mustari, 2006). Many seek employment in the factories. This development has seen a massive increase in the employment of women especially young, single women from rural areas (Kinnaird and Momsen, 1993), in the factories. The majority of Malay female factory workers were rural-urban migrants or those who came from a rural background and who became factory workers to reduce their economic dependencies on their families (Ackerman, 1980; Jamilah 1984). The DFSM view factory employment as the gateway to earn better monetary income. Embarking into micro-businesses is another strategy for livelihood diversification. These are low-productivity enterprises that are relatively

simple and home-based, with limited potential for long-term growth (Downing, 1995; Ali et al., 2004). It also does not require much time to be devoted to enterprise management and development.

CONCLUSION

The narratives presented in this article show that the abandonment phase experienced by the DFSM has drastically changed their livelihood strategies. The DFSM are forced to increase their income throughout their abandonment phase pushing them further into a vicious circle of poverty. The discussion also revealed that the major vulnerability faced by the DFSM is on not having a divorce certificate. A divorce certificate is considered a "gateway" for single mothers to seek suitable assistance but the narratives presented above shows that the journey to get the certificate is an arduous one. They face multiple vulnerabilities when the challenges are coming from both sides, from the husband who either have disappeared or not willing to cooperate and also with the lack of assistance from the relevant government agencies. The lack of livelihood resources which include human, social, financial, physical capital and livelihood diversification has forced them in a world of "m

This study has contributed to the understanding of the lived experiences and narratives of de facto single mothers that has been practically 'ignored' in the study of single mothers in Malaysia. Rather than viewing the challenges faced by these DFSM as individual struggles, more efforts are needed to critically examine the lack of state support and to evaluate policy-making to ensure good governance has been practised.

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"Crippled", Creeping and Crawling towards Enlightenment in this Life

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this study is to disseminate the value of my own unique body and seek to be liberate it from the constraints imposed on the disabled by our culture and society. Auto-ethnography is a tool for self-empowerment that guides me to enjoy the journey of self-reflexivity and recovery. Three themes have emerged after the activity of self-reflexivity: i) "disability" is not the problem, ii) "disability" is a hidden or untapped strength and iii) "disability" can be turned into a journey enroute to discovering meaning and the purpose of my existence. My critical, innermost thoughts liberate me from the socially constructed normativising identity traps that try to put the blame, hinder and burden of my unique body, I imprisoning the mind around the identity of a disabled person. This study may become a source of inspiration that helps many others to appreciate and reappraise their own bodies, and discover their individuality as a form of power and impetus for socio-p

Keywords: Autoethnography, disability, self-identity

INTRODUCTION

Auto-ethnography engages the externally constructed and maintained, but also internalised, voices-in-dialogue with individual personal experience as a disabled person but also as a person with a different condition of body and being. I see myself involved in multiple levels of socially constructed consciousness to re-contextualise and recover my true worth and true self-identity. This is a process that engages a critical self-reflection as a means to comprehend how one's self-identity is constructed by and embedded in society and culture and subsequently internalised by the self (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). This is also the inward self-reflection to redefine and reassign meanings. The

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outward and inward reflections enhance self-understanding through the gaze as both insider and outsider to mirror what is dialectically "me and you" and what is "not me and you" (Yuval-Davis, 2010).

Engaging in the reflexive writing process allows the past and present to be more visible. This paper is a recovery and reconciliatory exercise to analyse my past and understand my present and the future.

Writing this paper is intended to trigger your inner resonance to challenge and to nourish your thoughts and empathy.

Thus, I will start by describing my background following an accident, which altered my life and shattered my dreams. Throughout this innermost critical self-reflection process, the interrelationship of "disabled" embodiment, social structure and culture comes alive. This situation enables me to reflect sharply on the meaning of disability, how it is constructed, used, structured and justified as well as the living hell that it creates for people like me.

Personal narrative

Part 1. When I was 16, I had a motor accident. I became a quadriplegic. My life changed completely and for the worse because of this accident.

> *"I cannot do anything by myself. I cannot dress myself. I cannot write. I cannot sit. I cannot walk. I cannot manage my daily affairs…."*

In my case, the impairment, from the medical aspect, is considered to be a high-level of impairment, incurable and therefore a permanent disability. I have been categorized into the disability group based on these two points, deficiency of my physical being and incurable by medical intervention.

> *"So everyone around me felt pity for me… I cannot describe how helpless I felt…and my parents' desperate desire to find a medical cure was overwhelming…"*

> *"I want to be normal…I want to not be disabled. But my life is deemed not worth living because of my new physical condition as it is institutionally constructed, maintained and mislabelled as a disability…"*

The remarks such as "you are crippled", "you are useless", and "you are abnormal", "so pitiful" and by implication, a useless non-productive burden were used to describe me. These remarks rubbed salt to my wound and directly negated my interpretation on the actual meaning and mission of my life. The new state of my physical condition was mislabelled as a "disability" and reduced me to a state of irrelevance, weakness, condemned to stay and live either in isolation or in a welfare institution for the disabled in this so-called civil-minded society in which we live. I was totally lost and had no idea what I wanted to do with my life in the present but especially in regard to my future as well. Am I condemned to live as a dependent and parasite forever? Or do I have to find

ways to prove all the critics wrong? Where should I go? Thoughts like "I cannot do it" or "I am not good enough" were deeply impressed upon me, imposed externally and deeply rooted internally into my mind, my heart, my spirit and my psyche.

The disabling perceptions devalue our quality of "being" and undermine our psycho-emotional well-being (Reeve, 2002). It is because disability contains both spoken and unspoken assumptions to mislabel the identity of disabled people. It is because our society has a set of the hidden rules to classify and justify the differences between the abnormal and normal merely based on physical traits. Thus, we construct our identity according to having or lacking certain physical attributes to represent ourselves and assign the meanings to our performance (Goffman, 1959). Consequently, spoken and unspoken assumptions produce a strong sense of inferiority that governs our mind not to believe in ourselves as capable and able persons and entirely "normal" in our range of capacity.

Part 2. In 2000, my parents sent me to a Handicapped Centre, a special place to accommodate disabled persons. They hoped that I would learn some skills and get some training so that I would become less dependent as well as economically productive. To my great despair, the Centre treated us as dehumanised and pitiable objects at best and as goods and commodities useful for raising funds to run their institutions and provide jobs for themselves. No effort was ever made to know and to understand the residents as unique and able human beings; there were no programmes nor skilled professionals to help us to live independently and with the dignity due to human beings. We were disabled by the very institutions that were set up ostensibly to comfort and empower us.

> *"Awful! Once upon a time, I took it for granted that I deserved to be treated special…I thought the Handicapped Centre would be the best place to train us…But that was not to be the case..."*

To be sure Centres such as those I was admitted to contribute to greater disablement and discomfort to those who cannot live independently, creating the illusion and misperception of dependence in order to survive. This constructed identity of disability is imposed upon disabled persons causing them to become nihilistic, self-negating, self-disabling identities that define who we are, how we understand ourselves and expect to be treated (Stets & Carter, 2011).

Thus, when a body has been marked "disabled", a social stigma is automatically imposed and attached to it (Link & Phelan, 2001). People perceive us on the basis of our disability without distinguishing us as having other characteristics such as gender, race, age and sexuality that make the same subject unique (Linton, 1998).

Part 3. After I left the Handicapped Centre, I went to college in 2006. It was here I realised how the able-bodied misperceived and mislabelled us.

> *"I had a hard time when I applied to study for my diploma in the college. At the beginning, the college did not accept my application because of my disability. They assessed my ability of writing with sprint hand and the speed of typing on a computer."*

Inevitably, my writing and typing was slow. My physical ability and performance to write and type was challenged. I was slow, needing more time on homework. However, they suggested that I find a special school tailored to my situation.

Following much persuasion and a written not to further my studies to the Advanced Diploma level at the Kuala Lumpur campus was accepted.

Society defines disabled people as "victims of misfortune", "otherness" and exploits them as "object of charity", "special" or advertises them as "inspirational" (Cameron, 2008; Lawson, 2001; Peters, 2010). It is how our social system has brainwashed and continues to brainwash our bodies, hearts, minds and spirits to believe that we do not belong to the "normal" world.

Present studies

In this study, I had to struggle to be free and to be liberated from the socially constructed and structurally maintained normativised brainwashing traps so that I could articulate and reflect the reality of a person in my condition. I asked myself repeatedly "Who am I and who are we?", "How do we name and interpret ourselves?" and "What are our rights and privileges as human beings?"

As argued by Shakespeare,

> *"Identity is an aspect of the stories we tell ourselves, to others. ... Previously, there was a limited range of narrative devices and themes available to people with impairment: now, new stories are being told, and we are creating ourselves for ourselves*.... (1996, p. 95).

This study fills in the gaps by assessing the subjective experiences of disabled persons and their disability, to raise self-awareness and freedom from disabling self-identities (Griffo, 2014). Raising positive self-enabling and self-empowering critical self-awareness that focuses on the positive capabilities of disabled persons can liberate them from normativised, socially constructed disabling mislabels. In the stories below the traditionally constructed misperceptions of "disability" are challenged. This exercise is in accordance with the principle of nothing about us without us.

METHODOLOGY

This study applied the auto-ethnography method. Auto-ethnography is a qualitative method that is useful to reflect my unique story, not only to challenge the assumptions

about disability, but also to rethink and consciously revise about our lives (Jones, Adams & Ellis, 2013). As a researcher, we observe ourselves and review how we position ourselves to make our knowledge accessible and transferable to readers (Franks, 2015). It is more explicit to say that the researcher moves from the backstage by immersing into the pattern of thoughts and feelings of inner self-consciousness and brings it to the front stage in order to engage the reader's reflexivity. Throughout auto-ethnography, there was the process to construct, deconstruct and reconstruct my identity (Custer, 2014). This is how I articulated and rearticulated my experiences in order to see my past, reshape my present, and create my future.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The three themes generated after my in-depth self-reflection are as follows i) "disability" is not the problem, ii) "disability" is the hidden or untapped strength and iii) "disability" is the journey enroute for discovering the meaning and p fl

"Disability" is not the problem

As stressed by Oliver (1996), disability has nothing to do with the body. If we cannot accept the reality of our disability, we are unable to appreciate our inner capabilities. It is because of our negative perception that makes us more incapable. Therefore, disability is only the problem if one easily accepts defeat or totally gives up.

Disability is not born but produced by our society (Finkelstein, 2001). For example, if everyone prefers a straight-edged shaped nose but you have an aquiline nose, the aquiline nose is defined as unattractive and automatically you become an "oddball" in the eyes of the majority. You are disabled and disadvantaged by your difference (Baciu, Alexiu & Bîrneanu, 2015). Inevitably, the ways society defines and classifies what is able-bodied or disabled, attractive or unattractive, worthy or worthless hinges on a majority consensus and preference. It is how our society treats people with different body conditions.

Our social, cultural and political systems are exclusively privileged to serve able-bodied people. This is because the disabled are perceived to be unproductive and do not contribute to the national economy and are not "tools" of political interests. It is always a direct consequence of a disabling system that robs the disabled of self and self-confidence. This is how our society sustains the power of superiority to reinforce inferiority of the disabled.

Therefore, disabled people themselves are not the problem but it is the mind-sets of the able-bodied and how they see and think about disability. Is disability seen by the able-bodied as a disability or is it a differing ability that able-bodied cannot accept?

"Disability" is the hidden or untapped strength

This is precisely the body I have, which has given me the power and ability to discern

the richness of strength and understanding of life. It is the physical trait of a human being that warrants the embracement of accessible and inclusive systems to enable and empower the participation of the disabled.

It is not an exaggeration to say that brainwashing traps direct us to believe blindly that disabled people are a homogeneous group that need to be managed. . This is what I went through. After being categorised "disabled", the main task becomes normalising my disability by seeking medical intervention and institutionalisation in a Handicapped Centre.

The value of our lives is not defined by how the society defines our physical psycho-social condition/state. Thus, we need to build up a mature, stable and well-defined identity to strengthen the strong sense of self (Erikson, 1994). Strong sense of self and oneness enables us to express ourselves.

"Disability" is the journey enroute for discovering the meaning and purpose of our existence

We, as individuals have our missions and roles to play too.

> *"If you see our environment, you can find out that there are always some imperfections within perfections. The flowers are beautiful because of the presence of leaves and grass."*

However, most people would focus on the beauty of flowers without realizing that it is because the presence of leaves and grass enhances and magnifies the beauty of the flower. The conclusion is clear: imperfect and perfect would collude with beauty.

Things became lighter and positive when I started to accept myself as a person with different condition of body and being. I realized that I am unfortunate because of my imperfection. I also realised all individuals have a role to play despite their imperfections.

Inevitably, accessibility and inclusion are the capacitors and facilitators for the social engagement of disabled people (Cepolina & Tyler, 2004). This indicates whatever the body functions of the person, the inclusive and accessible environment enable their involvement in the desired activity. There is the need of the strict enforcement to encourage the integration of the accessibility and inclusive practices into every sphere of social development and system (Griffo, 2014). The aims are to enable the disabled and empower the disempowered.

CONCLUSION

I value my unique body and my "self". Self is liberated through new understanding, and then others too can be liberated through sharing of ideas. Thus, loving, affirming and celebrating individual uniqueness. I develop my own sharpness and analytical ability to reclaim my dignity, and liberated. It is not my body condition that is disabling.

It is the social structural system that is disabling as it tries to prevent me from being all that I am and can be.

Just like the Leaning Tower of Pisa, people like to travel and see new things because they want to know why this tower cannot fall and also to wonder when this tower will fall. I will not fall down. I want to be the Leaning Tower. It is because I fully understand,

> *"One will only suffer temporarily if he or she changes, but one will suffer permanently if he or she does not change. I will not fall and will not be seen to fall."*

Indeed, accessibility and inclusion are the common needs for human beings. Poor connectivity from the built environment, public transportation to the facilities of destination remains inaccessible to disabled people and the temporarily disabled, elderly, pregnant women and small children in strollers. Architectural barriers such as stairs, absence of elevators, ramps or steep ramps, etc prohibit participation of disabled people and others in need of accommodation.

Thus, the contribution of this paper is to refresh our self-awareness by sharing the strong beliefs that tie us together and to liberate us from the disabling system and initiate meaningful social change.

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Thinking Empirically about the McDonaldization Thesis in Penang

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ABSTRACT

The motivation for this article began from personal experiences with Ritzer's McDonaldization thesis. This thesis refers to the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant have gradually dominated most sectors of American society and *the world*. Not only has the restaurant business been affected, but virtually every other aspect of society, such as education, work, health care, travel, leisure, dieting, politics, and the family have been also influenced by the McDonaldization thesis. The success of McDonaldization is in its promise of efficiency, calculability, predictability and control, to consumers, workers, and managers. This article examines Ritzer's McDonaldization in Penang.

Keywords: McDonaldization, rationalisation, irrationality of rationality

INTRODUCTION

Fifteen years ago, I wrote an email to George Ritzer after reading his book on the McDonalization. In the email I shared my personal experiences in Malaysia with regard to his McDonaldization thesis on the labour process in the fast-food restaurants. According to Ritzer, principles of the fast-food restaurant have gradually dominated most sectors of American society and *the world*. The followings are some parts of the email to him:[1]

> You have pointed out that the labour process in the fast-food restaurants and other McDonaldized systems have occurred to an extent that customers are now being channelled to do the work (with no pay) which was previously done by paid employees. My personal

[1] Personal communication with Dr. George Ritzer.

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experience has confirmed this. In McDonaldized society, shopping, for example, which was supposed to be a relaxed and pleasure activity, is now rather stressful. This is because customers have to do the work on their own. In another example, I remember when I went to a gasoline station to fill the tank in my car, it was quite a relaxed activity for paid employees at the station handled this work. Therefore, I could usually do some thinking and planning while sitting in my car. However, this is now not possible with the implementation of self-service at gasoline stations in which the customers have to do all the work.

According to Marxist analysis, individual factory workers, rather than families, are paid wages. This money is not sufficient to support workers' families. Therefore, their wives also have to work. As a consequence, capitalists have indirectly coerced more family members to enter the job market. While it is widely known, according to Marxists, that factory workers are exploited, in the sense that they are paid in wages less than the value of the goods and services which they produce, they are, in this case, super-exploited because of individual wages.

> Therefore, it is not only exploitation but super-exploitation that best describes consumers in the McDonaldization society.

The *aim* of this article is to discuss how people in Penang relate to Ritzer's McDonaldization thesis.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Weber's theory of rationality

"Weber demonstrated in his research that the modern Western world had produced a distinctive kind of rationality" (Ritzer, 2010, p. 27), he referred to as *formal rationality*. Formal rationality, for Weber, means that "the search by people for the optimum means to a given end is shaped by rules, regulations, and larger social structures" (Ritzer, 2010, p. 28).

According to Weber, people in the past had been left on their own to discover the best means of attaining a given objective with general help from larger value systems, such as religion. After the development of formal rationality, they could employ institutionalised rules that help them to decide or even to dictate what to do.

Weber argued that *bureaucracy* – his paradigm of formal rationality – helps people discover and perform optimum means to ends. Its main advantages are the four basic dimensions of rationalisation.

First, bureaucracy is the most *efficient* structure for handling large numbers of tasks needing a great deal of paperwork. Weber used the Internal Revenue Service as an example.

Second, bureaucracies place a great emphasis on the *quantification* of as many things as possible. "Reducing performance to a series of quantifiable tasks helps people gauge success". This enables, for example, IRS to handle more cases in an efficient way. "Handling less than the required number of cases is unsatisfactory performance; handling more is excellence" (Ritzer, 2010, p. 28). However, this quantitative approach poses a difficulty for the actual quality of work.

Third, bureaucracies also operate in a highly *predictable* manner because of their well-established rules and regulations. For example, "the millions of recipients of checks from the Social Security Administration know precisely when they will receive their checks and exactly how much money they will receive" (Ritzer, 2010, p. 28).

Finally, "bureaucracies emphasize *control* over people through the replacement of human judgment with the dictates of rules, regulations, and structures" (Ritzer, 2010, p. 29). By only making few judgments people start to resemble human robots or computers. As a result, leaders of bureaucracies can think about replacing people with machines. For example, computers have already begun to take over bureaucratic tasks which were once performed by humans. In addition to this, bureaucracy's clients are also controlled. They may "receive appropriate services in certain ways and not others. For example, people can receive welfare payments by check, not in cash" (Ritzer, 2010, p. 29).

Although bureaucracy offers many advantages, it suffers from the *irrationality of rationality*. A bureaucracy can be a "dehumanizing place in which to work and by which to be serviced" (Ritzer, 2010, p. 29). Takaki described rationalised settings as places in which the "self was placed in confinement, its emotions controlled, and its spirit subdued" (Takaki,1990, p. ix). People, in these settings, are dehumanised, for they cannot always behave as human beings.

Ritzer has illustrated the following irrationalities of bureaucracies:

> Instead of remaining efficient, bureaucracies can become increasingly inefficient because of tangles of red tape and other pathologies. The emphasis on quantification often leads to large amounts of poor-quality work. Bureaucracies often become unpredictable as employees grow unclear about what they are supposed to do and clients do not get the services they expect. Because of these and other inadequacies, bureaucracies begin to lose control over those who work within and are served by them. Anger at the nonhuman technologies that replace them often leads employees to undercut or sabotage the operation of these technologies. All in all, what were designed as highly rational operation often end up quite irrational.

Although Weber was concerned about the irrationalities of formally rationalised systems, he was even more animated by what he called the "iron cage" of rationality. In Weber's view, bureaucracies are cages in the sense that people are trapped in them, their basic humanity denied. Weber feared most that bureaucracies would grow more and more rational and that rational principles would come to dominate an accelerating number of sectors of society. He anticipated a society locked into a series of rational structures, who could move only from one rational system to another – from rationalised educational institutions to rationalised workplaces, from rationalised recreational settings to rationalised homes. Society would eventually become nothing more than a seamless web of rationalised structures; there would be no escape.

A good example of what Weber feared is found in the contemporary rationalisation of recreational activities. Recreation can be thought of as way to escape routes have themselves become rationalised, embodying the same principles as bureaucracies. Among the many examples of the rationalisation of recreation are Club Med and package tours. Take, for example, a 30-day tour of Europe Buses hurtle through only the major cities in Europe, allowing tourists to glimpse the maximum number of sites in the time allowed. At particular interesting or important sights, the bus may slow down or even stop to permit some picture taking. At the most important locales, brief stopover is planned so visitors can hurry through the site, take a few pictures, buy a souvenir, then hop back on the bus to head to the next attraction. With the rationalisation of even their recreational activities, people do live to a large extent in the iron cage of rationality. (Ritzer, 2010, pp. 29–30)

It is now appropriate to review Ritzer's model of rationalisation (McDonaldization).

Ritzer's theory of rationality

While Ritzer's theory of rationality is based on Weber's ideas about rationalisation (formal rationality), he has argued that today's rationalisation is best illustrated by the fast-food restaurant – 'especially the pioneering and still dominant chain of McDonald's [sic] restaurants' (1998, p. vii). Ritzer has, therefore, dubbed this process of rationalisation "McDonaldization process". In short, he has adopted the model of the fast-restaurant (McDonaldization). It is "the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society, as well as the rest of the world" (Ritzer, 2000, p. 1; 2010, p. 4).

The fast-food restaurant is a formally rational system in which people (both workers and customers) are led to seek the most rational means to ends. The drive-through window, for example, is a rational means by which workers can dispense, and customers can obtain, food quickly and efficiently. Speed and efficiency are dictated by the fast-food restaurants and the rules and regulations by which they operate. (Ritzer, 2008, p. 34)

Because McDonaldization/McDonalds offers customers, workers and managers efficiency, calculability, predictability and control, it has affected 'not only the restaurant business, but also education, work, health care, travel, leisure, dieting, politics, the family, and virtually every other aspect of society' (Ritzer, 2001a, p. 198).

Therefore, Ritzer's theory of McDonaldization 'brings the theory [of Weber's rationalisation] into the twenty-first century and views rationalization as extending its reach into more sectors of society and into more areas of the world than Weber ever imagined' (Ritzer, 2008, p. 457).

There are five basic dimensions of the nature of the McDonaldization process:

- Efficiency;
- Calculability;
- Predictability;
- Control by means of technology; and
- Irrationality of Rationality.

Efficiency refers to the effort to find the best possible means to attain whatever end is desired. Fast-food, such as burgers, is assembled and even cooked in an assembly-line manner. This means that workers are trained to work this way by their managers, who supervise them closely. Hence, workers in fast-food restaurants must work efficiently. Highly efficient work is supported by organisational rules and regulations (Ritzer, 2001a, p. 199).

For consumers, McDonalds offer "the best available way to get from being hungry to being full" (p. 198). "Customers want, and are expected, to acquire and consume their meals efficiently. The drive-through window is a highly efficient means for customers to obtain, and for employees to dole out, meals." (Ritzer, 2008, p. 458) Therefore, various norms –rules, regulations, procedures – and structures have been implemented in the fast-food restaurant so as to ensure that employees and customers act in an efficient way.

Second, *calculability* refers to an emphasis on quantity. "Quantity has become equivalent to quality; a lot of something, or the quick delivery of it, means it must be good" (Ritzer, 2001a, p. 199). "People can quantify these things and feel that they are getting a lot of food for what appears to be a nominal sum of money" (p. 199). They always conclude that a trip to the fast-food restaurant will take less time than eating at home. "A notable example of time saving in another sort of chain is Lens Crafters, which promises people 'Glasses fast, glasses in one hour'" (p. 199). However, "the extraordinary profitability of fast-food outlets and other chains, ... indicates that the owners, not the consumers, get the best deal" (p. 199). According to Ritzer,

> [C]ustomers are expected to spend as little time as possible in the fast-food restaurant. The drive-through window reduces this time to zero, but if customers desire to eat in the restaurant, the chairs may be designed to impel them to leave after about 20 minutes. This emphasis on speed clearly has a negative effect on the quality of the dining experience at a fast-food restaurant. Furthermore, the emphasis on how fast the work is to be done means that customers cannot be served high-quality food that, almost by definition, would require a good deal of time to prepare. ... Various aspects of the work of employees at fast-food restaurants are timed. (2008, p. 458)

Workers are expected to work hard with low pay (Ritzer, 2001a, p. 199). The emphasis on speed often serves to adversely affect the quality of work. For example, workers have always experienced job dissatisfaction and work alienation, and as a result, the turnover rates are very high in fast-food restaurants (Ritzer, 2001b, p. 36).

Third, "[b]ecuase McDonaldization involves an emphasis on *predictability*, things (products, settings, employee and customers behavior, and so on) are pretty much the same from one geographic setting to another and from one time to another" (Ritzer, 2008, p. 458). For example, "the workers in McDonaldized systems ... behave in predictable ways. They follow corporate rules as well as the dictates of their manager" (Ritzer, 2001a, p. 200). Therefore, what they do and what they say is highly predictable, for McDonaldized organisations often have scripts that employees are supposed to memorise and follow whenever the occasion arises (Ritzer, 2001a, p. 200; Leidner, 1993).

> Employees are expected to perform their work in a predictable manner, and customers are expected to respond with similarly predictable behaviour. Thus, when customers enter, employees ask, following scripts, what they wish to order. Customers are expected to know what they want, or where to look to find what they want, and they are expected to order, pay, and leave quickly. Employees (following another script) are expected to thank them when they do leave. A highly predictable ritual is played out in the fast-food restaurant – one that involves highly predictable foods that vary little from one time or place to another. (Ritzer, 2008, p. 458)

As Leidner has argued that:

> McDonald's [sic] pioneered the routinization of interactive service work and remains an exemplar of extreme standardization. Innovation is not discouraged ... at least among managers and franchisees. Ironically, though,

> 'the object is to look for new, innovative ways to create an experience that is exactly the same no matter what McDonald's [sic] you walk into, no matter where it is in the world. (Leidner, 1993, p. 82).

Fourth, "employees and customers find themselves in a variety of McDonaldized structures that demand that they behave in accord with the dictates of those structures" (Ritzer, 1998, p. 62). For example, the drive-through window structures both what customers in their cars and employees in their booths can and cannot do (1998, p. 62). Both employees and customers are also culturally "socialized into, and have internalized, the norms and values of working and living in a McDonaldized society" (p. 62).

In addition, employees are also dominated by technology and, increasingly, this will replace them.

> Employees are clearly controlled by such technologies as french-fry machines that ring when the fries are done and even automatically lift the fries out of the hot oil. For their part, customers are controlled by the employees who are constrained by such technologies as well as more directly by the technologies themselves. Thus, the automatic fry machine makes it impossible for a customer to request well-done, well-browned fries. (Ritzer, 2008, p. 458)

Finally, instead of merely producing rationality, the four dimensions of the McDonaldization process have inevitably spawned irrationalities referred to as the *irrationality of rationality*. For example,

> the efficiency of the fast-food restaurant is often replaced by the inefficiencies associated with long lines of people at the counters or long lines of cars at the drive-through window. Although there are many other irrationalities, the ultimate irrationality is dehumanization. Employees are forced to work in dehumanizing jobs, and customers are forced to eat in dehumanizing settings and circumstances. The fast-food restaurant is a source of degradation for employees and customers alike. (Ritzer, 2008, p. 459)

With some empirical data collected from Penang, the theory of McDonaldization is now critically discussed.

THE THESIS OF MCDONALDIZATION AND A CASE STUDY

The empirical data employed in this discussion comes from a study of McDonaldization in Penang (Ch'ng, 2007). While McDonaldization affects many aspects of society – such as education, work, health care, travel, leisure, dieting, politics and the family – the study focused only on the restaurant business. Though the study was conducted eight years ago, the findings still provide useful basis for a discussion of McDonaldization thesis.

METHODOLOGY

While deductive research strategy was adopted, the ideas of McDonaldination were tested qualitatively (Blaikie, 2010, p. 227). Therefore, the sample was selected through a combination of purposive and snowball sampling. Data were collected by in-depth interviewing. The interviews and field notes were analysed thematically (Boyatzis, 1998).

In the study, ten respondents were purposively selected and interviewed in-depth. They were customers of fast food restaurants in Penang. It is necessary to note briefly some demographic background of the respondents. While most (90%) of the respondents in the study were Chinese, only one respondent was Indian.[2] Males and females constituted 30% and 70% respectively. In terms of education background, 90% respondents were degree holders and only one respondent was diploma holder. Seventy percent of the distribution of age among respondents were below the age of thirty and 30% between 45 to 60 years.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

It is possible to identify ten theoretical points of the McDonaldination thesis and to compare them with empirical findings from Penang (Ch'ng, 2007, pp. 88–99).

- Fast-food restaurants streamline the process of eating, and offer finger food to enable efficient consumption.
- People go to the fast-food restaurant for a quick meal.
- Fast-food customers perform unpaid work in fast-food restaurants.
- Fast-food customers believe that they are getting a lot of food for a small price.
- Fast-food consumers do not expect the food to be of high quality. As a result, the customers end up paying more for their food.
- There is standardisation and consistency in every aspect of fast-food restaurant, including the taste of the food, and the behaviour and speech of both the employees and customers.
- Fast-food restaurants have been structured in such a way that the customers cannot linger over meals.
- Fast-food restaurants place greater emphasis on having an overall atmosphere for they often look for theatre/fun more than the food itself.
- Fast-food restaurants create health problems and poor eating habits, especially among children.
- Fast-food restaurants minimise contact between humans. There is no genuine fraternisation between workers and customers.

Streamlining the process of eating and offer finger foods to enable efficient consumption

While many fast-food customers in Penang have acknowledged and valued the various efficiencies and conveniences created by McDonald's, some have reservation about eating with bare hands.

[2] Sample for this study is skewed, focusing only of the Chinese and 1 Indian.

People go to the fast-food restaurant for a quick meal

Fast-food restaurants are more than a stopover for a quick meal for the fast-food customers in Penang. This is because besides going there for a meal, they also used the fast-food restaurants for socialisation, meetings, functions, doing homework as well as celebrating special occasions.

Putting customers to work

Many fast-food customers in Penang have accepted the self-service system found in McDonalds as something very positive because it makes things easier and faster.

Fast-food customers believe that they are getting a lot of food for a small price

Though most fast-food customers have expressed their satisfaction with the food served by McDonalds, some have complained that the food is too much for them. However, all the respondents regarded the prices charged are relatively expensive when compared with local foods. Nevertheless, they are affordable.

Fast-food consumers do not expect the food to be of high quality. As a result, the customers end up paying more for their food

The local customers have given different responses to food quality in McDonald's. For example, some considered the food at McDonald's to be good; others have perceived it as mediocre. However, some respondents have commented that fast food at McDonalds is not worth its price.

There are standardization and consistency in every aspect of fast-food restaurant (such as the taste of the food, the behaviour and speech of both the employees and customers)

Fast-food customers in Penang have generally been comfortable with consistency of the taste of the food at McDonalds. For example, they have found that scripted interaction in the fast-food industry as being normal. Some have praised the system for its lots of benefits. Only a small group of respondents viewed this standardisation critically.

Fast-food restaurants have been structured in such a way that the customers could not linger over meals

According to respondents, fast food restaurants are like social centres, in particular, for younger people. They are not in a hurry to finish their meals and are not urged to leave. Hence, in contrast to the West, they regarded lingering over meals as a habit in Malaysia.

Fast-food restaurants have placed greater emphasis on having overall more than the food itself

The quiet, cool and comfortable ambience of the restaurants, as well as other non-food factors, are some of major reasons they (restaurants) are attractive to customers.

Fast-food restaurants create health problems and poor eating habits, especially among children

While people are fully aware of the dangers caused by fast food, they continue to eat fast food.

Fast-food restaurants minimize contact among humans. There is no genuine fraternisation between workers and customers

There is no personal relationship between the fast-food employees and their customers.

CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions can be drawn. *First*, the force of McDonaldization has been so profound that not many social settings in today's world have been able to escape its domination entirely. However, the discussion in this paper has demonstrated that not all settings are highly McDonaldized. This means that "[w]hile McDonaldized systems seek to mould consumers so that they behave in a uniform manner, they are never totally successful in doing so" (Ritzer, 2001b, p. 58). One of the reasons is that customers do not always simply act in accordance with the demands of McDonaldized systems arising from cultural differences and social backgrounds.

Second, while McDonaldination can be analysed from the aspect of the subjectivity of fast-food customers dealing with this type of rationalization, is more a structural matter (Ritzer, 1998, 2000, 2010). Therefore, some of the responses to the McDonaldization thesis, such as the respondents' perceptions on the issue of putting customers to work at McDonalds, have to be viewed critically. This is because customers may not be fully aware of their social realities, or they may have false-consciousness about their social realities, and give 'a false expression that the self-service system in the McDonalds as something to be very positive just because it makes things easier and faster'.

However, the fact is that McDonaldized structures:

> have discovered that they can even replace paid employees not only with machines, temporary workers and so on, but also with customers who are seemingly glad do the work for nothing! Here, clearly, is a new gift to the capitalist. Surplus value is now not only to be derived from the labour time of the employee, but also from the leisure time of the customers. McDonaldization is helping to open a whole new world of exploitation and growth to the contemporary capitalist. (Ritzer, 1998, p. 70)

Finally, consumers are increasingly being exploited, or super-exploited. The nexus between work and consumption, and its increasing irrelevance should be explored for Malaysia.

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Youth Engagement in Meaningful Activities and Happiness: A Comparative Study of Chinese Undergraduates from Taiwan and Malaysia

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ABSTRACT

Youth need to develop skills and character to enable them to cope with challenges. However, there is limited research on youth's perspectives of meaningful activities and happiness among youth in the Asia Pacific region. Firstly, this study identifies the types of activities that are deemed meaningful to youth. Secondly, it examines if there is any significant relationship between engagement in meaningful activities and happiness and thirdly, it compares youth's engagement in meaningful activities and their happiness level in two institutions in Taiwan and Malaysia. A total of 338 undergraduate students responded to a packet of survey, including self-report of engagement in meaningful activity survey and the Authentic Happiness Inventory. Results show that there is a significant relationship between engagement in meaningful activities and happiness at p .01. Among the activities cited, voluntary work and organised community activities appear to be the factors that constitute youth engagement in meaningful activities and happiness. Tzu Chi Medical students yielded the highest mean scores in Happiness as compared to the students from other departments at $p<.01$. Insight into how engagement in meaningful activities has been found to positively influence youth happiness has significance for educational organizations in programme development, staff training, and evaluation.

Keywords: Youth, engagement, meaningful activities, happiness, community activities

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BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Can extracurricular activities in institutes of higher education support positive youth development and happiness? According to Larson (2000), the increasing risk such as

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suicide, violence, teenage pregnancy, and drug abuse among youth might be the absence of engagement in positive life trajectory. The World Health Organization (2012) reported that nearly 1,000,000 lives are lost yearly due to suicide, which means 3000 suicide deaths occur every day. In particular, suicide among youth has increased to such an alarming rate that those between 15 and 19 year presently are at the highest risk of suicide in up to a third of countries (Cohen, 2014). Both Taiwan and Malaysia are confronted with high suicide rates among youth.

According to Kok and Goh (2011), an estimated total of 425 suicide cases reported between January and August in 2010, were mostly from the youth group. In Taiwan, the relevant stakeholders are concerned because suicide has become the second-biggest cause of mortality last year of youth aged between15 and 24 (Chiu, Lin & Pan, 2014). In short, a series of suicide cases among youth reported in Taiwan and Malaysia in recent years is reason for concern.

Gottfredson, Gerstenblith, Soule, Womer and Lu (2004) found that extracurricular school programmes that provide youth with skill-building activities and happiness may help in reducing at-risk behaviors especially suicidal thoughts. Harun and Salamudin (2010) too posited that personality development can be cultivated through outdoor education programmes. Therefore, good character building among youth is vital to ensure a healthy community. As a core element of positive development, youth must acquire the ability to demonstrate initiative. Larson (2000) and Lee, Kwong, Cheung, Ungar and Cheung (2010) support the argument that initiative is important for agency and independent actions by young adults.

CURRENT STUDY

There is a substantial amount of evidence that extracurricular activities such as community-based projects, volunteerism and sports may lead to youth meaningful engagement and happiness. How do these meaningful activities produce positive outcomes? Do meaningful activities such as community-based projects, volunteerism and sports lead to youth happiness? To date, very limited studies have explored the relationship between engagement in meaningful activities and happiness from the positive psychology perspective. This study firstly identifies the types of activities that are deemed meaningful to youth. Secondly, it examines if there is any significant relationship between engagement in meaningful activities and happiness. Thirdly, it compares youth's engagement in meaningful activities and their happiness level from two private institutions in Taiwan and Malaysia respectively.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF HAPPINESS

One of the recent dimensional perspectives on happiness tends to focus more on how we use our attention and level of involvement

in activities. Compton and Hoffman posited that engagement theory views happiness as a function of how absorbed we are in the activities of life. From this vantage point, a sense of happiness comes from being involved in what we are doing meaningfully. Cantor and Sanderson (1999) argued that happiness is found through participation in activities that are intrinsically motivating. They contended that it is not necessary *which* activities people choose. What is important is the *process* of being fully involved in an active life that really matters.

Seligman (2002, 2011) advocates that meaningful life involves going beyond individual concerns to take on a wider perspective on life, that is, in the service of something more significant than one's self. According to Schmidt (2014), this endeavour may take many paths such as religious practices, humanitarian causes, or career paths that involve helping others or improving policies. This practice creates meaning that improves happiness. We need to be engaged in our daily activities using our own signature strengths and connect with something bigger than ourselves, such as our community (Compton & Hoffman, 2013). The statement has clearly shown that meaningful engagement in life establishes longer lasting happiness. Numerous studies (Biswas-Diener, Kashdan and King, 2009; Yeager and Bundick, 2009; Lyubomirsky and Layous, 2013) explored the meaning of happiness and ways to improve a person's happiness level. Yet, little effort was found to have studied the relationship between youth engagement in meaningful activities and happiness from a positive psychology perspective in the Asia-Pacific region.

YOUTH ENGAGEMENT IN MEANINGFUL ACTIVITIES AND HAPPINESS

Engagement in meaningful activities is one of the highlighted factors that can contribute to happiness. Research also claimed that happier people are both more willing to help others and have more positive outlook in life (Konow & Earley, 2008; Wang & Graddy, 2008; Froh, Kashdan, Yurkewics, Fan, Allen & Glowacki, 2010). Rich (2003) also reviewed that the development of initiative and engagement often emerge from daily activities, especially the ones that the youth are excited about, be totally involved or absorbed in. Bundick (2011) believes that extracurricular activities such as community service and volunteer work stimulate "greater life satisfaction and overall positive development." The above studies clearly show that meaningful engagement in life establishes long lasting happiness. Thus, this study hopes to highlight the importance of what constitutes engagement in meaningful activities and happiness especially through extracurricular activities.

The aim of positive youth development practice is to help the young people acquire an array of competencies and to connect to one self, others, and the community at large (Larson, 2000; Lee, 2007; Compton & Hoffman, 2013). LeBlanc,

Talbot and Craig (2005) and Lerner and colleagues (2005) discuss positive youth development in the context of the six Cs of developmental outcomes, that is, Competence, Confidence, Character, social Connection, and Caring or compassion, and Contribution to community. Their evaluations emphasize the importance of skill development and interpersonal relationships which in turn contribute to youth happiness. In a nutshell, being engaged in meaningful activities may help youth cultivate their purpose and achieve positive experiences related to happiness.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research utilized survey as a scientific tool to collect data from the samples. Quantitative method was employed in this study to reveal the relationship between the variables.

Participants

Purposive sampling was used as only specific samples with certain characteristics relevant to the study are selected as participants (Palys, 2008; Shaughnessy, Zechmeinster & Zechmeinster, 2009). A total of 338 Chinese undergraduates from two private universities, Tzu Chi University (TCU), Taiwan (*n*=143) and Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR), Malaysia (*n*=195) were recruited in this study. The author drew samples from specific faculties (psychology and counselling, social work and medicine who were usually involved in community-based projects/ services and volunteerism) in an effort to examine youth happiness when they were involved in meaningful activities. Table 1 shows the distribution of the demographic variables of the Chinese undergraduates in this study.

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Variable	*n*	%
UTAR respondents	195	57.7
TCU respondents	143	42.3
Gender		
Male	101	29.9
Female	237	70.1
Age		
17-19	156	46.1
20-22	170	50.3
23 & above	12	3.6
Religion		
Buddhist	205	60.7
Christian	42	12.4
Others	91	26.9
Area of Living		
Rural	78	23.1
Urban	252	74.6
Not Stated	8	2.4

Notes. N=338. UTAR – Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia; TCU – Tzu Chi University, Taiwan

Of the 195 respondents from Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman (UTAR), Malaysia, 130 students (38.5%) were from the Department of Psychology and Counselling and 65 students (19.2%) from the Faculty of Medicine and Health Science. Of the 143 respondents from Tzu Chi University (TCU), Taiwan, 59 (17.5%) students were from the Department of Psychology, 37 (10.9%) from the Department of Social Works and 47 (13.9%) from the College of Medicine. The age of the respondents ranged from 17 to 28 which is representative of the youth in this study. Half of the population belonged to the 20-22 age group. In terms of gender, 70.1% of the respondents were female (n = 237) which is the norm of the university in Malaysia and Taiwan where there are more female than male undergraduates. The majority of the Chinese students indicated that they were Buddhists (60.7%) and lived in the urban areas (74.6%).

Procedure

Before embarking on data collection, permission from both the higher institutions was first obtained. Students were recruited and surveyed either online or on paper in the classrooms conducted by the researcher herself. Packets containing participant information letter, informed consent, and the questionnaire were distributed to the respondents. The questionnaire distributed in Malaysia was in English as the students could understand and answer the questionnaire fairly well since the medium of instruction in UTAR is in English. For TCU, the questionnaires in both English and Mandarin versions were administered. The Mandarin version was translated by an expert Chinese language lecturer in Malaysia and further checked by another expert professor in TCU in Taiwan before the questionnaire was distributed. Altogether 338 students responded to the survey.

Measures

The *Engagement in Meaningful Activity Survey (EMAS)* developed by Golberg, Brintnell, and Goldberg (2002) is a 12-item self-report unidimensional scale designed to measure the activities deemed meaningful to the respondents. The measure uses a Likert-type scale (1=rarely; 2=sometimes; 3=usually; 4=always) with items such as "The activities I do help me express my personal value" and "The activities I do give me a sense of satisfaction" with higher mean scores indicating higher level of perceiving the meaningfulness of their activities. In general, the scale reflects individuals' beliefs that their daily activities are similar to their values and needs; provide proof of mastery and competency; and are valued in one's socio-cultural group (Eakman, 2011; Eakman, Carlson, & Clark, 2011).

Goldberg, Brintnell and Goldberg evaluated the psychometric properties of the EMAS which evidenced moderate test-retest reliability (r = .56) and good internal consistency (α = .89). The principal components in the exploratory factor analysis showed a two-component structure

within the EMAS, which is, Personal-Competence and Social-Experiential meaning. It was found that the EMAS demonstrated theoretically predicted zero-order correlations with measures of meaning and purpose in life, depressive symptomology, and life satisfaction. The internal consistency of the survey was α=.88 (Eakman, Carlson, & Clark) and the reliability of the present study was found to be α=.87.

The *Authentic Happiness Inventory* developed by Peterson (2005) to measure general happiness which includes feelings about oneself, general life satisfaction, enjoyment of day-to-day experience, and optimism for the future (Peterson, Park, Steen & Seligman, 2005). The measure consists of 24 items on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 1, e.g. "Most of the time I felt bored" to 5, e.g., "Most of the time I felt fascinated by what I was doing" with higher mean score indicating higher level of happiness. The developers reported high internal reliability for the Authentic Happiness Inventory which was alpha of .95 (Peterson, et al., 2005).

Zabihi, Ketabi, Tavakoli, and Ghadiri (2014) validated the Persian version of AHI through the Exploratory Factor Analysis and the results show high internal consistency (alpha of .93). The results obtained from the Principal Component Analysis (PCA) and the Scree test indicated a four-factor solution as "Meaningful and Purposeful Life", "Pleasure and Positive Emotions", and "Interpersonal Connectedness" which are similar to Seligman's conceptualization of authentic happiness. In the current study, the internal reliability for the Authentic Happiness Inventory was found to be alpha of .93, similar to Zabidi et al.'s study.

A series of descriptive statistics, namely frequency and percentage, and statistical analyses, including Pearson correlations, and *t*-tests were used to analyse the quantitative data. The data were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Science software (SPSS).

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Table 2 displays the ranking of the types of activities (in frequency and percentage) which were deemed meaningful to the students based on ten listed items in the survey.

Table 2
Types of Meaningful Activities as Perceived by the Respondents

No.	Variable	*n*	%
1	Volunteer Activities	70	20.7
1	Community Organizational activities	70	20.7
3	Physical Exercise	41	12.1
4	Socializing	39	11.5
5	Reading	29	8.6
6	Musical Activities	23	6.8
7	Travelling	18	5.3
8	Others	14	4.1
9	Home making/home maintenance	10	3.0
10	Religious activities	8	2.4

Note. Altogether 16 respondents (4.7%) did not attempt to answer this section.

Students cited both volunteer and community organizational activities (*n*=70 or 20.7%) as the most meaningful. It is also worth-noting that the respondents cited physical exercises (*n*=41 or 12.1%) as meaningful. Socializing (*n*=39 or 11.5%) was ranked fourth on the list as meaningful.

Pearson correlation analysis shows that the mean scores of Engagement in Meaningful Activities Scale was positively and significantly correlated with the mean scores of Happiness Scale where r (338) = .50 at p<.01 as in Table 3.

Table 3
Correlation between Engagement in Meaningful Activities and Happiness

Measure	1	2
1. Engagement in Meaningful Activities	-	.50**
2. Happiness	.50**	-
Mean	2.95	2.88
SD	.50	.54

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

An independent-samples *t*-test was run to compare the means for the measures of engagement in meaningful activities and happiness between respondents by different institution/country as in Table 4. There were no outliers in the data; the variable scores were normally distributed; and the homogeneity of variance was not violated.

Table 4
Comparison of Engagement in Meaningful Activities and Happiness by Institution/Country

	Institution						
	TCU (Taiwan) (n = 143)		UTAR (M'sia) (n = 195)		*t*-value	*df*	*p*-value
Measures	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*			
Engagement in Meaningful Activities Survey	3.03	.49	2.89	.50	-2.65	336	.01*
Happiness	2.84	.54	2.91	.55	-1.12	336	.26

Notes. TCU- Tzu Chi University, Taiwan; UTAR – Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman, Malaysia, *p<.05. **p< .01

The result shows significant differences in the mean scores for Engagement in Meaningful Activities Survey at the .05 level. TCU students scored significantly higher (M = 3.03, SD = .49) than UTAR students (M = 2.89, SD = .50) in the mean scores for Engagement in Meaningful Activities Survey where t (336) = -2.65 at $p < .01$. However, the result shows no significant differences in the mean scores of Authentic Happiness Inventory Scale between TCU and UTAR at the .05 level. In other words, the respondents from the two countries do not differ significantly in terms of happiness in relation to engagement in meaningful activities.

In order to look at variation across course types, the analysis of variance *(ANOVA)* was used to compare the mean scores of the engagement in meaningful activities and happiness among the respondents of different departments/ colleges for both TCU and UTAR undergraduates as in Table 5.

Table 5
ANOVA Results for Engagement in Meaningful Activities and Happiness by Course Types

Variables	**Course Types**	***n***	***M***	***SD***	***df***	***Mean Square***	***F***
Engagement in Meaningful Activities	UTAR_PY	130	2.91	.50	4	.62	2.52*
	TC_PY	59	2.95	.55	4		
	TC_SS	37	3.09	.43	4		
	TC_Medic	47	3.09	.46	4		
	UTAR_Medic	65	2.86	.50	4		
Happiness	UTAR_PY	130	2.97	.58	4	1.35	4.76**
	TC_PY	59	2.69	.55	4		
	TC_SS	37	2.82	.53	4		
	TC_Medic	47	3.05	.45	4		
	UTAR_Medic	65	2.78	.45	4		

Notes. UTAR – Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman, TC - Tzu Chi University, PY - Psychology, SS - Social Science, Medic – Medicine, *p <.05. **p < .01

The results revealed significant differences in the mean scores by course types in Engagement in Meaningful Activities and Happiness Measures. TCU students from the Department of Social Science and Medicine scored the highest in the mean scores (M=3.09, SD=.43 and .46 respectively) of Engagement in Meaningful Activities as compared to the students from other departments where F (4,333) =2.52 at p<.05. However, post-hoc analysis using the Tukey HSD test revealed no statistically significant mean differences in the mean scores of Engagement in Meaningful Activities by course types as in Table 6.

Table 6
The Tukey-HSD Post Hoc Test Results for Engagement in Meaningful Activities Measure of Respondents by Course Types

Measure	Course Types	Course Types	Mean Difference (I-J)	p
Engagement in Meaningful Activities	TC_PY	UTAR_PY	.05	.97
		TC_SS	-.14	.68
		TC_Medic	-.13	.64
		UTAR_Medic	-.10	.80
	TC_SS	UTAR_PY	-.19	.26
		TC_PY	.14	.68
		TC_Medic	.00	1.00
		UTAR_Medic	.23	.14
	TC_Medic	UTAR_PY	.18	.20
		TC_PY	.13	.64
		TC_SS	·00	1.00
		UTAR_Medic	.23	.10
	UTAR_PY	TC_PY	-.05	.97
		TC_SS	-.19	.26
		TC_Medic	-.18	.20
		UTAR_Medic	.05	.96
	UTAR_Medic	UTAR_PY	-.05	.96
		TC_PY	-.10	.80
		TC_SS	-.24	.14
		TC_Medic	-.23	.10

Notes. UTAR - Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman, TC - Tzu Chi University, PY- Psychology, SS - Social Science, Medic – Medicine, ***p*< .01

For Happiness Measure, TCU Medical students yielded the highest mean scores in Happiness (*M*=3.05, *SD*=.45) as compared to the students from other departments where *F* (4,333) =4.76 at *p*<.01. Post-hoc analysis using the Tukey HSD test as in Table 7 revealed statistically significant mean differences in the mean scores of Happiness for TCU Medical students against Tzu Chi Psychology students at *p*<.01. On the other hand, the mean scores of Happiness for UTAR Psychology students (*M*=2.97, *SD*=.58) were significantly higher than the mean scores of TC Psychology students (*M*=2.69, *SD*=.55) at *p*<.01.

Table 7
The Tukey-HSD Post Hoc Test Results for Happiness Measure of Respondents by Course Types

Measure	Course Types	Course Types	Mean Difference (I-J)	p
Happiness	TC_PY	UTAR_PY	-.28	.01**
		TC_SS	-.14	.74
		TC_Medic	-.36	.01**
		UTAR_Medic	-.10	.85
	TC_SS	UTAR_PY	-.15	.57
		TC_PY	.14	.74
		TC_Medic	-.23	.30
		UTAR_Medic	.04	.99
	TC_Medic	UTAR_PY	.08	.91
		TC_PY	.36*	.01**
		TC_SS	.23	.30
		UTAR_Medic	.27	.07
	UTAR_PY	TC_PY	.28	.01**
		TC_SS	.14	.57
		TC_Medic	-.08	.91
		UTAR_Medic	.19	.14
	UTAR_Medic	UTAR_PY	-.19	.14
		TC_PY	-.10	.85
		TC_SS	-.04	.99
		TC_Medic	-.27	.07

Notes. UTAR - Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman, TC - Tzu Chi University, PY - Psychology, SS - Social Science, Medic – Medicine, ***p*< .01

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

With respect to the first research question, that is, to identify the types of activities that were deemed meaningful to youth, the findings indicated that volunteer work and community organizational activities (*n*=70 or 20.7%) as the most meaningful. The finding is in line with Froh et al. (2010) and Lee (2007) who posited that helping youth become more concerned about helping others and engagement in meaningful activities might be one way to enhance their positive emotions and personal growth. The finding is also congruent with Farahmandpour (2011) who suggested that a meaningful act of service can be transformative for the students as it gives the young people the opportunity to develop their capacities as they serve the communities. Students consider their activities to be meaningful through this process of action and gained understanding on what it means to build a better world for the community.

Students also cited participation in physical activities (*n*=41 or 12.1%) and

socializing with others (n=39 or 11.5%) as meaningful. The finding is similar to Huang and Humphreys (2010) who found that youth who are involved in sports tend to be healthier, more sociable and develop communicative skills which eventually lead to a happier life. The findings show that both voluntary work and community organizational activities are deemed most meaningful to the respondents. This is in line with Schmidt (2014) who indicated that meaning comes from seeking commitment to serving a cause greater than ourselves especially activities that involved helping and improving the happiness of others.

From the second research question, results from the findings suggest that there was a significant relationship between students' engagement in meaningful activities and happiness at p<.01. The finding is consistent with Larson (2000) and Rich (2003) who reported that students who are engaged in meaningful activities, such as games, hobbies, and arts, experience high levels of intrinsic motivation amounting to happiness. The result confirms the finding of Scales, Blyth, Berkas and Kielsmeier (2000) in that volunteer work and community organizational activities have positive effects on youth' concerns for the welfare of others. The finding is also in line with Wang and Graddy (2008) who suggest that happy people are both more capable in rendering help to others and sustaining positive outlook in life.

In comparing the perspectives between youth in Taiwan and Malaysia for the third research question, TCU Medical students seemed to gain more in term of happiness as compared to the other students in relation to engagement in meaningful activities at p<.01. The findings are consistent with Bundick (2011) who indicated that people who are always engaged in activities which they find personally meaningful are more likely to have their meaning systems reinforced and thus experience greater happiness. Seemingly, the training offered at the Buddhist Tzu Chi University may have played a role in providing holistic care teaching models to the medical students such as compassion.

According to Seppala (2013), compassion may boost our well-being in helping to broaden our perspective beyond ourselves. Seppala posits that depression is linked to a state of self-focus, a preoccupation with "me, myself, and I." Thus, when youth, especially the at-risk youth, shift their focus from self to others, youth may feel energized to help and before they know it, they may even have gained some perspectives on their own situations as well. In a nutshell, youth who are involved in meaningful activities such as helping others, may enhance their positive emotions and lay the foundation for personal growth and experiences.

Most importantly, this research may offer some empirical insights into the relationship between youth engagement in meaningful activities and happiness. The findings show that the structured out-of-school engagements and other meaningful extracurricular activities involvement may provide opportunities for positive youth

development (Bundick, 2011; Larson, 2000). Researchers and practitioners generally agree that thriving youth who have a sense of meaning and purpose live to their true potentials and are reasonably happy with their lives (Bundick, 2011; Ryan & Deci, 2001).

LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF STUDY

At the outset, several limitations need to be highlighted. Firstly, all measures were self-report and based from only two institutions only, namely, Tzu Chi University and Universiti Tunku Abdul Rahman. Therefore, the findings of this study cannot be generalized.

Additional objective assessments and observer reports (e.g. lecturer and peer ratings) might help reduce the potential source of bias of this study. Future research might test a meditational model of engagement in meaningful activities which leads to the identification of meaning and purpose in life, which in turn promotes happiness and positive development among youth. Future research may also carry out pre- and post-testing to measure personal development and happiness, before and after engaging in meaningful activities. Longitudinal designs with at least follow-ups and in-depth interview sessions will enable a better understanding of the processes that lead to more positive outcomes in youth.

CONCLUSION

This research supports the importance of engagement in meaningful activities and its relationship to happiness in youth. The results suggest that students derive a sense of happiness from being involved in activities that are intrinsically motivating and meaningful to them. This study breaks new ground by discovering the importance of instilling humanity such as compassion as part of positive youth development. Tzu Chi University emphasizes the importance of humanistic values which can be recommended to higher institutions, not only in Malaysia but also to other parts of the world. Indeed, among the structured out-of-school engagements, extracurricular involvement may provide opportunities for positive youth development. Engaging in meaningful activities such as community service and instilling the passion to help others can promote happiness in youth, in the present and future. It is hoped that this study may inspire institutions, organizations, or health practitioners to develop innovative programs in order to change the mindset and build the competencies in youth.

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The Effect of Perceived Racial Discrimination on Aggression

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ABSTRACT

Racial discrimination is back as a hot topic. Although studies documented that racial inequality negatively influences racial minorities , the relationship between perceived racial discrimination and aggression is unclear. Therefore, this study aims to explore the impact of perceived racial discrimination on aggression in Malaysia. A total of 136 adults responded to an online survey consisting of the Brief Perceived Ethnic Discrimination Questionnaire-Community Version (Brief PEDQ-CV) and Aggression Questionnaire 12 (AQ-12). Correlation analysis found positive relationships between subscales of perceived racial discrimination (Exclusion, Workplace Discrimination/Discrimination at school, Stigmatisation, Threat and Harassment, & Police) as well as aggression (Physical Aggression, Verbal Aggression, Anger, & Hostility). The Police subscale, however, was only associated with Physical Aggression. Gender differences were found in Physical Aggression, with males scoring higher than females. Multiple regression analyses showed that Exclusion has impact on both Anger and Hostility. The findings of this study contribute to relevant literature by showing that people become angry and hostile when they are being racially excluded. The results also highlight the importance of racial equality in individual ll-beings in addition to creating awareness of racial discrimination in Malaysia.

Keywords: Racial discrimination, aggression, exclusion, gender differences, Malaysia

INTRODUCTION

Racial discrimination includes making false accusations on members of races perceived to be inferior, limiting the access and quantity of resources for minorities, and dismissing contributions by minorities (Sanson et al., 1998).

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Despite efforts to understand perceived racial discrimination (PRD), most of the studies emphasized the negative impact of PRD on physical health (e.g., Borrell, Kiefe, Diez-Roux, Williams, & Gordon-Larsen, 2013) and mental health (e.g., Carter, 2007; Coker et al., 2009; Lowe, Okubo, & Reilly, 2012). Little attention has been given to the relationship between PRD and aggression (Beal, O'Neal, Ong, Ruscher, 2000). Hence, the relation between PRD and aggression is not clear, though racial discrimination manifests itself in physically aggressive manners (e.g., taunt) and verbally aggressive manners (e.g., racial slurs) (Sangalang, Chen, Kulis, & Yabiku, 2015).

This study investigated the effect of PRD on aggression in Malaysia, a multiracial country that consists of Malays, Chinese, Indians, and other indigenous people (e.g., Iban, Kadazan). Unlike past studies, we examined the impact of each facet of PRD (e.g., Exclusion, Workplace Discrimination/Discrimination at school) on various aspects of aggression (e.g., Physical Aggression, Hostility). It is expected that the results can provide greater knowledge of the influence of PRD on aggression. Specifically, the results may clarify whether both young and working adults who experienced racial discrimination behave aggressively in a specific dimension. The findings highlight the negative impact of PRD and encourage more studies to be done on PRD.

Perceived Racial Discrimination

PRD refers to one's experiences of receiving negative attitudes, judgment, or unfair treatments by others due to one's racial identity or skin colour (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009). These experiences are manifested in quotidian situations, such as being ignored while queuing up or being mistaken as a server (Banks, Wood, & Spencer, 2006). PRD is crucial to be discussed because it is wholly based on one's perception towards an incident and it might not reflect the actual event or the intention of the perceived perpetrators.

Past studies have shown that PRD is positively associated with traumatic stress (Carter, 2007; Lowe et al., 2012), anxiety (Carter & Forsyth, 2010; Gibbons et al., 2014), depression (Cheng & Mallinckrodt, 2015; Triana, Jayasinghe, & Pieper, 2015), hostility/anger (Gibbons et al., 2014), and substance abuse (Brodish et al., 2011; Otiniano Verissimo, Grella, Amaro, & Gee, 2014). A meta-analysis study (Pascoe & Smart Richman, 2009) on the impact of PRD indicated that PRD has negative effects on physical health (e.g., cardiovascular disease, diabetes, nausea, pain, & headaches), mental health (e.g., depression, anxiety, psychosis or paranoia, stress, & post-traumatic stress) and general well-being (e.g., lower self-esteem, lower life satisfaction, quality of life, & low happiness). Taken together, PRD has a negative impact on mental health (Coker et al., 2009). Furthermore, mental health (e.g., depression) was found to have an impact on a.. Özdemir, Kuzucu, & Koruklu,

2013). Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that there is a positive relationship between PRD and aggression.

Aggression

Researchers (e.g., Bushman & Huesmann, 2010; Geen, 2001; Krahé, 2013) generally agreed that aggression is a cluster of behaviours that are conducted with the intention of harming and injuring others who evade such treatments (Baron & Richardson, 1994). Aggression should not be confused with violence. Violence is a type of aggression with the intention of causing extreme harm such as death/murder (Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Anderson & Huesmann, 2003). Other researchers (Buss & Perry, 1992; Baron & Richardson, 1994; Geen, 2001; Anderson & Huesmann, 2003) emphasised that aggression involves a cluster of components, such as physical, verbal, affective/anger, hostile, instrumental, proactive, and reactive aD D

Buss and Perry (1992) developed the Aggression Questionnaire - 29 items to measure the physical, verbal, emotional (i.e., anger), and cognitive (i.e., hostility) aspects of aggression. In regards to Physical Aggression and Verbal Aggression, the behavioural components of aggression comprise of direct (e.g., physical assault onto others or fights, scolding or insulting others) and indirect methods (e.g., talking behind one's back) of harming, injuring, or hurting others (Buss & Perry, 1992; Bryant & Smith, 2001). Anger, which is the emotional/affective component of aggression explains the preparation/ intention to harm another in the midst of provocation (Bryant & Smith, 2001; Anderson & Huesmann, 2003). The cognitive component of aggression, Hostility, constitutes perceived unfairness and feelings of bitterness (Bryant & Smith, 20

Perceived Racial Discrimination and Aggression

Many studies found a positive correlation between PRD and aggression (Nyborg & Curry, 2003; Flores, Tschann, Dimas, Pasch, & De Groat, 2010; Borrell et al., 2013).

Brody and colleagues (2006) conducted a longitudinal study to examine the relationship between PRD, physical well-being, and mental well-being among adolescents. The researchers found a positive relationship between PRD, conduct problems (e.g., physical assault, cruelty to animals), and depressive symptoms. Similarly, Nyborg and Curry (2003) found a positive relationship between PRD and externalising (e.g., fighting) and internalising symptoms (e.g., hopelessness, low self-confidence) among African-American children and adolescents. Another study, Flores et al. (2010) examined the impact of PRD on health risk behaviours among Mexican-American adolescents and they found that PRD predicted engagement in fights, alcohol abuse, and post-traumatic stress.

Studies have also found that PRD has a negative effect on the emotional

and cognitive components of aggression. Mills (1990) conducted an experiment to investigate the emotional reactions of African-Americans and White Americans after watching videos that contain racist incidents. Results showed that both African and White participants reported high anger and anxiety after watching the video. The findings implied that participants of both races equally experienced anger when they rated the video as PRD. Likewise, Swim, Hyers, Cohen, Fitzgerald, and Bylsma (2003) examined quotidian discrimination events experienced by African-Americans in a predominantly European-American i

The undergraduates reported feelings of anger and being threatened when they experienced racial discrimination. Pittman (2011) examined the role of anger in racial discrimination among African-Americans. Male African-Americans were reportedly using active anger (e.g., confrontation) as a coping strategy in order to cope with daily stressful racism-related incidents.

Gibbons et al. (2010) examined the impact of PRD on substance abuse. The researchers found that PRD indirectly influenced substance abuse through hostility. Therefore, people tend to be hostile when experiencing racial discrimination. A hostile feeling, in turn, increases substance usage. In a follow up study, Gibbons et al. (2014) found that PRD increased internalising reactions (i.e., anxiety and depression) as well as externalising reactions (i.e., hostility). These two types of affective reactions, in turn, predicted substance use and physical health status. Taken together, PRD is associated with aggression in the midst of perceived racial discrimination. Therefore, aggression (e.g., Anger, Hostility) may be the channel for individuals to relieve the discomfort of experiences of racial discrimination (Chao, Mallinckrodt, & Wei, 2012).

A recent study by Umaña-Taylor (2016) reviews past empirical works on protective factors and negative consequences of racial discrimination among racial minority individuals. The study reported that individuals who experienced perceived racial discrimination events are more likely to have behavioural problems, such as aggressive behaviours and substance abuse. Additionally, Unnever, Cullen, and Barnes (2016) examined the longitudinal changes induced by perceived racial discrimination experiences amidst African-Americans youths. Results showed that perceived racial discrimination experiences were associated with violent behaviours, skipping schools, and weakening teacher-s

Gender Differences in Aggression

The literature suggests that there could be gender differences in aggression. For instance, Brody et al. (2006) found that male adolescents were more likely to engage in inappropriate behavioural conducts (e.g., physical assault) than females. The researchers reasoned that the observed gender difference could be due to the belief that physical aggressive

behaviour is a proper and effective coping method for males to channel their anger and distress. Gender differences in aggression were also supported by the study conducted by Chao et al. (2012). They found that African-American men reported higher levels of anger and irritability compared to women. This might be due to the social expectation and perception that aggression is an adaptive coping method for males whereas it is deemed improper for females (Bushman & Huesmann, 2010). However, it is crucial to highlight that females also engage in aggressive behaviours. Indeed, females are more likely to engage in indirect and nonphysical forms of aggression (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Anderson & Huessmann, 2003; Bushman & Huesmann, 2010) than males.

The Present Study

Although the relationship between PRD and aggression is documented, it is interesting to know their significance in Malaysia. More importantly, we extended previous studies in order to examine the effects of each facet of PRD (e.g., Exclusion, Workplace Discrimination/ Discrimination at school, Stigmatisation, Threat and Harassment, and Police) on different dimensions of aggression (e.g., Physical Aggression, Verbal Aggression, Anger, and Hostility). In addition, gender differences in aggression were examined and controlled in the present study in order to examine the impact of PRD on aggression. It was hypothesised that racial discriminatory experiences have a positive impact on engagement in aggressive b

METHODOLOGY

Participants

The sample consisted of 136 Malaysian adults and undergraduate students who were recruited via the snowball sampling method. Half of them identified themselves as female and the majority of the participants were Chinese (83.1%), followed by Indian (15.4%), and Malay (1.5%). Individuals below 21 years old were required to submit a parental consent form in order to participate in our study. Participants aged from 19 to 59 years old (M = 24.39, SD = 7.77). Adults voluntarily participated in the study whereas undergraduates received one (1) mark for their coursework as a token of appreciation.

Measures

Brief perceived ethnic discrimination questionnaire - Community version (Brief PEDQ-CV; Brondolo et al., 2005). The Brief PEDQ-CV is a self-report inventory that consists of 17 items and it is a shorter version of the 85-item PEDQ-CV (Brondolo et al., 2005). It has five subscales: Exclusion (4 items), Workplace discrimination/Discrimination at school (4 items), Stigmatisation (4 items), Threat and Harassment (4 items), and Police (1 item). Participants respond to the items on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*Very Often*). A higher score indicates

that participants have more experiences of facing PRD. The Brief PEDQ-CV showed good internal consistency: α = .80 for Exclusion, .71 for Workplace Discrimination/Discrimination at school, .81 for Stigmatisation, 84 for Threat and Harassment, and scoring .92 for the overall scale). Moreover, the Brief PEDQ-CV was found to have construct validity (Brondolo et al., 2005).

Aggression Questionnaire-12 (AQ-12; Bryant & Smith, 2001). The AQ-12 is a simplified version of the 29-item Aggression Questionnaire (Buss & Perry, 1992) and was used to measure the general aggression level. The four subscales reflect the a) behavioural (Physical Aggression, Verbal Aggression), b) emotional (Anger), and c) cognitive (Hostility) aspects of aggression (Buss & Perry, 1992). Participants rated their response on a 5-point Likert scale that ranged from 1 (*Not at all like me*) to 5 (*Completely like me*). A higher score indicates more involvement in aggressive behaviours. The AQ-12 was found to have good internal consistency: α = .88 for the overall scale, while .79 for Physical Aggression, .73 for Verbal Aggression, .85 for Anger, .82 for Hostility. Past studies showed that the AQ-12 has good construct and discriminant validity (Bryant & Smith, 2001).

Procedure

An online questionnaire was created and the link to the questionnaire was distributed by the authors to participants. Adults who voluntarily participated in the study responded to the survey at their convenience. Undergraduate students recruited from a private university in Malaysia answered the questionnaire in a group of 3 to 20 in a computer lab. Individuals below 21 years old were required to submit a parental consent form in order to participate in our study. Upon being giving informed consent, participants were directed to answer a battery of questionnaire that consisted of the Brief PEDQ-CV, AQ-12, as well as demographic background (e.g., age, gender, occupational status, and race). On average, participants took 20 minutes to complete the online survey.

RESULTS

Pearson correlation analysis was used to examine the relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and aggression. Table 1 shows the inter-correlation among the factors and the descriptive statistics. All the facets of the Brief PEDQ-CV and AQ-12 were positively correlated. However, the relationships between Police and Verbal Aggression, Police and Anger, and Police and Hostility were not statistically

s %

Subsequently, several multiple hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to investigate the effect of PRD on the facets of aggression. Specifically, we examined the effect of gender on aggression in the first step and the effects of facets of PRD on aggression in the second step. The Police factor was not included in the analyses of Verbal Aggression,

Anger, and Hostility because no significant relationship was found between these factors.

For Physical Aggression, the model significantly predicted 25% of the total variance, adj R^2 = .22, F (6, 129) = 7.16, $p < .001$. It was also found that only gender, but not the facets of PRD significantly predicted Physical Aggression, β= .25, t (135) = 2.96, $p = .04$. Specifically, males (M = 6.94, SD = 3.01) reported more aggressive behaviours than females (M = 5.52, SD = 2.50). For Verbal Aggression, the model explained 19.1% of the total variance, adj R^2 = .16, F (6, 129) = 5.09, p < .001. However, none of the predictors showed a significant effect on Verbal Aggression.

Analysis on Anger showed that the model predicted 22.8% of the total variance, adj R^2 = .20, F (6, 129) = 6.36, $p < .001$. Exclusion was found to significantly predict Anger, β= .49, t (135) = 4.04, $p < .001$. No other effect was found. For Hostility, the model predicted 26.1% of the total variance, adj R^2 = .23, F (6, 129) = 7.58, $p < .001$. Similarly, only Exclusion significantly predicted Anger (ß= .53, t (135) = 4.43, $p < .001$). Table 2 summarises the results of the regression analyses.

DISCUSSION

This study examined the impact of perceived discrimination on aggression. In line with the literature, our findings show that PRD (i.e., Exclusion, Workplace Discrimination/Discrimination at school, Stigmatisation, and Threat and Harassment) were positively correlated with the four dimensions of aggression (i.e., Physical Aggression, Verbal Aggression, Anger, and Hostility), respectively. However, the Police factor (of the PRD) was only positively associated with Physical Aggression. In general, our results show that people tend to be aggressive when they are racially discriminated.

Gender differences were observed in Physical Aggression. Specifically, male participants reported more engagement in physical aggressive behaviours than females (Brody et al., 2006; Chao et al., 2012). The result is consistent with previous studies and the approach that aggressive behaviours are more accepted for males than females.

In line with previous studies (Swim et al., 2003; Gibbons et al., 2010; Chao et al., 2012; Gibbons et al., 2014), our results show that Exclusion has an impact on both Anger and Hostility, which are the emotional and cognitive component of aggression. Therefore, individuals who experienced racial discrimination tend to have higher levels of anger and hostility. The finding suggests that participants cope and respond to perceived racial discrimination incidents by expressing Anger and Hostility instead of behavioural actions. More studies, however, are needed to replicate the findings of the impact of perceived racial discrimination on Anger and Hostility as well as to understand the underlying mechanism of the relationships.

There is a possible reason for the contradiction between our study and previous studies. We hypothesised that participants express their distress or anger elicited by racial discrimination through other pathways (e.g., social media). Studies (Niu, Liu, Sheng, He, & Shao, 2011; Park, Song, & Lee, 2014) found that the usage of social network sites increases participants' psychological well-being and decreases the negative effect of stress. Therefore, it is possible that individuals who experienced racial discrimination resort to social media to relieve their perceived racial distress instead of resorting to aggression.

The findings narrate racial discrimination incidents in Malaysia. Racial minorities face discrimination in economy policies, educational, and employment opportunities. For example, a banner that urges realtors to refrain renting their condominium units to African tenants was publicly placed at a condominium in Cheras during June 2016. The perceived racial discrimination on accommodation services might then be absorbed into emotion (Anger) and they might perceive the racial injustice in a hostile (Hostility) manner.

Our findings expand the understanding of the relationship between perceived racial discrimination and aggression. Specifically, the present study contributes to the body of knowledge by showing that individuals who are racially excluded tend to resolve their negative feelings through emotional and cognitive, but not physical and verbal aggression.

CONCLUSION

Our findings suggest that PRD may impact on aggression. Specifically, Exclusion may have an impact on Anger and Hostility, the emotional and cognitive components of aggression. Future studies are suggested to further explore the underlying mechanism of the relationship between PRD and aggression, and to introduce coping strategies for victims of racism.

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The Lurking Racism: Exploring Racial Microaggression in the Malaysian University Setting

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ABSTRACT

Does racism endure? Should it still exist in an open, liberal multicultural society particularly with the establishment of anti-discriminative laws and societal development? Racism should be minimal among the educated populace in a university where individuals are more likely to be motivated to act in an objective and non-prejudiced manner. Have the programmes and policies that stress on fairness and equality suppressed the manifestation of racism into modern racism? Racial microaggression is an indirect and subtle form of racism that happens in everyday life that may be intentionally and unintentionally executed by the perpetrators and often catch the recipients off-guard. This research aims to unearth the themes of racial microaggression experienced among Malaysian public university scholars. It also explores the reactions of people experiencing racial microaggression. A qualitative study involving personal, one-to-one in-depth interviews was conducted with 40 undergraduates, from 4 racial groups (Malay, Chinese, Indian and East Malaysian) recruited through purposive and snowball sampling. Interpretational Phenomenological Analysis was used to analyse the data. Results indicated 11 common themes such as: (i) Paradox of over-scrutiny/ overlook, (ii) Differential treatment towards people from different race/ religion, and (iii) Assumption of superiority/ inferiority/ intelligence due to race. The reactions include thoughts (e.g. disbelieve) and negative emotions (e.g. disappointment). The results of this research are important in revealing and understanding the phenomenon of racial microaggression. The present research may deliver informative insights into the reality of inter/ intra-ethnic interaction in a university raising awareness and helping to develop effective measurements to reduce such behaor

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INTRODUCTION

Sue and colleagues (2007) defined racial microaggression as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioural and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory or negative racial slights and insults that potentially may cause harmful or unpleasant psychological impact on the target person or group". The operational definition of this study is an indirect and subtle form of racism that commonly takes place in daily life, which could be manifested in a verbal or non-verbal form, often performed automatically and involuntarily by the perpetrators. In most cases, recipients are unaware that they have been the target of racial microaggression.

The racial situation in Malaysia could be illustrated by "National integration is a phenomenon as much as national disintegration" (Huntington, 1965, p. 392). In spite of the national integration efforts to eradicate the boundary that exists among ethnic groups in Malaysia (e.g. "1Malaysia"[1] policy) Malaysians are still compartmentalized into various ethnic groups. Each ethnic group predominantly practices unique culture and custom, as well as speaks its own mother tongue (Hashim et al., 2012). In the context of academic settings, one of the purposes of vernacular public schools is using a mother tongue as the teaching medium. Consequently, students who use that particular mother tongue predominantly attend that particular school. Such example is students of Chinese and Indian ethnicity are more likely to enrol in a Sekolah Jenis Kebangsaan (Public vernacular school) with Mandarin and Tamil, respectively, as the medium of language for teaching. This practice could be seen as an attempt to ensure cultural independence and preservation. However, on the other hand, it may create a communication and interaction barrier among people of different ethnicities, which may potentially segregate them since their tender age.

Consequently, all of the above-mentioned issues arguably may have contributed to "fragmented society" whereby racial stereotypes and prejudices might be latent and could potentially manifest into acts of racism. However, overt racism is not allowed to be publically expressed. In Malaysia, there are specific laws that regulate against direct racist acts or propagation of racist innuendo such as: The Internal Security Act 82 (1960), the revised Sedition Act 15 (1969) and the Printing Presses and Publications Act 301 (1984). On top of that, multicultural national campaigns such as "1Malaysia" has been widely introduced to encourage integration, "colour-blindness and neutrality of law" within the Malaysian multicultural society (Bahagian Penerbitan Dasar Negara, 2009). Such efforts may be effective in suppressing the manifestation

[1] 1 Malaysia integration policy was introduced by Prime Minister Najib Tun Razak to foster unity and sense of nationalism among different ethnic groups in Malaysia (Bahagian Penerbitan Dasar Negara, 2009)

of racism but not in eradicating the more covert act of racism like racial microaggression.

Arguably, direct acts of racism are no longer acceptable among educated population in the university; the academic culture does not tolerate open acts of racism. In addition, the Malaysian anti-discriminative regulation under the Federal Government Gazette (section 8) specifies the prohibition of public acts of racial and religious discrimination in various level of university bureaucracy (Attorney General Chamber, 2011) and university guiding principles that emphasize on maintaining socio-cultural integrity and sensitivities (USM Official Web Portal, 2013). However, this may not be applicable for subtle act of racism that is covert and difficult to detect such as racial microaggression (Sue et al., 2007). There is also a limited awareness, understanding and studies on the subject of racial microaggression due to its hidden and subtle nature, which may further instigate its occurrence.

This study aims to explore racial microaggression in the academic settings of universities. More specifically, it explores the themes and reactions arising from experiences of victims and perpetrators of racial microaggression in the context of Malaysian university. We also argue that current understanding of racial microaggression is mostly guided by studies conducted in the western context. This study will contribute to a cultural-specific and deeper understanding of the issue.

LITERATURE REVIEW

As much as people are maintaining an egalitarian facade, they might either voluntarily or involuntarily, still hold some biases and prejudices when interacting with people outside their ethnic group (Essed, 1991). In their struggle to act and appear equal, there may still be some subtle form of inequality that can be interpreted as acts of racial microaggression. The struggle may occur more often in academic setting where people strive to be open and liberal. In an academic setting, racial microaggression may persist despite people's effort to be objective and socially desirable (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996).

Looking at the past literatures in the Western context, several themes of racial microaggression had been identified. Firstly, Sue, Lin, Torino, Capodilupo and Rivera (2009) found that a difficult racial communication frequently occurred between the college student of colour and other white students or instructors in the US. In their study, they found several themes which were categorized into 3 major domains: (i) "Racial microaggressions as precipitators of difficult racial dialogues", (ii) "Reactions to difficult dialogues" and (iii) "Instructor strategies for facilitating difficult dialogues". Some examples of the themes from the first domain is "ascription of intelligence", where the victims of colour were perceived as being less intelligent compared to their white peers. Another theme is "denial of racial reality" where the victims of racial microaggressions reported their answers were often ignored

in the class. (The theme "alien in own land" refers to the situation when someone spoke slowly to an Asian-American student, assuming he or she could not speak fluent English when in reality, they are Americans and speak fluent English.

In addition, many African-American female students from McCabe's (2009) study experienced racial microaggression in the form of feeling invisible in the class. Their opinions were often disregarded as trivial or their presence was overlooked because of their race. One participant recounted that she often speculated her white peers' perception towards her; whether she was avoided because of her race or her body odour. Such doubt is attributed to the subtle nature of racial microaggression where the victims are often in a dilemma about the occurrence of microaggression or tend to dismiss it as being innocuous.

Ironically, many female African-American college students from McCabe's (2009) study experienced the "paradox of invisibility". Instead of being "invisible", they were also put under the spotlight on different occasions. Lecturers often picked them to be a spokesperson to represent their race, which was often the minority racial group in the class. Two participants recounted to be under the pressure because others misconstrued their opinion to be a representation of their race as a whole. In reality, no group of people thinks alike. The burdens intensified when the lecture was on racial topic, illustrating the covert verbal and non-verbal microaggression performed by the lecturers or peers that indirectly indicated the African-American students as being different. Consequently, they often felt anxious and isolated (McCabe, 2009). In this case, anxiety and isolation are the reactions to racial microaggression.

Outside the classroom context, "paradox of invisibility" also occurred in the form of assumption of criminality. An African-American participant in McCabe's (2009) study reported that he was stopped and checked by the police when he was walking towards his car at night after a party (McCabe, 2009). The most prominent evidence was the omnipresence of authorities on the dorm level whereby the African Americans were the major residents. The authorities imposed stricter penalties on African American male students as compared to other race committing the same offences. For an instance, one of the African American male participants was arrested for bringing in alcohol to the dorm. He described his experience as "paradox of invisibility"; the black men were either overlooked or closely scrutinized due to the negative stereotype attached to their race and gender (McCabe, 2009).

From the abovementioned past studies, it can be observed that each study examined a sample of participants from a homogenous group of ethnicity. The current study fills the gap by deriving balanced racial microaggression findings from participants of equally all ethnics representative in Malaysia. In addition, racial microaggression themes arose from

the past studies mainly represented the western perspective and culture. Due to the rarity of racial microaggression literature on eastern context, the present study offered racial microaggression findings pertinent to eastern perspective and culture, particularly from Malaysian context.

In Malaysia, people of different ethnicities live in close proximity which makes them conscious about their own ethnic identity when socializing with the people from different ethnic groups. Consequently, social identity and social categorization processes easily happen that may be prone to interethnic clash and prejudice. According to Tajfel (1974), social categorization and social identity process whereby people strongly identify and classify themselves into "in-group" and "out-group". Such process may be the underlying mechanism for racial microaggression and most probably shape the experience of the participants in racial microaggression situation. The present research looked into the possible racial microaggression experiences of university students in multicultural and multi-ethnic environment in Malaysia.

Previously, the first author had also conducted a research at a university in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Despite all the participants being Psychology major students, the experience of racial microaggression was found to be rampant among the participants, whether in verbal or non-verbal form, especially when openly discriminatory behaviours were condemned (Lino, 2010). All types of racial microaggression, i.e. micro assault, micro insult and microinvalidation were reflected in the participants' experiences. Currently, the number of published studies in this area and on Malaysia is still small. In addition, victims of racial microaggression can experience negative emotions following the experiences. According to Solorzano et al. (2000), microaggression directed at college students can cause negative emotional consequences and hampered both of their social and academic life. Through interviews she also discovered such impacts on the African American and Latin American minority students from the majority of the Caucasian American campus who experienced negative experience with racial microaggression. In addition, according to McCabe (2009) and Hurtado et al. (1999), African American and Latin American students who were often subjected to racial jokes felt lonely, isolated and invisible. Consequently, they experienced negative emotions and declined academic performance (McCabe, 2009). Such latent threats may impede victims' well-beings but not known to many, as opposed to the obvious effects of traditional racism. Therefore, in addition to the experiences of racial microaggression, the present study intends to explore the corresponding recipients' reactions towards their racial microaggression experiences in Malaysian university context.

METHODOLOGY

The present study had been approved by the Jawatankuasa Etika Penyelidikan Manusia (Ethics Committee for Human Research).

It complies with the ethical standards and procedure in conducting research. The present study adopted qualitative method, particularly one-to-one, in person interview. The interview transcripts were interpreted using Interpretational Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) technique whereby the research took into account the participants' perspective and worldview from their racial microaggression experiences.

Forty Malaysian students had been selected from a public university in the Northern part of Malaysia. They were 12 male and 28 female undergraduates who had been studying for at least two years in the university. The participants were selected through purposive and snowball sampling form a university-wide course. There were 10 Chinese, 10 Indians, 9 Malays, 7 Sabahan and Sarawakians and 4 mixed racial parentage students. These students were from across 22 different majors and 12 different schools to represent a thorough demography of the university population.

Participation in the current study was completely voluntary. They were briefed on ethical procedure and instructed to complete a simple demographic information forms. Permission was acquired from the participants prior to audio recording of the interview sessions, which took approximately 40 minutes. After the interview, the participants were given debriefing statement to ensure minimal psychological impacts of the study to the participants.

The first author's status as a non-Malaysian was beneficial in maintaining neutral perspectives when interviewing the participants and analysing the interview data from third party's perspective.

An example of interview questions:

1. Every day, you come into contact with people such as friends, room-mates, classmates, lecturers and other staff in the university. What were some of the subtle ways that these people treat you differently because of your race? Would you mind providing some examples? (who, what, where, when, how)
2. What were your reactions when you experienced the abovementioned event?

The data gathered from the interview was analysed using Interpretational Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) method. The researcher interpreted the participants' account through the participants' worldview and generated themes based on the participants' subjective and contextual experiences of racial microaggression. Altogether, very rich and in-depth information could be extracted to improve the understanding of racial microaggression experiences in Malaysia.

RESULT

Table 1
Themes of Racial Microaggression

No.	Themes	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Others
1.	Paradox of over-scrutiny/ overlook	✓	✓	✓	✓
2.	Differential treatment towards people from different race/ religion	✓	✓	✓	✓
3.	Assumption of superiority/ inferiority/ intelligence due to race	✓	✓	✓	✓
4.	Insensitivity towards the existence of other races	✓	✓	✓	✓
5.	In-group exclusivity	✓	✓	✓	✓
6.	Alien in own land	×	✓	✓	✓
7.	Language barrier as a precursor to racial microaggression	×	✓	✓	✓
8.	In-group benefit	✓	✓	✓	×
9.	Second-class citizen	✓	✓	✓	×
10.	Denial of racial experience	✓	✓	✓	×
11.	Preferential interaction with other races	✓	✓	×	×

Table 1 listed all of the general themes generated from the participants' interview transcripts. The following are the explanation of each themes of racial microaggression.

Theme 1: Paradox of scrutiny/ overlook

The recipients of racial microaggression experienced contradicting situations whereby they were either being the focus of attention or ignorance of others. Due to their racial or ethnic identity, their behaviours were closely scrutinized by others, usually the negative behaviours. Conversely, the recipients may also be ignored, avoided or ostracized to be included in many events. Therefore, many of them believed that they cannot lead a normal live due to their ethnic identity.

Theme 2: Differential treatment towards people from different race/ religion

The participants had subtly treated others differently or being treated unfairly due to their race or ethnic identity.

Theme 3: Assumption of superiority/ inferiority/ intelligence due to race

Others often had skewed impressions of the participants; they were judged to be either more superior or inferior in various aspects of their life, especially intelligence due to their racial or ethnic identity. They were incorrectly judged due to the stereotype given to them. As a result, they had to work harder to disprove others' opinion.

Theme 4: Insensitivity towards the existence of other races

The perpetrators may unconsciously say or act in insulting manners that offend or neglect people from other ethnicities. This may be due to their insensitivities/ lack of understanding towards the needs and feelings of people from other ethnicities.

Theme 5: In-group exclusivity

The participants observed that usually people preferred to stick with their "in-group"; members of perceived similar ethnicities and ignored or neglected the "out-group": members of different ethnicities outside their inner circle.

Theme 6: Alien in own land

Members of the ethnicities outside the indigenous groups were believed to be perpetual foreigners despite their legal status as Malaysians. Only participants from non-Malay group came across such experiences.

Theme 7: Language barrier as a precursor to racial microaggression

The participants believed that racial microaggression occurred through communication barrier in group activities due to others' refusal to communicate in the common language understood by everyone. Only participants from non-Malay group came across such experiences.

Theme 8: In-group benefit

Participants believed that only the member of a certain ethnic or race will only benefit from others of the same ethnicity as themselves.

Theme 9: Second-class citizen

Participants believed that due to their racial or ethnic identities, they were treated less favourably in certain events, everyday situations or activities.

Theme 10: Denial of racial experience

Participants' accounts on racial microaggression were often considered as petty issues and brushed off due to the subtle and covert nature of racial microaggression.

Theme 11: Preferential interaction with other races

The participants preferred to interact or form relationship with members outside their ethnicity or race because they have negative stereotype against members of their own group.

The following is Table 2 that lists down reactions of the participants when encountering the experience of racial microaggression. They are divided into thoughts and emotional reactions.

Table 2
Reaction of participants towards their racial microaggression experience

No	Themes	Reactions (Thoughts and Emotions)
1.	Paradox of over-scrutiny/ overlook	Thoughts: Couldn't believe it's happening in the society, felt unfair, felt others to be inconsiderate, felt it's normal, felt lazy to contribute her opinion in future, and in dilemma Emotions: Sad, ashamed, angry, emotional, disturbed & disappointed, agitated, frustrated, neglected, whether it's her fault or others', and kept quiet.
2.	Differential treatment towards people from different race/ religion	Thoughts: Inappropriate behaviour. Emotions: Disappointed, dissatisfied but helpless, sad, and mad.
3.	Assumption of superiority/ inferiority/ intelligence due to race	Thoughts: Did not know how to respond and in dilemma. Emotions: Angry, felt neglected, inferior, disappointed, frustrated, offended, and lonely.
4.	Insensitivity towards the existence of other races	Thoughts: In dilemma because was unsure if some people want to protect their privacy vs. something that lead to racial segregation, felt unsure about the intention of friends who spoke in their own mother tongue, felt they are hiding something Emotions: Upset, frustrated with heavily accented lecturer, neglected, felt uncomfortable.
5.	In-group exclusivity	Thoughts: Thinking & accepting that is normal. Emotions: Upset, deeply affected and disturbed.
6.	Alien in own land	Thoughts: Felt unfair Emotions: Angry, annoyed, lonely, offended, uncomfortable, sad, lonely, homesick, and frustrated.
7.	Language barrier as a precursor to racial microaggression	Thoughts: In dilemma and misunderstood Emotions: React passively, sad, uncomfortable, and felt like not needed.
8.	In-group benefit	Thoughts: Unfair and thought the other parties are so racist. Emotions: Angry, frustrated, upset, disturbed, uncomfortable, disappointed, offended, stressed
9.	Second-class citizen	Thoughts: Felt unfair and waste of space, inoculated with enduring discrimination policy. Emotions: Ashamed, sad, disturbed, distressed and aggravated, angry.
10.	Denial of racial experience	Emotion: Angry.
11.	Preferential interaction with other races	Thoughts: Did not trust his own race after got betrayed once, bad experience mingled with own race, preferred to mix with other races Emotion: Upset

DISCUSSION, FUTURE IMPLICATION AND CONCLUSION

Racial microaggression is still prevalent among the academic population in a public university in Northern Malaysia, regardless of the expected egalitarian behaviours among the educated population. As shown in Table 1, there are several themes extracted from participants across all ethnicities such as the "Paradox of over-scrutiny/ overlook", "Differential treatment towards people from different race/ religion", "Assumption of superiority/ inferiority/ intelligence due to race", "Insensitivity towards the existence of other races", and "In-group exclusivity". These themes highlight the area of concern associated with ethnic relations in Malaysia. People are still experiencing differential treatments associated to their race and this is especially related to assumptions about their 'intelligence'. This suggests stereotypes about people's intelligence based on their ethnic group, among others, are still widely believed and used and therefore must be addressed accordingly. More efforts should focus on eradicating racial stereotypes across different themes including inferiority or superiority of intelligence. The other area of concern is insensitivity towards other races. More efforts should focus on identifying practices that may be considered as insensitive in order to address the issue.

In addition, several themes from Table 1 were not experienced by the Malay participants, such as "Alien in own land" and "Language barrier as a precursor to racial microaggression". This is because Malays are regarded as the indigenous citizens whose mother tongue is Malay language, the Malaysian national language. Therefore, they did not experience communication barrier and were not regarded as foreigners. This finding highlights how the experience of racial microaggression may be different for different groups of people. Theory on racial microaggression must try to explain how societal context and background shape people's racial microaggression behaviour and consequently experience. Despite the shared similarities between the themes generated from the current study with the themes found from previous literature, there are differences in terms of the context where themes occurred. An example would be the theme "Alien in own land" that happened in the U.S whereby the racial microaggression recipients who are of non-Caucasian descents were regarded to be foreigners. However, in the context of current study, the perpetrators knew that the non-Malay were Malaysian citizens, but they were treated and regarded as if they are Chinese originating from China and Indians from India. In reality, the non-Malay Malaysians have been residing in Malaysia for three or four generation. This again suggests how societal context and background not only shape people's experience but also determine the kind of themes that are more likely to surface.

Several themes emerged from the current study that are only applicable to the Malaysian context such as: "Differential

treatment towards people from different race/ religion", "Insensitivity towards the existence of other race", and "In-group benefit". Based on participants' observations, they received unequal treatments when dealing with university bureaucracy, such as unfair distribution scholarships, university admissions and other. Such experiences may have been attributed to the unseen barrier between the "in-group" and "outgroup". They may also be the outcome of certain policy practiced within the context of Malaysia.

The present study found negative reactions in the form of negative thoughts and emotions. This is consistent with findings from previous studies (Hurtado et al., 1999; McCabe, 2009).

The present study is significant in exploring the racial microaggression experiences across different ethnic groups in Malaysia and it is essential to continue to study this topic. This study also highlights the important role of insights of the in-group and out-group interactions which may contribute to a person's experience of racial microaggression. More studies are needed to further understand the underlying mechanism of in-group and out-group interactions and perceptions and how they contribute to a person's experience of racial microaggression.

The present study only explored the themes and emotional reactions of racial microaggression among public university population from one of the universities in Northern Malaysia. The findings from this study should not be generalized into wider demography of Malaysian population. Future studies may focus on other communities beyond academic setting and Northern Malaysia.

In conclusion, the study has provided one of the first efforts in unravelling the situation of racial microaggression in Malaysia. It invokes awareness and promotes understanding on the issue related to racial microaggression in Malaysia. Subsequent studies on the issues can be conducted on a wider demographic population and different settings to further deepen our understanding on this issue. It is essential for more research to be conducted in this area.

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The Local People Perceptions on the Economic Impacts of Indonesian Workers in Rural Areas: A Case Study at Rural Johor

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ABSTRACT

The influx of immigrants into Malaysia is becoming a subject of controversy. Some local groups claim that since immigrants are demanded in certain industries namely plantation, agriculture, mining, manufacturing and construction sectors, their benefits and impact in the rural sectors needs to be studied. This study identifies the implications of migration on the rural community. The objective of this study is to explore local people's perceptions on the socio-economic impacts of Indonesian immigrants in their rural areas. The data is collected using both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Surveys were carried out to 671 local people in six villages through a purposive sampling technique. Results showed locals acknowledge the importance of immigrant labour in rural sectors and contribute to the positive impact on rural development. Generally, Indonesian workers play a significant role and have a huge impact on the economic development in rural areas. Indonesian immigrants are well known as labour replacements or seasonal immigrants and have the positive attitude as hardworking and obedient workers. Thus, policy on immigrants in Malaysia needs to be further revised due to a xenophobic reaction by the locals that create prejudices towards immigrants.

Keywords: Indonesian workers, rural areas, local perspective, economic impact

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INTRODUCTION

In the new global economy, immigrant workers have become a central issue for every government around the world. The influx of immigrants into Malaysia

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in the recent years is high and shows no sign of decreasing (Azizah, 2012). This has become a subject of controversy in Malaysia as evidenced by a series of recent laws and preventive plans to curb this issue. We have seen reported by local mass media that most Malaysian see immigrants in a negative light for the country (Liow, 2003). The anti-immigrant sentiment has received considerable attention. This can be illustrated briefly by negative impacts caused by their presence towards economy, political, social and security threats to the nation (Liow, 2003). Moreover, mass media always play the biggest role in spreading negative stories about immigrants, hence shaping a negative stigma towards their presence. This local stigma akin to the xenophobic reaction, especially amongst urbanites have prejudiced against immigrants as they are considered bad for society. Certain groups oppose this negative portrayal with a contrasting view whereas workers' presence is demanded in the certain industry including in plantation, agriculture, mining, manufacturing and construction sectors. Employers in those sectors claimed that they have lost billions of ringgit as a result of labour scarcity during government's effort to crack down on immigrants. In short, there is a general lack of research on workers from the perspective of rural views. This paper seeks to explore local people perceptions on the socio-economic impacts of Indonesian workers in their areas (rural).

RESEARCH LITERATURE

Studies on immigrant labour in Malaysia have tended to be particularly focused on their impact in urban rather than rural areas. Immigrant labour in rural areas has a significant impact, especially in transforming the labour shortage in the agricultural sector and sustaining the rural socioeconomic climate. However, the scope of international migrant workers in the rural areas has always been neglected in rural studies, although its impact has also influenced the socioeconomic development in rural areas (Hugo & Morén-Alegret, 2008). In Malaysia, discourse about immigrants range across various disciplines, from the macro based (policy and economic consequences, public responses) to the micro level (behavioural studies, social consequences, and migration determinants). Among the issues being the development of illegal and foreign labour migrants policy (Azizah, 2005, 2012; Azizah & Ragayah, 2011; Liow, 2003; Kanapathy, 2006; Lim, 1996; Pillai, 1999; Spaan, Van Naerssen & Kohl, 2002), the public responses towards the influx of the immigrants in Malaysia (Azizah, 1987; Healey, 2000; Liow, 2003; Crinis, 2005), specific references to issues regarding Indonesian workers related to the public response and national policy in Johor (Guinness, 1990) and remittances (Singh, 2007; Hernández-Coss et al., 2008). Turning to the macro level perspective, there have been articles on the plantation employers' perspective on the workers, highlighting the issues confronted, such

as high dependency on immigrant labour (Amatzin, 2006). Attempts to understand immigrant workers' issues based on the immigrants have been carried out by several researchers (Idrus, 2008; Pye, Daud, Harmono & Tatat, 2012). There has also been studies that highlighted the characteristics of the local and immigrant labour in the plantation sectors (Zawawi, 2005). However, in general, the majority of the literature is related to illegality, the influx of foreign labour, and policies to address the issues of illegal migrants and the low cost of foreign labour.

Remittances are understood to have a positive impact on development in immigrants' country of origin or bring "general prosperity" to immigrants' families back home (De Haas, 2005; Hernández-Coss et al., 2008). However, the impact of remittances on the receiving country has not been well addressed, although the remittances also influence the economy of the receiving society (De Haas, 2005). De Haas (2005) argued that remittance reflects the immigrant worker's economic behaviour and mobility, which is important in determining the immigration policy in the receiving society. In sum, the indirect consequence of immigrants behaviour on remittances is their pattern of spending behaviour in the host society.

From the labour perspective, immigrants were portrayed as replacing the jobs left by the locals. In the US, one popular statement used to refer to immigrants' employment is that "they take the jobs that nobody wants" (Schwartzman, 2008, 129) or even that they are called on to fill labour shortages (Hoggart & Mendoza, 1999). In Malaysia, the word "immigrant workers" was synonymous with the so-called "Three Ds" or "Four Ds" jobs, referring to dangerous, dirty and difficult (and demeaning) employment (Amatzin, 2006; Crush & Ramachandran, 2010). In countries with fast economic growth, the main sectors that are heavily dependent on the low-cost immigrants are the construction, agriculture, manufacturing, domestic and service sectors (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010). In Malaysia, Amatzin (2006) argues that dependency on immigrant labour is a necessity for the plantation sector to survive, as the "addiction" to cheap foreign labour is actually helping the labour-intensive industry, which needs to compete with other more knowledge-based related businesses.

Immigrants also have a positive impact on local business, as they tend to spend money for daily life within their local areas (Kasimis et al., 2010). Besides that, due to the shrinking rural population, immigrants in rural areas also play a role in maintaining the survival of the rural business and generate income opportunities for the local people (Taylor & Martin, 2001; Hatziprokopiou, 2003). For example, a study of Bugis migrant workers in Malaysia found a special characteristic that distinguished them from other immigrants in East Malaysia: the habit of spending locally rather than remitting the money from their income (Idrus, 2008). Idrus's (2008) study did

not provide any details on the types of economic activity and only referred to these specific immigrants, although her findings show that immigrants contribute to the growth of the local economy in the receiving/host country. Additionally, Hatziprokopiou (2003) also argued that the Albanian immigrants in rural Greece are actually saving the local businesses from the adverse effect of the multinational companies that are growing in Greece.

The consequences of migration should also be assessed from the perspective that the benefits of migration are effectively distributed locally rather than nationally (De Haas, 2005). Furthermore, analysing immigrants' working behaviour from the local peoples perspective would be useful in providing in-depth information on the survival of immigrants and its influence on the growth in the number of immigrant (Kasimis et al., 2010). Some studies have evaluated the implications of immigrants at the local level by measuring the local perception towards them, such as the works of Hatton and Leigh (2011) and Kasimis and Papadopoulus (2005).

By utilising the two surveys on the attitude of immigrant in the US (the Roper Survey in 1982 and the Knight Ridder Survey in 1997), Hatton and Leigh (2011) that immigrants performance is better in places where the immigrant community is long established and concentrated. On the contrary, regardless of immigrants' specific ethnic concentration, Kasimis and Papadopoulus (2005) argued that local people agreed that immigrants contributed positively to the social development of the village, but at the same time, developed anxious feelings as the relationship between the locals and immigrants became closer.

The immigrants' working behaviour; hard-working tendencies and ability to carry out the work required have a positive effect on rural development (Azizah, 1997; Hoggart & Mendoza, 1999; Zawawi, 2005; Kasimis et al., 2010; Pye et al., 2012). Prior to that, Zawawi (2005) studied Malay plantation workers and claimed that the immigrants (especially from Kampuchea, Thailand or Indonesia) had a high level of tolerance in terms of pay and job conditions, were obedient and were even willing to live in poor conditions. As a result, the working behaviour of immigrants, as depicted from their migration aspirations and strategies, is seen as beneficial for the local economy. Research on the effect of immigrant labour on the rural socioeconomy found that immigrants make a major positive contribution to local development, but the locals start to become more vigilant when the relationship with the immigrants getting closer (Kasimis & Papadopoulos, 2005). The concern raised by the local people over close relationships with immigrants which are due to a xenophobic reaction (Fakiolas, 19nc(c(c(b

Examining the various perspectives and research on immigrant studies, it has been noted that there is almost no research on Malaysia on the implication of immigrant workers in rural areas. On the basis of the above review, it is indicated

that a comprehensive study that addresses the immigrants in rural areas and their links to rural socio-economic development remains insufficiently explored.

On the other hand, the structured questionnaire designed for local respondents focused mainly on exploring the local opinion towards the Indonesian workers' presence and their implications for the community. The components of operational variables constructs focused on seeking information on the roles of Indonesians in the economic activities and their impact on the local communities. Examination of the opinions of local people towards the immigrants focused on the local respondents' opinions and reactions towards the presence of the Indonesian immigrants in their areas. The impact on the local communities has been categorised into two groups which are the immigrants working behaviour and economic. Variables construct under immigrants working behaviour mainly are looking at the (i) immigrant workers' roles in rural productivity, (ii) local community opinions of Indonesian workers' working attitude and (iii) the local communities attitude towards the recruitment of the Indonesian workers. Nonetheless, the three main components related to the economic impact are (i) unemployment and job competition between the local people and immigrant workers, (ii) immigrant workers' contribution to the local's informal business and (iii) Indonesian workers' roles in enhancing rural productivity. The conceptual framework of this study is as depicted in Figure 1.

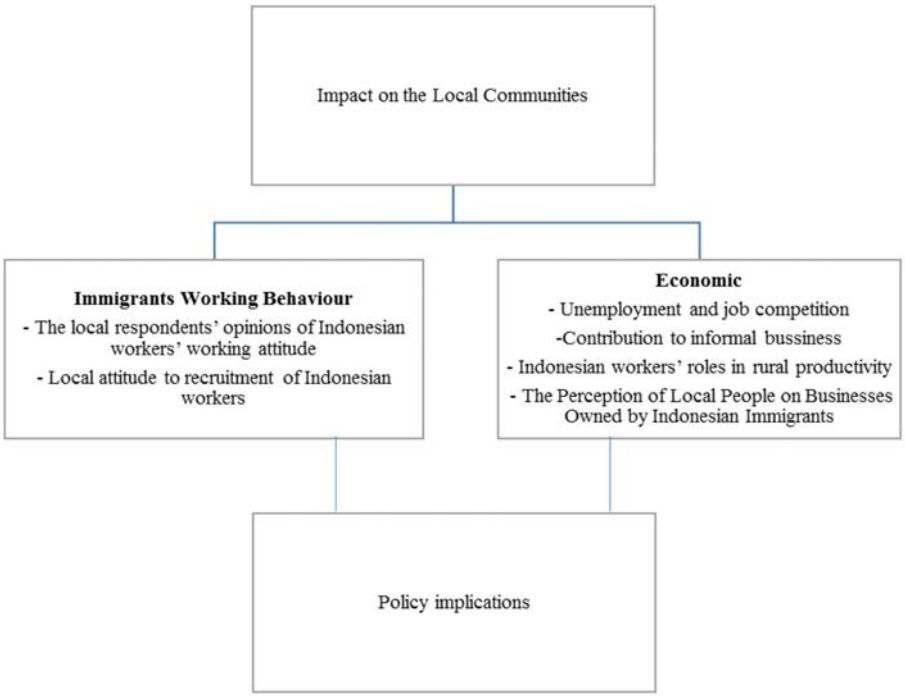


Figure 1. The Conceptual Framework
Source. Own Illustration

METHODOLOGY

This study employs mixed method approach. Quantitative techniques to explore the local perception on immigrant workers whereas the qualitative is conducted through in-depth interviews with 7 informants to get the real scenario of immigrant impact. This study was conducted in three types of rural settlement which is FELDA (land settlement scheme) (Felda Taib Andak, Felda Tunggal), traditional villages (Kampung Melayu Raya, Kampung Parit Raja) and plantation (Pasir Logok Estate, Sungai Papan Estate). Surveys were carried out to 671 local people in 6 villages, with 398 sample from FELDA, 52 sample from the plantation and 221 sample derived from the traditional village (refer to Table 1). The size of respondents was estimated based on the Krecjie and Morgan (1970) sample size table. Respondents were selected through a purposive sampling technique. Purposive sampling selects people based on the particular purpose of the experiment. In this study, the researcher was assisted by the head of villagers and key informants to identify potential respondents. The sample of local people was based on the household, with the heads of households being selected as respondents. If the head of household was not available, the next of kin (such as wife and siblings) would be selected, depending on their consent to participate in the interview. Data were analysed with SPSS by using descriptive analysis (chi-square) to provide a better insight regarding issues pertaining to immigrants in rural areas, which aiming to identify the implications of migration to the rural community through opinions of local people. Meanwhile, qualitative data is used to supplement the findings. The study adopted thematic analysis to analyse q

Table 1
The summarised profiles of study areas

Village	**FELDA Taib Andak**	**FELDA Tunggal**	**Sungai Papan/ Kampung[a] Tanjung Serindit**	**Pasir Logok**	**Kampung Melayu Raya**	**Kampung Parit Raja Darat**
Type of settlement	FELDA settlement	FELDA settlement	Private plantation estate	Private plantation estate	Traditional Village	Traditional Village
Location	Kulai Jaya	Kota Tinggi	Kota Tinggi	Kota Tinggi	Pontian	Batu Pahat
No. of Houses	620	530	47	30	187	314
Sample of local people n=671	177 26%	221 33%	42 6%	10 2%	90 13%	131 20%

[a] The household of Kampung Tanjung Serindit was included in the survey for the Sungai Papan estate, since the location of the housing area of the Sungai Papan Estates is adjacent to Kampung Tanjung Serindit and they share the same facilities, such as mosques, a primary school, and local businesses.

RESULTS

The majority of respondents (45.9%) had attained primary education, followed by 39.2% who had received secondary education, while only 4.2% had obtained tertiary education. More than half of the respondents in this survey were aged more than 51 years old (see Table 2). In FELDA, local respondents were dominated by those aged 51-60 years old and in the traditional village, the majority of local respondents were aged 31-40 and 61+ years old. However, in plantation estates, the majority (26.6%) of respondents were aged 31-40 years old. Most of the respondents (35.9%) reported their average household income to be about RM1000-1999 (Table 3). Those in the estate plantations tended to have lower income. In terms of household size, the majority (52.8%) of the respondents surveyed lived in households of three to five people, followed by 28.6% with households of six or more people.

Table 2
General profile of respondents

Item	Types of settlement			Total	
	FELDA	Traditional village	Estate	n	%
Marriage status					
Married	79.1	77.8	76.9	527	78.5
Single	6.0	10.9	15.4	56	8.3
Widowed	14.8	11.3	7.7	88	13.1
Total (n)	100.0 (398)	100.0 (221)	100.0 (52)	671	100.0
Educational level					
None schooling	9.8	13.6	1.9	70	13.6
Primary school	53.3	30.8	53.8	45.9	30.8
Secondary school	34.4	48.0	38.5	39.2	48.0
Tertiary	2.3	7.2	5.8	4.2	7.2
Others	0.3	0.5	-	0.3	0.5
Total (n)	100.0 (398)	100.0 (221)	100.0 (52)	671	100.0
Age (years old)					
<30	5.3	20.8	24.0	80	11.9
30-39	7.5	12.2	26.9	71	10.6
40-49	10.6	23.1	11.5	14.8	14.8
50-56	38.9	20.8	19.2	31.4	31.4
60+	37.8	23.1	17.3	31.3	31.3
Total (n)	100.0 (398)	100.0 (221)	100.0 (52)	671	100.0

Table 2 (*continue*)

Item	Types of settlement			Total	
	FELDA	Traditional village	Estate	n	%
Household size(person)					
<=2	18.6	17.2	25.0	38	18.6
3-5	53.3	48.9	65.4	108	52.8
6+	28.1	33.9	9.6	75	28.6
Total	100.0 (398)	100.0 (221)	100.0 (52)	671	100.0
Income (RM)					
<=999	35.4	10.4	65.4	198	29.5
1000-1999	33.4	41.2	21.2	235	35.0
2000-2999	16.6	27.1	9.6	131	19.5
3000-3999	8.3	7.2	1.9	50	7.5
4000+	6.3	14.0	1.9	57	8.5
Total (N)	100.0 (398)	100.0 (221)	100.0 (52)	671	100.0

Source. Fieldwork, 2012

Generally, the results indicate that immigrant workers also played a limited multifunctional role, such as providing the local people with informal services to help them in carrying out their daily tasks. In total, 34% out of 671 local respondents reported that they had employed Indonesian workers in their areas for informal tasks such as cutting grass, house repairs and cleaning their yards.

Unemployment and Job Competition with the Local People

Table 3 illustrates that the presence of immigrant workers in rural areas was not the cause of unemployment issues in rural settings; nor did it cause difficulty for the local in finding employment in these settings. In fact, more than 68% of locals interviewed rejected the statement that Indonesian workers in their areas had contributed to the issues of the unemployment among the youth. The results in Table 3 show that a majority (69.2%) of those surveyed denied that Indonesian workers contributed to local unemployment issues, while only 17.6% agreed that Indonesian immigrants caused unemployment in their areas. More than 65% of respondents disagreed with the statement that Indonesian immigrants made it difficult for local people to get jobs, while 18.5% claimed that immigrants did cause trouble for the locals in finding jobs.

Nonetheless, in an informal interview, an immigration officer from the Department of Foreign Labour recruitment in Johor and employer also mentioned that employers prefer Indonesian workers because they are fit enough to work in the hot weather, unlike other immigrants who are fragile and unable to withstand the hard, physical work and hot weather in the plantations.

> "As for plantation and agricultural sectors, usually the employers will demand Indonesian workers. Nepalese and Bangladeshi could not cope with tough work in the agricultural and plantation sectors...maybe because of the weather- too hot and they could not adapt it. They prefer to work in factories… but they are fast learners."
>
> Officer A, Department of Foreign Labour Recruitment

> "Bangladeshi likes to work in factories. They do not want to work with a dirty job in plantation sectors. They like a job with a "smart" attire, not a job in plantation or agricultural sectors which make them look unattractive."
>
> Employer A

Furthermore, interviews with the small-scale agriculture employers found out that the Indonesian workers are crucially needed by agriculture sectors in order to sustain the economic activities in rural areas.

> "I think, if the government decrease the number of foreign workers, estates will be shut down"
>
> Employers B

> "Now, we already heavily dependent on the foreign labour… in the future, we still need them. Our children are no more interested in working in plantation or agricultural sectors. I, myself do not encourage my children to work in a plantation sectors, unless they make it as a business or work in management or administrative department…but not as general workers, cutting fruit."
>
> Employer C

It portrays that the presence of Indonesian workers in rural areas is accepted by the local people for the 3 Ds job. This results further support the idea of Kasimis and Papadopoulus (2005) that local people agreed that immigrants contributed positively to the social development of the village, but at the same time, developed anxious feelings as the relationship between the locals and immigrants became closer.

Table 3
Local response to unemployment and job competition in their areas

Item	Responses	Felda settlement	Traditional village	Estate settlement	Total	
					N	%
*The Indonesian immigrants in my area have contributed to the issues of unemployment among the youth[a]	Strongly agree	1.5	0.5	-	7	1.0
	Agree	14.6	20.8	13.5	111	16.6
	Not Sure	8.6	19.9	19.2	88	13.2
	Disagree	74.2	58.4	67.3	458	68.5
	Strongly disagree	1.0	0.5	-	5	0.7
	Total (n)	100.0 (396)	100.0 (221)	100.0 (52)	669	100.0
*The presence of Indonesian immigrants in my area makes it difficult for the locals to get a job[b]	Strongly agree	1.0	0.5	-	5	0.7
	Agree	16.4	21.3	13.5	119	17.8
	Not Sure	11.6	22.6	21.2	107	16.0
	Disagree	70.5	54.8	65.4	434	64.9
	Strongly disagree	0.5	0.9	0	4	0.6
	Total (n)	100.0 (396)	100.0 (221)	100.0 (52)	669	100.0
*The local workforce supply in my areas is not sufficient[c]	Strongly agree	4.0	0.9	1.9	19	2.8
	Agree	57.1	38.9	48.1	337	50.4
	Not Sure	18.9	35.7	28.8	169	25.3
	Disagree	19.4	24.4	21.2	142	21.2
	Strongly disagree	0.5	-	-	2	0.3
	Total (n)	100.0 (396)	100.0 (221)	100.0 (52)	669	100.0

Note.
[a]Pearson Chi-Square =27.357, df=8, P=0.001
[b]Pearson Chi-Square =21.279, df=8, P=0.006
[b]Pearson Chi-Square =33.609, df=8, P=0.000
*****There is a statistically significant difference between areas
Source. Fieldwork, 2012

Response towards Indonesian Workers' Contribution to Informal Business

The study shows that a positive reaction towards the contribution of the Indonesian workers in raising the number of customers at local shops and food stalls. In brief, of 669 locals who completed the questionnaire, 81% agreed that Indonesian workers had contributed to increase the number of customers in local shops, while 60.8% confirmed the role of immigrants in raising the number of customers in local food stalls. In fact, 69.4% out of 669 locals interviewed rejected the statement

that Indonesian immigrants in their areas had seized the local people's business opportunities.

Indonesian Workers' Roles in Rural Productivity

In terms of rural production, concentrating on the agricultural economy, the local respondents were also asked about the role of Indonesian workers in increasing production. Responses towards the Indonesian workers' contribution to rural production, the results indicate a prominent role of immigrants in increasing the oil palm and plantation yield, as acknowledged by the local people, especially those in FELDA and estate settlements. A majority (60.9%) of local respondents reported that the Indonesian workers did help to increase the production of palm oil in their areas, while 31.1% were unsure. Fewer than 8% of those surveyed indicated that the Indonesian did not contribute to an increase in palm oil production. This indicated that local respondents recognised the roles of Indonesian labour in sustaining rural productivity. As many locals had pointed out, they had not encouraged their children to work in the agriculture sector (Fieldwork, 2012), and this might be the reasons why few youngsters are engaged in agriculture, which contributed to the acute labour scarcity in rural sectors, especially agriculture and plantation areas. If their children wanted to work in the agricultural sector, they preferred them to work in management or non-farming employment, such as lorry driving. Indirectly, this selective attitude had contributed to the emergence of a new social class in rural society: the "farmer boss" as discussed by Kasimis (2008).

The Local Respondents' Opinions of Indonesian Workers' Working Attitude

The results show that local respondents agreed that the Indonesian workers in their areas had a positive attitude to work. During the fieldwork, it was noticed that local respondents automatically gave positive responses to this question. In response to this question, the local people had already noted the Indonesian workers' aims of migration and thought that the immigrants have to work very hard in the receiving society to reach their migration goals. This indicated that local people have seen that a hardworking attitude is compulsory for Indonesian workers recruited in their areas, and is valuable to increase production (in this case, agricultural production).

The Perception of Local People on Businesses Owned by Indonesian Immigrants

In response to the issue of seizing the locals' business opportunities, as has happened in the urban centres, the researcher also made an effort to uncover the reality of those claims from the perspective of rural settlements. In brief, the presence of Indonesian immigrants in the rural settlements at the time of the survey has not yet shown any sign of threatening the rural people's economic opportunities. In this survey, local respondents were asked about

Indonesian immigrants in their areas who owned businesses. Out of 671 surveyed respondents, only 24% (166 respondents) reported that they knew of Indonesian immigrants who operated businesses in their areas. Such businesses run by Indonesian immigrants as mentioned in the survey included food stalls, small shops, car workshops, carpentry and small traders. This finding indicates that local people did not feel that immigrants had seized the locals' business opportunities. Local respondents who were aware that there were Indonesian immigrants running businesses in their areas were also asked whether they had ever bought the goods offered by the Indonesian immigrants around their area: 59.6% of those surveyed stated that they had done so. The reasons given were that the price was cheap, they wanted to try new things, they had no choice and the immigrants sold quality goods. On the other hand, respondents who reported that they had not bought goods offered by Indonesian immigrants said that this was because they were not confident to try them, they were not interested and they preferred to buy from locals.

The Local Attitude to Recruitment of Indonesian Workers

Although the employment of migrant labour was higher in the study areas, there is always a demand for a stock of local labour. The survey data revealed that the majority (86.1%) of local respondents were likely to recruit local labour if they had to choose between an Indonesian immigrant and a local applicant for the same job. When asked to clarify the reasons for their preference, respondents said that local workers were more trusted (41.1%) and they wished to prioritise local people before recruiting immigrants (41.5%). Other reasons for the preference for the local labour were that local workers were easy to handle and employers wanted to avoid the complicated procedure of recruiting immigrant labour.

DISCUSSION

The components that determined the analysis of the economic impact of the Indonesian immigrants on the local communities in this study are the pattern of labour replacement and the local attitude towards the employment of immigrant labour. On the basis of the discussion of the consequences to the economy, Indonesian workers were found to have a significant and varied role in supporting the local economy. The main contribution of the Indonesian immigrants was labour replacement in response to the acute local labour scarcity in the rural areas. The Indonesian workers in rural areas have played an important role in replacing the huge loss of local labour in the rural sector, which has been evident since the 1970s due to the large outflow of youngsters to participate in the industrial and service sectors in urban areas, which offer higher income. Additionally, the revolution in education has successfully equipped rural youngsters with better educational qualifications, which allow them access to jobs in the non-agricultural sector.

As suggested by Schwartzman (2008), Hoggart and Mendoza, (1999), Crush and Ramachandran, (2010), and Amatzin, (2006), immigrants in rural areas not only support the demand for labour but also take the jobs nobody wants creating a critical dependency on immigrants labour. However, heavy dependence on immigrant labour in such sectors can create issues with the influx of immigrants, which sometimes leads to the accusation from local people that the immigrants have taken away jobs from locals due to their willingness to accept lower wages (Azizah, 2012). To summarise, the contradiction between the employers and the locals has led to mixed reactions towards the policy regarding immigrant labour.

On the other hand, the expansion of the agriculture sector, especially for commodity products, has led to the recruitment of Indonesian labour. Therefore, the role of the Indonesian workers in helping the rural industries is undeniable. Amatzin (2006) suggests that the plantation sectors would be destroyed without immigrant labour. This has been evidenced by a local press statement by the Malaysian Estate Owners' Association (MEOA), which has urged the government to review the current policy on foreign workers due to the huge loss in palm oil business (Ooi Tee Cheng, 2012). General observation and informal interviews revealed that Indonesian workers were favoured among the econom,,,,
because of their attitude and cultural and ethnic similarities. Local villagers also favour Indonesians, because they are from the same roots and are easier to deal with. Informal interviews with the plantation management disclosed that the Indonesian workers are favoured because they are easy to train, hardworking and tough enough to handle the work in plantation areas. In addition, the employers also pointed out that the Indonesian immigrants meet the characteristics of planters, thus benefiting their employers. These results are consistent with Hatton and Leigh (2011) on immigrants' length of stay and integration in the destination country.

The hardworking behaviour of Indonesian workers in this survey have contributed positively to the production of the rural sectors and negatively to the socialisation pattern between the immigrants with the local people. Driven by the aspiration to improve family economic conditions in their country of origin, the Indonesian workers have forced themselves to work hard in the receiving countries. Their registration as unskilled immigrant workers binds them with strict regulations imposed by their employers making it difficult for Indonesian workers to top up their income except through overtime work. Furthermore, the Indonesian workers in the plantation/estate are bound by strict government and management regulations.
Inl)5n)to)u)h)
Pye et al. (2012); Azizah, (1997); Zawawi, (2005); Hoggart & Mendoza, (1999) notes that hardworking attitude showing by the immigrants have contributed a positive impact on a local economic development.

On one hand, the phenomenon of seasonal Indonesian labour in traditional villages, which was revealed accidentally during the fieldwork, made an indirect positive contribution to the rural economic development in the study areas. Local planters or smallholders in rural areas needed immigrant labour to support their operations in certain seasons (in this case, for the replanting of oil palms). Thus, seasonal Indonesian immigrants could release the pressure on local small farmers in the rural areas and enable them to sustain their agricultural activity, as the recruitment of seasonal labour is achieved through informal channels and is thus much cheaper. Besides, the rural areas could control the issues of the influx of the immigrants because the presence of immigrants would increase during certain periods only. It is argued that the foreign labour policy, which does not allow immigrant workers to bring their families with them, is contributing to the issues of the influx and overstay of foreign workers in Malaysia (Amatzin, 2006; Azizah & Ragayah, 2011; Azizah, 2012). Thus, seasonal or circular migrants labour provides a win-win situation for the immigrants and the local community, helping both of them to achieve their economic goals. On the contrary, the phenomenon of seasonal labour among Indonesian workers is largely restricted to areas near to the international border. In this case, Kampung Melayu Raya is located at Pontian, and the Indonesian workers from Javanese Island benefitted the most from the circular mobility (seasonal labour) phenomenon. Seasonal immigrant labour is recruited through the strong network that has been established between the employers/local people and the Indonesian immigrants, offering a win-win situation f□ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □ □

The high remittances sent home by the Indonesian workers has also benefited the local businesses, especially retailers, because it forces the Indonesian workers to spend locally in order to increase their savings for remittances. Finally, the Indonesian workers also make a small contribution to informal rural economic activities. On the other hand, the poor condition of the Indonesian workers when they arrive in Malaysia opens up informal business opportunities for the locals. The prominent role of Indonesian immigrants in terms of supporting local business was acknowledged by the majority of local respondents. Immigrants were found to contribute to the local informal economy by increasing the number of customers for local retailers and small businesses (in this case, local food stalls) and creating informal business opportunities for the local people. Immigrants also have a positive impact on local business, as they tend to spend money for daily life within their local areas (Kasimis et al., 2010). Besides that, due to the shrinking rural population, immigrants in rural areas also play a role in maintaining the sustainability of rural business and generate income opportunities for the local people (Taylor & Martin, 2001; Hatziprokopiou, 2003).

Indonesian workers have played a crucial role in maintaining the sustainability of the rural economic sector (as a labour supply). They also contributed to increasing the production of the agriculture sector. Their positive working attitude (diligent, tough, willing to work overtime) has been acknowledged by the local people as helping to increase the yield of rural production. In addition, the Indonesian workers' aspiration to achieve stable living conditions in their country of origin drives them to work hard, which ultimately benefits the economy of the receiving country (in this case, the rural setting in Johor). Also, the skills possessed by the Indonesian workers, especially in carpentry, contribute indirectly to the rural economy by providing cheap services that local people can afford. The Indonesian workers are also found to contribute to the informal business activities of the local community through the renting of properties (shop lots, houses, transportation etc.) and the buying and selling of used goods. Although the cases reported in this research are small, they do contribute some income to the rural community.

CONCLUSION

This study was undertaken to examine local people's perception on the economic impacts of Indonesian immigrants in rural areas. This study found that generally Indonesian immigrants/workers play a significant role and have a huge impact on the economic development in rural areas. For instance, their presence has assisted local people's businesses indirectly and also championed rural industries for so many years. Either as labour replacements or seasonal immigrants, they are known publicly as hardworking, robust, fit and bearable workers amongst local people. They are currently doing jobs rejected by local workers as the sluggish agriculture sector remains unattractive to them and young school-leavers. The study confirms that their role in rural industries is unquestionable. This result is contrary to the negative portrayal of immigrant labour in the media. A limitation of this study is that this study has a sample size that is relatively small and only focused on one state only, which is in Johor. Future research should, therefore, concentrate on the larger sample by studying other states. Besides, it would be interesting to compare experiences and perceptions between urbanite and rural people towards immigrants in a larger scale in future research. Finally, a future study investigating the impacts of government policy on immigrants in both rural and urban industries would be very interesting too.

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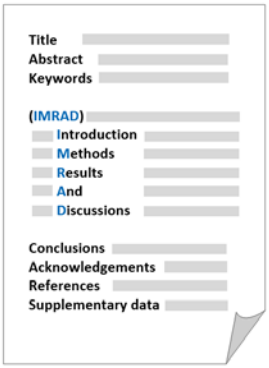
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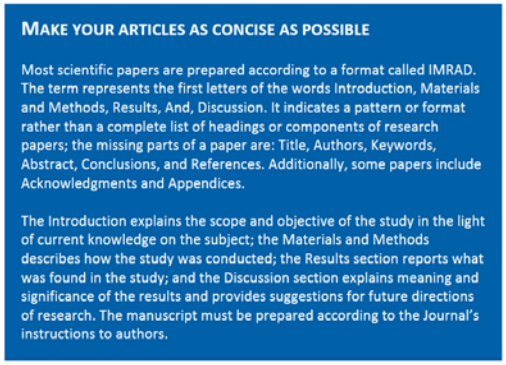
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–Sept 2015

Does Equitable Income Distribution Influence Environmental Quality? Evidence from Developing Countries of ASEAN-4 385
Abdul Rahim Ridzuan, Nor Asmat Ismail, Abdul Fatah Che Hamat, Abu Hassan Shaari Md Nor and Elsadig Musa Ahmed

Finance-Growth Nexus in Cote D'Ivoire and Nigeria: Does the Proxy of Financial Development Matter? 401
Kizito Uyi Ehigiamusoe, Hooi Hooi Lean and Ramez Abubakr Badeeb

Lived Experiences and Narratives of De Facto Single Mothers in Penang Island, Malaysia 417
Nor Hafizah, S., Farah Syazwani, H. A. and Noraida, E.

"Crippled", Creeping and Crawling towards Enlightenment in this Life 425
Khu, L. H.

Thinking Empirically about the McDonaldization Thesis in Penang 433
Ong, B. K.

Youth Engagement in Meaningful Activities and Happiness: A Comparative Study of Chinese Undergraduates from Taiwan and Malaysia 445
Lee, M. N.

The Effect of Perceived Racial Discrimination on Aggression 461
Chng, B. Z. and Tan, C. S.

The Lurking Racism: Exploring Racial Microaggression in the Malaysian University Setting 473
Lino, M., Hashim, I. H. M. and Ricardo, R.

The Local People Perceptions on the Economic Impacts of Indonesian Workers in Rural Areas: A Case Study at Rural Johor 485
Suziana, M. Y., Ibrahim, N., Siti Rahyla, R., and Razlini, M. R.

Foucault's *Sophrosyne*: A qualitative analysis of self-identity creation through the coming out process of same-sex attracted men of Chinese ethnicity in Penang, Malaysia 169
Felix, M. S.

A Cross-Sectional Study on Occupational Stress of Using Thai-JCQ among Thai Immigrant Employees in Bangkok: A Path Diagram 189
Chonticha Kaewanuchit

ESL Undergraduates' Patterns of Plagiarism in Academic Essays Based on Print or Internet Sources 205
Samaneh Zangenehmadar and Tan Bee Hoon

Disjoint between Intention and Implementation: The Safer Sex Conundrum of Gay Men in Penang, Malaysia 221
Felix, M. S.

A Contrastive Pragmatic Study of Speech Act of Complaint in Terms of Main Components in English and Persian 239
Hosseini, S. M., Panahandeh, S. H. and Mansoorzadeh, N.

Current Perception and Willingness towards Organ Donation and Transplantation: A Survey of Undergraduate Students at University of Malaya 261
Hasmah Zanuddin, Tham Jen Sern and Siti Nur Shahira Zakaria

Posthumanism in "Amnesty" by Octavia Butler: A Feminist Theological Analysis 277
Mohammadi, A. E. and Leon, C. E.

Banking Liquidity and Stock Market Prices in Three Countries in ASEAN 291
Tin-fah Chung, M. Ariff and Shamsher M.

Exploring the Role of Human Resource Management Practices on Labour Productivity in Libyan National Oil Corporations 317
Mohamed Ibrahim Mohamed, Mahazan Abdul Mutalib, Adel M. Abdulaziz and Mikail Ibrahim

Identity Politics of Being and Becoming of the *Chetti Melaka* in Singapore 337
David Neo and Mary Varghese

The Politics within the Issue of the Indonesian National Language: A Sociolinguistic Perspective 353
Setiono Sugiharto

Selected Papers from the USM International Conference on Social Sciences 2015 (USM-ICOSS 2015)
Guest Editor: Intan Hashimah Mohd Hashim
Guest Editorial Board: Benny Teh Cheng Guan, Khoo Suet Leng, Lim Ee Shiang, Ong Beng Kok & Premalatha Karupiah

The Case of an "Ambiguous Regime": Malaysia's Political Experience 373
Razali, S. Z.

Pertanika Journal of Social Sciences & Humanities
Vol. 25 (1) Mar. 2017

Contents

Foreword i
Nayan Deep S. Kanwal

Review Articles

Returning Soldiers to the Barracks: Military Reform as the Crucial First Step in Democratising Thailand 1
Siwach Sripokangkul and Paul Chambers

Gaps Pertaining Evaluation on Built Heritage Conservation with Special Annotation on the Malaysian Context 21
Firzan, M., Keumala, N. and Zawawi, R.

Short Communication

Brief Communication on Psychosocial Work Environment and Wellbeing in relation to Job Demands-Resources: A Study on Malaysian Public Health Perspective 39
M. Umair Javaid, A. S. N. Isha and Z. Ghazali

Regular Articles

Strengthening Women through Group Participation, Trust and Networks: A Study on Women's Self-help Groups in Bangladesh 45
Faraha Nawaz

The Role of Peers and Cultural Tools in Supporting Autonomous Learning Behaviours among Malay Tertiary Learners 61
Naginder Kaur

A Process Model Framework for Strategic Management and Innovation Area of AACSB Standards 81
Kundu, G. K. and Bairi, J.

The Impact of SHRM on Man Power Sustainability in a Manpower Agency of International Airport in Tamil Nadu, India – An Empirical Study 99
A. Vasumathi and Colin Crispin C.

'Daddy' and His Discussion of Authority 119
Etemadi, O. and Tabasi, E.

Comparing Structural and Functional Lexical Bundles in MUET Reading Test 133
Christina Ong Sook Beng and Yuen Chee Keong

The Undecidable Quest: A Derridean Reading of Tolkien's *The Hobbit* 149
Pedram Lalbakhsh and Ali Ghaderi

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