

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

**THE 2nd INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON INNOVATIONS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES
AND HUMANITIES 2021**

ISSH 2021

**Ton Duc Thang University
Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam | December 17th and 18th, 2021**



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PREFACE

Dear Readers,

Welcome to the publication of the 2nd International Conference on Innovations in the Social Sciences and Humanities 2021. Some 75 papers are included, with half from scholars in Vietnam, the rest from 25 other countries. Of course, as the conference is also online, which means something of a juggle in scheduling, the conference traverses time-zones as if they were almost invisible, porous borders – as really, to some extent, aren't they all – but nevertheless, we think a global conviviality can prevail.

I want to especially express thanks to our sponsors, who are from seven incredibly high profile leading international institutions, as well as Ton Duc Thang University, which proudly takes its place among these. Thanks also to the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Ton Duc Thang University that is putting on the conference, and which has been my academic home for five years and I am hugely thankful for my colleagues and their congeniality, moreso than can be said. Thanks also to the other units of the university that have also made it possible – Research Affairs, Computing, Finances, Catering and more. Without a wider community, there is no scholarship.

For those who attend, the conference proceedings and the agenda have been prepared with as much care as we could muster according to timetables, and circumstances. We are proud of the outcome, and hope you enjoy attending, in whichever form you do. All welcome.

For the Organizing Committee



Assoc. Prof. John Hutnyk

Chair of Conference

MESSAGE FROM THE HOST UNIVERSITY

Welcome to the **2nd International Conference on Innovations in the Social Sciences and Humanities 2021 (ISSH 2021)** organized by Ton Duc Thang University in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam. This conference aims at offering a forum for scientists and researchers around the world to share their research findings and experiences in various fields of Social Sciences and Humanities such as tourism, sociology, anthropology, media anthropology, and social work.

TDTU's annual growth of international conferences is an indication of the quality of international academic cooperation and its effective impact. The ISSH 2021 conference has received a total number of 166 submissions from all over the world, in which 75 were accepted for publication in the proceedings. All papers are reviewed and edited by the ISSH 2021 Conference Editorial Board, which consists of an international scientific committee including international and Vietnamese experts in the fields of social sciences and humanities.

On behalf of TDTU, the host institution of ISSH 2021, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to our great partners including College of Humanities, Education and Social Sciences at Purdue University Northwest, USA; University of Melbourne, Australia; University of the South Pacific; Jadavpur University, India; Higher School of Economics (HSE) University, Russia; The Pratt Institute from USA; and The Tricontinental: Institute for Social Research, for their great effort in co-organizing this conference. I would also like to send my special thanks to Assoc. Prof. John Hutnyk, Conference Chair, and all editors and reviewers of the ISSH 2021 Proceedings; thanks to the leaders and officials of the departments of Ton Duc Thang University; and thanks to the leaders, lecturers and staffs of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Ton Duc Thang University for their excellent services and contributions to making the ISSH 2021 Conference possible.

On behalf of Ton Duc Thang University, the host of ISSH 2021, I would like to express my appreciation to the universities, co-organizers and scholars who attend and contribute to the conference. I hope you will have an interesting, trusting and fruitful conference.

Tran Trong Dao, Ph.D.

Acting President

Ton Duc Thang University, Vietnam

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THE PAPERS

CAPITAL, GOVERNMENTS, MULTILATERAL AGENCIES AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Pradip Baksi*

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Abstract: Contemporary transnational capital aims at full spectrum dominance over the entire political economy of our planet. We learn from the first sentence of the Foreword of Karl Marx (1859), *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie: Erstes Heft*, that he wished to critically investigate the system of bourgeois economy involving the six domains of *capital, landed property, wage-labour, state, foreign trade and world market*. Critical investigations on the contemporary system of political economy need to be extended along similar lines. Today the required extensions must include the: cyberspace over and above landed property on geographical space; wageless familial labour surrounding the domains of wage-labor; multilateral agencies and non-governmental organizations working within and surrounding the governments; foreign trade in labour-time of outsourced services together with the same in other commodities; and, real time interpenetration of the local and global markets. The overlaps of the indicated domains are coordinated and controlled by: the flow of transnational capital as economic investment; the multilateral agencies mediating global and local governance; and, the investment of charity capital in the contemporary business of social work, executed by the non-governmental organizations.

Keywords: Governments, multilateral agencies, non-governmental organizations, social work, transnational capital.

Introduction

FAUST: ...Well, – *who art thou then?*

MEPHISTOPHELES: *I am a part of that power, which always wills evil, and always does good.*

Mikhail Afanasyevich Bulgakov opened his Faustian novel *Master and Margarita* [Bulgakov 1984: 9; van der Laan 2007:169] with these lines from the *Faust* [Goethe 1980: 43]. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe had penned this dialogue from within a relatively weak bourgeois milieu dominated by the aristocrats of Germany, somewhere between 1772 and 1831. Bulgakov had used these words as an epitaph for his unfinished novel under a suffocating regime of originary accumulation dominated by the partocrats of erstwhile USSR, sometime between 1928 and 1940. Today, in the second decade of the 21st century we are waiting for our next great works of Faustian art and literature reflecting the current round of ruthlessly smooth originary accumulation dominated by the new patriarchs of the emerging digital empires [Little and Winch 2021].

Today nearly all of us reading this text are engaged in seeking some *Dharma* – knowledge and belief in some relatively true and stable first principles of life, *Artha* – wealth and power, *Kāma* – objects/experiences of desire/pleasure, including desire for knowledge, wealth, power and

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emancipation and, *Mokṣa* – personal and social liberation from suffering. In the course of these searches, we enter into myriads of Faustian deals or bargains, with the power operators of the institutions of our civil and political societies. These are the institutions of contemporary transnational capital, their markets, governments, multilateral agencies and non-governmental organizations. They act like numerous Mephistopheles of various orders.

In Western and Central Europe of Coethe's time, the operators of the markets and some other owners of private property resented the arbitrary control by their kings. They and the intellectuals and professionals allied to them, like the journalists, lawyers and philosophers, clamored for more freedom for themselves. They formulated their aspirations in the language of rights of men as citizens [National Assembly of France 1789]. They were, however, not yet ready to concede the same rights to the women of their own social milieu as citizens [Gouges 1791]. Their slaves and subjects in the colonies were nowhere near their contemplated horizons of freedom and citizenship. The ideas of modern bourgeois political democracy and representative government floated around that time reflected these limitations among others. The successful march of these limited ideas and needs gave rise to the institutions of modern bourgeois political parties, elections, parliaments and, to a system of bourgeois governance characterized by a certain amount of separation of powers of the legislature, executive and judiciary. Gradually, these institutions started showing their own cracks. Some of the dissident intellectuals of the time were come out through those cracks. They espoused many ideologies of protest: many kinds of Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Syndicalism, Social Democracy, Nihilism, Bolshevism.... These upheavals gave rise to and were assisted first by the print media, and subsequently by the audio-visual, electronic and digital mass-media.

These institutions and ideologies of bourgeois Europe traveled to the colonies of the modern European powers in the rest of the world and produced many local hybrids. In South Asia the men of the ruling castes that governed the ancient and medieval empires, continue their dominance over all the institutions of their new hybrid civil and political societies, as their social hegemony over the laboring children, women, castes and tribes still remain by and large intact.

With the passage of time, all these institutions of the modern civil and political societies of the world – the corporate houses of the various markets, the political parties of *de jure* parliamentary democracies, *de facto* working for layers upon layers of patriarchy, plutocracy, castocracy, clanocracy and partocracy, and those institutions which manage the elections, rule of law, public probity, public opinion, transparency etc. – started behaving like sovereigns within their own domains and, at times even beyond. The political parties were / are run like armies of the ancient and medieval kings and they did not / do not always go even by their own publicly stated rules of inner party norms and democracy. The corporate houses are run like the kingdoms or empires of the days of yore, with barely any room for public-interest-oriented internal dissent that may go against the greater corporate goods of greater profitability. The consequences are disastrous. Many of the vital needs of the people go unaddressed. To address such needs, there arose some voluntary and charitable organizations within many societies: first around the temples, monasteries, churches, and mosques, and then as legal entities such as registered clubs, societies and trusts.

Towards the second half of the 20th century, some of these legally registered charitable societies became very large in size and gradually acquired the new name of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The NGOs that became transnational are called International NGOs (INGOs). The NGOs came forward with the promise of covering that social space, where the government(s) run by the political parties, and / or the existing market(s) have either failed or, have failed to reach or, do not intend to reach.

Like the shamans, priests and the politicians who came before them the contemporary NGOcrats are unabashed *on-behalf-ists*, they thrive on acting on behalf of other people. Some of them are registered as Political Action Committees (PACs). They are into the business of managing politicians, political parties, events and processes like elections and political image management on behalf of their clients for a fee.

Way back in 1791, Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet had written that: 'In the dark ages, the tyranny of force was compounded by the tyranny of enlightenment, albeit feeble and faltering, yet concentrated solely in the hands of a few classes. Priests, juriconsults, men who had the secret of trading transactions, and even doctors, trained in a small number of schools, were no less the masters of the universe than the armed warriors whose hereditary despotism was itself based on their superiority, before gunpowder was invented, as being the only ones to be trained in the art of wielding weapons' [Condorcet 1791/ 1989: 38; quoted in Jolibert 1993: 205]. Hence the modern republican need to educate all the citizens not only in the *old trivium* of reading, writing and arithmetic, that are currently being absorbed within the *new trivium* of literacy, matheracy and technoracy [D'Ambrosio 1999], but also and most importantly, *everyone without fail must get educated about the functioning of institutions* in a given society [Jolibert 1993: 200; my stress].

The harsh ground realities of financial and political control within the charity sector of transnational capital have gradually transformed the NGOs into the obedient disciples, if not clones, of the corporate houses, and of the political institutions of governance, just like the older political parties. The NGOs of our time are continuously required to negotiate with the priorities of various governments and funding agencies, which are, in their turn, constrained by the ups and downs of global finance and considerations of inter-governmental relations and rivalries – such as, those dictated by the politics of protecting and controlling global finance, supply chains of non-renewable energy and of other basic and rare raw materials, and for all that and some more, the maintenance of an optimal balance of terror / power, unrestrained by any commitment to universal basic human rights etc.

Once the NGOs started dovetailing their perspectives and ethos, with the priorities of high finance and high politics that control the channels and levers of the burgeoning charity sector of the global economy, they entered willy nilly into the league of the hangers on of the chief executives of very large corporations and heads of governments. The lords of power and finance did not or do not have any confusion as to what they were or are up to. The upwardly mobile and successful NGOcrats also do not have any role confusion as managers of the various levels of the charity sector of the global economy. They are profitably employed in the only job they can do: the reproduction of the NGOcracy.

What is the outcome? A very small portion of the global population is getting some alms, losing their self-respect and reality orientation. A very great majority of the people of our planet remain stuck up with their old and new needs of food, shelter, health care, education, livelihood, security, equity, fraternity, liberty, justice, democracy and transparency. That is why for everyone concerned about the future of human civilization, the task ahead is to help evolve ways and means for overcoming the cumulative illusions and lies, failures and crimes, of all our previous and current institutions of governance and markets, by ensuring ever greater active participation of all people, in everything that goes on in our variously evolving civil and political societies. To address those tasks with the required conceptual clarity we shall have to go for further renewal of the critique of political economy left unfinished by Marx.

Theoretical background/ Literature review

Political economy is always about some economy within some polity. It is about the control

and management of surplus extracted by the rulers from the ruled. Currently it has three modes of existence as: (1) a social *fact*; (2) some *texts* written under the influence of various ruling ideologies; and, (3) a *science* emerging through an ongoing *critique* of the texts driven by various ruling ideologies. The first steps towards developing a critique of political economy in the interests of developing it as a science were taken by Condorcet, Saint-Simon, Simonde de Sismondi, Eugène Buret, James Stewart, Richard Jones and Friedrich Engels among others [Engels 1844; Grossmann 1943a, 1943b; Marx/Engels 1981; Marx 1998]. Karl Marx developed it further from around 1844 to around 1883. Marx had planned to critically investigate the system of bourgeois economy of his time involving its six domains of *capital*, *landed property*, *wage-labour*, *state*, *foreign trade* and *world market* [MEGA² II/2 (1980): 99]. Out of these 6 domains he could only partly investigate the domain of *capital* before his death. For the remaining 5 domains he left numerous plans, excerpts, notes and drafts within his papers; see: the links to those papers in the references. Critical investigations on the contemporary systems of political economy may build upon what he had already done.

2.1 On *capital*: the state of the corresponding work left unfinished by Marx is available for inspection in MEGA² I/2 (1982): 189-438 and MEGA² II/1-15 (1976-2013). These texts also contain some indications on the evolution of his plans and work on the other 5 domains; in this context also see: van der Linden and Hubmann 2018.

Capital at first grew within the boundaries of some specific *nation-states* of Europe, and then gradually it became *transnational*. It aims at total dominance over the entire political economy of our planet. It has been trying hard to arrive at this goal for the last five hundred odd years through commerce, politics and numerous wars. However, it still remains a gigantic failure. It has a tough call. The system of bourgeois economy is but a toddler of just about five hundred years; and it is trying to reorganize the political economies that have grown over the last eight to ten thousand years on our planet. The defining features of its failures are not to be found in the small arena of confrontation between capital and wage labour. They are entrenched in the very large domain of stubborn continuation of familial and other forms of unpaid labour. Since the emergence of the internet, it has become even larger, thanks to the stealth mining of the fruits of the virtual labour of billions of users of the World Wide Web, through various softwares, bots and tools. Till date capital has singularly failed to come out of the era of status and to establish an era of contracts everywhere in and through the labour markets. On this more on sub-section 2.3 is below. Further, the work related to the domain capital may find better bearings after we register some progress in the other 5 domains.

2.2 On *landed property*: over and above what has been indicated in 2.1 above, there are Marx's notes and excerpts on ethnology [Krader 1974], and on land relations in some parts of the precolonial and colonial South Asia, North Africa and the Americas [Harstick 1977].

Today a very large amount of political and economic activity is being conducted on rented cloud platforms held by the technology companies as their private property. Hence the need to extend the studies on rent on landed property over geographical space on earth, to the study of rent on cloud platforms [see: Sadowski 2020; Yan, Cai and Li 2020].

2.3. On *wage-labour*: MEGA² II/5-10 contains 6 different editions of the Capital, Volume I, published during the years 1867-90. Four of these editions are in German, 1 in French and 1 in English. In the English edition of 1887, republished as MEGA² II/9, at the very beginning of Chapter XX subtitled *Time Wages*, Marx wrote that an exposition of all the forms of wages '...belongs to the special study of wage-labour, not therefore to this work' [MEGA² II/9 (1990): 473]. That special study remains to be undertaken. Further, wage-labour is everywhere dependent upon and surrounded by wageless-labour, and that needs to be taken care of; in this context see: Bakshi 2013, 2019.

2.4. On *state*: Marx had scribbled a brief untitled note starting with the sentence: *Die Entstehungsgeschichte des modernen Staats oder die französische Revolution* [*The history of the origin of modern state or the French Revolution*] in his notebook from the years 1844-1847 [MEGA² IV/3 (1998): 11]. An English translation of it has been published under the editorially provided title: 'Draft plan for a work on modern state' [MECW 4 (1975): 666.]. It may serve as a starting point for future work. Interested workers from different societies of the world may like to chip in. One initial effort is available as: Baksi 2017.

The contemporary studies on the *states/governments* have to take into consideration the fact that in the wake of, and inspired by, the emergence and development of transnational corporations, some very large unrepresentative and self-appointed multilateral agencies and non-governmental organizations are working within and around many of the existing states and their governments. These include the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organization and the INGOs among others. They are the new incarnations of Mephistopheles and their target governments are their Faustus. Governments are being unmade and made by the ebb and tide of transnational capital as investment; by their multilateral agencies mediating global and local governance through the imposition of policy discourses favourable for that investment; and, by charity capital controlling the contemporary business of social work, executed by the non-governmental organizations selected by the managers of that capital. They masquerade as liberal paragons of probity, fighting corruption, defending human rights and democracy; and finally, as the builders of a global civil society. These claims need to be meticulously checked out by conducting forensic auditing of their books of accounts and embedded anthropological investigations on and around their organizational structures and of their practices on ground.

2.5 On *foreign trade*: the trade of labour-time of *outsourced services* together with the growing use of *digital currencies* is among some of the contemporary developments that have to be factored in.

2.6 On *world market*: thanks to the ever-growing reach of the internet in many urban areas of the world, now we have real time interpenetration of many local and global financial and commodity markets. This development awaits thorough investigation. The issues related to the more or less isolated rural markets in areas without electricity and internet connectivity require separate handling.

Methodology

Political economy is unfolding within human social history as a fact, as an ideologically charged discipline, and as a nascent science emerging through critique of its various ideological baggages. Everything that happens within social history needs to be mapped onto the emerging science of political economy, and every other science within that history requires to be investigated in light of political economy. For a glimpse of the encyclopedic range of Marx's investigations encompassing many issues, societies, disciplines, their nature and their history, see: Baksi 2021a.

Marx's approach in these areas may be summarised in two sentences. One of these was his favourite maxim: *Nihil humani a me alienum puto*. It was inspired by a famous statement taken from the play *Heauton Timorumenos* [*The Self-Tormentor*] by Publius Terentius Afer [195/185-159 BCE]: '*Homo sum, humani Nihil a me alienum puto*' [*I am a human being, I consider nothing that is human to be alien to me*]. The other was his favourite motto: *De omnibus dubitandum!* [*Doubt everything!*]. It is attributed to Rene Descartes [1596-1650], who in his turn may have been inspired by the critical thinking of Socrates [470/469-399 BCE] among others. In this context also see: Baksi 2011 and 2015.

Data description

The data has to be collected by all interested workers. An initial attempt in that direction is available on the link to the draft: Baksi 2021b.

Conclusion

In view of the continuing influence of the patriarchal family as an institution even on the structure and functioning of the transnational corporations handling cutting edge technologies of our time [see: Little and Winch 2021], the next round of our investigations may start by unpacking the following observation of Marx: 'D. moderne Familie enthält im Keim nicht nur servitus (Sklaverei) sondern auch *Leibeigenschaft*, da sie von vorn herein Beziehg auf *Dienste für Ackerbau*. Sie enthält in *Miniatur* alle d. Antagonism en in sich, die sich später breit entwickeln in d. Gesellschaft u. ihrem Staat' ['The modern Family contains as a germ not only servitus (Slavery) but also *Serfdom*, since it relates from the outset to *services for agriculture*. It contains in *Miniature* all those antagonisms in themselves, which later develop broadly in the Society and its State'] (inserted within his excerpts from Morgan 1877, Part II, Chapter V, The Monogamian Family) [Krader 1974: 120]. This is the range of the task at hand.

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MARX ON NOTHINGNESS IN BUDDHISM

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Abstract: Marx had made two near identical statements on the concept of *nothingness* (Sanskrit: *Śūnyatā*; Pali: *Suññatā*; Vietnamese: *Không*) in some forms of Buddhism in two of his letters written on 18 and 20 March 1866. He wrote those letters while suffering from *hidradenitis suppurativa* and residing as a medical tourist in Margate, England. He arrived at his understanding of nothingness in Buddhism from the following books of his intimate friend Carl (Karl) Friedrich Koeppen (Köppen) (1808-1863): *Die Religion des Buddha*, 2 Bde. Erster Band. *Die Religion des Buddha und ihre Entstehung*, 1857. Zweiter Band. *Die lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*, 1859; Berlin: Ferdinand Schneider. Marx's personal copies of these books appear to be lost; they are not yet indicated in the reconstructed catalog: *MEGA*² IV/32. The above indicated statements of Marx may be treated as the ground zero for future investigations on the interrelationships of Marxisms and Buddhisms. Many currents of Buddhism and Marxism have converged in Vietnam over many years from many directions. That has created some unique opportunities for the future emergence of scientific investigations on the teachings of Siddhārtha Gautam Buddha and those of Karl Marx from within the contemporary societies there.

Keywords: Buddha, Marx, Medical tourism, Nothingness, Vietnam.

Introduction

Karl Marx wrote in a letter dated 18 March 1866 from the seaside town of Margate, in Thanet Kent, England, addressed to a member of the Dutch Section of the International Workingmen's Association, and his maternal cousin, Antoinette/Nannette Philips (1837-1885), then living in Zaltbommel/Saltbommel, Gelderlands, the Netherlands: 'I have become myself a sort of walking stick, running up and down the whole day, and keeping my mind in that state of nothingness which Buddhism [*recte* Buddhism] considers the climax of human bliss' [*MECW* 42 (1987):241-242].

Two days later on 20 March 1866 he once again wrote in a letter from the same place to his second daughter Laura Marx (1845-1911) then residing in London: 'As to myself, I have turned into a perambulating stick, running about the greatest part of the day, airing myself, going to bed at 10 o'clock, reading nothing, writing less, and altogether working up my mind to that state of nothingness which Buddhism [*recte* Buddhism] considers the climax of human bliss' [*MECW* 42 (1987): 244]. Marx wrote these two letters in English; links to their digital copies are indicated within the References under Marx 1866.

At the time of writing these letters Marx was recuperating at the seaside English town of Margate as a medical tourist. He wrote the lines indicated above amidst the agony of suffering from a prolonged and debilitating skin disease, subsequently called *hidradenitis suppurativa*. The word *hidradenitis* is derived from Greek ἵδρωξ (hidros = sweat) + ἀδὴν (aden = gland) + -ῖτις (-itis = inflammatory disease); and, the word *suppurativa* is derived from Modern Latin *suppurātīvus* (= decay of tissues producing pus); hence: *hidradenitis suppurativa* = inflammation of sweat glands resulting in decay of tissues producing pus [Micali, 2017: 1].

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Marx was reportedly suffering from this disease for a period of about 12 years, from around 1862 to around 1874. During Marx's lifetime it was variously referred to as 'furuncles', 'boils' and 'carbuncles', by him, his wife, their friends, and physicians. In contemporary medical literature this skin disease of Marx is being discussed as a textbook case of *hidradenitis suppurativa* [see: Haple and König, 2008: 255-256; Jemec, 2008: 1382-1383; Shuster, 2008a: 1-3, 2008b: 256-257; van der Zee *et al.*, 2012:735-739; Micali, 2017: 1; Meißner, 2019: 255-257; and, Bukvić Mokos *et al.*, 2020: 9-13].

Though Marx was exposed to a very large number of texts on the history of many Asian countries, as a part of his multi-disciplinary study of world history [Baksi, 2021], no excerpts or drafts or manuscripts by him on any one of the numerous interfaces of *Bauddha Dharma*, statecraft, empires, political economy, and the histories of Asia and the rest of the world have come down to us till date. Here a legitimate question arises: what could be the possible source of Marx's opinion that *Buddhism* considers keeping one's mind in a state of *nothingness* to be the climax of human bliss? One of the most probable sources could be the two volumes of *Die Religion des Buddha* von Carl Friedrich Koepfen (1857; 1859). This text is considered by some to be 'the first large-scale scientific critical treatment of Buddhism by a German scholar' [Leifert, 1971: 99]. Its author, Carl (Karl) Friedrich Koepfen (Köppen) (1808-1863), was one of the most intimate friends of Karl Marx since their days as fellow Young Hegelians in Berlin [Hirsch, 1936: 311-370]. Köppen had earlier dedicated his book on king Friedrich II of Prussia, to his young 'friend Karl Heinrich Marx from Trier' [see: Köppen, 1840: dedication page].

Their continuing intimacy remains documented in a letter from Marx's wife Jenny dated 28 June 1859 to Marx's publisher Franz Duncker, requesting him to send a copy of *Zur Kritik der politischen Ökonomie. Erstes Heft* (1859), 'to senior teacher and author of works on Buddhism [*recte* Buddhism] and Lamaism *Friedrich Köppen in Berlin*' [Blumenberg, 1965: 116]. Köppen personally presented the copies of the two volumes of his *Die Religion des Buddha* to Marx sometime in March-April 1861, when the two of them met in Berlin. Marx considered this book by his friend to be 'an important work'; see: Marx's letter to Engels dated 10 May 1861, in: *MEGA*, III/11: 469; and, *MECW* 41: 287.

Theoretical background/ Literature review

The two volumes of Karl Friedrich Köppen's *Religion des Buddha* quite faithfully reflected an understanding of what came to be called and known as the *Religion of Buddha* or Buddhism in the languages of Europe, for instance, in the work of Eugène Burnouf published in Paris in 1844. The italicized words in the previous sentence are the conventionally accepted translations of the words *बौद्धधर्मः* / *बौद्धधम्म* / *Bauddha Dharma* / *Baudhha Dhamma*. The terms devised for translating the texts related to the various *Sampradayas* / *Streams* of this *Dhamma* do not always have one-to-one correspondence with the terminology of the source texts. They partly converge and partly diverge in their connotations and denotations. One such case is that of the concept of *शून्यता* / *सूनता* / *Śūnyatā* / *Suññatā* that has been variously translated as *Nothingness* / *Leerheit* / *Emptiness* / *Ilycmoma*. Nāgārjuna (circa 150-250 C E) is said to have formulated the doctrine of *Śūnyatā*. He was born several centuries after Śākyamuni Siddhārtha Gautama, also called Siddhattha Gotama Buddha (c.563-483 BCE). So, it would be wrong to assume that this concept belongs to all the schools of thought claiming allegiance to the statements of the historical Buddha. Further, both Śākyamuni and Nāgārjuna, like Marx long after them, were not interested in founding any religion or -ism. Several centuries went by before some versions of the orally transmitted statements Siddhārtha were codified in some literary language that was different from the one he may have used. Then there arose many schools of thought

through various interpretations of those codified statements. That is why we have many streams of this *Dharma* and many interpretations even of the much later doctrine of *Śūnyatā*. Nāgārjuna is considered to be the most influential teacher after the historical Buddha, who had further extended and refined the skeptical, reasonable and critical approaches of Śākyamuni. There exists quite a vast amount of literature on his texts. For some of the contemporary political relevance of, and theoretical perspectives on, the texts Nāgārjuna see: Mendelson 2013; and, Westerhoff 2018.

Viewing from the Himalayan heights of about two thousand years of Nāgārjuna studies in Asia one may find any number of faults with Köppen's and consequently with Marx's understanding of *Śūnyatā*. That would be an easy but useless way to deal with this affair. To put the issues in their historical contexts of mid-nineteenth century Europe, it needs to be mentioned, however, that Köppen himself was not very happy with his own book. He was in touch with the relevant studies that were then emerging from the city of Saint Petersburg. He had wished to improve upon his text in light of the projected publications of Vasily Pavlovich Vasiliev (1818-1900) [Koeppen, 1857, Vorrede (Preface): iii]. That desire remained unfulfilled. Vasiliev had inspected and studied many pertinent texts during his decade-long stay in Beijing from 1840 to 1850. When he returned to Russia he had at his disposal some textual materials for a work in several volumes: 1) on the *Bauddha* dogmas according to the Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary *महाव्युत्पत्ति/ Mahāvvyutpatti*, compiled during the 8th-9th centuries; 2) a review of the *Bauddha* literature known to him; 3) a translation from Tibetan of the *History of Bauddha Dharma in Bhāratavarṣa/India* by Lama Tāranātha (1575-1634); 4) a history of *Bauddha Dharma* in Tibet; and 5) a translation from Chinese language narratives of Xuanzang (602-664) depicting his travels in ancient India [Vasiliev, 1857, Предисловие (Foreword): iv]. He had planned to publish these materials in several volumes. That plan could be fulfilled only in part. The first and the third of those planned books were published. The projected second part or volume of this work was never published. The unpublished materials collected by him were reportedly destroyed in a fire.

The shortcomings of Marx's source of information in this area are matters of the past. At issue here are some of the weightier problems of the present and the future. It is evident that Marx was not exposed to the teachings of Śākyamuni through some texts in any of the ancient or medieval languages of Asia. This situation of Marx's exposure to the teachings of Siddhārtha through some of the secondary and even tertiary literature of Europe is somewhat comparable to the level of exposure of many of the contemporary Marxists of the world to the texts of Marx through some translations and secondary, tertiary etc. Marxist studies in languages other than those used by Marx to write a given text. Further, like Marx in his time, today we too read about Buddha, Nāgārjuna and their teachings in translations and through various restrictive ideological filters. This exposure through secondary or tertiary literature in various languages has led to some conflation of the utterances of Buddha, edited and published by others, with the doctrines of the various schools of his distant disciples. Similarly, our exposure to Marx's texts through the filters of Marxist literature has also resulted in some conflation of the known texts of Karl Marx with the doctrines of various Marxisms.

It is on record that many streams of the teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha and those of Karl Marx came to Vietnam from many shores [Nguyen Thi Thu et al [Eds.] 2008; Mae Chee Huynh Kim Lan 2011; Werner 1978; Young 1979; Tuong Vu 2021]. This has created unique opportunities for scientific investigations on the multiple universes of discourse of the many streams of *Bauddha Dharma* and *Darshan* and those of many Marxisms from within the many societies of contemporary Vietnam.

Methodology

These investigations may be conducted through historical-critical text analyses oriented on multi-disciplinary reconstruction of the history of human ideas from around the time of Śākyamuni Siddhārtha Gautama in Asia to the present time all over the world, in light of the results of Karl Marx's unfinished investigations on many areas of the history of human thought, society, in interaction with the rest of nature. Digital copies of the relevant papers of Marx are available for online inspection at the archives of the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (IISG), Amsterdam.

Data description

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<https://mega.bbaw.de/de>

Conclusion

Prince Siddhārtha turned Śākyamuni had renounced his throne in a small principality in the southern foothills of the Himalayas, in search of what in his views were the appropriate ways and means of human emancipation from their sufferings in this world. Some of his followers subsequently used his teachings in the interests of ruling over several kingdoms and empires in Asia. Karl Marx had renounced his career as an editor, became a stateless refugee away from his land of birth, and attempted to develop a critique of the bourgeois system of political economy aimed at theoretically helping the struggle for self-emancipation of the wage labourers. Subsequently some of his followers crafted an ideology using his surname and used it in the interests of statecraft in several regions of the world. These events were/are parts of two very large world-historic processes. Larger movements of world history had placed the people and societies of Vietnam at the cross-roads of both the processes. They have tried to find their bearings within those currents to the best of their capabilities. It is time now for the students of Śākyamuni and Marx in Vietnam to decide about what role they would try to play in the scientific investigations on those processes and their interconnections in the days and years to come.

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THE FLAVOURS OF TOURISM AND THE AROMA OF HOME: FOOD AS A DIASPORIC CONCEPT

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Culinary/Food/Gastronomy Tourism with its primary purpose of exploring food, is acquiring great significance as a vital component of tourism in a world where hunger and deprivation are gaining ground. While food and cuisine are touted as 'pillars or regional identity and cultural heritage' in ambitious advertisements of Food Tourism, scholars acknowledge the significance of food as a crucial element of material culture that, along with the landscape and the body, serve as 'flags' for the everyday reproduction of the nation and identification with it (Palmer 1998:183). Needless to say, such everyday flagging and revindication of nation, culture, identity are countered by considered critiques that challenge the coherence and singularity of these concept-categories taken to be repositories of affect and identification. My talk will take these diverse and opposed perceptions and apprehensions as a point of departure to track the history of food and cuisine through their incessant travels, migrations, crossing and collapsing of frontiers, blends and concoctions to emphasize the significance of the diaspora as a concept-category. Diaspora, in Avtar Brah's suggestive formulation, 'offers a critique of fixed origins' even while it takes into account 'a homing desire as distinct from a desire for a homeland' (Brah 1996: 16). The innumerable mixes and transcultural flows of species, spices, ingredients, cooking methods and people that underlie food and cuisine and their diverse deployment, enable us to reflect critically on the authentic, the natural, the pure in different contexts and argue against essentialized constructions of the self and the other that lie at the core of aggressive intolerance of different flavours. Without denying the vital presence of power-plays and colonial encounters, extravagance and deprivation, innovation and marginalisation in the tales of food and cooking, I will draw lessons from the imagination and intimacy, domestication and adaptation, jumbled identities with a desire for homing that shore up the rich concoctions of dishes and platter to reconsider the many meanings of travel and migration and insist on the importance of acknowledging the diasporic, the hybrid and the composite.

The 'authentic' in Indian cuisine

The self-evidence of Indian food across the world with the ubiquitous 'curry' as its most emblematic representative, is conspicuous by its absence within India. This fact has been noticed and commented upon by scholars who have taken the vibrant presence of regional and 'ethnic' cuisines and the moral and ethical restrictions on the sharing and consumption food amongst Hindus to be important factors, commenting, at the same time on pan-Indian trends visible in the high cuisine of India (Appadurai 1988, Nandy 2002, 2004 for instance). Food, an important element of the quiet and everyday 'flagging' of the nation that sustains what Michael Billig calls 'banal nationalism', a routine representation of the nation that conserves a nationalist mood, a shared sense of belonging latent, palpable and 'endemic', is yet to emerge as an important element of India's current belligerent national culture. Catherine Palmer, among the first to extend Billig's insights to food, argued that food not only served as a 'flag of identity' along with the national anthem and other recognized symbols, but gave material force to

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ordinary people's everyday belonging to the nation through use, consumption and experience (Palmer 1988: 175-199). At the same time, she underlined the presence of 'ethnic' and other 'multivariate' identities existing in different degrees of harmony and contestation with the national in order to emphasize the 'gelatinous' nature of the national.

Let us probe the presence of the 'gelatinous' in different Indian dishes to see whether or not they can bolster the 'national', the 'regional' the 'typical'. *Idli*, a widely popular and acknowledged representative of south Indian food, originated, according to K.T. Achaya, the venerable historian of Indian food, in the Indonesian region and was brought to India between 800 and 1200 C.E. (Achaya 1994). Even though references to *idli* appear in Kannada literature from the 10th century, up to 1250 C.E., three elements of modern *idli*-making—the mix of rice grits and urad dal, the long fermentation of the mix, and steaming the batter to fluffiness—were missing in them (Achaya 2009: 119). Pointing to the similarity of *idli* with *kedli* of Indonesia, Achaya indicated that returning cooks from the Hindu royal kitchens of Indonesia were the likely transporters of the art fermentation. Lizzie Collingham, on the other hand, credits the Arab settlers in the southern belt of India with the 'invention' of *idli* in the 7th century, prior to the advent of Islam in India. Believed to be strict in their diet as neo-converts to Islam at a time when the Prophet was still alive, and faced by a serious uncertainty about *halal* (prescribed) and *haram* (forbidden) food, these Arab settlers co-habiting with Indian women started preparing rice balls as the safest option, which they would flatten slightly and mix with a bland coconut chutney. This simple, unpretentious dish was taken over and adapted from the 8th century onwards by various groups and communities in India to result in the wide variety of *idlis* all over the South, probably with the adaptation of the art of fermentation that came from Indonesia.

If *idli* offers a succulent example of the presence of the non-native and the 'in-authentic' in the cuisine of the South, the recent rivalry between Bengal and Odisha over credit for the invention of *rasogolla*, that alluring Bengali sweet, brought to light the critical influence of the Portuguese style of making the milk curdle in the evolution of *rasogolla*. If this makes the fight between Bengal and Odisha over patenting the Geographical Index of *rasogolla* appear facile, it also underscores the energy, emotion and pride invested in cooking and cuisine as elements of regional identity.

Moving from the regional to the national, it is imperative to take up the multifarious tales of curry—that 'bastard' dish with many possible parents and no clear pedigree, emblematic of 'Indian' food all over the world (Michael Snyder, *The Takeout*, August 2018). Curry, we are aware, stands both for a spicy stew or 'ragout' (if we follow Jane Holt, the *New York Times* writer of the 1940s) made with Indian spices and the yellow powder, a mix of various dry spice, with which it is often prepared. The crisscrossing tales of curry articulate with flamboyance the vivacity of blends of ingredients, taste, flavour and innovation that at once create and transcend frontiers, and construct and conserve identities of mixed yet bounded communities. While within India, it is often taken to be a 'concoction' of colonial rule and held in disdain by discerning chefs and cooks, for the Anglo-Indian community and people of Indian descent all over the world, curry constitutes a key element of their identity.

The way curry, from being the 'food of the Imperial colony' has conquered the 'Imperial palate' to become Britain's own articulate to a certain extent Felipe Fernández-Armesto's argument about the 'tides of Empire' that 'run in two directions'. The flow outward from an imperial centre that creates metropolitan diversity and 'frontier cultures' at the edges of Empire, and the ebb of imperial retreat that carries home colonists with exotically acclimatized palates and releases the forces of counter-colonization...' (*Near a Thousand Tables: A History of Food*, 2002). It was probably the widely-held notion that curry was Britain's own that made it necessary for

Dean Mohammed, owner of the Hindostanee Coffee-House that opened in London in 1809, to claim that his house serves 'Indian dishes of the highest perfection' for English nobility and gentry, unmatched by any curry ever served in England (Fisher 1996: 158). It bears mention in this context that the first curry of dubious credentials had started being served in the Norris Street Coffee House at Haymarket in London as early as 1733.

Hobson-Jobson, the classic lexicon of Anglo-Indian terms, mentions that 'currystuff', a combination of spices to prepare curry had become available in England by 1784 (1994: 595). Curry-stuff was accompanied by the paste to produce mulligatawny soup, another famous Anglo-Indian dish adapted from the Tamil *milagu tanni*, pepper water. Almost all English cookery books of the 19th century carried recipes of curry, and a dish made with curry powder had found its way into Isabella Beeton's *Book of Household Management* published in 1861 putting the final seal of acceptance of curry as British.

Early recipe-books in Bengali and other vernacular languages that started appearing from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, on the other hand, listed 'curry' as an Indian dish that was specially favoured by the Europeans. Prajñasundari Devi's *Amish o Niramish Ahar* published from 1900 offers an interesting example. The section on 'curry' in Prajñasundari's volume on Non-vegetarian recipes runs into almost 50 pages and 100 entries, far surpassing the other sections. Of even greater significance is the fact that 'curry' comes after 'kabab with gravy or 'stew'', kabab, and wild and domesticated animal flesh. Is 'kabab with gravy or stew' a reflection of a possible unconscious confusion on the part of an accomplished cook consequent upon the joint influence of Persian-Turko-Afghan and European food on Bengali cuisine?

If we wish to spike up the tale further, we can probe the origins of the word curry that has no equivalent in any of the several Indian languages. Jo Monroe, taking the cue from *The Forme of Cury*, the title of the first English book of recipes, suggests that curry may be a derivation from the French word 'cuire', which meant to cook, and its British variation cury (Monroe 2005: 25-26). Others indicate that the Portuguese in India were the first to coin a word for the coconut laced thick gravy that featured prominently in the palate of the inhabitants of the palm lined coast of the Malabar. Enticed by its taste they introduced it in their diet and also made up a name for it: *carel*.

Colleen Taylor Sen and Lizzie Collingham agree that curry comes from the Tamil word *kari*, but they are not in accord over what *kari* in Tamil stands for. While Lizzie Collingham equates it to something akin to 'biting' (2006), Colin Taylor Sen calls it a spiced sauce (2009). The presence of two different r's in Tamil with distinction in pronunciation virtually impossible to discern for a non-Tamil speaker, may have occasioned such confusion: *kari* with the two different rs respectively mean to blacken (grill) and to season. In addition, there is *kari puliya* (curry leaf) used widely in South Indian cooking. In sum, the journey of 'carel' to curry or cury to curry over 2-3 centuries mediated by the resourcefulness of Indian cooks and their stand-offish British mistresses, the taste and desire of Anglo-Indian families, the influence of variations of curry concocted in Malaysia and Singapore that had the Indian curry as its reference divests a delightfully delectable world that merits further exploration. Suffice it to say that such intricate and innumerable mixes had induced Lizzie Collingham to pose two important questions about Indian food in the wake of the controversy occasioned by the proclamation that Chicken Tikka Masala was Britain's 'national dish' by UK's foreign minister in 2001, and the appearance of upscale restaurants in London and New York that claimed to serve 'authentic' Indian regional cuisine as opposed to the run of the mill 'curry houses'. Collingham had asked what 'authenticity' really meant, and if authenticity was the right yardstick by which to judge Indian cuisine (2006:2).

'Authentic', it bears mention entails two different, even opposing, connotations: a 'true' replica of or 'done the same way as' the original, and as something 'true to one's personality, spirit or character' (*Webster Dictionary*). This adds further complexity to claims of authenticity.

In the high culture of international food, writes Ashis Nandy, 'inauthentic' usually has two meanings: 'compromises made with those who do not belong to the ethnic cuisine' on account of commercial or other reasons, and adjustments made to recipes to cope with 'the unavailability or paucity of ingredients' (Nandy 2004:11). Both meanings, he remarks, drawing upon Achaya (1988), presume the existence of boundaries that are difficult to associate with Indian food, since it has openly borrowed from every corner of the globe and transformed the 'blatantly exogenous' to the 'prototypically authentic'(2004:11). Such borrowings and transformations confer discrete meanings on belonging, identification and affect.

Curry, Home, Diaspora

It is time now to track the travels of curry and Indian food in the diaspora to open a distinct panorama of nostalgia and contradictory belonging. Let us take Madhur Jaffrey, a household name in the UK, US and India as a versatile author of Indian cookbooks and a Television and film personality, as an example. Jaffrey's first book of recipes *An Invitation to Indian Cooking*, was published in 1973 by Alfred A. Knopf, the publishing house that had dared to publish Julia Child's legendary book *Introducing the Art of French Cooking* at a time when no one else did, became a great success in the US among people not familiar with Indian cooking. Indeed, it was included in the James Bread Foundation's Cookbook Hall of fame in 2006. Prior to this, Jaffrey had been teaching cooking at her Manhattan apartment and at a school, and had been referred to as 'an actress who cooks' in a *New York Times* article in 1966, following her award-winning performance in the film *Shakespeare Wallah* (1965).

Born in Delhi into an aristocratic family of UP *kayashths* (a middle-ranking Hindu caste with status and prestige in North India), Madhur had never cooked at home. Nor did her mother and other women of the family; they supervised food prepared by the cooks employed by the family. It was only when young Madhur went to London to take a course in acting and despaired at the blandness of British food that she wrote to her mother to ask for the tasty and spicy recipes of home-cooked food. Her mother noted them down on paper and sent them via airmail to her daughter. They were to form the basis of Jaffrey's numerous books on Indian cookery. Unsurprisingly, Jaffrey found the 'curry' served in British restaurants unappetizing and she abhorred the use of curry powder, a point she makes in one of her early books.

As yet, as her early years in London lengthened into decades in New York, Jaffrey's urge to reproduce the authentic flavours of home changed into a need to introduce the intricacies of Indian cooking in an accessible and easily identifiable way that bore the spirit of the author. And in this process, her early loathing of curry and curry powder melted into an acceptance of the omnipresence of curry and the use of curry powder for 'easy' cooking. Between 1973 and 2003, *An Invitation to Indian Cooking* (1973) took a meandering path to reach *The Ultimate Curry Bible*, followed by *Curry Easy Vegetarian* (2010) and *Curry Easy* (2014). Jaffrey's journey that began with longing and nostalgia for 'home-cooked' food that challenged the standardized, mongrel Indian food served in 'second-class establishments' turned into an acceptance of the necessity of opening out to blends, fusion and improvisation in praxis, symbolized also by her location in the new home in New York.

If Madhur Jaffrey resorted to her mother for recipes of food cooked at home, Pushpa Bhargava assumed the role of the universal Indian 'mom' in giving her daughters in the diaspora (US) the magnificent gift of a whole range of Indian recipes in 2007. Titled *From Mom with love...A*

Complete Guide to Indian Cooking and Entertainment, this complete guide advised the daughters not only to pay attention to cooking time, style and ingredients before a meal for guests, but also suggested cooking and freezing in advance as a judicious step to be ready as the welcoming hostess to receive the guests instead of being stuck in the kitchen. A practical tip that takes into account a general practice of many Indian women in the US but overturns Hindu high-caste unease with leftover food as a carrier of pollution, this twist offers yet another instance of the multiple variations of the authentic, represented now in the social and collective self of an ever-helpful mother who offers unconditional solidarity to her daughters. The *Complete Guide* ran into a second and third edition within three years of its first publication. Offering a rich assortment of recipes that cover distinct parts of India with their Indian names, this *Complete Guide* transposes home onto India in a curious situation where the mother is poised between the home in India and her home in the diaspora.

This allows a further reflection on the diaspora and, in particular, the notion of the diasporic space as the site of intersectionality, the in-between, the in-authentic, instead of its overwhelming association with displacement. In her seminal work *Cartographies of the Diaspora* (1996), Avtar Brah underscores the dual and qualitatively different significance of 'home' that underlay a question put to her by an all-male panel of Americans interviewing possible students for US universities as to whether she identified herself as an African or an Indian. The first one, a home in India was a simultaneously floating and rooted referent that evoked narratives of the nation, while the 'home' in Africa (Uganda in her case) was that of the every-day lived reality, of feelings of rootedness that often stem from mundane and unexpected everyday experience and practice that constitute in turn a social and psychic space of belonging, of 'being at home'. At the same time, this quotidian, lived home does not necessarily allow the Ugandan-Indian a place in the imagined community of the Ugandan nation, since racialized or nationalist or both discourses make claims that a group settled 'in' a place is not necessarily 'of' it. The India of today makes us painfully aware of the predominance of this exclusionary, hierarchical discourse of the nation in its routine construction and perpetration of minorities as settled in but outside of. Brah develops her idea of the social and psychic diasporic space as one of possibilities: a space that allows one to be both Ugandan and Indian or Indian and American (or Indian-Muslim or Muslim-Indian) without being compelled to choose, and the possibility of nostalgically evoking a distant home and being perfectly at home in another, a possibility that is actually experienced in the contradictory practices of everyday life.

The mixed tales of travel, migration, adaptation and innovation I have outlined so far underscore the significance, necessity and productive possibilities of intersectionality innate in borrowing, sharing, mixing and inventing. The delectable blends in food and cuisine and their immense agility of adaptation and becoming one's own that enunciate feelings of belonging and being at home open up notions of travel and exploration as well as migration and 'homing' to newer understandings that underscore the contingency and unreality of essentialized constructions and objectified self-identifications. It depends on us to learn from this and endeavour to unsettle the pure, the natural and the authentic and push for the jumbled, the in-authentic in questioning singular constructions of nation, culture and identity.

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A PREAMBLE TO THE DECOLONIZATION OF MONEY

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In a present built out of the capture of revolutionary expression by a computational media system that is a central feature of computational racial capitalism, it becomes necessary to intervene in the *mediations* of capital in order to intervene in the relations of production. These mediations are monetary and semiotic as well as practical. The recent revelations of Facebook whistleblower Frances Haugen are but the tip of a very large ice-pyramid in which, *paradigmatically*, social media has financialized mass expressivity for purposes of value extraction resulting in both the mega accumulation of capital and neo- and fractal fascisms.

Social media's capacity to collapse expressive communication into valuable information and further into profits gives us one paradigm for semio-capital's foreclosure of the power of collective expression as well as its containment of the revolutionary potential of horizontal mass interconnectivity. The socio-semiotic logic is horizontal but the economic logic, like the computational logic, is vertical and hierarchical. Another paradigm is the networked monetary systems of fiat money itself. A mediological approach, capable of tracking the materiality of mediations and the increasing convergence of expression, finance and computation will best resolve the aporia of a 'postmodernism' for which it is, famously, 'easier to imagine the end of the world than to imagine the end of capitalism.' Urgency demands that resolution enables us to imagine and indeed collectively program and produce the end of capitalism. As will be shown, such a revolutionary undertaking requires the conceptualization of economic media. Indeed it demands a decoding of the convergence of semiotic and monetary media networks.

In the desperate attempt to control the emerging agency of the masses in history, and to install and preserve property relations against the clamor for equality rising from the Haitian Revolution, through Europe of 1848, the Paris Commune and into the 20th century campaigns, colonial policing was imposed 'abroad,' and Fascism, what Leon Trotsky astutely called 'a *caricature* of Jacobinism [*italics mine*]' bloomed in Europe, in Latin American, Southeast Asia and beyond. For the twentieth century these were significant culminations of the workplace discipline on the plantation, the hacienda and in the factory, as well as of the fiscal and social discipline already imposed by bankers and their states (Luxembourg) leading up to the various conflicting nationalisms. Importantly, the 'violation' of cinema and its capacity to create collective consciousness by being in multiple places and times and reveal the relations of production through a prosthetic extension of the senses (Vertov, Benjamin), along with the use of other mass media was part of the means of (production of) Fascism. The celebrity, like the charismatic leader, was an accrual of not just popular desire, but of mass attention. Attention, as I argued in *The Cinematic Mode of Production* emerges industrially and historically as a source of value creation put in a feedback loop with capitalist (capitalized) media machinery. Its practical if not always also theoretical conceptualization encompasses and subsumes late 19th and early 20th century conceptions of labor, and offers a way to extend the working day, ward off the falling rate of profit and accrue capital. (Beller, 2006). Such can be indexed both by 'cinema bringing the industrial revolution to the eye,' the exponential growth of advertising, and, beyond that, the media nationalisms and the becoming-media of capital itself. The

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celebrity, charismatic leader, popstar, or in some cases 'The Nation,' thus become the paradigmatic figures, at least on the right, of strong-man fascisms that famously 'give the masses not the right but a chance to express themselves' (Benjamin).

As a caricature of people's movements and of popular uprising, as a *reaction* to mass agency, Fascism led to 'answers' and indeed to 'solutions' to dissonant and revolutionary aspirations in the West's colonies and also in Europe. Fascism was, and remains—even in its neo- and fractal forms—a social relation navigating the contradiction between mass expression and private property. Retrospectively, its media may be grasped as economic media. And the generality of its racist, heteropatriarchal tactics (which included pedagogical 'Humanism') prompted Aimé Césaire to write bitterly, that 'at bottom, what he [the European bourgeois] cannot forgive Hitler for is not *crime* in itself, *the crime against man*, it is not *the humiliation of man as such*, it is the crime against the white man, the humiliation of the white man, and the fact that he applied to Europe colonialist procedures which until then had been reserved exclusively for the Arabs of Algeria, the coolies of India, and the blacks of Africa.' For the bourgeoisie, the problem was not the what, or the how of camps, but only the who.

Racial abstraction, abstract time and commodification reveal, when one regards the early digitization that is exchange value (what I call Digital Culture 1), the emergence of an *underlier* in the heterogeneity of things, the ambient assignation of a *quantifiable value* to all things (be they object, image, person or network). The underlier performs a homogenization that is *endemic* to the commodity form, *composed*, as it is, of (or indeed *as*) a use value and an exchange value. Commodification posited an equality in kind if not in quantity. All commodities are representable as exchange values, which are to say, as prices, and as such are in principle commensurable despite their qualitative differences. They are, as it were, 'on network' from the get go because they 'speak' the same systems-language of exchange values for capital—they all have a price. Modern 'Democracy,' with its invocation of equality and rights could then be considered a cultural invocation of a homologous principle of a digitality that promised a new ontological equality among things positing, in humanistic terms of citizenship as ownership of rights, the same basic equality discerned from the act of exchange. The equality of all 'men' being subjects in possession of their objects of exchange, proposed a 'fundamental' equality whose shorthand was 'Man' (Wynter). Indeed Marx made this argument: what we understand as 'the subject' was the subject of exchange value and emerged out of exchange. Like communication media, monetary media also instantiates subjects.

Having passed through marginal utility theory, neoliberalism and financialization we might add that this subject Man's sovereign decisions over his commodities were his choices, or rather we could say that what began to hold sway was a kind of economic voting that we should perceive clearly as 'options.' The old worlds were liquidated and almost everywhere everyone became increasingly obliged to make their political, social, personal, and indeed all decisions based upon their future economic returns. We note in passing that the imperative to optimize exchange values imposes new dynamics on the semiotic field, recasting the meaning of things by the light of capital accumulation. More often than not 'choice' meant optimization in the accumulation game of units of the general form of value (money), and this deeper system of 'voting' through commodification was universally imposed as people were everywhere encouraged to become utility maximizers bent on increasing their stack. Such maximization by means of everyday decisions that coalesced as forces far exceeding the power of voting is the only 'security' available when 'all that is solid melts into air.' In a mid-twentieth century capitalism that did not yet know how to critique itself as racial capitalism (Robinson), people who were not actually enslaved were posited as equals, qualitatively speaking, equivalent in kind, as 'men,' (while by a vicious sleight of hand the enslaved were excluded from the category of 'human'). Now history was set forth as an extended quibble over quantitative equality -- the

just or accursed share. Of course, capitalism itself provided for capitalists a system of discounts, using the heuristics of race, nationality, ethnicity, gender, linguistic group and class to hold down the costs of reproduction and prevent the vast majority from realizing in the market their full value as 'men.' A gradient of graduated discounts indexed to 'social differences,' whose most literal expression was perhaps 'the 3/5ths rule,' was and remains energetically and brutally applied.

In leaving the eugenics, imperial wars, white-supremacy and heteropatriarchy to one side for the moment, to focus on the general form of encoding imposed by monetary and mass media, we are also regrettably leaving to one side and thus for others some of the hardest and most important work in theorizing anti-racist, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist resistance. For it is in the specificity of such struggles, and in the values they express, that the post-capitalist futures lie. Our goal in the present essay is to mobilize the sensibilities, aesthetics and practices of survival for the occupation and detournement of money. This detournement of economic media, we wager, has become a necessary step for future revolutions. We have been building on the idea that money is not only a social relation, a 'real abstraction' that emerges out of social practices, but that it is also a system of institutions and ideologies that organize, through violence, 'what men do' as well as 'what men are.' Thus, for the moment we will content ourselves by saying that epidermalization and gender normativity, the racism and imperialist ideology of capital's geopolitical conquest, as discourse, as media formations, as ideologies and informatics, in short, as the socio-semiotics violently imposed on and indeed inscribed upon bodies, though perhaps the paradigmatic cases historically speaking, are, even when taken together, but one particularly heinous instance in which the digitality of valuation gives rise to information and to the generalization of information. The continuous application of various forms of calculus on the life world to model cost-benefit outcomes were, in effect, the numismatics of race and gender in the colonial world and no less, at 'home.'

What we have been sketching here is the history of capital accumulation and with it the history of actually existing money, its reorganization of time, bodies, subjectivity, the built environment and narrative, along with its convergence with industrial and computational media. Out of the pain, we are seeking to discern its code by reviewing aspects of its encoding and platform. We thus approach exchange-value's functional extension as information, and the allied emergence of capital logic as programming. This history does not easily compress into a sentence, yet for the moment we are obliged to accept its relevance and perhaps its truth in order to get to the point. It's this:

As I argued in *The Word Computer*, the digital protocol for value calculation becomes the general form for information. The computation of exchange value becomes the means by which information, as the capacity to express qualitative differences quantitatively, is generated. The historical digitization everywhere imposed by quantification becomes the framework for information. Information, as a seemingly deracinated quantity is born in and emerges out of the footprint of price and extends the resolution of price to emergent phenomenon. It is a scalar number that creates a link between a quality and a network. These networks are inevitably linked directly or indirectly to capital formations. The essential corollary is that price is the metaprogram for information, and that it is carrying costs of whatever qualities it represents are, as it were, always priced in. Put another way, informatics and their calculus becomes, that is, evolves as, the operating system of prices. This development extends value calculus, its ongoing computation through the comparison of differences, which is to say, simply, its computation, to any phenomenon whatever as general computing. Thus information extends from any quality whatever to the ledgers, balance sheets and bottom lines of those who host and/or rent access to networks, and from there directly or indirectly to capital's accounts. A field of numeracy can be discovered to extend from every informatic expression to capital.

Computational Capital, that is, Computational *Racial* Capital becomes the operating system of planet Earth.

Information always implies a value calculus no matter what is being archived or executed by and through it. That much is axiomatic. An immediate consequence of this thesis should be the stark foregrounding of the cost of compute. Invoking this cost rematerializes computation, and implies that ubiquitous computing extends the extractive dynamics of attention economy and the screen to the social itself. As with the money commodity, and indeed with value itself, information's calculus is *always* platformed on a substrate. Both price (in say gold) and information (in say a discrete state machine) are in effect denominated by a substrate, by the material array that platforms their digital quantities. Namely they are platformed by states of matter and the differences among them made possible by network arrays. Either as purified gold, or as states in discrete state machines, each network consists of expressions of and expressions *in* altered states of matter that are socially significant with respect to other states. This matter, and the materiality of its network, was ultimately altered by what we used to call simply 'labor.' Another way of saying the same thing is that *like exchange value itself information is all dead labor.*

With gold, we have the element that composes it along with processes of accumulation, metrics for purity, weight, the creation of bullion and coinage, etc. With information, we have ledgers, spreadsheets, accumulation through encoding, mathematical operations, discrete state machines, networks, and the metrics, as well as the direct operating costs that these all entail. Today these mediating practices are to be grasped as the unthought of money, its *costs* and ultimately, *its* production. For there is no longer money without ubiquitous computing, money is, in short, networked states of matter. Its various quantities and instances form nodes in a network. Who needs to consider the form of the network and the externalization of the costs to maintain it. Who controls the protocols for the issuance of money? Whose poverty secures money's liquidity? And who pays for the world computer, who pays for the global, quasi-totalitarian AI? And how might we occupy its operating system in order to transform it?

We don't need to go too far into the price of gold before we get to The Conquest, which not incidentally killed 24 of 25 million inhabitants of Mexico (Todorov). But when we consider the price of compute can we resolve there colonization and slavery, can we recognize in the rise of computation and its 'anti-Black box' (Ruha Benjamin) a legacy of these colonial projects that is also an intensification?

Modified from the original 'M-C-M' (money-commodity-more money), we write here the general formula for capital, as 'M-I-M' (money-information-more money). In doing so we also propose that informatic labor as the creation of socially significant material state changes has become the general form of value creation for capital. *In altering states of matter and in receiving in return less value than it produces, informatic labor provision's capital's returns, its interest.* Informatic labor is thus bent to the interest of capital. From the development of a system of prices to a system of information as the seemingly master non-denominational and 'content indifferent' unit of racial capitalism, we may discern the continuities and indeed the *embodiments* of both price and information, even as we discern that commodities were always matter informed by labor whose differences were legible as price. Money and information as 'general equivalent' appears as if content indifferent and 'without qualities,' yet it mobilizes the object world (and arguably the subject world) while liquidating it. Understanding money and information in this way, as a means that liquidates qualities as quantities for capital accumulation allows us to understand their *materiality* as 'the money commodity,' as 'information.' It thus allows us to understand *their principles of composition*, as being inexorably linked to their social institutions and their networks. Logically, we must intervene

in informatic labor and the practices of its absorption through the subsumption of its qualities. We must intervene in the operating system of capital.

Political economy as a matter compiler has been, once it scaled as capital, the means for introducing state changes in matter in accordance with a system of accounts capable of imposing a valuation backed by the institutionalized logic of infinite monotheistic accumulation and the falling rate of profit, what Marx called a vast automaton and what we call computational racial capital. What we discern then is that informatic labor, the creation of state changes in matter, becomes the basic unit of production. This unit derives its specific value from its legibility on the network, a network that is formed by the concerted maintenance of historical inequality and the compounding of past injustice (Miester). While this has tremendous implications for the space and time of production as well as social transformation, we will have to content ourselves here by saying that we can understand M-I-M' as mediated by performances that create information, that we have a *performance theory of value*, and furthermore that the extractive stripping of various performances by leveraged media network architectures—their collapse into information and further collapse into value—demands that we reorganize the relationship between performativity and our networks for the expression, platforming and transmission of value (Virno, Butler, Beller, Bryan and Lopez). The long-term goal of such recognition, we simply state here, is the overcoming of the value form itself, but here we propose a transitional method. At least we can propose something.

Let us summarize our insights toward the decolonization of money and the detournement of the value-form endemic to racial capitalism: The relationship between semiotic media and monetary media becomes of central importance and begins to become conscious at the end of the twentieth century. With the convergence of communications media and capital's monetary media in the twenty-first century, in which social media is one paradigm and cryptocurrency is another, we may now understand this convergence as the announcing the rise of *economic media*.

Additionally we observe that Narrative, like other cultural forms, becomes a Derivative -- an aesthetic form but also a way of managing the time-based movements of markets. So too with other types of performance from credit default swaps to TikTok. There is, in multiple registers, a general transition from interest to risk; practical activity can be understood as wagers in computational racial capitalism. Derivatives become the general form for the management of risk under conditions of volatility. We abbreviate this derivative condition by listing the following for considerations:

- a) A derivative is a contingent claim on the value form. 'Options,' 'futures,' swaps, products of 'synthetic finance,' are a subset of the derivative as a general social form.
- b) Its derivatives 'all the way down' -- all values are fluid in relation to general volatility and anything with 'a value' represents a 'position,' that is, a contingent claim, on the market.
- c) Financialization and 'the financialization of daily life' (Martin) is the imposition of 'the derivative condition'
- d) 'Social derivatives' (Martin) are social forms that allow for a 'risking together to get more of what we want.' We may understand cultural practices as risk management in a condition of generalized economic volatility.

Here we perceive our fundamental question: in a world in which environmental toxicity, precarity, computation and racial capitalism interlock in a volatile, near totalitarian combinatorial of hierarchized violence, how might sociality organize itself *to not reproduce*

capitalist exploitation and domination, and to preserve and amplify non-capitalist values that despite history's crushing weight, nonetheless persist and survive?

A few predictions, which, following Gramsci are in fact programmes:

Ecopolitics -- will become the struggle to denigrate networks. Decolonial ecopolitics will use

Decolonial Ecography -- writing futures on 'networks with consequences' (Lovink) that are platformed on social relations *of our own design* grafted to computation. We will 'make kin' as Haraway says, with one another and our many worlds, and we will use the archival and record keeping capacities of computation to use this kinship to platform, which is to say *denominate* economic and ecological values in accordance with the social relations we seek. In partitioning our networks and composing our own networked denominations of values, we will make other values economically persistent (sustainable).

Thus we perceive a strategic goal: to platform *qualified* values in socially composable ways, to denominate *futures* platformed on sociality and on the solidarity networks we may create, and to issue one another expressions that are at once semiotic and monetary and whose value depends upon our mutual self-organization.

At the risk of being too specific too soon, we see emerging here a case for radical finance, for the financing—and indeed the *self-financing*—of revolutionary emergence. *Economic media*, as the informatic conflation of expression and capitalist computational production must be decolonized. We must reprotocolize the economic media networks to create postcapitalist economic media. We must enable our practices of sustainability and survival to inform the abstraction of value, not to be subsumed by existing processes of value abstraction. We require *abstraction without extraction*.

The extraction that is endemic to the current conditions of our expressivity (as work, as communication, as care) must be overturned and overcome. Our expressivity as performance (virtuosity in Virno's terms) currently creates state changes that valorize capital—politically and economically we must create networks that undermine capital's totalitarian computing. We require new powers for the issuance and denomination of value forms, powers that horizontalize both expressivity and economy.

Here we must recognize that cryptocurrency, currently 'eating the world,' is not simply a new technology, but an emergent medium: 'crypto' is a media and indeed an economic media technology. Like other media technologies, it is also a moment in struggle, a constellation of opposing and indeed contradictory forces. Cryptomedia occasions the possibility of reprogramming economic media, broadly understood here as *both* monetary media and communications media. The much lauded (at first) 'disintermediation' of banks and other elements of the legacy financial system, proposed by the Bitcoin protocol, also posits a radical *remediation* of both economy and the social contract. It has become possible and indeed necessary to re-protocolize the rules of monetary issuance, platform, network and the governance of account ledgers.

Make no mistake, bitcoin is not the revolution and by itself will only install a new elite alongside or at most in place of existing elites. It remains monological and monotheistic. But as a means of seizing monetary networks from the control of existing states and platforming them on distributed digital computing such that its ledgers are incorruptible and persistent, Bitcoin along with the thousands of crypto experiments that have followed it, proposes *cryptoeconomic design* as a space of social transformation. This is a historical watershed, equivalent to the advent of photography or cinema.

It is necessary to ask—and to answer—the question, 'what network architectures, what expressive computational grammars might work to enable not only a socialist distribution logic of networked value creation, but a logic that allows the otherwise valuable qualities of living and of concern that are today collapsed into prices by capital's value calculus to persist and indeed to inform social production and reproduction. How can we denominate values based upon futures that we collectively author. How might we collectivize the power to write derivatives on a persistent monetary substrate? How might we collectively author futures that are both informed by qualitative values and remain economically viable? This, unfortunately, is the topic for another paper. I'll just close by saying that I think it is possible. Another world is possible, and its authentic emergence will require postcapitalist economic media to collectively program and sustain the decolonization of its various, entangled ecosystems.

PLANTATIONS AND PRISONERS: ESCAPING THE PLANTATIONOCENE, BY HOOK OR BY CROOK

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My name is Jack, and I am an associate researcher with KU Leuven's department of social and cultural anthropology (formerly IARA). My presentation today is based on just under two and a half year's fieldwork in Swakopmund, Namibia, where I was researching men's relations and relationships in the context of uranium mining.

Swakopmund is a small, coastal, city in the west of Namibia. It has a population of circa 60,000, and although small is one of Namibia's major urban centres. It has a difficult, fractured history; until about 1915 Namibia was known as German South West Africa, and Swakopmund was built as the colony's port. It was also the location of two as-yet-unlocated concentration camps which were built to imprison the survivors of the Herero-Nama Genocide of 1904-8. And whilst my work focused on intimacy and relatedness in the light of uranium, Swakopmund is a busy little city – Namibia's 'playground in the desert' is host to a large (if declining) tourism industry, and both the city itself and its surrounding desert are sometimes host to television and film productions, such as 2015's *Mad Max Fury Road*, and 2017's *The Mummy*. Swakopmund was also the location for the filming of 2009's reimagining of Patrick McGoochan's *The Prisoner*, with the city's historic town area formed the visual backdrop for the programme's main location, the Village, with prominent 'roles' for much of the German colonial architecture which remains there. For this latter reason, I will not speak much of Swakopmund itself (but perhaps by proxy); instead, this paper is a reflection and exploration of fictional worlds and the ways that those worlds can inspire new ways of thinking about the real worlds that inspire them.

Namibia – and South West Africa, as Namibia was known prior to its independence in only 1990 – has always been shaped by fiction. Fiction was, states Baas (2019, p. 6), a way for metropolitan inhabitants – i.e., those residing in Imperial Germany and South Africa who would then become colonists – to conceptualise and 'imaginatively colonise', via imperial and expansionist fantasies, 'landscape and a not-as-yet-territory that is alien to them.' Yet as well as being instrumental in the development of the colony, fiction is also a method of escaping it – fiction also played a role in the creation of the independent nation of Namibia (*ibid.*).

These themes resonate with developments in anthropological thinking emanating from the West. Indeed, a 'new literary turn' is manifesting. Anand Pandian, for example, invites us to be inspired by the alternative, subjunctive schemas which are offered by the works of authors such as Ursula K. Le Guin (Pandian 2019) whilst Elizabeth Povinelli (2011) draws heavily on *The Ones Who Walk Away from Omelas* (also a Le Guin work) in her writing of *Economies of Abandonment*. Indeed, Le Guin's work takes its inspiration from different ontologies, moving in exciting new ways (Boulton 2021): science fiction is, after all, a place for thought experiments and questions of 'what if?'

This new literary turn can be traced back to Sylvia Wynter's *Novel and History, Plot and Plantation*. There, Wynter (1971, p. 95) describes the parallel development of the novel and

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the market economy as 'twin children of the same parent,' i.e. the sugar cane plantation. Connected to the plantation is a 'plot', Wynter describes, an area in which slaves grew enough food to sustain themselves but also an area which was the focus of resistance. Similarly, the novel is also a form of resistance to the market economy and the specific histories which have intertwined (and been distorted) to form it.

And the plantation itself – in its most conceptual form – has also been taken up once more by recent scholars such as Deborah James (2019) and Donna Haraway (2016a), with Haraway going as far as re-christening our most current epoch the 'Plantationocene'. The plantation itself, as a space in which 'natures (including people, other fauna, and flora) are disciplined and... 'Cheapened' in ways that maximize profit but peripheralize the environmental and social risk of plantations to colonies and the Global South' (Guarneri 2019), is conceptualised as the superstructure of civilisation (Wynter 1971); after the abolition of slavery, landowners used their ownership of land to compel people back to work: slavery was abolished, but the system that slaves worked in was not.

'The plantation spatializes early conceptions of urban life within the context of a racial economy: the plantation contained identifiable economic zones; it bolstered economic and social growth along transportation corridors; land use was for both agricultural and industrial growth; patterns of specialized activities—from domestic labor and field labor to blacksmithing, management, and church activities—were performed; racial groups were differentially inserted into the local economy, and so forth.' (McKittrick 2013, p. 9)

For contemporary theorists the 'plantation model' is the groundwork for the corporation and indeed modern capitalism: plantation logics organise modern economies, environments, and social relations (Guarneri 2019). And of course, the plantation also reproduces itself 'as part of cycles of capitalist development' (Bost 2021, p. 3). In other industries and spaces a logic similar to slavery emerges (McKittrick 2013).

And so, we return to Swakopmund, and the fictional worlds of *The Prisoner*. It was somehow fitting that the American cable channel, AMC, came to Swakopmund in November 2008 to film their 're-imagining' of 1968's *The Prisoner*. The original was filmed at Portmeirion, north Wales, a small conservation area designed by Sir Clough Williams-Ellis between 1925 and 1975 in the style of an Italian village. For those who are not familiar with the series, the protagonist – a nameless man known only as Number 6 – resigns his work as a British spy, but is then kidnapped and taken to a quaint, rather uncanny village (*The Village*), a place he quickly discovers is a penal colony for former spies. The Village is 'a place of enforced order, an oppressively perfect microcosm, [a] quaint little utopia [that] seemed to deride its dejected inmates through its relentless cheeriness' (Britton and Barker 2003, p. 108), which on a day-to-day basis is run by Number 2 (we never meet Number 1, at least until the final episode). Number 6 can only leave if he provides information regarding his resignation from his work, and so each episode of the series sees him either trying to escape the Village, or combatting a particular part of the Village's bureaucratic machinery.

'Each episode of *The Prisoner* begins with a mute replay of the basic premise: a man resigns angrily from his job and is spirited away, unconscious, from his home to a strange place known only as 'the Village'. He awakens, disoriented but still apparently in his own house, lifts his blinds, and gazes through his window. When he is confronted with a scene of picture-perfect rustic charm rather than the expected London skyscrapers, we receive a clear hint that the program will be about perception and viewing – looking at things, looking through things, and being looked at.' (Britton and Barker 2003, p. 95)

The Village could be anywhere, and there is the potential to live a happy life, every possible need is catered for, including retirement and death. We are never privy to whether the people who run the Village are on 'our side' or 'theirs', and conformity to norms is maintained through lack of information. Old names are forgotten in favour of numbers which are assigned on arrival. Villagers never know who is a fellow prisoner, and who is a jailer. As Maggio (2008) points out, the Village is the world – the global village (McLuhan 1962) – in microcosm, a testament to the evils of globalisation. The series draws heavily both on Foucault and Franz Kafka's *Der Prozess* [*The Trial*] (1925); in this latter story the protagonist, Josef K, wakes up to find himself under house arrest and guilty of a crime that he did not commit and, indeed, no-one will tell him its nature. Josef's attempts at seeking justice are never satisfied as he finds himself embroiled in increasingly complex mechanisms of the state which remains remote and largely inaccessible. Unable to argue his case, he is eventually executed.

But the Village is also a plantation, in its most abstract form: its crop is knowledge and information, and its plants more-or-less look after themselves, even if they are tended to by the disguised prison warders. And just as the plantation is divided neatly into its normative components – the 'big house', barns, a garden area, an auction block for slaves, slave dwellings, a cemetery, mills and the crop area and fields, the institutions and buildings of the Village are similarly essentialised: Number 2's house, the department for work and labour, a retirement home, a gymnasium, a fully equipped hospital. Nothing is out of place, and everything is in its place: both are fully self-contained, self-reliant cities-within-themselves, and every possible need is catered for.

It mirrors one form of 'plantation future', as 'a conceptualization of time-space that tracks the plantation toward the prison' (McKittrick 2013, p. 2). Yet in a similar way to Sylvia Wynter's (1971) original conception, it also moves the plantation beyond its racialised beginnings. And whilst the Village is very Western in its mannerisms and eccentricities, it is important that it could really be anywhere – a placeless place akin to a heterotopia (Foucault 1984) but much more dangerous.

Writing for *The Telegraph*, Tim Burrows describes how the cast of the 2009 remake were requested by writer Bill Gallagher to read John Gray's *Straw Dogs* (2002), as preparatory material for understanding the key themes of the piece. Gray's book is a critique of 'progress', mulling our inability to recognise that we are animals, and 'that like them we are ultimately powerless over both our individual and collective destinies, which leads to our nonsensical faith in progress' (Self 2014, n.p.). There is an immediate connection to be made between *The Prisoner* and the writing of Donna Haraway (2016a, 2016b, p. 55) when she states that 'human beings are with and of the earth, and the biotic and abiotic powers of this earth are the main story.' This is one of the key elements of the plantation model – the disruption of these connections into 'racialized categories of human, not quite human, and nonhuman' (Thomas 2019: 13) which, in the Village, creates people such as Number 2. They are a 'leader' who believes that they are above others and that their brutal sadisms can correct what are seen as fundamental flaws in human nature. Perhaps the location of Swakopmund, with its history of genocide – was not such a coincidental choice after all.

But I would like to step back a little and discuss *The Prisoner* as a thing-in-itself, a television production. And I refer more to the original series rather than its remake, although the message is quite similar in both. For Britton and Barker (2003), *The Prisoner* is about observation: *watching* and being *watched*, and by extension also *witnessing*. But these themes are not limited to the boundaries of the programme as it appears on the screen; it also implicates the viewer in the act of observation, with its design, scripting and realisation intended to satirise and scrutinise the viewer's status as a watcher: 'the authenticity of the television image itself was

under attack' (Britton and Barker 2003, p. 94).

The beginning and end of each episode – aside from the last – are identical. At the beginning, Number 6 is imprisoned, and at the end his prison is reaffirmed, ready for the next episode. In that sense, the series is circular in narrative, and indeed 'for the first fifteen episodes, there is no narrative progression or resolution, and every episode ends with the Prisoner returning to where he started' (Morreale 2010, pp. 178). By the latter episodes – there are only seventeen in the original, and six in the remake – even Number 6 seems quite at ease in the Village, perhaps resigned to his fate. Each episode is, more or less, a retread of the previous one, albeit moving in a slightly different direction or exploring a new theme as syntagmatic progression.

And at the end of the series, Number 6 is put on trial, eventually winning his right to freedom, but not before he is begged to stay on as the ruler of the Village. Number 6, then attempting his escape in a rocket, is confronted by a robed figure; this is, it seems, Number 1, the as-yet-unseen master and supreme authority – the mastermind of Number 6's imprisonment. Tearing off Number 1's mask first reveals a laughing monkey; pulling this visage away, Number 6 is horrified to see himself. Rather than escape by rocket, which nonetheless takes off, destroying the Village, our hero instead takes Number 48 with him in a truck. Eventually, they arrive at 6's house in London, exactly the same as his house in the Village. The door opens with the buzz of the automatic doors he has become so accustomed to, and Number 2's butler is seen lurking nearby. Has he escaped, or is Number 6 his own jailer?

These circles of repetition are important: they mirror, of course, the material and ideological reproduction of the plantation, a place from which escape is almost impossible except via death. But it is the momentary battle with the masked Number 1 which is perhaps most revealing yet also the most difficult for us to enact. It is a struggle with oneself as the one responsible for the world as it is, a particular form of witnessing and reflexivity which positions ourselves not at the centre of the universe but as responsible and remarkably powerful individuals, even if we might not care to admit it.

For both McKittrick (2013) and Wynter (1971), fiction is our method of escaping these apparently inevitable plantation futures, as ways of reflecting and reflexing on the plantation in order to escape it, invoking what Deborah James (2019) describes as 'Witnessing 2.0', a form of contemplation which holds positionality at its core: embodied and 'moral practice that involves assuming responsibility for contemporary events' (Thomas 2019, p. 2). And this, for me, is what *The Prisoner* is asking of its viewers – part of the reason, possibly, why it was not such a success on its initial broadcast and why the ending caused such consternation at the time. Indeed, the plantation itself can also be a place of resistance (Aso 2018), as much as the plot: and Number 6 is certainly planning his escape not from his house but from the confines of the Village itself – he uses the mechanisms of the Village to his own advantage, eventually being offered the position of ruler but ultimately choosing to leave, an act which brings his prison tumbling down.

Simon O'Sullivan (2016) describes a process of 'fictioning' which, to bring today's presentation full-circle, is also picked up by Renzo Baas (2019, p.10) in his description of the ways that fiction aided in the 'creation of an alien and removed space in the service of the metropole' and its subsequent decolonisation. Hitherto separate worlds are collapsed and connected to create 'a 'new' landscape, a new platform for dreaming' (O'Sullivan 2014, p. 6), and 'elements of the world-as-it-is are reflected in the novel, which again reflect the world-as-it-is at a certain period in time' (Baas 2019, p. 14). Importantly, both the plantation and the Village are, to borrow from Foucault (1963), *tropological places* (rather than spaces), with their various facets acting as allegory, 'narrative fiction[s] [that] continuously refers to another pattern of ideas or events. It is a representation that "interprets" itself' (Clifford 1984, pp. 207).

Anne McClintock (2020, n.p.) reminds us that we should keep faith in fugue futures – 'interweaving differently braided voices... Creat[ing] improbable connections... So that the past does not continue to wound the present.' This paper has been a wander through three domains which are separated in time and space yet remain interconnected. Swakopmund we visited only briefly, as well as the plantation and the Village. In that way though I hope I have offered a different perspective on media in anthropology, and the ways in which fictional and real worlds are sometimes collapsed into each other, sometimes mirroring but also offering different avenues for thought, and indeed possible futures.

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REFORM AND INNOVATION IN LABOUR RELATIONS: HARMONY OR DISHARMONY?

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Abstract: The driving principle behind the development of industrial relations in Vietnam is to build 'harmonious labour relations' (*quan hệ lao động hài hòa*), in order to assist with economic growth and development. The phrase can be found in the labour law, regularly repeated by government and union officials, and sprinkled around labour newspapers and other media sources focused on labour issues. The Vietnam General Confederation of Labour (VGCL), so the argument goes, has an important role to play to achieve this aim by supporting workers materially, engaging employers in social dialogue and collective bargaining, and helping reduce and avert strikes. This paper considers, however, if, far from needing harmonious labour relations, pro-labour stakeholders and practitioners gain from a social structure of *disharmonious* labour relations. I note that, following Marx, in a market economy harmonious labour relations are quite literally impossible. The core of such an economy is a fundamental antagonism between the two great classes, bourgeoisie and proletariat. What at first sight appears to be harmonious labour relations is in fact labour submitting to the domination of capital. In addition, the single most important driving force improving wages and conditions for workers in Vietnam has been their strikes, largely driven by rural migrants in urban areas working in industrial production. It is strikes that have led to minimum wage rises often outpacing productivity rises, union reforms, legal reforms, and improved working environments. If these were lost, the pressure to improve labour's lot would also dissipate, and the scales would tip firmly in favour of capital.

Keywords: labour, labour relations, strikes, harmony, disharmony, unions, Vietnam.

Text

If there is one rallying cry of labour relations institutions and practitioners in Vietnam, it is 'harmonious labour relations' (*quan hệ lao động hài hòa*). The phrase can be found repeated by many government departments and labour relations institutions, and their representatives. During celebrations of the 90th anniversary of the founding of the state-led union, the Vietnam General Confederation of Labour (VGCL), in 2019, Vietnam's then Prime Minister Nguyễn Xuân Phúc stressed that the VGCL has a big responsibility to contribute to building harmonious labour relations (in Văn Đuẩn, 2019) VGCL Presidents and Vice-Presidents also often repeat the important role of the Confederation in building harmonious labour relations (see e.g. Nguyễn, 2021). It is written into the VGCL's charter, with one of unions' responsibilities being to contribute to building harmonious labour relations (VGCL, 2018).

The principle of harmonious labour relations is also baked into law, and in recent years has been restated and reinforced. In September 2019, the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed Directive No. 37-CT/TW, on strengthening the Party's leadership and direction in building harmonious, stable and progressive labour relations in the new context (*tăng cường sự lãnh đạo, chỉ đạo xây dựng quan hệ lao động hài hòa, ổn định và tiến bộ trong tình hình mới*) (Central Committee, 2019). This was an update of a previous directive, Directive 22-CT/TW, which was implemented in 2008 and firmly established the principle of harmonious

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labour relations (Central Committee, 2008). Looking back on 10 years of the 2008 directive, the *Industrial Relations Bulletin*—a publication of the Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs' (MOLISA) Center for Industrial Relations Development—declared that industrial relations in Vietnam 'have been transformed with positive results', including social housing policies for workers, the VGCL becoming more representative, reduced job turnover, and, crucially, fewer strikes. The article also says that challenges remain and 2019 would be a pivotal year (CIRD, 2019a: 2). The following issue of the bulletin promoted the new, 2019 directive (CIRD, 2019b: 7).

Soon after passing the September 2019 directive, in November of the same year a new Labour Code was passed, which came into force in January 2021. Article 4 of this 2019 Labour Code says that the state's policies with regard to labour are aimed at, among other things, 'pushing workers and employers to engage in dialogue, collective bargaining, and building progressive, harmonious and stable labour relations' (*thúc đẩy người lao động và người sử dụng lao động đối thoại, thương lượng tập thể, xây dựng quan hệ lao động tiến bộ, hài hòa và ổn định*). Article 7 mandates employers, employers' representative organisations, workers, worker representative organisations, unions, the Vietnam Chamber of Commerce and Industry (VCCI), and the Vietnam Cooperative Alliance (VCA)* to all contribute to building, among other things, harmonious labour relations. The term is further peppered throughout the code: article 65 says collective bargaining is a way to contribute to harmonious labour relations; article 174 says that the charters of enterprise-level worker organisations† must include contributing to harmonious labour relations; and article 212 says the state will build mechanisms to help develop progressive, harmonious, and stable labour relations (National Assembly, 2019).

Both the directive and the new labour code were welcomed for promoting harmony. But what does 'harmonious labour relations' actually mean in practice? Efforts to promote reduced conflict between employers and workers include improving collective bargaining and developing workplace social dialogue. Both of these are generally seen as positive by the VGCL and the International Labour Organisation (ILO). Scholars, however, are more divided, with some criticising 'social dialogue' and seeing strikes as far more important for benefiting workers (Siu and Chan, 2015; Tran, 2018; Anner, 2018). At its core, 'harmonious labour relations' means reduce strike numbers – all the efforts are an attempt to do this. The VGCL celebrates whenever strikes numbers decline, and one major aim each year is to reduce them further (Ngo, in Hoàng Manh, 2019; TEA, 2020). Better Work Vietnam, an ILO project to improve conditions and increase productivity in the garment industry, has reducing strikes as an explicit aim (Anner, 2017).

The attempts have worked. From a high of nearly 1,000 strikes in 2011, over the past ten years strike numbers have gradually declined, notwithstanding issues with regard to how strikes are recorded (Siu and Chan, 2015; Buckley, 2020a). A few years after the 2011 high, strike numbers were hovering at just over 300 per year for a few years, before falling further, reaching a low of 121 officially recorded strikes in 2019. This rose slightly to 126 in 2020, as a result of strikes related to the COVID-19 pandemic; strikes which demanded such things as safe workplaces and then financial benefits and compensation for layoffs (see Buckley, 2020b). Undoubtedly, then, strike numbers are nowhere near the levels they were at in the early 2010s. Fewer strikes, however, do not at all indicate greater satisfaction with working conditions.

* Contrary to what may be thought at first, the VCA is an employers' organisation and is treated as such in labour relations institutions and legislation.

† On the difference between worker organisations and unions, see Buckley (2021).

Indeed, if there is any correlation at all, fewer strikes often lead to stagnant wages and worsening conditions, as capital ceases to feel concerned about a potential strike if they do not improve things for workers; consequently, they feel more comfortable in increasing surplus value extraction in both absolute and relative terms. This can be seen in the Global North, where declining strike numbers since the 1970s have accompanied declining worker and union power, and many of the gains previously won for labour have been undone.

In Vietnam, strikes have been 'the single most important thing which has led to higher wages, better working conditions and progressive labour reforms' (Buckley, 2021: 89). They are very successful at achieving immediate bread-and-butter workplace demands, such as for higher wages (Anner, 2015; Schweisshelm and Do, 2018). But achievements are not limited to these isolated victories. Wage rises outpacing productivity rises for years, the development of a minimum wage system, collective bargaining, improved workplace health and safety, labour law reforms, labour arbitration and inspection mechanisms, unions becoming more representative and beginning bottom-up organizing efforts, crackdowns on non-payment of social insurance, and many other issues are largely the result of pressure from strikes (see Buckley, forthcoming). In addition, as noted above, during the COVID-19 pandemic, it was workers' self-organised strike action which made sure that workplaces were as safe as possible (Buckley, 2020b).

'Harmonious labour relations' threatens many of these gains. One indicator of this can be seen in minimum wage rises. From 2008-2020, the average annual minimum wage rise was an impressive 15.52% (Phúc Minh, 2020). Once this is broken down by year, however, a different picture emerges. Large minimum wage rises were seen in the first part of this period (Nguyễn, Phạm, and Nguyễn, 2017), when strike numbers were high, but since then have reduced: 2018 saw a rise of 6.5% (Thu Hằng, 2017); the rise in 2019 was 5.3% on average (T. Hương, 2018); and in 2020 it was 5.5% (MOLISA, 2019). There was no rise in 2021 although this was largely due to the impact of COVID-19 so including this year is not a particularly good indicator. Excluding this year, though, there is a clear correlation between declining strike numbers and declining wage rises.

Not only are harmonious labour relations undesirable, they are also impossible. As we know from Marx and Marxist political economy, the core of a market economy involves a fundamental antagonism between the two great classes, bourgeoisie and proletariat, capital and labour. Capital buys workers' labour power to put to work as labour in order to create surplus value. It is in the capitalists' interest to extract as much labour as possible out of the worker, while it is in the workers' interest to resist this. This is the source of class conflict (Marx, 1990). This antagonism is permanent, the core feature of a capitalist economy. It cannot be escaped without ending capitalist social relations. And it certainly cannot be magically disappeared by waving the wand of harmony and social dialogue. Given this irresolvable conflict—or at least, irresolvable within a market economy—'harmonious labour relations' actually often means, in practice, labour submitting to the domination of capital.

Disharmony has hugely improved the situation of the Vietnamese working class and helped to blunt the worst excesses of capital's exploitation. Talk of 'harmonious labour relations' threatens to undo all that. Pro-labour stakeholders should instead work to build on and strengthen the self-organised militancy for which the Vietnamese working class is known and celebrated worldwide.

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PERSONALITY TRAITS AND WELL-BEING AMONG HEALTHCARE PROFESSIONALS: THE MEDIATOR ROLE OF WORK STRESS

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Abstract: Well-being has become an important research topic in assessment of mental health of employees, especially for healthcare professionals. The main aim of the study was to examine how specific personality traits might explain well-being assessment scores and to explore how this relationship might be mediated by work stress. A total of 1162 doctors and nurses working in Ha Noi, Da Nang, and Ho Chi Minh City completed a questionnaire by pen and paper, which collected data on the demographic characteristics, the Big Five personality traits (BFI-10), the general work stress scale (GWSS) and the Mental Health Continuum (MHC-SF). Pearson's product correlations and multiple regression were performed to determine the influence of the personality traits on well-being. Results showed that higher Extraversion, Conscientiousness, Agreeableness, Openness to experience, and lower Neuroticism predicted higher well-being. Furthermore, the results revealed that work stress can mediate the effects of Conscientiousness, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism on well-being. The implications of these findings for the practice of psychological counsellors, clinical psychologists, and clinical social workers are discussed, and directions for future research are offered.

Keywords: Healthcare profession, Mental health, Personality traits, Well-being, Work stress

Introduction

The complicated global context of the Covid-19 epidemic from 2019 to the present has given rise to numerous reports of an increase in burnout, work stress, or mental disorders among healthcare workers and this has become a major concern (Jalili and Niroomand, 2021, Lenzo et al., 2021). This context also raises questions related to health workers' perceived well-being. Factors affecting the perceived well-being of healthcare workers during the pandemic are various, including demographic characteristics such as that doctors are at higher risk of mental health problems than nurses (Alsubaie et al., 2019) or those with physical illness are at higher risk than those without (Shacham et al., 2020); job characteristics such as direct contact with patients with Covid-19 (Dai et al., 2020) or organizational support (Zhu et al., 2020); and psychosocial characteristics of healthcare workers such as self-efficacy (Shacham et al., 2020) or experience of anxiety and depression during pandemics (Amerio et al., 2020).

In this context of pandemic, the current study aims to evaluate the impact of individual

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psychological characteristics, specifically personality traits, on the perceived well-being of healthcare workers. Not only did we look for a direct relationship between personality traits and perceived well-being, we also aimed to assess the role of job stress in the relationship between personality traits and well-being.

Theoretical background

Personality traits and well-being

Personality traits are the combination of habitual behaviors, cognitions and emotional patterns that make up an individual's distinctive character (Matthews et al., 2009). There are many assessment tools for personality traits, of which the Big-Five personality traits (Goldberg, 1993) are considered the most widely used personality type (Abdullahi et al., 2020b). Accordingly, personality traits are shown to include five types:

- Extraversion: expressed through being sociable, energetic, and warm. People who score high on this trait tend to be chatty and associate a lot with others.
- Agreeableness: characterized by being kind, sympathetic and cooperative. People with this personality tendency tend to be helpful, less competitive and friendly to others.
- Conscientiousness: expressed through being self-disciplined, organized and goal-oriented. People who score high on this trait tend to be good at planning rather than being spontaneous.
- Neuroticism: expressed through being emotionally unstable, nervous, distressful and angry. People who have this trait tend to worry or be temperamental.
- Openness: characterized by diversity in experience. People with this tendency tend to hold unconventional values and are often creative thinkers.

Well-being is seen as another aspect of mental health (WHO, 2008). Two approaches to well-being that are often mentioned are: hedonic, which focuses on positive emotion and life satisfaction (Diener, 2000, Pavot and Diener, 2008) and eudaimonic, which focuses on personal growth and fulfillment at an individual level, and is associated with commitment to goals and shared values at a societal level (Massimini and Delle Fave, 2000). Based on these two perspectives, Keyes (2002) developed the concept of well-being in three dimensions: emotional, social, and psychological well-being. Emotional well-being is expressed through positive emotions and satisfaction with life, social well-being is characterized by individuals' feelings about social integration and social contribution, and psychological well-being is expressed through individuals' psychological functioning such as a sense of personal growth (Lupano Perugini et al., 2017). As regards the approach to individual characteristics, a number of studies have shown that personality traits have an influence on well-being. In general, studies tend to show that Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness have a positive impact on well-being while Neuroticism has a negative impact on well-being (e.g., Lewis and Cardwell, 2020, Abdullahi et al., 2020a). Hence, research findings seem to support the relationship between personality traits and well-being, and the following hypothesis was tested in this paper.

H1. There is a significant relationship between personality traits and well-being among healthcare professionals.

Personality traits and work stress

Work stress can be defined as the harmful physical and emotional responses that occur when the requirements of the job do not match the capabilities, resources, or needs of the worker.

Job stress can lead to poor health and even injury (NIOSH, 2014). Studies have shown the relationship between personality traits and work stress in many different groups of subjects. In general, reports show that Neuroticism has a positive relationship and causes high stress at work (e.g., Grant and Langan-Fox, 2007, Ortega et al., 2007), while Extraversion, Conscientiousness, Agreeableness, Openness to experience have a negative relationship with work stress (Törnroos et al., 2013). Several studies have also shown predictive power of personality traits for work stress: the strongest predictor of occupational stress is Neuroticism, with people with higher Neuroticism being more prone to overload and more psychological stress. An equally important predictor is Conscientiousness. Extraversion and Openness to experience contribute modestly to occupational stress, and Agreeableness is the least important factor in occupational stress (e.g., Zhang, 2012, Pollak et al., 2020). In contrast, there are also studies that show that no statistically significant relationship has been found between personality traits and job stress (Petasis and Economides, 2020). In addition, having some personality traits such as Agreeableness and Openness to experience is not related to stress at work (Grant and Langan-Fox, 2007).

In the group of healthcare workers, the results on the role of personality traits in work stress indicate a trend that: people with high Neuroticism scores are at greater risk of facing work stress (Ozutku and Altindis, 2011). In contrast, there are also studies showing that personality traits do not affect the occupational stress of health care workers (Kheirkhah et al., 2018). Thus, based on previous research, it can be concluded that personality traits has a relationship with work stress and the following hypothesis was tested in this paper.

H2. There is significant relationship between personality traits and work stress among healthcare professionals.

Work stress and well-being

Stress at work can have a big impact on people's health. Qualitative research on work stress and personal well-being among childcare providers by Faulkner et al. (2014) shows that work stress reduces personal well-being, which is manifested by exhaustion, sleep disorders and physical health problems. Research by Suleman et al. (2018) also shows that there is a strong negative correlation between perceived occupational stress and psychological well-being.

Among healthcare professionals, Tyler et al. (1991) reported that stress at work, especially excessive workload, is the main cause of poor health status, psychological disorders and it affects the perceived well-being in nurses regardless of where they work, in a public or private setting. Another study conducted on a group of nurses in Iran showed that there was a significant relationship between occupational stress and perceived mental well-being of this group (Shirani et al., 2016). Overall, findings on the negative impact of work stress on well-being were also reported in recent studies in both the general population (Selamu et al., 2017) as well as the healthcare professionals group (e.g., Jang et al., 2019, Dhingra and Dhingra, 2020). On the other hand, only a few studies that we reviewed showed no correlation between work stress and well-being (Harris et al., 2006). Based on previous research, it is expected that work stress influences well-being and the following hypothesis was tested.

H3. There is a significant relationship between work stress and well-being among healthcare professionals.

Work stress as a mediator in the relationship between personality traits and well-being

Work stress, apart from being considered as a cause or effect of various problems in labor, has also been found to play a mediator role in many relationships such as in the relationship

between job demand and turnover intention (Diana Purba et al., 2019); in the relationship between workload, work condition and collection performance (Sulistiyono and Narsa, 2019); or in the relationship between job demand and individual performance (Al-Homayan et al., 2013). In our best knowledge, there has been no research exploring whether work stress can play a mediator role in the relationship between personality traits and well-being. Therefore, based on the literature review of the relationship between personality traits and work stress, between work stress and well-being, the following hypothesis was tested.

H4. Work stress might play a mediator role in the relationship between personality traits and well-being among healthcare professionals.

This study will test the effects of personality traits on well-being directly and through work stress (Figure 1).

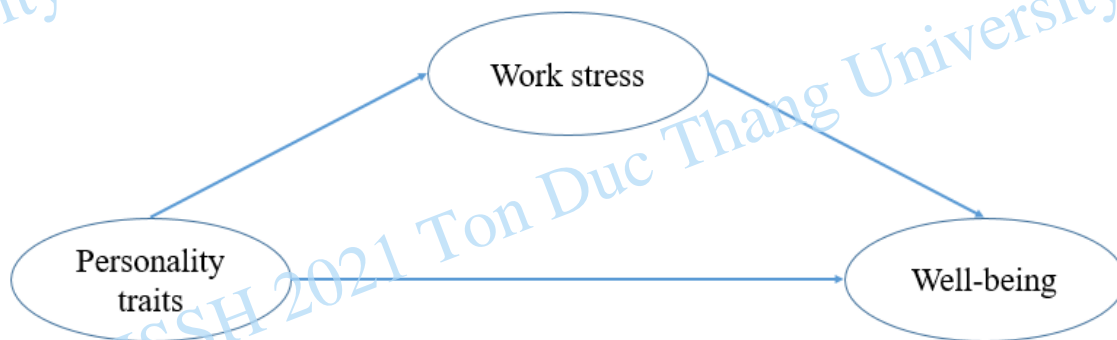


Figure 1. Conceptual framework

Methodology

Participants and procedure

A cross-sectional survey addressed to 1500 Vietnamese doctors and nurses in three big cities Ha Noi, Da Nang, and Ho Chi Minh was conducted from 1 August to 30 September 2020 (during the first wave of Covid-19 pandemic in Viet Nam) with 1162 respondents (making a response rate of 77.5%). Data collection was carried out with paper and pencil questionnaire distributed directly to the participants by research members. The majority of healthcare professionals were female (%). Mean age was 32.12 years (SD = 8.19), with a range from 20 to 65 years. More than half of participants were married (58.5%), about one-third of them were single (38.9%), the others were separated or divorced (2.6%). Two-thirds of participants were nurses (66.4%) and the others were doctors. A small proportion of them had simultaneously a work in private healthcare center outside of their main work place (11.4%). In terms of working hours, 70.3% worked 8 hours a day, 20.9% worked from 8-10 hours a day, and 8.9% worked for 10 hours and over per day.

Measurement

The questionnaire included questions on demographics such as gender, age, marital status and work information such as occupation (doctor or nurse), average working hours per day, and work outside the main workplace.

Personality traits were evaluated through The Big Five Inventory-10 (BFI-10), which is a brief version of the original Big Five Inventory of 44 items (Rammstedt and John, 2007). It contains five subscales (extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, neuroticism, and openness to

experience), each with 2 items. Items range from 1 - totally disagree to 5 - totally agree. Internal consistency of the scale in the current study is 0.71, 0.69, 0.89, 0.84, and 0.78 for Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, and Openness to experience, respectively.

The 14-item version of mental health continuum - MHC-SF (Keyes, 2005) measures three dimensions of well-being: emotional well-being (3 items), social well-being (5 items), and psychological well-being (6 items). Participants were asked to rate the frequency of feelings they experienced in the past month. All items were ranged on a 6-point scale scoring from 0-never to 5-every day. A total score was computed by summing the scores on the individual items. Higher score demonstrates higher well-being. The Vietnamese MHC-SF has been validated in the adolescents, students, and adults population, and was reported with good validity of all three dimensions (Rogoza et al., 2018). In the current study, the Cronbach's alpha was .87, .79, .97, and .91 for emotional well-being, social well-being, psychological well-being, and overall scale, respectively.

Work stress was evaluated using the *General Work Stress Scale* (De Bruin, 2006) with 9 items indicating general stress at work. Items were scored on a 5-point scale, ranging from 1 - never to 5 - always. Higher score demonstrates higher stress. Internal consistency was 0.95 in this study.

Data analysis

The analysis used descriptive statistics (mean value, standard deviation). Cronbach's alpha value was used to examine the scale's reliability. Pearson's correlation coefficients were used to analyze the correlations among personality traits, work stress and well-being. Then, the effects that personality traits had on well-being were examined by a linear regression. Potential effects of confounding factor (gender in the current study) were also controlled for in the regression models. The mediating analyses were performed with structural equation modelling (SEM), using AMOS version 23.0. The model fit was evaluated by several fit indices: Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Turkey-Levis Index (TLI), Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) with 90% confidence intervals, and the Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR). Hu and Bentler (1999) recommended researchers to adopt cutoff values close to .95 for the *TLI* and the *CFI*, cutoff values close to .06 for the *RMSEA*, and cutoff values close to .08 for the *SRMR*. We also reported χ^2 but did not focus on the significance of the ratio of the Chi-square and its related degree of freedom (χ^2 /df), because χ^2 was almost significant, suggesting poor model fit when the sample size was large (Jöreskog, 1993). All statistical analyses were performed using IBM SPSS version 23.0 (SPSS Inc., Chicago, IL, USA) and Analysis of Moment Structures (AMOS) version 22.0 (IBM, New York, NY, USA). Statistical significance was set at $p < 0.05$.

Ethical considerations

The study protocol was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board, Hanoi School of Medicine and Pharmacy, Vietnam National University (approval no. 06/2020/CN-HDDD). All nurses and doctors participated in this study on a voluntary basis and their participation was kept anonymous. All participants fully understood the research and signed an informed consent form before joining this study, and were ensured that they could leave the study any time they wanted without any harm. They were given a small gift with the value of 50000 VND (about 2 USD) in recognition of their time to contribute to the study.

Results

Correlations among study variables

Table 1. Correlations coefficients among personality traits and work stress, well-being

Variables	Emotional well-being	Social well-being	Psychological well-being	Work stress
Extraversion	0.07*	0.08*	0.15***	-0.08**
Agreeableness	0.20***	0.15***	0.24***	-0.26***
Conscientiousness	0.16***	0.14***	0.31***	-0.30***
Neuroticism	-0.31***	-0.24***	-0.35***	0.34***
Openness to experience	0.14***	0.16***	0.19***	-0.09*

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

Pearson's correlations among all personality traits and work stress, well-being's dimensions are shown in Table 1. Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness to experience were negatively correlated with work stress but positively correlated with emotional, social, and psychological well-being. While Neuroticism had a positive correlation with work stress, it had a negative correlation with all dimensions of well-being.

Linear regression analysis

Table 2 shows the significant variables in the study. The results showed that gender had no effect on dimensions of well-being, nor did it affect work stress in the study population.

Table 2. Results from linear regression analysis

	Emotional well-being			Social well-being			Psychological well-being			Work stress		
	Beta	SE	β	Beta	SE	β	Beta	SE	β	Beta	SE	β
Constant	9.46	0.86		13.43	1.34		14.97	1.37		24.98	2.00	
Gender	0.26	0.18	0.04, ns	0.23	0.23	0.02, ns	0.40	0.29	0.04, ns	-1.08	0.42	-0.07, ns
Extraversion	0.04	0.05	0.02, ns	0.10	0.08	0.04, ns	0.26	0.08	0.09**	-0.15	0.12	-0.03, ns
Agreeableness	0.21	0.07	0.09**	0.20	0.11	0.06, ns	0.25	0.11	0.07*	-0.62	0.16	-0.12***
Conscientiousness	-0.03	0.06	-0.02, ns	0.01	0.10	0.01, ns	0.49	0.10	0.15***	-0.68	0.15	-0.14***
Neuroticism	-0.50	0.05	-0.28***	-0.55	0.08	-0.21***	-0.76	0.09	-0.26***	1.05	0.13	0.25***
Openness	0.18	0.06	0.09**	0.36	0.09	0.13***	0.33	0.09	0.11***	-0.03	0.13	-0.01, ns
	$R^2 = 0.11, F = 25.87***$			$R^2 = 0.08, F = 17.09***$			$R^2 = 0.18, F = 44.25***$			$R^2 = 0.16, F = 37.95***$		

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, ns – non-significant

Considering the impact of personality traits on well-being, the results showed that: with emotional well-being, the results show that high scores in Agreeableness and Openness to experience, and low scores in Neuroticism predict high scores of Emotional well-being and vice versa. Meanwhile, Extraversion and Conscientiousness had no meaningful impact on emotional well-being. As regards Social well-being, high scores in Openness to experience and low scores in Neuroticism predict a high score in the aspect of Social well-being and vice versa. High scores on Psychological well-being are predicted by high scores on Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Openness to experience and low scores on Neuroticism and vice versa. In summary, individuals who had high tendencies of Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness to experience tended to feel happier. In contrast, individuals with low tendency of Neuroticism experienced higher levels of happiness. Thus, these results confirm hypothesis 1 of the study.

Regarding assessment of the impact of personality traits on work stress, the results showed that subjects with high scores in Agreeableness and Conscientiousness and low scores in Neuroticism tended to have lower work stress than the reference group. Meanwhile, the two aspects Extraversion and Openness to experience did not have a statistically significant impact on perceived stress at work. This result partially confirms hypothesis 2 in the study.

Considering the impact of work stress on well-being, regression results also showed that work stress can have a negative effect on emotional well-being ($\beta = -0.11$, $p < 0.001$, $R^2 = 0.07$), social well-being ($\beta = -0.13$, $p < 0.001$, $R^2 = 0.04$), and psychological well-being ($\beta = -0.21$, $p < 0.001$, $R^2 = 0.09$). These results confirm hypothesis 3.

Model testing

To examine the mediator role of work stress in the relationship between personality traits and well-being (hypothesis 4), the structural equation model using AMOS was performed. Based on the criteria proposed by Baron and Kenny (1986) to build the model of intermediate variables, we remove from the model two independent variables, Extraversion and Openness to experience (because they have no statistically significant impact on work stress). In addition, the impact curves from Conscientiousness to Emotional well-being and Social well-being, the impact curves from Agreeableness to Social well-being were not included in the model because they did not have a statistically significant effect (as shown in Table 2).

Figure 2 illustrates and gives the estimates in the structural equation model. All indices met the reference value, indicating that this model fitted data well ($\chi^2 = 23.73$, $df = 4$, $p = 0.001$, $TLI = 0.92$, $CFI = 0.99$, $RMSEA = 0.07$ (90% CI: 0.04-0.09), and $SRMR = 0.02$). Bias-corrected bootstrap with 2000 replications using maximum likelihood estimation was used for each path.

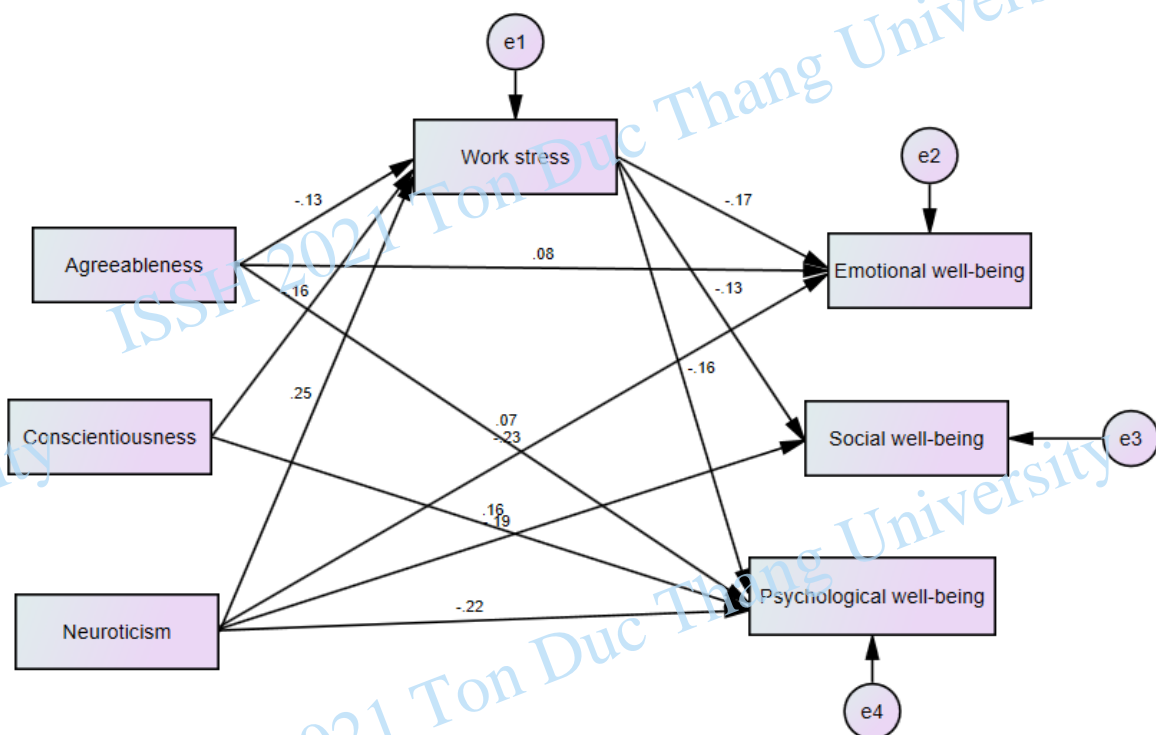


Figure 2. Mediation analyses between the personality traits, work stress and well-being

e1, e2, e3, and e4 are residual variances

In sum, results from mediation analyses confirmed that work stress can mediate the relationship:

- between Agreeableness and Emotional well-being ($R^2 = 0.09$), between Agreeableness and Psychological well-being ($R^2 = 0.12$);
- between Conscientiousness and Psychological well-being ($R^2 = 0.14$);
- between Neuroticism and Emotional well-being ($R^2 = 0.13$), between Neuroticism and Social well-being ($R^2 = 0.07$), and between Neuroticism and Psychological well-being ($R^2 = 0.16$).

These results partially confirm hypothesis 4.

Discussion

The objective of this study was to show the direct effects of personality traits on well-being and the indirect effects of this relationship through work stress. The results obtained allow some interpretation as below.

Regarding the influence of personality traits on well-being and work stress, the results noted that whether there was a significant impact of all five personality traits or not on the outcomes variables, the overall trend showed that the traits Agreeableness, Extraversion, Conscientiousness and Openness positively affected well-being and negatively affected work stress. In contrast, Neuroticism negatively affected well-being and positively affected work stress. Some authors argue that well-being is an indirect outcome of the conditions that people create depending on their personality traits (Lucas, 2018). This can be explained by the fact that these dimensions facilitate the development of positive cognitive perspectives (Serrano et al., 2020). Individuals with less negative emotions have better environmental adaptation; emotional stability makes them realize that the value of the resources available to them is adequate to deal with stress, so they cope with work stress better (Pollak et al., 2020). Often, people with Agreeableness and Conscientiousness tend to be more emotionally stable and optimistic (compared to Neuroticism), tend to use more positive coping strategies to deal with stressful situations (Aspinwall et al., 2001) and exhibit higher task persistence in the face of adversity (Pocnet et al., 2015). As a result, they experience less stress at work and have a higher level of perceived well-being. In the meantime, neuroticisms tend to have long-term emotional distress or emotional instability. Tendencies of fear, irritability, low self-esteem, social anxiety, poor inhibition of impulses and helplessness are characterized by these people (Bakker et al., 2006). Thus, these results are suggestions for hospital managers and psychologists in organization to focus on individual characteristics in designing mental health support programs for healthcare professionals. The results suggest that individuals with different personality traits may need different support strategies to achieve emotional balance at work and enhance perception of well-being.

Regarding the impact of work stress on well-being, our research shows that work stress has a negative relationship with well-being. It can be seen that work stress has both positive and negative effects. Positive stress (eustress) in work stress can help motivate individuals to be more productive as well as motivate them psychologically (Hargrove et al., 2013). In contrast, negative stress can be destructive, reduce psychological well-being and can be affected by anxiety, anger, depression, withdrawal, isolation, or low commitment to work (Bickford, 2005). Therefore, when faced with a stressful situation, individuals can easily become anxious and short-tempered, which in turn leads to dissatisfaction and negative emotions towards work

and reduces well-being. The results in this study indicate that work stress has an impact on well-being, but the impact is weak. This result is also within the reporting trend of previous studies (e.g., Nasreen and Sofia, 2017, Bell et al., 2012). In fact, work stress is not the only factor affecting employees' well-being. Even so, the results also suggest the importance of strategies to help reduce perceived work stress to enhance healthcare professionals' perceived well-being.

With regards to the mediating role of work stress between personality traits and well-being, the results show that work stress can mediate the relationship between Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism and well-being. This can be considered as a significant contribution of this study and adds to the findings on the mediating role of work stress in working relationships as previously reported (e.g., Sulistiyono and Narsa, 2019, Diana Purba et al., 2019). It can be seen that personality traits contribute to an increase or decrease in an individual's assessment of work stress, and an increase or decrease in this perception of work stress affects that individual's well-being. This result enhances understanding of theory and practice in formulating strategies to promote employee's well-being.

Conclusion

The study was conducted in the context of the complicated situation of the Covid-19 pandemic over the world. However, at the time of the survey (from September to December 2020), Vietnam was considered one of the countries with good control of the pandemic, with a small number of infections reported and no death. This context can also more or less affect the perception of work stress and well-being of the study subjects. The research confirms the direct effects of personality traits on well-being and indirect effects of personality traits on well-being through work stress. The results of the study show the importance of a strategic approach from the perspective of personal characteristics combined with organizational conditions and working environment in promoting employees' feelings of happiness.

Limitations

The study cannot avoid some limitations. Firstly, the research is horizontal, so the assertion of the cause-and-effect relationship between the variables is more or less not completely convincing. However, the hypotheses of the study are based on and further developed from previous research evidence, so these results are still valid for reference. Future longitudinal studies may be needed to confirm with more certainty the causal relationship between the variables in the study. Secondly, the study uses convenient sampling and is conducted in big cities where the pressure of healthcare professional may be higher than in rural areas and small cities. Therefore, these results are not entirely representative of the Vietnamese healthcare professionals group.

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MODERNIZATION AND THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL INSTITUTION RECONSTRUCTION ON LY SON ISLAND, QUANG NGAI PROVINCE, VIET NAM

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Abstract: Regarding the relationship between modernization and traditional culture, while most scholars emphasize the persistence of traditional values and ignore the dynamics of the structure of traditional social institutions (Huntington 1971; Inglehart & Baker 2000; Inglehart & Welzel 2005), modernization associated with the process of industrialization and urbanization eventually transforms local sociocultural and economic landscapes in various ways. In this paper, we explore the process of modernization on Ly Son Island District in which traditional social institutions of the Vietnamese community are constantly transformed and restructured. Data for this paper is based on our ethnographic fieldwork research intermittently from March 2008 to August 2019 with a qualitative approach. It is recorded that, from the time of reclamation and establishment of the villages on the island, besides the State's administrative apparatus, the Vietnamese established self-governing institutions of '*Làng*' and '*Vạn*' for social, cultural and religious functions. Currently, while the institutions still exist, their structures and functions have transformed dramatically to some extent to intertwining both traditional and modern elements. Conclusively, we believe that the modernization process is unnecessarily an intermittence to or persistence of traditional sociocultural institutions and that these traditional structures may get adjusted, transformed and re-functioned to coexist with modernity.

Keywords: cultural dynamics, modernization, structural reconstruction, social institutions, Ly Son Island, Vietnam.

Introduction

Ly Son is an island area in Quang Ngai province, with an area of 9,965 square kilometers and a population of 20,195 people. It's located about 25 nautical miles from the mainland to the northeast, including a large island (Cu Lao Re) and a small island (Cù Lao Bờ Bãi) (Chi cục Thống kê Lý Sơn, 2017, p.1). Around the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, the Vietnamese in villages of An Hai (Binh Son district) and Sa Ky (Son Tinh district) of Quang Ngai reclaimed and established a village on Ly Son island (Phạm Trung Việt, 2005, p. 32). Adopting the policy on the development strategy of Vietnam's blue economy, Ly Son Island district has been invested in infrastructure development. On September 28, 2014, Ly Son connected to the national electrical grid. This was an important event in the process of building new countryside of the locality. Subsequently, in 2015, the People's Committee of Quang Ngai province issued Decision No. 163/QĐ-UBND dated June 3, 2015 and the resolution of the Party Congress of Ly Son district, setting goals to make Ly Son become a modern coastal city by 2020. The modernization taking place in Ly Son is associated with the process of industrialization, urbanization which affects and creates changes in people's lives, including many aspects ranging from economic, social life to culture.

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Regarding the relationship between modernization and traditional culture, while most scholars emphasize the persistence of traditional values and ignoring the dynamics in the structure of traditional social institutions (Huntington 1971; Inglehart & Baker 2000; Inglehart & Welzel 2005). In this paper, we explore the process of modernization on Ly Son Island District in which traditional social institutions of the Vietnamese community are constantly transformed and restructured.

Theory

The relationship between traditional culture and the modernization process associated with societies transitioning from agrarian to industrial economy, from traditional to modern society has attracted a lot of attention of many researchers. Karl Marx and Daniel Bell argued that economic development will lead to cultural changes. However, Max Weber, Samuel Huntington argued that cultural values would have a lasting and autonomous influence in societies, but he also acknowledged that modernization had disrupted many traditional cultural practices' (Huntington 1971). In recent years, research and theory on socioeconomic development have given rise to two contending schools of thought. One school emphasizes the convergence of values as a result of 'modernization'—the overwhelming economic and political forces that drive cultural change. This school predicts the decline of traditional values and their replacement with 'modern' values. The other school of thought emphasizes the persistence of traditional values despite economic and political changes. This school assumes that values are relatively independent of economic conditions (Inglehart & Baker 2000, p. 20).

Methodology

Data for this paper is based on our ethnographic fieldwork research intermittently from March 2008 to August 2019 with a qualitative approach. In specific, the author participated in a meeting to propose the restoration plan of An Vĩnh Village in November 2009 and in public temple ceremonies in 2011, 2016, 2017, 2018, and 2019. The participation observation methodology helped the researcher experience and penetrate the community to observe what was happening. Besides, in-depth interviews were applied to researching in the dynamics of social institutions. We selected the interview sample based on a number of criteria about age group and role in the village. Firstly, we interviewed those who have lived on the island for a long time (about 20 years) (e.g., the head of the family, members of the village's ceremony committee) to find out information about the organizational structure as well as the role of the village commune. Secondly, we interviewed local government about the policies of the Party and the State in the field of culture and the impact of the policy on the restoration and maintenance of cultural values.

In addition, the bibliographic files including documents and annual reports stored by the Lý Sơn Island District People's Committee as well as published studies related to the research topic in the library system are properly utilized in this research.

Findings and Discussion

Traditional social institutions of Vietnamese people on Lý Sơn Island.

Institutions of 'Làng', 'Vạn' from the early Nguyễn Dynasty (1802) to 1945

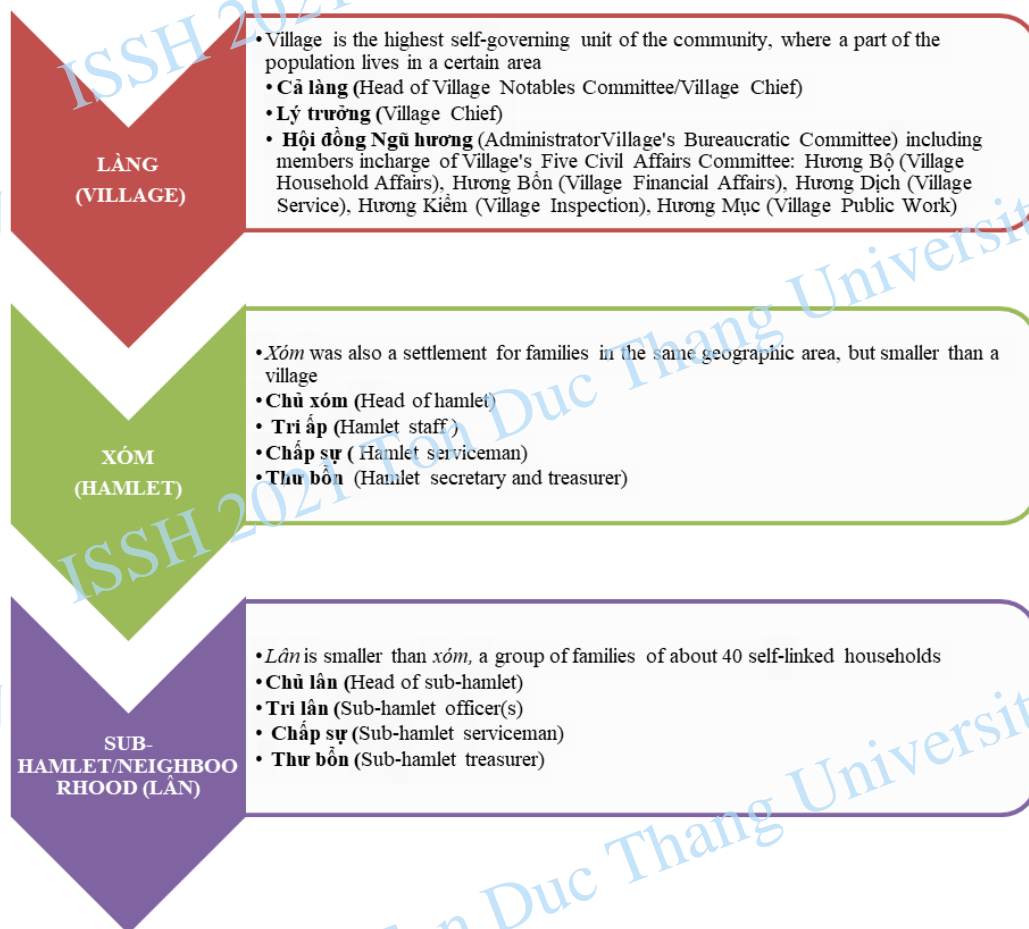
Địa chí Quảng Ngãi (2008) I noted that the villages of the Quảng Ngãi region have first established during the Lê Dynasty (1428-1533), but mainly during the Nguyễn Lords period (Đàng Trong, 1600-1789). The Nguyễn lords established administrative institutions based on the three levels, namely, *đạo* (province), *tổng* (county), and *làng* (village) (Ủy ban nhân dân tỉnh Quảng Ngãi, 2008, p. 324)

- **Group of residents working in agriculture**

After reclaiming land to establish villages, An Hải and An Vĩnh pioneers established an autonomous organization to communicate, maintain stable order and perform common village tasks. Lý Sơn's village management agency was organized through the hierarchical system from 'village' to 'hamlet' then to 'sub-hamlet/neighborhood' and each management level had its own agency to handle community work (See also Table 1).

Table 1: The organizational structure of villages in Lý Sơn Island

(The period from the early Nguyễn Dynasty (1802) to 1945)



(Source: Author's fieldwork notes, August 2019)

In Lý Sơn, there are 2 villages, An Vĩnh and An Hải village. An Vĩnh village has 2 hamlets

(East hamlet and West hamlet) and 7 *lân** (namely, Vĩnh Lộc, Vĩnh Xuân, Vĩnh Lợi, Vĩnh Thành and Tân Thành). An Hải village has 4 hamlets (East hamlet, West hamlet, Trung Yên hamlet, and Trung Hòa hamlet) and 6 *lân* (namely, Đông Thạnh, Đông Hải, Trung Chánh, Thuận An, Đồng Hộ, Lý Nhơn, and Thái Bình Ca).

It is clear that the self-governing apparatus on Lý Sơn Island from the early Nguyễn Dynasty to 1945 was organized in vertical order, from *Làng* (village) down to *Xóm* (hamlet) and *Lân* (neighborhood). Correspondingly, residents at all levels will elect representatives to handle their internal affairs. It can be said that the main task of this self-governing apparatus was to take care of the sacrifices at the village's religious establishments every spring and autumn and on the days of worship corresponding to the gods being worshipped. Even if *cả làng*, *chủ xóm*, and *chủ lân* did not enjoy their economic benefits, they were respected by the villagers.

• **Group of residents doing fishing**

Since the Nguyen Dynasty, fishing activities on the sea in Ly Son developed very bustling. The fishing boats on the island have been formed for a long time associated with the activities of the inhabitants of the sea. Van is considered a traditional social organization of fishermen. In Ly Son, there are two 'Vạn' including Vĩnh Thạnh (An Vĩnh) and An Sơn later changed to An Phú (An Hải) commune (See Table 2):

Table 2: The organizational structure of 'Vạn' in Lý Sơn Island

(The period from the early Nguyễn Dynasty (1802) to 1945)



(Source: Author's fieldwork notes, August 2019)

On Ly Son Island, the first families to come to the island were originally agricultural residents. In the process of living, adapting to the natural environment or for different reasons, they switch to fishing, become fishermen. The vast majority of fisherman groups only separate from the

* In my understanding, 'Lân' is equivalent to 'ấp' in Southern Vietnam.

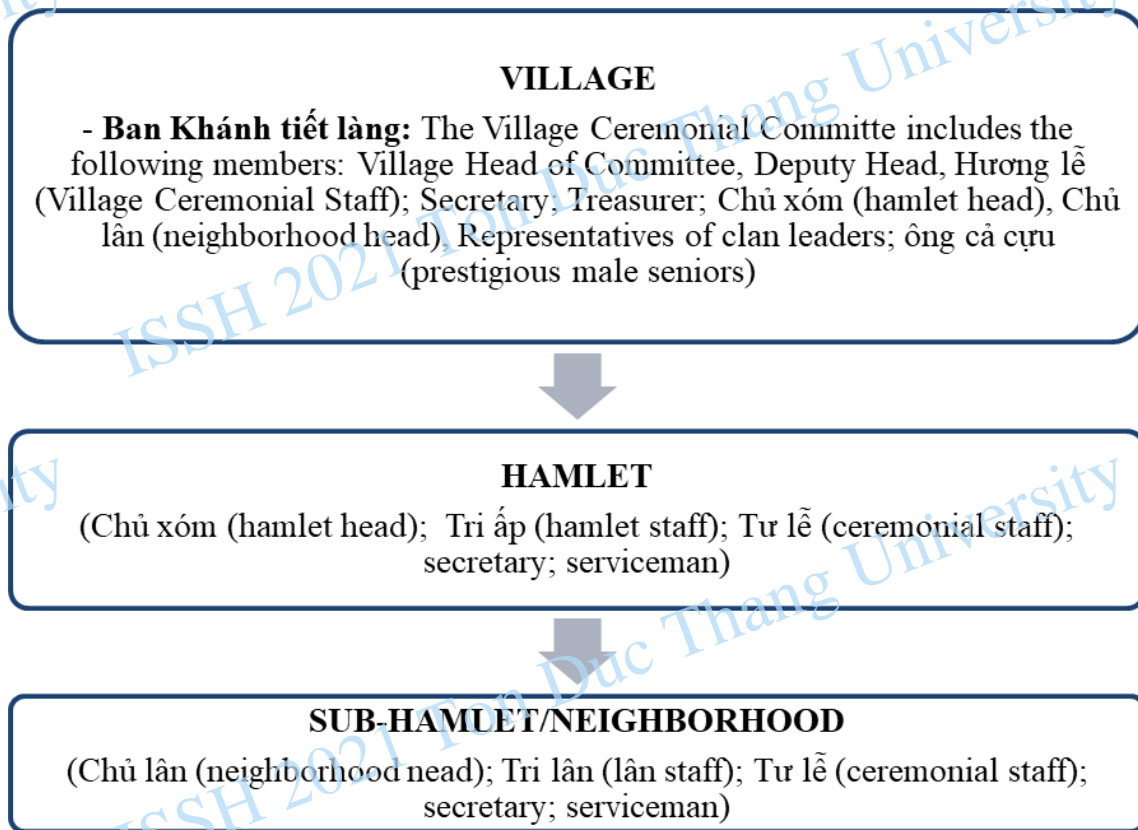
agricultural village in terms of occupation to consider fishing as the main economic activity, and all other activities are attached to the village.

Institutions of 'Làng', 'Vạn' since Đổi mới 1986 until now*

The survey in Lý Sơn results shows that, in addition to the state management agency, local residents still use the 'Làng – Xóm - Lân' organization to maintain their partial self-governing of villages. However, in the context of social change, the rural organization system merges the old with the new. This represents changes in organizational structure, election standards, and the functions of village agencies, as follows: (See Table 3).

Table 3: Traditional social institutions of Vietnamese people on Lý Sơn Island

(from *Đổi mới* 1986 until now)



(Source: Author's fieldwork notes, August 2019)

The members are responsible for the internal affairs of the village, especially the annual ceremonies in spring and autumn. According to the agreement of the Bình-Vĩnh village during the Republic of Vietnam (1954-1975), the village established the Village Ceremonial Committee to 'redefine traditional meetings under the supervision of the local government'†. At present, the the Village Ceremonial Committee in the two villages of An Hải and An Vĩnh are still established in accordance with the rules of village elections and organized according to the above structure. Thereafter, the voting results will be sent to the Commune People's Committee

* *Đổi mới*: Reform Policy.

† Author's fieldwork notes, March, 2010.

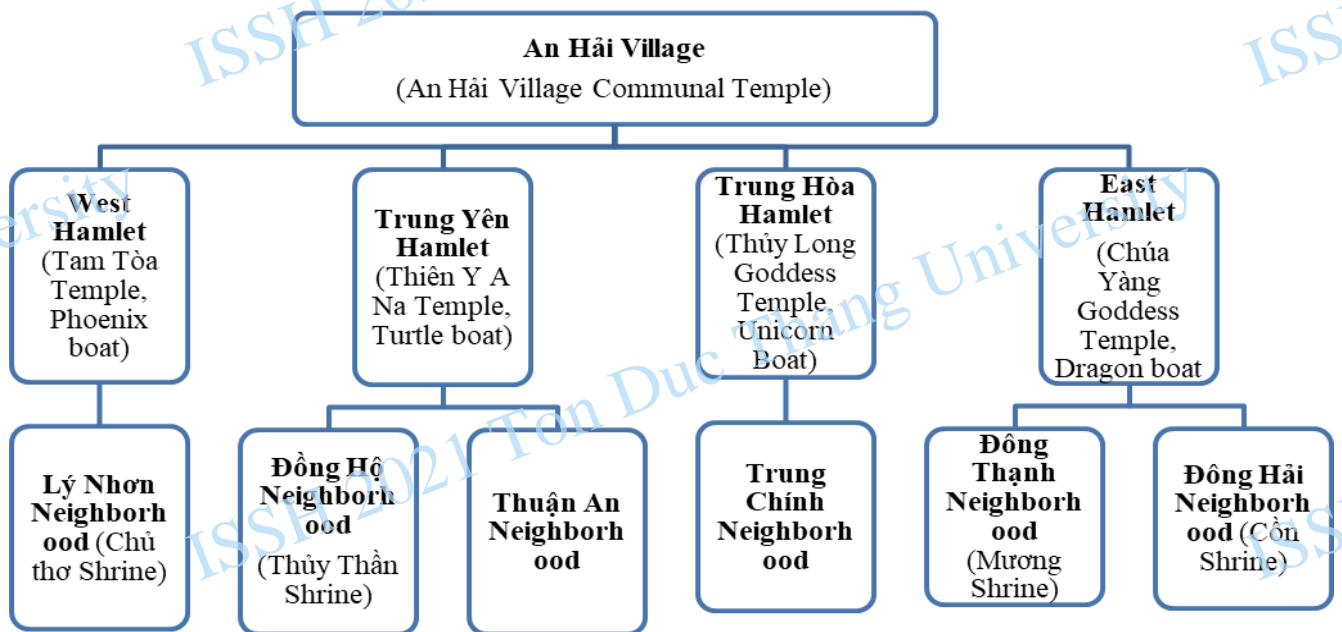
to make an approval decision

The organizational structure of 'Van' is still maintained but functions are changed. Previously, 'Van' had the role of both professional management (responsible for distributing benefits to the driving sand, managing fishing grounds, etc.) and practicing religion (presiding over sacrifices at the mausoleums). whale). Today, 'Van' plays a religious role.

Institutions of 'Làng', 'Van': managing and carrying out ceremonial activities in the local community

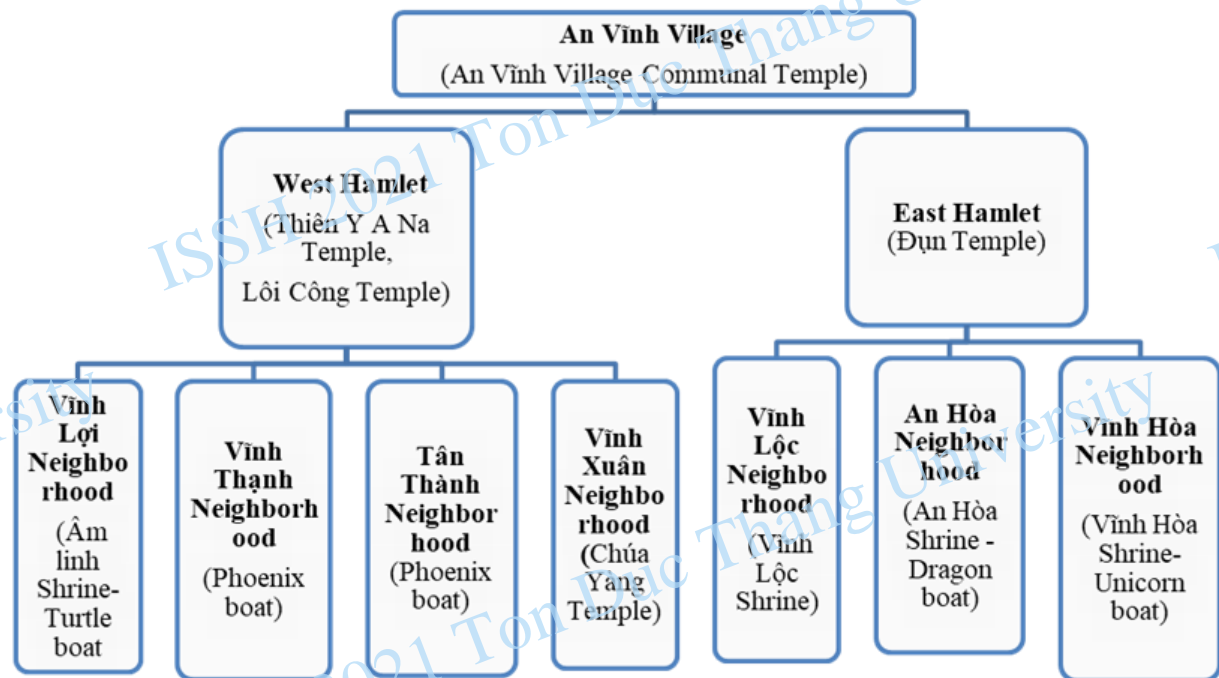
In order to maintain the sacred sacrifice, the Lý Sơn people have been strengthening the role of traditional rural institutions, because people of these organizations are 'serving gods' people. 'Làng' is represented by Cả làng, who is responsible for the ritual events in the village's public temple. Other religious establishments belong to the lower-level units. In this way, through strict vertical division management, the ritual activities of the temples are strictly managed. (See Tables 4 & 5):

Table 4: The management level map of the religious facilities responsible for sacrificial activities in An Hải Village



(Source: Author's fieldwork notes, August 2019)

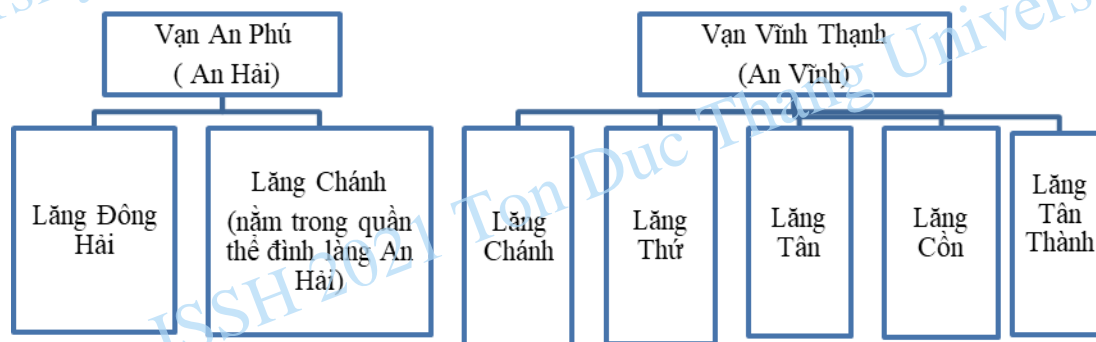
Table 5: The management level map of the religious facilities responsible for sacrificial activities in An Vinh Village



(Source: Author's fieldwork notes, August 2019)

'Vạn' manages and practices beliefs at Cá Ông shrines. Lý Sơn has 2 'Vạn' including An Phú and Vinh Thạnh (See Table 6)

Table 6: Map of belief establishments managed by 'Vạn'



(Source: Author's fieldwork notes, August 2019)

It can be said that the establishment and maintenance of the Lý Sơn Island village organization are mainly responsible for the task of managing and organizing cultural relics to meet the actual religious needs of local residents. It is the truth that 'the village ceremonial committee takes care of all sacrifices. Therefore, if these committee members are still there, village customs and worship in Lý Sơn will remain.'*

* Quoted from an in-depth interview with Mr. V.M.T, 38 years old, in Lý Sơn on August 2, 2019.

The process of modernization on Ly Son Island District

Vietnamese residents began to open villages on Lý Sơn Island from the end of the 16th century to the beginning of the 17th century. The livelihoods of generations of residents are very diverse, such as agriculture (growing onions, garlic), fishing, etc. During the early reclamation of the island, residents faced many difficulties, so they established religious institutions as important spiritual support.

Adopting the Decision No. 800/QĐ-TTĐ, dated June 4, 2010 of the Prime Minister and Decision No. 321/QĐ-UBND, dated May 3, 2017 of the People's Committee of Quang Ngai Province on the approval of the national target program on building a new countryside during 2010-2020, the People's Committee of Ly Son district has allocated resources to invest in infrastructure construction, organized propaganda to motivate people to build new rural areas (People's Committee of Ly Son district, August 2009, p. 1). In September 2014, Ly Son inaugurated the national power supply project with the submarine cable system across the sea. In our opinion, this is an important event as a premise for the transformation of the island's economic structure. On October 1, 2014, the Central Economic Commission and the Quang Ngai Provincial Party Committee held a national workshop on developmental orientations and specific mechanisms and policies for Ly Son Island district, which emphasized the economic development goals for blue economy to ensure sustainable development, in association with national defense and sovereignty.

Since 2015, Ly Son has achieved achievements in infrastructure construction (upgrading traffic routes, public lighting systems, building ports, etc.) to gradually increase production, raise people's income, develop culture, education, and health systems (building health stations and communal cultural house in An Hai and An Binh communes, renovating schools).

Dynamics of the institutions of 'Làng', 'Vạn' 'Vạn' 'Làng' in the context of modernization

The restoration and reorganization process of the Lý Sơn rural organizations is a long process, in which people of different generations continue to invent their own traditions. Compared with the traditional rural organizational structure in Lý Sơn before 1945, the author learns that there are many similarities in the form and organizational structure of today. However, with the integration of old and new, traditional and modern in reality, internal details such as the management apparatus, voting standards, and ceremonies have all changed. The author claims that the integration of various modes in the current village organizational structure and activities in Lý Sơn is a restructuring of traditional culture. The concept 'restructuring of traditional culture' has been mentioned in the village research of Minchuan Yang (1994), Kleinen John (1999), Lương Văn Hy (2012), Nguyễn Thị Phương Châm (2016), which is understood as 'complementary restoration, rearranging traditional cultural elements so that they can meet people's needs for cultural elements in a contemporary environment' (Nguyễn Thị Phương Châm & Đỗ Lan Phương 2016, p. 260).

In terms of organizational structure, at the village level, the structure of *Cả làng* and the Five Civil Affairs Committee before 1945 were abolished and replaced by the establishment of the Village Ceremonial Committee village composed of the village head (*Cả làng*) and affiliated members. Regarding the criteria for voting on *Cả làng*, it is no longer as strict as before. Traditionally, people only selected *Cả làng* as descendants of the pioneer families, but now there is no such rule. In addition, the role of the village in the community has also changed. In the period before 1945, the main functions of the village self-government organization on Lý Sơn Island were to carry out festival and New Year sacrificial work in religious places, handle village affairs according to the village convention, and conduct land management in the village.

Currently, the village's self-government organization performs tasks related to faith, among which 'Cả làng, chủ xóm, and chủ lân are community representatives communicating with gods'.

Today, the fishing grounds of residents are increasingly expanding, in Ly Son forming '*Nghiệp đoàn nghề cá*' organization in An Vinh and An Hai. '*Nghiệp đoàn nghề cá*' organization is a newly established organization to gather fishermen in the Vietnam Trade Union system, a member of the Fatherland Front and also an organization to protect the legitimate rights and interests of workers. motion' *. The Fisheries Union unites fishermen into a mutual support organization at sea, supporting policies for fishermen to stick to the sea. The current fishing organization only functions in terms of belief, as a spiritual support for fishermen, a place to practice and express religious beliefs.

Conclusion

First, 'although socioeconomic development tends to bring predictable changes in people's worldviews, cultural traditions – such as whether a society has been historically shaped continue to show a lasting imprint on a society's worldview' (Inglehart, R., & Baker, W. E, 2000, p. 6). Làng' and 'Van' are a traditional social institution of the inhabitants of Ly Son Island that exists from the Nguyen Dynasty to the present day. What is interesting to learn about social institutions in Ly Son is the intertwining of two village organizations in community due to the characteristics of both agricultural and fishery economic activities. Each institution has a role and responsibility to perform the obligation practice of the belief to 'serve the spirit'. Làng', 'Van' having existed in Ly Son are the proof of the existence of cultural values irrespective of the changes of modern society. Modernity is not separate from tradition but there is always the co-existence of the old and new elements

Secondly, many researchers are concerned that traditional culture will be gradually lost in the process of urbanization and modernization; however, the above-mentioned studies have shown that modernization coupled with changes in infrastructure as well as the growing economic surplus also contributes to the restoration of traditional cultural values of the locality. In that process, the cultural subjects are the people in the villages who will actively adapt to change. The villagers living in the village have rational, calculated, strategic choices for the purpose of response, adaptation, creativity, and even protection when necessary to be 'safe', limit the risks, change and diversify their lives in many different directions. The modernization process is unnecessarily an intermittence to or persistence of traditional sociocultural institutions and that these traditional structures may get adjusted, transformed and re-functioned to coexist with modernity.

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ESCAPING THE GLOOMY LIFE: SOCIAL WORK WITH STATELESS VIETNAMESE MIGRANTS RETURNING FROM CAMBODIA

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Abstract: There are no official statistics on Vietnamese migrants who live beside the Tonle Sap Lake in Cambodia, but it has been noticed that many of them stay there, fish, and are stateless. They have faced numerous challenges as a result of their statelessness, and thousands of migrants have returned to Vietnam in recent years. Despite their return is voluntary, they have little preparation for their resettlement in Vietnam and hence experience precarity. This research attempts to create a panorama of migrants' adaptation techniques during their resettlement and impediments affecting that adaptation, using a life course approach with essential notions of turning points and human agency. Furthermore, the paper examines the support operations of governmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as individuals, in Vietnam with these people, assisting them in overcoming challenges, notably in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic. Fieldwork was undertaken from June to August 2019, and extended online interviews with those who had already participated in the inquiry were conducted in August 2021.

Keywords: life course approach, human agency, turning points, social work, stateless Vietnamese migrants.

Introduction

The historically diplomatic relation between Vietnam and Cambodia has had a significant impact on Vietnamese life in Cambodia (Amer, 2006, Ehrentraut, 2011). Fishing is the principal source of income for a large proportion of stateless Vietnamese who have neither Cambodian nor Vietnamese citizenship. The Cambodia Royal Kram NS/RKM/0506/011 on Promulgation of the Fisheries Law has been enforcing fishing restrictions and time limits since 2006, allowing fishermen to capture fish for specific times of the year. As a result, many people who make their living by fishing are unable to find alternative jobs and are driven to fish illegally.

From 2016, numerous stateless Vietnamese migrants living in Cambodia have returned to Vietnam. These migrants choose to live near rivers, lakes, or the Cambodia-Vietnam border. This unplanned homecoming has resulted in a slew of socioeconomic issues, including housing, work, and access to social services. Despite receiving various forms of assistance from state and local governments as well as non-profit organizations (NPCs), migrants have

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had a difficult time adjusting in their native nation.

This paper aims to (1) examine how structural factors may affect the human agency of stateless Vietnamese migrants; (2) identify various migrant strategies for dealing with their difficult situation; (3) describe social work done by government and non-government organizations (NGOs), and discuss policy implications for social work with this group of people.

Theoretical Approach

The research findings are analyzed using a life course approach, which includes the notions of turning points and human agency. On the one hand, life course study proposes that life is the product of social forces (broadly defined as 'social structure'). Individual capacities and effort (broadly understood as 'human agency') are, on the other hand, the focus (Settersten and Mayer, 1997). Many scholars are intrigued by the tendency of offering a model that combines the two agency and structural ideas in a harmonious way (Diewald, 2001, Diewald and Mayer, 2009, Hutchison, 2005, Settersten and Gannon, 2005, Shanahan and Porfelli, 2002).

A turning point, according to Hutchison (2019), is a period when a dramatic change in one's life course trajectory happens, also known as 'a defining moment.' In the course of a person's life, turning points can occur. At the individual level, a turning moment may entail a shift in how a person sees himself in relation to the rest of the world, as well as a shift in how he or she responds to risk and opportunity (Cappeliez et al., 2008, Ferraro and Shippee, 2009). As per longitudinal study, three sorts of life events can serve as turning points: (1) life events that close or open options, (2) life events that affect a person's environment permanently, and (3) life events that modify a person's self-concept, beliefs, or aspirations (Rutter, 1996, 614). The goal of many social work interventions is to re-establish life cycle pathways (Olsson et al., 2014).

Human agency is positioned as socially mediated in practice theories and frameworks, but humans are assumed to have human agency to play decisive roles in their lives (Parsell et al., 2017). These scholars identified three study areas related to client or non-social worker human agency: (1) human action, (2) meaning-making and identity construction, and (3) normative claims for and impediments to human agency. In line with Parsell et al. (2017), this study examines the interplay between those two components in order to assess individual migrants' right to self-determination and choice upon returning, as well as the structural factors that influence or obstruct their decisions and choices.

Methodology

The study uses a qualitative methodology in which individual migrant workers are the units of analysis to fully comprehend how structural factors have impacted migrants' agency. Qualitative research enables participants to explore not only their material lives, but also their spiritual lives and everyday activities (Silverman, 2006). The primary data for this study obtained from fieldwork done in Tân Thành and Tân Hòa communes, Tân Châu district, Tây Ninh province, from June 2019 to August 2021, where numerous migrants have settled. In-depth interviews were carried out with migrants (41), local authorities (3), teachers of primary and secondary schools (2), heads of primary and secondary schools (2), representatives of religious organizations (1). In addition, the study employed observation with migrants' households and the community to create a picture of their lives.

Data Description

Among 41 Vietnamese migrants interviewed, 31 are females and ten are males of different ages and their households migrated back to Vietnam at different times. The majority of respondents are illiterate. Only three of them are literate and only at primary level. Most of them live with their spouses and families. There are two widowers and two are separated. Because migrants do not always have a job, it is difficult for them to measure their income.

Results And Discussion

- ***Back-and-forth migrating between Vietnam and Cambodia: Memorable turning points***

The main reasons for migration between Vietnam and Cambodia are economic and to flee the war. The life course approach depicts a person's life experience as it progresses through each stage. With the historical background of the Vietnam-Cambodia border conflict, civil wars, and political parties' violent devastation, xenophobia and nationalism in Cambodia have created waves against migrants, forcing them into more difficult situations.

- ***Strategies in coping with precarity***

Stateless Vietnamese migrants have used a variety of strategies to deal with their difficulties, including returning to and resettling in Vietnam, seeking residency, confirming identity, joining social networks to gain access to the labor market, utilizing available resources for healthcare, investing in children's education, and planning for a better future.

Voluntarily return to and resettle in Vietnam: Because stateless Vietnamese migrants had been living in Cambodia for a long time and had been unable to find a viable route out of their precarious situation, they decided to relocate to Vietnam. Although Vietnamese migrants are returning freely, they are hardly unprepared. They were in dire financial straits when they returned to Vietnam, so they only brought a few clothing and cooking utensils with them. Some families returned to Vietnam via boat, and the boat has become their most valued asset. In Vietnam, they can make a living without being imprisoned by capturing fish in rivers or lakes.

Actively seeking residency: Some returnees who had lived in Cambodia for many years brought money with them to buy land from locals when the prices were cheap. They recently discovered that their lands are located in forest protection areas, where they are unable to sell or reside. Unfortunately, because they were stateless at the time of purchase, migrants could only acquire a handwritten contract that was not notarized, and hence their ownership was not recognized by law. Those who have returned in recent years have almost no property and are unable to purchase land. In contrast to their prior boating lives while they were in Cambodia, most of them now live in shacks along Dầu Tiếng lake, utilizing boats to gather fish. Following the recommendations of individuals who had successfully relocated in Vietnam, recent returnees sought assistance from other returnees or locals, who permitted them to construct shacks on their property. Because these landowners believe that new returnees are destitute and without a home, they are willing to temporarily share a portion of their land with people in similar situations.

Intently longing to belong: Migrants claim to be Vietnamese despite having lived away from home for a long time and the fact that the majority of second and third generation migrants have never returned to their hometown. All the interviewees recognize that their lack of citizenship has limited their access to the labor market, education, and health care system.

Migrants make great efforts to obtain an identity card and a household registration book in order to integrate into Vietnamese society socially and economically. All women interviewed who gave birth in Vietnam received a birth certificate from the hospital, which they can use to legally register their kid as a Vietnamese citizen and their children are eligible for free tuition and medical insurance until they reach the age of seven. Children's identity verification helps them avoid legal risks and discrimination.

Flexibly join in social networks to access to labor market: The majority of stateless Vietnamese migrants' primary source of income was fishing, and they had no formal schooling. As a result, they gravitated to the Dầu Tiếng lake to reap the benefits of fisheries. They capture and sell fish to small-scale fish dealers who are also returnees. However, in recent years, the lake's fish resources have been decimated. Some migrants confirmed that the money earned from fishing is insufficient to cover the expense of boat fuel. Consequently, some of them shift their livelihoods by working as solar energy project employees or cashew peelers, or by moving to industrial zones in Bình Dương province or Hồ Chí Minh city in search of jobs. It's worth emphasizing that migrants are actively looking for work, and they frequently post job listings with their peers so that others can earn money as well. Migrants who are stateless find it difficult to find work because most job applications demand a copy of the applicant's identity card. In this scenario, migrants create a false identity by using the name of another Vietnamese and negotiate with the company to receive simply a wage and no social welfare or social security.

Harnessing available resources for healthcare: Migrants are unable to get public health care due to their statelessness. When someone becomes ill, they frequently visit a drugstore to obtain medication. They must pay far more money than individuals who have health insurance when their health state becomes frightening or when they give birth and require medical treatment. Due to the high cost of medical care, migrants seek medical assistance from religious organizations or hospital charity programs. These organizations frequently offer general health checkups for migrants and provide them with medication. These programs do not require participants to show their identification cards.

Investing in children's education: Although the majority of the interviewees are illiterate or have only completed primary school, they recognize the value of education in shaping the future. 'We are illiterate, but our children should not be the same, very miserable,' 'They should know how to write their name,' 'Their life should be better with education,' 'get a better job,' or 'reduce suffering,' are some of the reasons given to explain parents' aspirations for their children's education. Education is something that all parents and school-aged children look forward to. Parents strive to send their children to school as much as possible. Some students who cannot afford tuition or other school costs borrow money from relatives.

Plan for a brighter future: Because returnees expect to remain in their motherland indefinitely, they prefer to enhance good relationships with local officials, social workers, religious leaders, and neighbors. They recognize that their families are living on other people's land and that they will have to move at any time, thus they avoid disputes with the locals. Furthermore, many families have shifted from ashore to permanent relocation camps. They also understand that they cannot rely on others' compassion and charity to survive, and that they must actively participate in life change. Some people have a short-term strategy and their main worry is making ends meet, while others develop a long-term goal to improve their quality of life. They are attempting to meet legal requirements in order to obtain identity documents as soon as possible so that they can look for work, save for their children's education, and purchase land.

In conclusion, the lives of stateless Vietnamese migrants have been influenced by the historical, political, and social circumstances. Their precarity has been exacerbated by their statelessness,

which has hampered the process of negotiating identity and belonging. With support provided by many individuals and organizations, migrants have demonstrated their agency in dealing with a variety of challenges in order to improve the lives of themselves and their children.

- ***Social work with stateless migrants in Vietnam***

The peripatetic lives of stateless Vietnamese migrants have piqued the interest of the media and the governments involved. Many actions have been undertaken to assist this group of individuals in surviving, resettling, obtaining Vietnamese citizenship, and gaining access to jobs, education, and health care. Notwithstanding the fact that the state and education and training institutions have given some social work activities a considerable attention in recent years, each locality's social work team are still restricted in quantity and quality. The model below depicts stakeholders' involvement in assisting migrants (Figure 01).

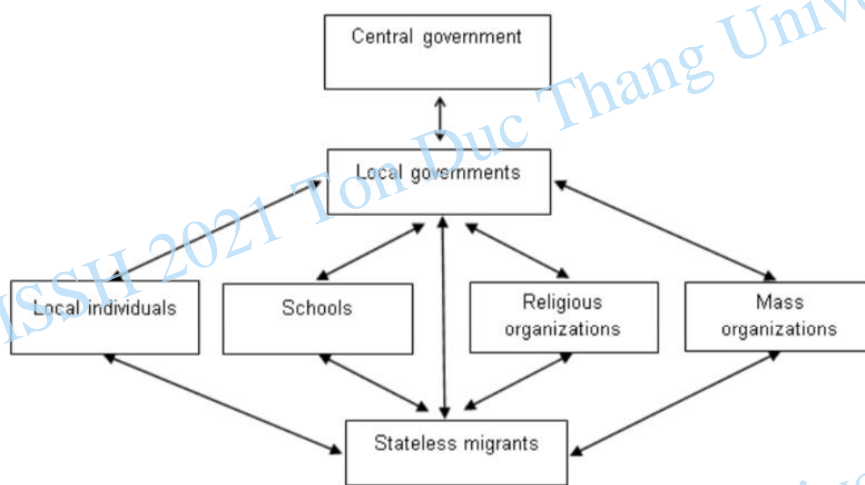


Figure 1: Involvement of stakeholders in supporting stateless migrants

Under the supervision of the central government, local governments play a key role in overseeing and coordinating all support programs for migrants. The model has demonstrated its limitations. Local governments, local philanthropists, and organizations that provide immediate or long-term assistance to migrants have a reciprocal distrust. On the one hand, offering direct assistance to migrants must be registered with local authorities and conducted under their supervision in order to avoid individuals or organizations from inciting people to attack the government by using charity activities as a cover. Although Tây Ninh province has a lower level of influence, the social distancing policy from July to September 2021 has had an impact on relief operations in that local authorities have become more involved in coordinating charity activities during the Covid-19 pandemic charity activities because they are concerned that a coronavirus epidemic could break out in their area. On the other hand, philanthropists or charitable organizations are skeptical of the transparency with which local governments coordinate the distribution of material assistance.

As according our findings, these migrants have received various forms of assistance from local governments, individuals, and non-profit groups or organizations. For migrants returning before 2016, the local authorities collaborated with the Buddhism Today Foundation to construct 183 compartments in Đồng Kèn 2 hamlet and 46 compartments in Tân Thuận hamlet. It is worth mentioning that individuals living in shacks have received more essentials than those who have already been relocated.

In addition to assisting migrants in surviving and stabilizing their lives, the local government directed local police to keep a detailed record of each household's residence. The naturalization procedure is complicated since a citizen applicant must demonstrate that they are stateless and have lived permanently in Vietnam for a specified period of time. As a result, the residency record can be used to support a citizenship application. If migrants' families register their residency with authorities, they will be given a temporary residence document and, ultimately, a permanent residence one. Some migrants were overjoyed to get a household registration book, which serves as proof of their legal status.

Education for migrant children has received a lot of attention from stakeholders in order to help migrants improve their future. The majority of migrants interviewed expressed a wish for their children to receive a good education, and migrant children generally expressed a desire to attend school. Migrant children with birth certificates can readily enroll in school because compulsory education begins at the age of six and lasts for five years, with no tuition fees. Although parents must pay certain additional expenses, they go to great lengths to ensure that their children attend school. Meanwhile, many other migrant children lack a birth certificate, which is required for school admission applications, and are unable to receive regular education since they are over the age of nine, which is disallowed by the Vietnam Education Law from attending grade one in any primary school. They attend nighttime literacy sessions offered by local primary schools for three months, and religious groups occasionally provide door-to-door literacy classes for a small group of migrant children.

Ebue, Uche & Agha (2017) state that social work intervenes and supports clients on an individual, group, and community level. According to the findings of the study, stakeholders were interested in the above levels of social work activities for the group of return migrants in the past, but these activities were not systematically carried out due to a lack of professional social workers in the area. Personal vulnerability, resource mobilization, community strength and cohesion, and promotion of improved legal underpinnings for citizenship recognition should all be prioritized in order to reduce structural barriers and strengthen self-control and individual decision-making capacity.

Conclusions

Many turning points in the lives of stateless Vietnamese migrants have occurred as a result of historical contexts and life occurrences. Migrants have attempted to deal with obstacles by actively mobilizing and using their own limited resources as well as communal resources in order to have a stable existence in the destination. Except for some activities conducted by religious organizations, the majority of activities linked to migrants are charity work, for immediate or short-term needs, according to a definition of help for migrants supplied by the local government, individuals, and non-profit organizations. They are not implemented in a synchronous manner, resulting in low efficiency. Future social work with stateless migrants should focus on societal barriers that produce structural inequities and influence the decision-making of stateless people, in addition to individual and group activities. Many people in the neighborhood are illiterate; one of the obstacles that social workers encounter is building their ability and motivating them to participate in life-improvement activities. Social workers should locate and connect available resources to serve the community.

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EMPOWERED WOMEN AND SVOD PLATFORMS IN INDIA: AN ANALYSIS OF *LUST STORIES*

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Abstract: In India, the portrayal of women in traditional mainstream media often follows a hetero-patriarchal, Brahmanical ideology. However, the oft-invoked image of Indian woman as the repository of traditional values and feminine virtues has undergone a phenomenal transformation in recent years owing to several factors such as economic liberalization, globalization and technological revolution. Female characters in most of the original contents, produced by and released on SVOD (Subscription Video on Demand) platforms, are often depicted as independent, agentic and empowered. Nevertheless, the nature of empowerment that these contents uphold can be highly controversial from a feminist standpoint. Using critique of postfeminism as a theoretical framework, this paper argues that representation of Indian women on SVOD platforms as empowered subjects is often an outcome of a negotiation between the hegemonic patriarchy and the consumer-oriented neoliberal culture. *Lust Stories* (2018) is used as a case study to substantiate this argument. Finally, the paper appraises the significance of such representations in the context of escalating sexual violence and the rise of toxic masculinity in contemporary India.

Keywords: Empowerment, Indian women, Neoliberalism, Postfeminism, SVOD.

Introduction

A recent study conducted by Boston Consulting Group predicts that the OTT (Over the Top) platforms in India is expected to expand itself to a market size worth 5 billion US dollars by 2023 (Community by Nasscom Insights 2020). This massive boom, which is a result of technological, economic and social factors, is however, accelerated by the Covid pandemic that has otherwise stalled the familiar rhythm of everyday existence. The compulsion of being at home due to the pandemic has not only increased the time spent on watching the OTT content, but has also expanded the client base of these platforms. With around 40 OTT platforms presently operating in India, it can be said that the OTT revolution in India has come a long way. What needs to be mentioned in this context is the ability of OTT platforms to penetrate into suburban and rural media ecosystem, a phenomenon which has been made possible because of policies implemented as part of Digital India campaign. According to the World-Wide Mobile Data Pricing report of 2020, the average cost of mobile data (6.7 INR- \$0.09/GB) in India is the cheapest in the world (Community by Nasscom Insights 2020). Telecom company Reliance Jio's decision to launch a new 399-rupee plan for postpaid users with access to Netflix on a mobile device along with a one-year subscription to two OTT applications, and access to Jio's movies and songs not only indicates the popularity of OTT platforms in India, but also underscores their role in re-shaping Indian entertainment industry. With India's youth population consuming online content on a regular basis, the need for manufacturing digital content for entertainment has become a priority for the owners of OTT companies. It is

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important to note here that the nature of content produced by SVOD platforms is one reason why they have been able to outrun linear televisions. Having the demands of millennial viewers in mind, these platforms, which are consumed by global audience, focus on themes that have been rarely celebrated in traditional television format. One such theme that is strikingly ubiquitous in most of the SVOD contents made in India is the representation of modern Indian women as empowered subjects.

While the history of women's movement in India has come a long way, the topic of women's empowerment is still a contested terrain, and therefore requires a critical scrutiny when it is advocated through most of the SVOD platforms. Using *Lust Stories* (Netflix, 2018) as a case study and the critique of neoliberal postfeminism as a theoretical framework, this paper analyses the representations of empowered Indian women in SVOD contents, and evaluates not only the veracity of this claim, but also the significance of the representations of contemporary Indian women as independent, agentic, and empowered subjects.

Postfeminism and neoliberalism

Postfeminism, as Rosenfelt and Stacey put it, refers to an 'emerging culture and ideology that simultaneously incorporates, revises and depoliticizes many of the fundamental issues advanced by Second Wave feminism' (Rosenfelt and Stacey 1987, p. 77). It is difficult, however, to provide a specific definition of postfeminism as the term often invokes contrary arguments and opinions. It refers to an epistemological break within feminism as the prefix 'post' suggests an opposition to the dominant and hegemonic position of Anglo-American feminism (Gill and Schraff 2011, p. 3). It is also regarded as a historical shift after the Second Wave feminism. In north American context, postfeminism is at times associated with the Third Wave feminism indicating not necessarily a post (after)-feminist moment, but a time after a particular kind of feminist activism (primarily the one in the 1970s) against which all other forms of feminist engagements are judged and found wanting (Hollows qtd in Gill and Schraff 2011, p. 3). The term is also used to refer to a backlash against feminism (Faludi 1991; Whelehan 2000) as well as a 'sensibility' (Gill 2007). What perplexes scholars is the way postfeminism incorporates both feminist and anti-feminist themes within its agenda. For instance, postfeminist media representations advocate for girls'/women's empowerment on the one hand and encourage sexualization of culture on the other. According to Rosalind Gill, possession of a sexy body is presented by today's media as the primary (if not the only) source of identity for women. (Gill 2007). As per the dictums of a postfeminist media culture women should take control of their body by making it sexually available. However, from a feminist standpoint, this shift from being an object of male gaze to a sexual subject reveals how patriarchy operates in a cryptic way. As pointed out by Gill, this shift indicates a far deeper form of exploitation than objectification since in this case women internalize the objectifying male gaze (Gill 2007) and thus participate voluntarily in the process of objectifying their own selves in the name of reclaiming control over their own bodies. Building on the arguments put forward by the critics of postfeminism it can be deduced that the notion of a self-created choice, which is celebrated within a postfeminist milieu, appears to be a confirmation of conformity to and alliance with the hegemonic structures of patriarchy. This is a crucial aspect to reckon since postfeminist ideals often converge with the neoliberal principles of individualism and choice.

Neoliberalism, as David Harvey argues, is 'a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade' (Harvey 2005, p. 2). However, neoliberalism's emphasis on such ideas as entrepreneurial subject, autonomy and choice underscores its aim of creating self-

motivating, rational, calculating subjects who are continually urged to interpret their life-situation '... in terms of discourses of freedom, autonomy and choice- no matter how constrained their lives may actually be' (Rose qtd in Gill and Scharff 2011, p. 6). This suggests that the rhetoric of individual choice and freedom in a neoliberal market economy becomes more real than their actual existence in everyday life. Media play a crucial role in hyperbolizing these notions and as a result, the call for becoming an independent, entrepreneurial subject who makes her/his own choice as a consumer becomes the dominant message across diverse media genres- from advertisements to digital entertainment. What is interesting to note here is that women are more encouraged than men to re-fashion themselves as self-confident, independent consumers. It is clearly reflected in the mediated representations of women who are now more visually present than their earlier counterparts. This practice of foregrounding women and some of their 'issues' syncs with the ideals of neoliberal postfeminism which depoliticizes feminist concerns by modifying women's issues according to its needs. Therefore, one of the major criticisms that is directed at neoliberal postfeminism is its entanglement of feminist and anti-feminist themes within its purview. In this act of double entanglement, as Angela McRobbie argued, feminist idea is both taken into account and repudiated (McRobbie 2004). In addition, the mediated representations of modern women as empowered subjects resist any critical explanation of women's subordination. Their thrust on unleashing 'potential' of individual woman offers what Andrea Cornwall defines as '*empowerment lite*, a version of empowerment pared of any confrontation with the embedded social and power relations that produce societal and material inequities' (Cornwall 2018, p. 3, emphasis in the original).

Empowered Indian women and svod content in India

A common and recurrent image that is often visible in various original web-series and films released on SVOD platforms in India is that of a modern, empowered Indian woman. She appears to be independent, self-confident and sexually liberated. An apt example of this version of Indian women can be seen in *Four More Shots Please!* - a web-series streamed on Amazon Prime Video. The series, which already completed two seasons, won the Asian Content Award, 2020 (for star cast), and was also nominated in the best comedy category at the International Emmy Awards (ANI 2020). This web-series' emphasis on celebrating the flawed, but grandiose lives of its four female protagonist reveals how postfeminism often conflates the idea of being sexy with the idea of being empowered. A historical understanding informs that the popularity of the image of Indian woman as modern, independent and empowered came to prominence with the liberalization of Indian economy in the 1990s (Chaudhuri 2017). The transition from a closed economy to an open market economy altered the thitherto existing social set-up. Increasing number of women in the work-force, especially after the boom in information technology sector, compelled the traditional patriarchal society to modify itself according to the demands of a neoliberal global consumerist economy. What among others such alterations and adjustments yielded is certainly a heightened presence of women across media platforms in India. However, while numerical visibility has its own benefits, mere numbers do not guarantee representations that resemble reality. This becomes a significant aspect if mediated representations of Indian women as empowered subjects are juxtaposed with the number of women who are physically and sexually being oppressed on daily basis (Ghose 2020). The disparity between representations and the reality indicates that media's attempt to popularize the image of Indian women as empowered subjects is part of the ploy devised by neoliberal postfeminism which thrives in a consumerist culture buttressed by excessive usage of such notions as individualism, choice and empowerment. According to Rajeswari Sundar Rajan, the maturation or the coming-of-age of Indian women in the wake of economic liberalization is

not the result of a struggle demanding rights; it is rather an outcome of a process set in motion by economic reforms (Rajan 1993). Rajan's observation is particularly significant in the present context since most of the SVOD contents that emphasize Indian women's empowered, independent status are curiously silent about the collective women's movement and its necessity in maintaining a gender-equal society. Furthermore, what also needs to be examined is the nature of empowerment which is popularized through SVOD platforms. Mostly, the contents play an instrumental role in maintaining patriarchal status-quo by eviscerating the rhetoric of empowerment of its critical edge. Another aspect that requires critical attention is the caste and class status of the women who are often portrayed as empowered. In most of the web-series and films that depict an emancipated image of modern Indian women, the female protagonists often hail from an upper-caste, upper/upper-middle class background. They are often portrayed as educated, economically well-off, fluent in English and well-versed in the language of a global consumer culture. Mostly they are portrayed as women pursuing specific careers, although having a professional career is not always emphasized. Close analyses of these women who are presented as examples of independence, empowerment and self-confidence reveals how women from marginalized sections of the Indian society are prevented from participating in the mediated representations of the empowerment discourse disseminated by neoliberal postfeminism. The consequence of this is not merely exclusion of certain castes or religious communities, but also the reinstatement of Brahmanical patriarchal values in a new way. What needs to be underscored here is the paradoxical nature of the censorship rules which have been recently deployed to monitor SVOD contents and which can be implemented by a Hindutva-ideology driven government machinery to reinstate patriarchal injunctions.

Mediated representation of empowered Indian women, therefore, seems to be a contested terrain. Having these arguments in mind, I will now briefly discuss *Lust Stories* to illustrate how this anthology film's apparent endeavour to portray modern Indian women gets entangled with the neoliberal postfeminist notions of choice, individualism and freedom.

Lust stories

Lust Stories is a Hindi-language anthology film which was released on Netflix on 15 June 2018. It is a collection of four short film segments directed by four Indian filmmakers namely Anurag Kashyap, Zoya Akhtar, Dibakar Banerjee, and Karan Johar. The film was nominated in the best TV movie or miniseries category as well as in the best actress category at the 47th International Emmy Awards (Handoo 2019). Contrary to Indian film industry's long-established tradition of focusing on male protagonists, *Lust Stories* posits women at the centre of its narrative. Each segment tells a story that pivots around the themes of desire, choice and freedom of a woman. The female protagonists, except the one who appears in the segment directed by Zoya Akhtar, hail from educated and socio-economically privileged families. What runs across these four segments is the endeavour of the directors to depict modern Indian women and their in/ability to assert their choice and freedom. It is interesting that the directors made their female protagonists interpret freedom, autonomy and empowerment in terms of their ability to enjoy sexual freedom. This is acutely felt in the segments directed by Kashyap and Johar. Kashyap's segment depicts the female protagonist in the role of a college professor who utilizes her position and engages in a sexual relationship with her student to fulfill her sexual needs. This portrayal not only requires feminist analysis of masculine anxiety, but also calls for a critical scrutiny especially at a time when #MeToo movement has left profound impact on India's media ecosystem. The segment directed by Johar also aims to address the issue of women's sexual pleasure, albeit in a comedic manner. Johar's protagonist is a female school teacher who is deeply dissatisfied in her sexual life since her husband is unable to

provide her orgasmic pleasure. The theme is certainly transgressive if we take into account the orthodox patriarchal tradition of Hindi film industry. Also, Indian family's general reluctance to incorporate discussion about sex within everyday discourse makes the film's narrative appear 'radical'. However, the segment's attempt to 'look' feminist in its approach is negated by its blatant espousal of patriarchal values and by its ludicrous representation of Indian women's need for sexual autonomy. Of the remaining two segments, Akhtar's portrayal of a working class woman's right to transgress class-barriers deserves commendation. The segment directed by Banerjee, on the other hand, is a fine example to illustrate the ambivalent nature of postfeminism which both incorporates and repudiates feminist principles.

Conclusion

Mediated representations of the image of Indian women as empowered subjects have far reaching consequences, particularly in the present era of digital revolution. India's campaign for digitalization has opened opportunities for internet service providers to reach those remote rural areas which, otherwise, still lack in adequate basic amenities. Simultaneously, decreasing rate of data tariff has increased the usage of smart phones which are considered to be a primary device in India for consuming SVOD content. Keeping these changes in mind, it can be inferred that media's (especially OTT media's) attempt to represent Indian women as independent, autonomous, empowered subjects, who are in control of their own lives, render the endeavour of the feminists to fight for women's rights insignificant and peripheral. Besides, such representations which are far from real-life conditions of the majority of Indian women also contribute to the reinforcement of traditional patriarchal rules. The absence of gender literacy becomes a crucial factor in a society that re-packages itself in neoliberal fashion when at the same time practises patriarchal customs emboldened by right-wing Hindutva ideologies. In contemporary India, instances of toxic masculinity and sexual violence against women have risen alarmingly, although most of the digital contents portray women as free subjects with capacity to choose their lives on their own terms. While it is true that the status of Indian women has changed significantly over the past decades, yet it is inappropriate to conclude that Indian women are empowered subjects. Instead, employing a critique of neoliberal postfeminism it can be deduced that the mediated depiction of Indian women as agentic and empowered does more harm than good as it not only invisibilizes the predicament of the majority of Indian women, but also thwarts the possibility of building collective resistance to hegemonic patriarchal practices.

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DEVELOPMENT OF A PHOTO-VOLTAIC LIGHTING SYSTEM WITH AN ISLAND CLIMATE IN PENGHU

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Abstract: Penghu is a city in Taiwan composed of multiple islands. It has abundant fishery products and beautiful sea views. It is widely loved by domestic and foreign tourists. However, many small islands have not yet been developed and there is no electricity available on the island. This paper proposes a photo-voltaic lighting system with an island climate in Penghu, which uses an environmentally friendly solar power generation system to supply electricity to the island, and discusses the impact of the high temperature and high humidity of the island climate on the life of photovoltaic modules, so as to develop a weather-resistant system suitable for the island climate. This type of photovoltaic power system is used for night lighting power supply on the uninhabited island, and in conjunction with the tourism planning of the uninhabited island by the Penghu tourism industry, a new type of green energy tourism industry and tourism services in Penghu are realized.

Keywords: Island climate, Photo-voltaic lighting system, Uninhabited island tourism.

Introduction

According to a research report by Navigant Research (2020), as of the first quarter of 2020, more than 139 countries have invested in the construction of microgrid systems, especially the rapid development of microgrids in remote areas of the Asia-Pacific region, and the total number of global cases There are as many as 6,610 locations with a total installation capacity of approximately 31,784.6 MW. In the past six months, approximately 2,179 microgrid system sites have been added globally, and the installation capacity has increased by approximately 5,479.7 MW. In terms of the total development capacity of microgrids and the number of projects, North America, The Asia-Pacific region and Latin America account for the largest number. With the increase in the deployment of solar and wind turbines, the demand for energy storage systems in the microgrid field will continue to grow, and with technological advances, cost reductions, and decentralized microgrids Under the continuous expansion of demand, Navigant Research (2020) estimates that the overall global microgrid market size in 2019 is 8.1 billion U.S. dollars, and is expected to be close to 40 billion U.S. dollars by 2028. The total global microgrid capacity is expected to grow to nearly 20GW, an annual compound The growth rate is expected to reach 21.4%.

Penghu is a city in Taiwan composed of multiple islands, is composed of more than ninety islands, shown as Fig.1. It has abundant fishery products and beautiful sea views. It is widely loved by domestic and foreign tourists. The total area of the county is about 126.86 square kilometers. , About 50 kilometers away from the main island of Taiwan. In recent years,

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Penghu has actively promoted uninhabited island experience itineraries and sea water activities. According to the statistics of the Tourism Office of Penghu County Government (2020), during the annual Penghu International Fireworks Festival and summer vacation, about 500,000 people can visit here. However, because many small outlying island power systems on the whole island of Penghu are often far away from large power systems and are not connected by submarine cables, small diesel generator sets are used to supply electricity to the island. However, due to the inconvenient transportation of power generation fuel, the transportation cost is high, and its characteristics of high carbon emissions have caused the outlying island power supply system to face high economic costs, environmental costs and other difficulties. The lack of electricity directly affects the design and participation of tourism-related activities. The willingness of visitors to participate. This article proposes a renewable energy micro-grid technology combined with the planning of local tourism itineraries, ingeniously matching the passengers' itinerary with the power generation characteristics of the solar power supply and storage system, using the abundant local solar energy reserves, and matching the uninhabited island tourism itinerary of Penghu tourism industry. The plan has realized a new type of green energy tourism industry and tourism services in Penghu.

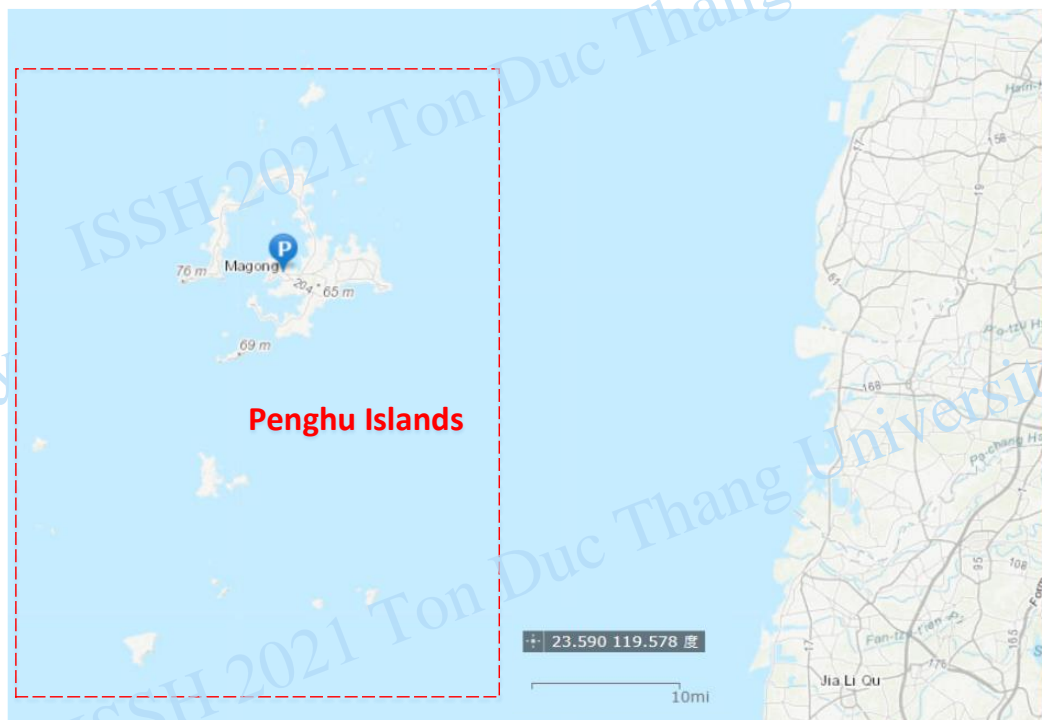


Fig. 1 Penghu Islands Map

Forecast of Penghu Renewable Energy Power Generation

Figure 2 is a platform for analyzing climate data of renewable energy reserves: NASA Prediction of Worldwide Energy Resources-The POWER Project (2021). This platform provides NASA research for NASA's plans to support renewable energy, building energy conservation, and agricultural demand, its climate data can be analyzed from 1983 to the present. Taking a Penghu as an example (23.59 north latitude, 119.578 east longitude) as an example, the climate data of renewable energy in this area in 2020 is shown in Fig. 3. Table 1 provides detailed monthly meteorological data for this area. The average surface shortwave radiance of clear sky is 5.98 kW/m²/day, and the average wind speed at a height of 2 meters is 6 m/sec and a height of 2 meters. The average temperature is 24.29°C. With these

meteorological data, we can predict the annual power generation of renewable energy generated by the site in each month based on the specifications of the solar modules built and the power of the built.

Figure 4 is a flow chart of the project to estimate the maximum capacity of renewable energy power generation facilities built on each island. First of all, based on the regional power history records, we know that the peak power demand and maximum power demand in the region are estimated at each hour of the day and each month. Because these islands currently have no submarine cables connected to other regions, their power needs Dispatch and use it on the island or store it for later use. In addition, we will draw up the proportion of solar power generation systems and energy storage power generation systems in the area's power supply system based on parameters such as power generation costs and space constraints. Furthermore, through the annual average sunshine, wind speed and temperature collected in the area, it can be inferred that the island can generate electricity per square meter unit area in the solar system. According to the annual solar power generation forecast model in Yih-Der Lee. et al. (2021), the electric energy produced by the solar power system can be expressed as:

$$\text{Annual solar power generation (kWh)} = \text{solar power generation system installed power (kW)} * \text{ESH} * (1 - \text{Floss}) * 365 \text{ days} \quad (1)$$

Where ESH: Equivalent Sunshine Hours (Equivalent Sunshine Hours),

Floss: The overall impact and loss factor.

It can be inferred that the island can generate electricity per square meter unit area in the solar system. Based on the electricity required by the above-mentioned renewable energy power generation system and the electricity per unit area, it can be inferred that the area can generate electricity from renewable energy sources. Maximum capacity of the facility.

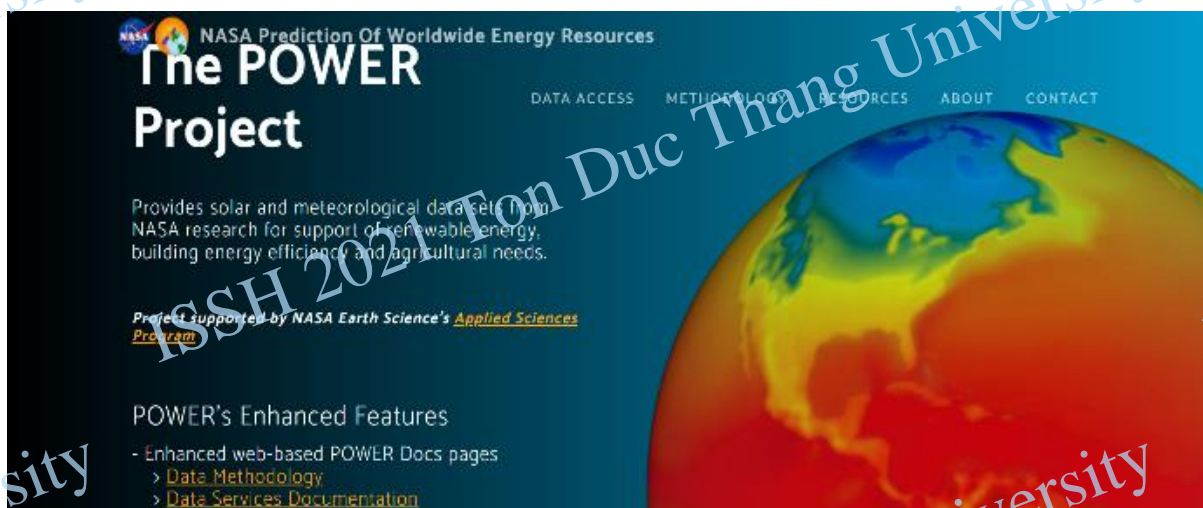
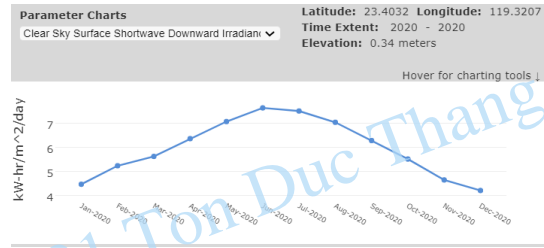
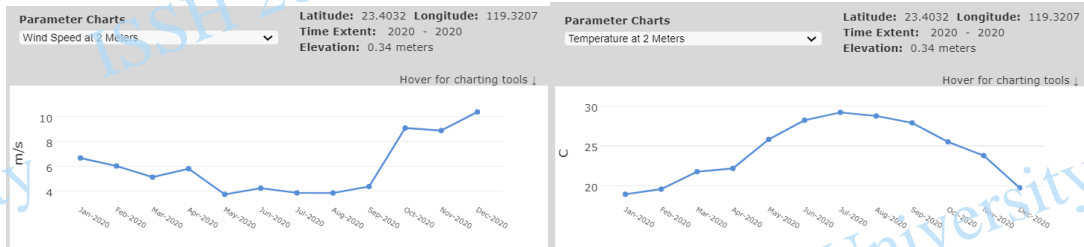


Fig.2 NASA Prediction Of Worldwide Energy Resources-The POWER Project Web
(<https://power.larc.nasa.gov/>)



(a) Clear Sky Surface Shortwave Downward Irradiant



(b) Wind Speed at 2 Meters

(c) Temperature at 2 Meters

Fig.3 Climate data Curve of Penghu, Taiwan in 2020

Table 1 Climate data of Penghu, Taiwan in 2020

NASA/POWER CERES/MERRA2 Native Resolution Monthly and Annual														
Dates (month/day/year): 01/01/2020 through 12/31/2020														
Location: Latitude 23.59 Longitude 119.578														
Elevation from MERRA-2: Average for 0.5 x 0.625 degree lat/lon region = 0.34 meters														
Value for missing model data cannot be computed or out of model availability range: -999														
Parameter(s):														
T2M	MERRA-2 Temperature at 2 Meters (C)													
RH2M	MERRA-2 Relative Humidity at 2 Meters (%)													
WS2M	MERRA-2 Wind Speed at 2 Meters (m/s)													
CLRSKY_SFC_SW_DWN	CERES SYN1deg Clear Sky Surface Shortwave Downward Irradiance (kW-hr/m ² /day)													
-END HEADER-														
PARAMETER	YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	ANN
T2M	2020	18.93	19.57	21.76	22.17	25.81	28.22	29.2	28.75	27.89	25.51	23.78	19.74	24.29
RH2M	2020	83.19	83.06	83.62	79.81	90.88	89.81	86.19	85.81	82.06	81.06	83	83.06	84.31
WS2M	2020	6.66	6.02	5.12	5.8	3.73	4.23	3.85	3.84	4.36	9.08	8.88	10.38	6
CLRSKY_SFC_SW_DWN	2020	4.47	5.24	5.63	6.37	7.08	7.65	7.52	7.05	6.29	5.52	4.65	4.21	5.98

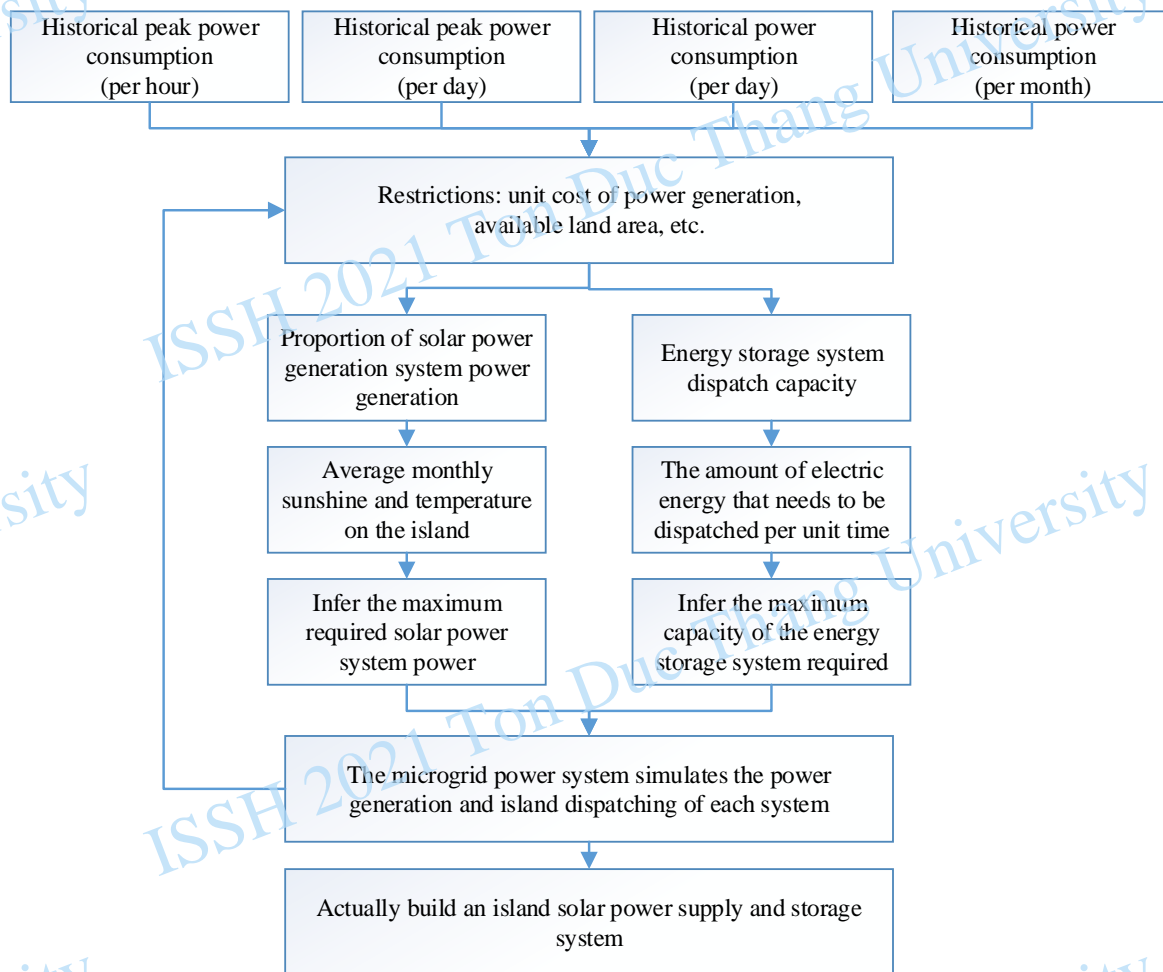


Fig. 4 Flow chart of the project to estimate the maximum capacity of renewable energy power generation facilities built on each island

System Architecture

In this paper, based on the above-mentioned theory and actual electricity demand for tourism and sightseeing on the uninhabited islands of Pengpeng Beach in the Penghu Islands, a solar lighting system applied to uninhabited islands is designed. Pengpeng Beach is a natural sandbar island accumulating under the influence of ocean currents. The island is uninhabited and has no electricity supply. Only from April to August every year, tourism companies bring tourists to the island for sea water play activities. Originally, diesel generator sets were used. Electricity is provided, but the transportation of fuel is not easy and the noise and exhaust gas used by the production will affect the tourist quality. This article analyzes the electricity demand for tourism on the island. The main periodic electricity consumption is the lighting on the island from 5:00 to 9:00 in the evening. .

The system block diagram of a photo-voltaic lighting system with an island climate mentioned in this article is shown in Figure 5. Mono-crystalline silicon photo-voltaic module is the main power supply, combined with the photovoltaic maximum power tracking converter, the battery bidirectional converter, the LED driver and the high-brightness LED strip. The operating principle is as follows: during daytime, photovoltaic module after solar energy is irradiated, a dc voltage source is generated. Due to the solar photoelectric effect, the photovoltaic module has an optimal output power operating point, which varies with illuminance, temperature and load. Under the control of the photovoltaic maximum power tracking converter, the

photovoltaic module can continue to operate at the maximum power point, and boost the output power for use by the subsequent circuit. During the day, the electric energy is charged through the battery bidirectional controller to step-down the lithium battery pack, and store the generated photovoltaic modules in the battery pack. At night, photovoltaic modules cannot generate electricity. At this time, the power of the lithium battery pack is boosted by the battery bidirectional converter to the LED high-voltage drive circuit. In order to effectively reduce the line loss of the light-emitting LED strip in the long-distance transmission, 72 pieces of 5050 packaging will be installed in series per meter. A LED with a power of 0.18W. The driving circuit is driven by the dc high voltage 240V. The island photovoltaic lighting system mentioned in this article can drive a total of 50 meters of light strips and a total have 3,600 pcs of LED.

This article actually produced a 500W solar power supply and storage system, which was applied to Penghu Beach on the uninhabited island of Penghu in July 2020, shown as Fig. 6. The system is equipped with a 310W GTEC-310G6S6A photovoltaic module, a 12V 50Ah lithium battery pack and a 50-meter high-illuminance LED strip. In actual measurement, the electricity generated by photovoltaic modules every day can be used for high-illuminance LED light bars for about 4 hours at night, which is enough to meet the tourism needs of tourists in Penghu for the uninhabited island tourism and sightseeing itinerary, realizing a new type of Penghu green energy tourism industry and tourism services.

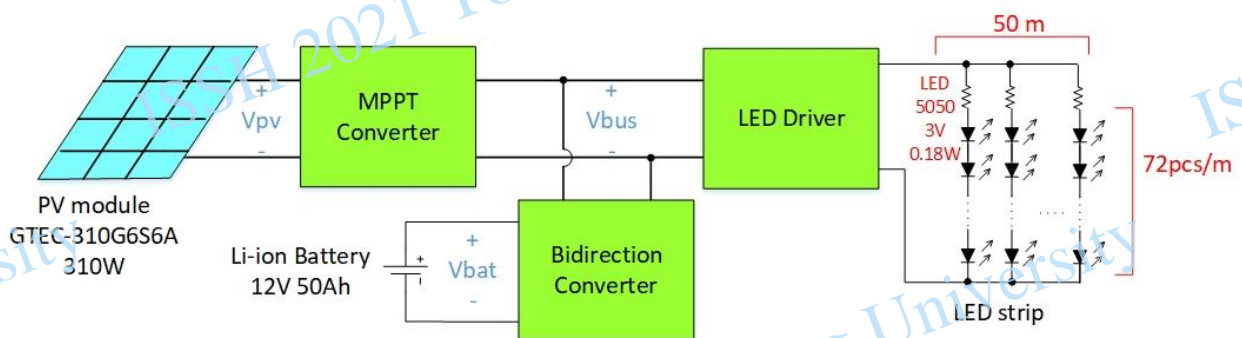


Fig. 5 The system block diagram of solar lighting system with an island climate



Fig. 6 Photos of actual operation of the design system in this paper

System Operation and Maintenance

In this island solar lighting system, the photovoltaic module is the main power source. Because the climate of the island area is high humidity, high temperature, strong wind and high salinity, the weather resistance of the module is particularly important. Figure 7(a) is the exploded view of the photovoltaic module. In order to extend the service life of the photovoltaic module, the outer layer of the module uses aluminum frame, reinforced glass, and ethylene vinyl acetate (EVA) to cover the mono-crystalline silicon solar cell. Make its modules resistant to high wind pressure, humidity and salt damage (Ferrara C, Philipp D 2012). We analyze the 11-year of operation of photovoltaic modules placed in the island area of Penghu. The appearance of the damage is shown in Fig. 7(b). In the actual operation of the photovoltaic module, because the module shades the hot spot and the high temperature, the tedlar film is burned at high temperature, and the moisture intrusion reacts with the EVA, causing acetic acid to corrode the internal wires of the module, resulting in damage to the photovoltaic module and the support frame, etc. Power generation stability and power generation loss in power plants.

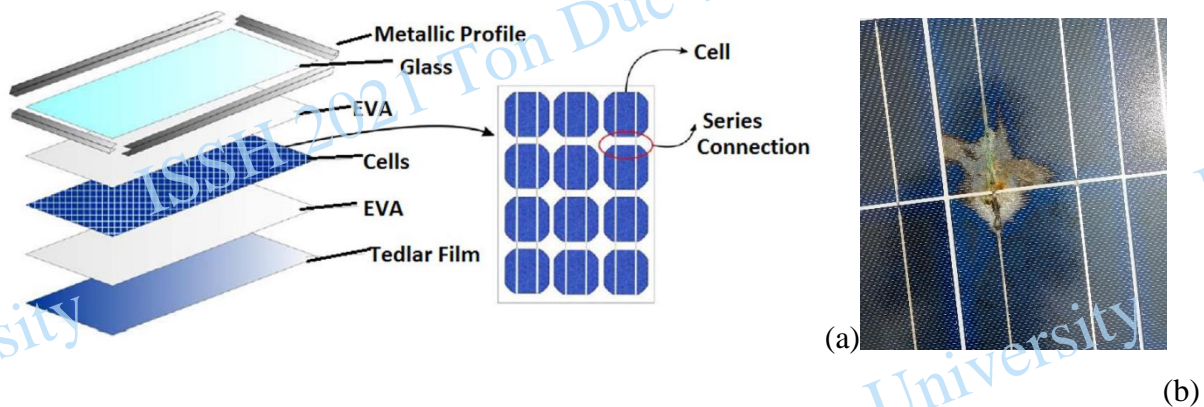


Fig. 7 (a) Exploded view of the photovoltaic module & (b) The appearance of the damaged photo-voltaic module

Conclusions

Taking Taiwan's Penghu Islands as an example, this paper proposes the Penghu island climate photovoltaic lighting system, proposes the use of environmentally-friendly solar power generation systems to power the islands and evaluates methods, and discusses the impact of the island's high temperature and humidity on life. Finally, this paper actually produced a set of 500W solar energy supply and storage system, which was applied to Penghu Beach on the uninhabited island of Penghu in July 2020. The system is equipped with 310W GTEC-310G6S6A photovoltaic modules, 12V 50Ah lithium battery pack and 50 meters high illuminance LED light strip. In the actual measurement, the electricity generated by the photovoltaic modules every day can be used in the high-illumination LED lamp for 4 hours at night, which is enough to meet the tourist demand of Penghu tourists for the uninhabited island sightseeing itinerary, and realize the new Penghu green energy tourism industry and tourism services. According to the planning method of solar power supply and storage for the islands mentioned in this article, the new tourism planning of uninhabited islands can also be realized on Phu Quoc Island in Vietnam.

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A VOICE OF DISSENT: CASE STUDY OF A BENGALI NEWSPAPER

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Abstract: Bengali newspapers have a chequered history from the days of colonialism. Bengal is the birth place of the first English newspaper published from the entire country. It is also the place from where vernacular newspaper started its journey. Gradually Bengali newspapers secured a sacred place in constructing public debate and inspiring certain changes in the socio-political sphere. These newspapers have contributed greatly to the construction of Bengali Psyche and the formation of different social movements. In this paper an attempt has been made to trace the emergence of the *Bartaman Patrika* in 1984 which was distinct in its approach and style of writing. This paper captures the then socio-political scenario and the rationale behind the meteoric rise in its readership and its subsequent fall. At the same time the paper also looks at the present situation when the whole newspaper industry is experiencing a decline in its revenue-generation and readership.

Keywords: Dissent, Bengali Newspapers, Public Debate, Bengali Psyche.

Bengal is the place which first felt the advancement of the British intrusion. Bengal was the very first region of India to be colonized 'from 1765 onwards, this date is when the Company acquired the sovereign right of tax collection' and began to rule (Patnaik, 2010, p. 54). It is the same place from where the modern means of communication, namely the newspaper was first published. Even the vernacular newspaper made it its birthplace. These newspapers gradually became a space for articulating public debate on various socio-religious issues. Be it the progressive section of the society, or the radical fraction or the orthodox division, all the groups resorted to newspapers or periodicals to propagate their ideas. In championing the benefits of newspapers, the Bengali intelligentsia took the leading role and used it for social reform quite efficiently.

Chakraborty and Mohanta in their essay 'Assessing Radicalism in Early Nineteenth Century Bengal' (2005, pp. 153-174) have made a list of social and political issues that affected the then social leaders and based on their attitudes they have categorized them in four groups: Liberal leaders (Rammohan Roy, Dwaraka Nath Tagore, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and Gourisankar Bhattacharya), Orthodox leaders (Radha Kanta Deb, Bhabani Charan Bandyopadhyaya and Iswar Chandra Gupta), Radical leaders (Derozians like Tarachand Chakrabarty, Rasik Krishna Mallick, Peary Chand Mitra, Dakshinaranjan Mukhejee and Ramgopal Ghosh) and Non-Derozian leaders (Akshay Kumar Datta and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar). As mentioned above newspapers and periodicals were often employed by them to build public opinion.

The Revolt of 1857 first broke out in Bengal. Though it did not get support from most of the English educated Bengali bhadrolok. Both the progressive and conservative blocs of the middle-class Bengali society denounced the rebels, even helped the British rulers to suppress the mutiny. But at this juncture, Bengal saw the rise of journalists like Harishchandra Mukherjee. Through the columns of his newspaper the *Hindu Patriot* he thoroughly analyzed the reasons behind the rebellion and explored the mass character of it. His attitude was distinct

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as compared to his contemporary Bengali intellectuals. HarishChandra took up the cause of the peasants against the oppressive indigo planters and set an example to be the mouthpiece of the oppressed. His footsteps were followed by another eminent journalist, Shishir Kumar Ghose, one of the founders of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* whose influence in constructing public opinion was so great that it is assumed, the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was enforced to stop it; though to evade the regulation the newspaper was published in English from thereon.

The Indian Association which is regarded as the predecessor of the Indian National Congress was founded in Bengal by Ananda Mohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjea in 1876. Banerjea became the editor and proprietor of the *Bengalee* from 1st January, 1879*. Towards the end of the century the newspaper that propagated the nationalist fervour was the *Bengalee* by Surendranath Banerjea. The other nationalist newspaper of this period was the *Bande Mataram* which was established with the encouragement of Bipin Chandra Pal. His close ally Aurobindo Ghose was invited to join the *Bande Mataram* and soon became one of the directors of the joint stock company that was formed to run the paper. Ghose wrote in favour for complete independence and Passive Resistance in this newspaper though he worked from behind without disclosing his name as the editor.

With the decision of the partition of Bengal in 1905 some remarkable changes took place in the politics of Bengal – 'from seeking reforms within the existing colonial political structure to a direct challenge to it in the name of Swaraj, and from the methods of 'prayers and petitions' to those of self-reliance, 'extended boycott' or 'passive resistance', and, very soon, revolutionary terror' (Sarkar, 1970, p. 111). To take militant nationalism forward, secret societies were set up by the educated middle class bhadrolaks in Calcutta and other districts of Bengal. The noteworthy of such a society was the Anushilan Samiti. From 1906 members of the Samiti started publishing a Bengali weekly, the *Jugantar*. The name of the journal was later adopted by a fraction of revolutionaries who had got separated from the Anushilan Samiti. The Jugantar group led a revolutionary movement which caused a serious concern to the Govt. The other newspapers which were staunchly nationalist in their tone were Brahmabandhab Upadhyay's the *Sandhya*, Jogendranath Bose's the *Bangabasi* and Kristo Kumar Mitter's the *Sanjibani*. 'The nationalist print media and the militant leaders associated with it faced censure and prosecution for spreading dissent against the British Government' (Dasgupta, 2010, p. 79). However, in the face of strong resistance the partition of Bengal was annulled in 1911.

By 'the end of first world war in 1917- there existed in Bengal two major national revolutionary political parties e.g. Anushilan, Jugantar and her close ally Atmannunati' (Ray, 1979, p. 604). The Bolshevik Revolution at this juncture made the young members of these groups realize the limitation of militant nationalism and the importance to involve the masses in the freedom struggle. 'The contemporary vernacular press, which included both newspapers and periodicals, regularly published important pieces of news about and articles on the Bolshevik Revolution and Lenin, and thus played a conspicuous role in the transition from national revolutionism to communism' (Chandra, 2003, p. 66). After the Press Act of 1910 was revoked in 1922, vernacular newspapers like the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, the *Prabartak*, the *Sarathi* 'and others began to publish articles having a direct or indirect tendency to excite violent hostility against Government and the British'.†

At the end of the year 1922 the Swaraj Party was formed under the aegis of Chittaranjan Das. Das found support of some of the brilliant minds from the Calcutta bhadrolok section; Subhas

* Banerjea, 1925, p. 69

† Terrorism in India 1917-1936- Compiled in the Intelligence Bureau, Home Department, Government of India, 1937, pp. 15-16

Chandra Bose being one of them. It is said that Mr. Das accumulated a huge amount to start a newspaper, the *Forward*. 'Under the guidance of the Swaraj Party leaders, Forward became a leading nationalist newspaper from its inception in 1923' (Gordon 1979, p. 193). Marxism started to influence the Indian psyche during the early 1920's. It is interesting to note that in Bengal the Marxist influence was first felt not by the educated Hindu bhadrolok rather as mentioned by Laushey the impulse was felt by 'such men as Muzaffar Ahmad and Kazi Nazrul Islam in Calcutta' (1975, p.87). The left-nationalists of Bengal formed the Workers' and Peasants' Party in 1925 and they started publishing two newspapers namely the *Langal** and the *Ganavani*. 'Both *Langal* and *Ganavani* belonged to the first category of militant organs of the working class in Bengali and were thus precursors of the subsequent communist journals' (Chandra 2003, p.75).

The year 1947, experienced not only the birth of Independent India but also witnessed the 'Partition of Bengal'. Indeed, West Bengal suffered most due to the partition; it was a blow to the economy, culture and identity of the Bengali people. It was an overall crisis of the Bengali nationality during the first phase of the post-independence days that left permanent socio-cultural impact in the psyche of the Bengali people'.† Haimanti Roy has shown how newspapers both vernacular and English like the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* the *Hindustan Standard*, the *Statesman* constructed the public debate where the Bengali bhadrolok expressed their opinions related to partition. She even mentions about the poll that was carried on 23rd April, 1947 by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* to measure the popular sentiment (Roy 2009, pp. 1355-1384).

The legacy of practicing responsible journalism and the fearless attitude of the journalists continued in the post-colonial phase too. After the partition, the state witnessed the huge influx of refugees and there were recurrent communal problems. In this situation Dr. P.C Ghosh, an outstanding scholar became the head of the shadow committee and then the premier as the leader of the Congress Legislative Party. After P.C Ghosh the illustrious persona, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy formed the ministry and was in power for nearly 14 years (1948 – 1962). 'It was a fascinating era of transformation of the vivisected province named West Bengal into a vibrant progressive and industrially advanced state of the country... ‡Dr. Roy's long association with Journalism should be mentioned here. He was not only involved with the *Forward*, the newspaper established by Chittaranjan Das, he was one of the key persons behind 'organizing the United Press of India which remained the leading news agency in India for a whole generation' (Sengupta 2002, p. 47).

After the partition West Bengal and Punjab were placed in a precarious condition. 'The situation in West Bengal, mainly because of Partition and population pressure, was perhaps worse'§. The state has witnessed two food movements in 1959 and 1966. The centre stage of 1959's movement was Calcutta and the leadership came from the Left or opposition parties. The 1966's movement attracted the rural masses. Meanwhile the vacuum caused by the death of Dr. B.C Roy in 1962 was filled up by Prafulla Chandra Sen who 'stepped into his shoes and managed the State affairs as the third Congress Chief Minister of West Bengal' (Chaudhury 1993, p. 98). The next general election was held in 1967 and this election is immensely significant for the political history of West Bengal. 'The fourth general election was so detrimental for Congress party in India that for the first time after independence Congress had failed to form

* Kazi Nazrul Islam was the director-in-chief ((Chandra, 2003, p.75)

† <https://www.gsmf.in/uploads/journal/20210510063731.pdf>

‡ https://ir.nbu.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/2809/1/11/11_chapter%202.pdf

§ http://www.mcrg.ac.in/ris_pml/RLS_PM/RLS_PM_Abstacts/Sibaji.pdf

Governments in West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Kerala due to lack of majority.* A non-congress coalition Govt. was formed with Ajoy Mukherjee as the chief minister.

During the colonial period the middle class took the lead in charting the political, social and cultural history of Bengal, in the same way when the left front came to power it also privileged the middle class. 'CPM-dominated village politics is largely controlled by the rural middle class...In the urban sector ... the CPM-led government has been more or less successful in winning the confidence of many eminent Bengali intellectuals' (Gupta, 2001, p. 4319). Thus, the hegemony of the middle class continued even after the formation of the new nation state. The ultra-left movement known as naxalite movement became evident in the politics of West Bengal towards the end of the 1960's. The growing dissatisfaction with the prevalent systems and frustrations among the qualified youth led them to the path of becoming revolutionaries. According to Sen (1971, p. 197) 'almost all these young men and women come from what is rather loosely called the petty bourgeoisie'. It was during the tenure of Siddhartha Sankar Ray that the movement reached its peak and 'police killings of about a thousand naxal youths and more than a hundred CPI(M) cadres' (Acharya 1999, p. 2298).

'The Left Front government came to power in 1977 arising out of a state of insurgency...The main appeal before the mass by the CPI(M) and the Left Front was to free West Bengal from semi-fascist terror, to restore peace and freedom of expression in any form and to fight for democratic rights' (Lahiri 2014, pp. 86-94). But contrary to the high ideals upheld by the CPI(M), Mallick has noted in the context of refugee settlement in Marichjhapi that 'the Chief Minister, Jyoti Basu, convinced that the media was indulging in sensationalism and contributing to the refugees' militancy ... This was accompanied by attempts at censorship and accusations against the 'bourgeois' press for colluding with the refugees and opposition' (Mallick 1999, p.108). This incident has been a blot in the history of CPI(M)'s regime of 34 years till 2011.

It was in this context that Batun Sengupta, a successor of the courageous journalists of Bengal founded his newspaper the *Bartaman* in 1984. He was 'helped by a loan of Rs.500 from legendary Forward Bloc leader Hemanta Basu†' in founding the newspaper. In a telephonic interview conducted with Mr. Tulsi Datta, who was the news editor from the very first day that is 7th December 1984 (he was with the paper till 27th January, 2005), it came out that funds were raised from the common people and was called the 'Sneher daan' (donation of affection). The donation was collected from the people. Even Rs. 5, Rs. 10 were taken as donations. According to him this was probably one of the reasons behind his non-elite approach in running his newspaper. Datta further said that though trainee reporters were hired from the reputed universities, the instruction from the editor was always to write in simple language devoid of any erudition. This point is further exemplified by Chakrabarti (2015, p. 127) – 'It favoured an oral/conversational style, banking on dense use of personalised, narrative mode'.

In the course of his long interview Mr. Datta told that from the beginning the *Bartaman* took an anti-establishment stance. In this connection he also stated how this newspaper was often thought as an ally of the emerging leader Ms. Matama Banerjee who was spearheading the tirade against the establishment. While CPI(M) was marked for its middle class bhadrolok affinity, Ms. Banerjee started garnering the support of the rural peasantry in a strategic way. So, naturally this newspaper was considered to be biased towards that party. Mr. Datta mentioned that from the very beginning Mr. Barun Sengupta made it very clear that the paper would not flatter anyone. It would highlight the mistakes as well as praise for a good job. The editor had avowedly told as informed by Mr. Datta that 'we are not here to compete with the

* https://ir.nbu.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/2809/14/14_chapter%205.pdf

† http://twocircles.net/2008jun19/barun_sengupta_was_uncompromising_journalist.html

Ananda Bazar Patrika or the *Jugantar*. We have to carve a niche for ourselves'. From the beginning the newspaper devoted two pages exclusively for the rural news. So the newspaper used to send their reporters to the rural areas to cover important events. He conceded that after the death of Barun Sengupta, in the hands of subsequent editors (Subha Datta, Barun Sengupta's sister and Himangshu Sinha, former employee of the *Bartaman*) though the paper has remained clung to its old ideals but its quality has gone down in the absence of its ablest leader. Still at the end we can conclude with Chakrabarti (2015, p. 127) that 'Bartaman's intense coverage of the 'failures' of the Front government, especially regarding the issue of corruption at the very grassroots level, brought in a unique encoding strategy, hitherto uninitiated in Bengali newspaper space'.

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NON- VERBAL COMMUNICATION IN CASCADED TANK VILLAGES: THE CASE OF BELLANKADAWALA CASCADE SYSTEM IN SRI LANKA

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Abstract: This paper originates from the key researcher's ongoing PhD research on traditional irrigation systems in Sri Lanka. It engages in a critical anthropological evaluation of the nature of non-verbal communication in traditional Sri Lankan cascaded tank villages and their socio-cultural impacts on rural communities. It assesses rural social structures, beliefs, and customs in the community and, anthropologically, how they maintain non-verbal communication systems despite regular communication methods in the community. The research questions inquire the nature and socio-cultural impacts of non-verbal communication in traditional cascaded tank villages. It is a study of 593-Kelawa (Bellankadawala) *Grama Niladhari* Division in Anuradhapura based on 22 qualitative interviews that were conducted with a purposively selected sample of informative villagers and irrigation officials. Related literature was occupied with secondary data collection. Data for this study has been analyzed using narrative analysis. The results of the paper discuss the way in which peasants maintain collective consciousness, social solidarity, social norms, and values based on non-verbal communication, such as taboos, sacred gun firing, holy objects, sets of beliefs, symbolic interpretations, etc. This paper concludes that non-verbal communication functions as the basis of rural social solidarity, coexistence, the indigenous economy, and the environment.

Keywords: non- verbal communication, Anthropology, cascade tank villages, social solidarity.

Introduction

This paper makes from the key researcher's ongoing PhD research on traditional irrigation systems in Sri Lanka. It involves in a serious anthropological assessment of the nature of non-verbal communication in traditional Sri Lankan cascaded tank villages and their socio-cultural impacts on rural communities. When discussing this, first it should be realized what is a cascade tank village system.

The preparation of Tank Cascade Systems is a sub-system of a tank that interconnected the irrigation network. Accordingly, Tanks, paddy fields, watersheds, and canals are interlinked and the natural environment (Marambe et al. 2012).

Cascaded tank village systems have in the North-central Province in Sri Lanka. 'A 'cascade' is defined as 'a connected series of village irrigation tanks organized within a micro-(or meso)

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catchment of the dry zone landscape, storing, conveying, and utilizing water from an ephemeral rivulet' (Bandara 2019).

The key purpose of the village tank was to store water and moisturize dry lowland plains for paddy cultivation. Hence, tank cascade systems were initiated to construct and develop under limited facilities and traditional knowledge. (Geekiyanage et al. 2013).

Tank villages operated based on refined concepts which originated itself with cultural values. These concepts developed in the rural community with humanity, artistic value, authenticity, and they were a kind of mental relaxation to the rural community (Kariyawasam 2019).

Three concepts (*Thivida dakma*) of the tank village were experiencing the prior season (*Pera kannaya athdakima*), imagine the present season (*Me kannaya sithdakima*), and looking the upcoming season (*Ena kannaya neth dakima*). Five concepts (*Panchavida sankalpaya*) were included tank (*Wewa*), pagoda (*Dagaba*), village (*Gama*), paddy field (*Ketha*), and jungle (*Wadula*). Further, seven heritages (*Sathvida urumayan*) were very significant for the existence of tank villages. They were such as ten commands (*Dasavida ana vidanayan*), Buddhist culture (*Baudda sanskruthiya*), irrigation works (*Wari nirmithayan*), agricultural lifestyle (*Krushikarmika jeewana ratawan*), traditional knowledge (*Paramparika gnasambaraya*), sustainable technology (*Piripun thakshanaya*), language, literature and art (*Bashawa, Sahithya and Kalawa*) (Kariyawasam 2011).

The culture of tank villages was continued with the folk knowledge which was inherited from practice (*Kalahuran*), knowledge (*Danahuren*), experience (*Perahuran*), and availability (*Athihuren*) (Dalupotha 2011).

The concepts which were developed within the setting of cascaded tank villages always were reasons to increase the necessity of non- verbal communication in the community and it was the main platform of transmitting knowledge from generation to generation.

Scared places of the tank village and its contribution for enhancing mutual non- verbal communication

Ancient peasants believed that tank water is protected by supernatural forces. Hence, those invisible powers were worshiped by people of tank villages. As a result of that sacred places were named and established for performing rituals of gods. They are *Panam bedhi gas* (trees where make vows), *Sanhida* (the tree where gods live) and *Devalya* (shrine) which are situated beyond the tank (Kariyawasam 2019).

Panam Bedhi Gas

These types of trees can be seen near the lakes situated in the districts of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa. Before commencing the seasonal farming activities peasants select one of the tallest and huge trees. The chief shaman of Devalaya and chief farmer get together with the peasants for making vows and tie up coins for succeeding the agricultural activities. Then they plead to God Gambara and the God who protects the tank and request to restrain ailments of cattle and also request to protect farming grounds and crops from various calamities. After getting harvested they perform a ritual called: *Aluth sahal mangalya*. They offer milk rice to the Lord Buddha by using the first crop and also prepare some sweets using new rice and offer them to the deities with the coin which had tied at the branch of *Panam gasa*. Although *Panam gasa* has disappeared nowadays, still they offer milk rice and sweets for the Lord Buddha and deities (Jayatileke 2017).

Sanhindha

Sanhindha is located close to the bathing place of the tank. Not only for agricultural purposes but also to protect from epidemics and to make vows before going to the jungle. In special occasions, villagers break a branch of a tree and keep it in the mid of two branches of the same tree for making a vow to the deity Ayyanayake. During the sun set or night, people light a lamp for the god in their homes on Wednesday or Saturday until fulfilling the vow. Villagers perform rituals near *Sanhindha* during the *Aluthsahal Mangalya* too. People come to the *Sanhindha* with the shaman of *Devalaya* to fulfill the vow on special days such as Wednesday and Saturday. They come to *Sanhindha* with sweets which are prepared out of new rice and keep them with banana on the special place and they boil milk. Then they prepare sugar mixed sweet milk rice and offer it to the Gods. After that the pregnant mothers and old people are treated by remained portion (Kariyawasam 2019).

Devalaya which situated beyond the tank (Vaw ihaththewe devalaya)

Devalaya is constructed beyond the lake. This is a special *devalaya* construct for the work related to the lake. Such type of *Devalaya* is available at the *Anamaduwa* lake and *Parackrama Samudraya* too. To protect water for agricultural activities they perform rituals and make vows in this *Devalaya*. People also believe that the ancient kings who built tanks had become deities after their death. *Minneriye* God is one of such deities (Jayatilleke 2017).

Beliefs in Supernatural Powers

The concept of God *Gamabara* (God who owned the village) is very popular in-tank villages. Villagers engage in all most every activity in their day today life with the permission of this god. According to their belief, the god *Ayyanamutta* protects Buddhism, village tanks, paddy fields, animals, and trees. *Bahirawa Mutta* safeguards the temples, religious places, mother earth, and its treasures. Goddess *Pathhini* is responsible for epidemics such as small-pox and chickenpox (Ilangasinghe 2009).

Accordingly, it can be realized that sacred places and religious beliefs available in cascaded tank villages function as a center of ensuring the collective consciousness of people which is very important as non-verbal communication in cascaded tank villages.

Objective

To assess rural social structures, beliefs, and customs in the community and, anthropologically, how they maintain non-verbal communication systems despite regular communication methods in the community.

Research Question

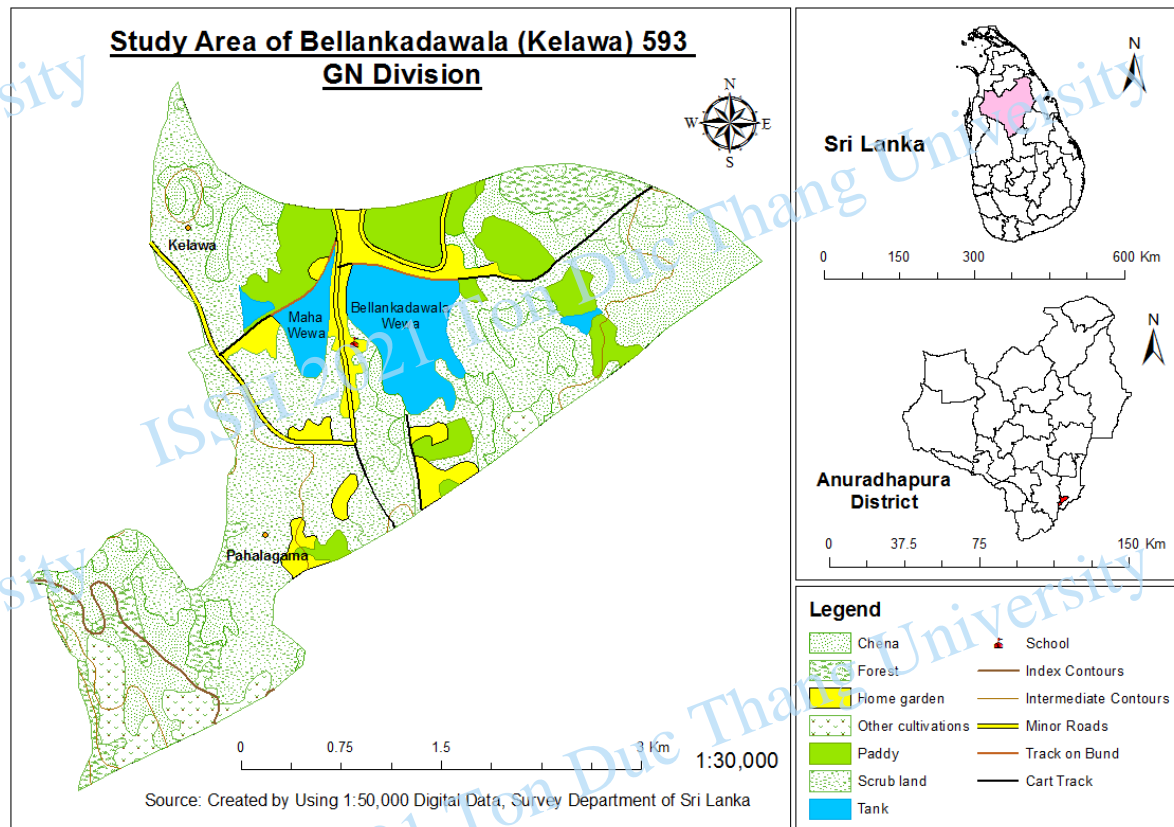
The research question inquire about the nature and socio-cultural impacts of non-verbal communication in traditional cascaded tank villages.

Methodology

Study Area

The research was carried out in the Bellankadawala cascaded tank village system in Sri Lanka. That is located at 593 Kellawa (GN Division) in the North Central Province, Palugaswewa Divisional Secretariat, Anuradhapura District. Bellankadawala's geographic coordinates are 8° 34' 0" North and 80° 24' 0" East (Maplandia 2019).

Map



Population

593- Kelawa GN Division, which was chosen as the study area for this research, includes 404 houses, and these families are deemed the study's population.

Sample

The sample of the study was based on 22 qualitative interviews that were conducted with a purposively selected sample of informative villagers and irrigation officials.

Collection of data

The collection of data was divided into four main types such as written primary data, unwritten primary data, written secondary data, and unwritten secondary data.

General observation and interview methods based on an interview guideline were used as unwritten primary data collection methods and relevant publications and e- sources were used as secondary data in this study.

Data Analysis

Narrative analysis

Analysis of data was carried out using a quantitative approach. As a Cultural Anthropological research qualitative data were given priority in the analysis. Analysis was done based on main outlooks such as nature of non-verbal communication in traditional Sri Lankan cascaded tank villages and their socio-cultural impacts on rural communities. Accordingly, most of the data were acquired through the discussions which were carried out with respondents. Hence, narrative analysis was occupied as the analytical method of the study. While considering above mentioned matters it was focused on experiences shared by people to answer the research problem.

Results and Discussion

The results of the study explain how peasants maintain collective consciousness, social solidarity, social norms, and values based on non-verbal communication, such as taboos, sacred gun firing, holy objects, sets of beliefs, symbolic interpretations, etc.

In-tank villages including Bellankadawala cascaded tank village, non- verbal communication is used for signing and prevention of calamities, protection of natural resources, having family relationships, punishing culprits, safeguarding customs, etc. It was always helpful to communicate things that were covert by the culture. Especially, matters related to marriage and sexual life were frequently communicated through non-verbal communication methods. Hanging the bathing cloth (*diyaredda*) on the line in front of the cottage indicates that the woman is spending her monthly menstruation period. This symbol refrains the husband from engaging in sexual intercourse. Further, keeping the winnowing fan in front of the door indirectly indicates to others that wife and husband engage in sexual intercourse. It is expected to prevent disturbances from outsiders while they are engaging in that task. When peasants go to give a marriage proposal to a girl, they always used to take a box of sweet milk rice, and if the girl's side accepts, they get an empty box. This is also known as a very famous way of non-verbal communication. If there is a cobra in a certain area, the peasants draw a painting of a cobra on stone and keep it there other people to know the threat. These kinds of practices and belief system which was established by the religious background of cascaded tank villages always ensured the existence of non- verbal communication in the community. As findings described in the research, peasants of Bellankadawala always had many religious practices which were in cooperated with non-verbal communication as follows.

Within the context of the non- verbal community, an alms-giving ritual called *Game Danaya* is given a very significant place. The people who live in this community believe that the tank and the environment are safeguarded by invisible powers. Hence, an alms-giving ritual called *Game Danaya* is conducted by the villagers for supernatural powers to pay their gratitude towards them. As they believe, help for constructing temporary shrine for this ritual also a kind of gratitude for the unseen spiritual powers who help for their well-being. Hence, this also can be considered as a very appropriate example that elaborates the usage of non- verbal communication at the village level. Further, there are many other practices of ritual which are in cooperated with non- verbal communication. Accordingly, people who enter the shrine area, including the forest must refrain from impurity. During this ritual, villagers engage in sacred gun firing. They hang three coconuts in a sacred Mee tree (*Madhuca longifolia*) and shoot them.

According to the villagers it represents prosperity. Further, villagers believe that the God *Kadawara* punishes the wrongdoers. Thus, in addition to regular laws, villagers protect the environment by maintaining social order based on the knowledge transmitted into their mindset with the belief systems which have been popularized by the religious practices as a main non-verbal communication method.

In this alms-giving ceremony, only natural leaves must be used for eating food and it gives a non – verbal message of the importance of safeguarding the natural environment. Moreover, it is prohibited to start eating until the chief shaman begins. This practice also gives the message of respecting religious leaders. Blowing the conch near three massive Arjun trees by the chief shaman during the possession towards the shrine conveys a non- verbal message on holy trees available in the village environment. Then, it motivates peasants to respect and safeguard trees in their environment.

Accordingly, these prove the peasant's common acceptance of silence speaks louder than words. Hence, many traditional nonverbal communication strategies can be found in the area engaged in a massive task.

According to the findings, it can be determined that nonverbal communication methods in cascaded tank villages in Sri Lanka are more beneficial in various communication activities that lead to good community control, defending cultural values, norms, customs, traditions, manners, and environmental conservation. Further, it provides early cautions on disasters and some nonverbal communication methods are still giving a massive contribution to the existence of the rural community.

Conclusion

Communication is a very important factor for human existence, and it is a strong instrument for spending one's social life. Man is a sociable animal, and he has been improving non- verbal communication from the very beginning of his evolution. As a result of that, there are many non- verbal communication methods from ancient times which are unique to certain societies and have been employed by many traditional communities. When it comes to the Sri Lankan context it can be seen a high utility of non- verbal communication in the cascaded tank village systems with special reference to Bellankadawala village in Sri Lanka. Further, it can be recognized an effective impact of it too.

As peasants who live in a cultural atmosphere, they use both verbal and nonverbal communication approaches effectively to meet their communication needs. Aside from verbal communication, nonverbal communication is quite effective in this community with their mutual consciousness which has been strengthened by the religious background.

Finally, this paper concludes that non-verbal communication functions as the basis of rural social solidarity, coexistence, the indigenous economy, and the environment.

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DIFFICULTIES IN ORGANISING SOCIAL WORK INTERNSHIP FOR STUDENTS IN THE PASSION OF COVID-19

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Abstract: Currently, the whole society is affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. This pandemic has had a profound negative impact on the economic, cultural, and social life of the country. In the field of education, students are not allowed to go to school and most of the time have to switch to online learning. This paper presents the results of a research on the difficulties of organising internships for social work university student at social institutions. By questionnaires and in-depth interviews with students and internship supervisors, the study shows that difficulties are expressed in many aspects, in terms of place of organisation, duration and contents of internship, and residency arrangement for students. From these difficulties, it is possible to propose solutions to organise internships during the pandemic such as flexibility in terms of time, location, internship contents, and form of internship by individual and online group.

Keywords: social work, student, internship, social institutions, internship supervisor.

1. Introduction

The study was carried out from June 2021 to September 2021. This is the period when Ho Chi Minh City was hardest hit by the Covid-19 pandemic. The people of the whole city were in the most severe restrictions as they were implementing social distancing according to Directive 16/CT-TTG of the Prime Minister. People were asked to limit going out as much as possible, except for necessary cases such as buying food or for emergencies such as health emergencies, natural disasters, or fires. The whole city suspended non-urgent activities and reduced the concentration of people. Accordingly, students did not go to school but studied online at home. However, online learning was not a simple thing because both students and internship supervisors were not mentally prepared for this learning method. Moreover, the peculiarity of social work is that in addition to learning theory at school, doing internship at social institutions is a mandatory activity as it is a measure of training's quality for the Bachelor of Social Work degree. Therefore, what were the difficulties that social work students encountered during the Covid-19 pandemic and what were the solutions for these difficulties?

2. Theoretical Framework

Organising social work internship needs to be based on a solid theoretical basis. In recent years, in the field of social work, practitioners have used the theory of 'Signature pedagogies in the professions' (Shulman, 2005) as the foundation for organisation of social work practice.

Signature pedagogy is an important form of teaching and learning in which the internship supervisor lets the student work in society as a practitioner. According to Shulman (p.59, 2005),

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signature pedagogy makes a difference. It creates habits of mind, habit of heart, and habit of hands. It helps shape the profession's work culture and provides an opportunity for early introduction to its practices and values. Therefore, in social work, an internship is a signature pedagogy – a graduation project in social work training (Council of Social Work Education, 2008) and (International Association of Schools of Social Work – IASSW).

Classroom theory and practice: practice builds on what has been learned in class. Knowledge acquired in class and practice are equally important in the learning process. Internships provide an opportunity for students to synthesise the knowledge they have learned in class and put it into practice. Thus, both contribute to the development of social work practical skills. As an example, we can see the comparison table below about the knowledge learned in class and practice.

Classroom theory	Practice
Theory of human behaviour and development	Interview to assess psychosocial needs of homeless adolescents
Practice simulated suicide risk assessment	Real interviews with clients combined with suicide risk assessment
Evidence of HIV/AIDS transmission and treatment	Students provide community education about HIV/AIDS to schools

Internships are signature pedagogy of social work: students learn through 'working' and prepare themselves to become professionals who can work in any circumstances. Internships provide the opportunity for students to: (1) Use what they have learned to interact with service user; (2) Evaluate the results of interventions to improve them; (3) Practice with a foundation established from the knowledge and values of the profession (development of critical thinking skills, self-reflection of own values and influences, etc.).

Requirements of the bachelor's degree in social work: For universities with social work program, students only study in the last two years. In the first two years, students do general study together with students of other professions. Although studying in the last two years, the bachelor's degree in social work has emphasised the role of internships based on the theory that internship is a signature pedagogy. A bachelor's degree program in social work should identify: (1) Provide practical opportunities for students to practice basic skills; (2) Provide at least 400 hours of practice for a bachelor program (according to training programs of universities in the US); (3) Only students who have fully met the requirements for internships are allowed to practice; (4) There are specific policies, standards, and procedures in place for the selection of internships; (5) Clearly define standards and practices in the selection of site supervisors; and (6) Provide information, training, and ongoing discussions with the site supervisor (Bogo, 2010) and (Cox & Pawar, 2013).

The internship evaluation is one of the important requirements of an internship. Theoretically, the site supervisor is a direct observer of the trainees. The site supervisor and the school supervisor provide regular feedbacks to the students through individual and group training sessions. The assessment of student interns through the academic agreement. The method used is the form of '360 Assessment' (Cohen, 2013). That is, students self-assess their own learning

goals through the internship plan; supervisors evaluate students, and students then rate their own internship experience.

3. Methodology

3.1. Participants and research method

The objective of this study is to assess the current difficulties that arise from organising social work internships for students during the Covid-19 pandemic, and from there, propose solutions to organising social work internships for students.

Research question 1: What difficulties did internship supervisors and students encounter with organising internships during the Covid-19 pandemic?

Research question 2: What are the solutions to organise social work internship for students during the Covid-19 pandemic?

Two main methods were used to collect research data: survey method and in-depth interview method. The subjects of the survey were 60 students of social work at a university in Ho Chi Minh City. An online survey was conducted on 60 social work students. Of which, 15 students (accounting for 25%) are of the 2nd year, 45 students (accounting for 75%) are of the 3rd year. The subjects of the in-depth interview were 15 school supervisors from the university and 5 site supervisors at social institutions where the students did their internship.

3.2. Research instruments

To develop the study, the researcher relied on querying social work students about the difficulties they faced during the Covid-19 pandemic, and at the same time, by analysing the information gathered from interviewing school internship supervisors and site supervisors at social institutions. The questionnaires are the main tool in the study. It consists of four parts:

- The first part evaluates the demographic information of the participants such as the student's academic year, where they put their faith when facing difficulties, where they resided before the Covid-19 pandemic, where they resided in the period of social distancing, whether they had to live in quarantine, what types of internships they were able to participate and what types of internships they were not able to participate.
- The second part consists of some possible challenges faced by students when they study online.
- The third part is the difficulties students face when doing internships at social institutions.
- The fourth part includes the solutions the students used to overcome those challenges, and suggestions for getting students to do internships.

The questionnaires were based on a 5-point Likert scale. Students were asked to rate the frequency of the possible challenges and the implemented solutions, using following scale: V. Strongly Agree; IV. Agree; III. Neutral; II. Disagree; I. Strongly disagree. And 4-point Likert scale: IV. Correct; III. Partially correct; II. Partially incorrect; I. Incorrect.

There were two main open-ended questions. The first was about other challenges that student encountered during the citywide social distancing situation and the pressure of having to organise students for social work internships. The second question was what solutions the internship supervisors applied or recommended applying to the requirements of organising internships for social work students.

3.3. Data analysis

The data analysis procedure was divided into two stages. By utilizing the Google's Typeform platform, data was filtered into suitable categories. The quantitative data were statistically analysed using percentage, mean and standard deviation with the help of SPSS 22 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). The qualitative information was analysed using content analysis of interview transcriptions. Finally, the findings from both quantitative and qualitative research were combined. In qualitative research, data analysis plays an essential role and exists both before and after data collection, allowing researchers to interpret and compartmentalize the data provided (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). After the information has been gathered, the researchers will analyse it using a variety of methods. The researchers opt for the most commonly used method, constant comparison analysis (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). We can use the data from the recorded interviews and categorise them into groups information in a way that aids the researchers to access and decode further meaning easily.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Questionnaire's results

4.1.1 The demographic information of the participants

Among 60 students participating in the survey, there are 50 women (accounting for 83.3%) and 10 men (accounting for 16.7%). There are 15 students in the 2nd year (accounting for 25%), 45 students in the 3rd year (accounting for 75%).

During social work undergraduate training program, 2nd year students can do internships at social institutions according to the topic of internship to improve community capacity. This is the first internship of social work that students are organised to go. Students are divided into groups of 5 going to a social institution and participate in community support work and community activities there. The second type of internship is community development organised for 3rd year students. Students are also divided into groups of 5 going to a southern province of Vietnam to learn about the difficulties and problems that the community is facing. Students are tasked with designing a complete project to help the community solve the problem. For example, the project to support the community to overcome drought and salinity in the dry season, the project to raise community awareness on how to prevent the Covid-19 pandemic. In the 4th year, students get to practice social work, perform individual social work, and group social work with a specific group. Students are divided into groups of 5, going to social institutions to work for 3 months. They directly support an individual or a group of people, helping them to solve their problems. For example, helping a disabled person find a job, supporting a group of people addicted to online games. The survey results show that only 25% of 2nd year students completed the improving community capacity internship, 75% of 3rd year students completed improving community capacity and community development internship. At the time of the survey, students had not yet been allowed to perform individual social work and group social work. The school was forced to stop organising internship for students practice because of the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic.

4.1.2 Student's faith when encounter difficulties

Table 1: Faith when encounter difficulties

	Religion	Ancestor worship	Science	Self	Social values	No belief
Frequency	14	12	27	34	42	9
Percentage	23%	20%	45%	57%	70%	15%

With the question: 'When facing difficulties, what beliefs do you usually rely on to overcome?' Study results show that only 9 (15%) choose not to believe in anything, 23.3% have faith in religion and 20% believe in ancestor worship, hoping to be blessed by ancestors when going through the pandemic. There is also a very high percentage of students who believe in social and humanitarian values when facing difficulties with 70% and 56.7% believe in themselves, believe in their own life experiences and 45% of students believe in science. This shows that the majority of students have faith in science that can fight the pandemic and believe in their own ability to overcome difficulties.

4.1.3 Place of residence

Table 2: Place of residence

Timeline	Parents' house		Dormitory		Motel		Other places	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Before Covid-19	11	18%	33	55%	13	22%	3	5%
During Covid-19	52	87%	0	0%	5	8%	3	5%

Table 2 shows the obvious change in the student's place of residence before and during the Covid-19 pandemic. Before the Covid-19 pandemic, only 18.3% of students lived at their parents' house, during the Covid-19 pandemic, the majority of students went back to their parents' homes to stay at home to avoid the pandemic, only a small number of students stayed at rental places (8.3%) and 5% of students in other places. This shows that students are no longer staying at the school and this form of residence is only suitable for organising online learning.

4.2 Research question 1:

What difficulties did internship supervisors and students encounter with organising internships during the Covid-19 pandemic?

4.2.1 Difficulties encountering by internship supervisors

With the question 'Do you agree to practice social work during the Covid-19 pandemic?' A significant minority of students, accounting for 41.7%, do not agree to do internships during the pandemic. However, the interview results with internship supervisors show that organising internship for students remains a huge pressure on the social work program at universities. At the same time, the pandemic has caused a lack of available social institutions.

A school supervisor said: 'Due to the peculiarity of the program in which there is large internship proportion, amounting for 20% of the program's length, students start doing it from the 2nd academic year, so the Faculty of Social Work often has a diverse network of social

institutions to make connection for students to do internship with hospitals, schools, facilities for people with disabilities and the elderly, etc. However due to the pandemic's complex progression, right at the outbreak, many schools and facilities for people with disabilities have refused to accept students.'

A representative from a social institution also gave an interview, saying: 'We really want to support social work students to participate in internships, but is not possible during the pandemic. We have to limit outsiders from coming into contact with children, fearing the spread of disease.'

4.2.1 Difficulties with studying online

To organise for students to practice at the institution, students must first learn theory in class. But because of the Covid-19 pandemic, the school had to organise for students to study online. However, because online learning is a new form of teaching for both internship supervisors and students, many difficulties arose. Table 3 below shows these difficulties.

Table 3: Difficulties with studying online

Item	Content	Mean	Std. Dev.	Percentage				
				I	II	III	IV	V
10	The internship supervisor's teaching method is the same as classroom learning	2.98	1.097	8.3%	26.7%	31.7%	25.0%	8.3%
11	I acquire knowledge just like in class	2.78	1.136	16.7%	21.7%	33.3%	23.3%	5.0%
12	I feel boring because of not being able to communicate with friends	3.35	1.363	15.0%	8.3%	30.0%	20.0%	26.7%
13	I usually only listen attentively for about 10 minutes before I start to get distracted	3.2	1.176	10.0%	16.7%	30.0%	30.0%	13.3%
14	I usually leave my avatar and go to work	2.47	1.241	31.7%	18.3%	25.0%	21.7%	3.3%

V. Strongly Agree; IV. Agree; III. Neutral; II. Disagree; I. Strongly disagree

Table 3 shows that the biggest difficulty is the reason 'Not being able to communicate with friends makes me bored' with Mean = 3.35, SD = 1.363 and the second biggest difficulty is 'I usually only listen attentively to lectures for about 10 minutes. is to start distraction' with Mean = 3.2, SD = 1.176. Statistical results also show that up to 35% of students disagree with the statement that 'Internship supervisors' teaching methods are the same as classroom learning.' 38.4% of students disagree with the statement 'I acquiring knowledge is like learning in class' and the behaviours that students often perform when studying online are 'I usually leave my avatar and then go to another job' with 24% of students agreeing. The above statistical results show that about a third of students are not satisfied with the quality of online learning.

4.3 Research question 2:

What are the solutions to organise social work internship for students during the Covid-19 pandemic?

Table 4: Activities students participate in during the Covid-19 pandemic

Item	Content	Mean	Std. Dev.	Percent			
				I	II	III	IV
25	Register as a volunteer to participate in the anti-pandemic work of medical facilities	3.26	0.919	8.6%	5.7%	37.1%	48.6%
26	Join volunteer groups to support the disadvantaged	3.21	0.845	5.9%	8.8%	44.1%	41.2%
27	Directly participating in the work of a social worker (consulting, supporting patients at the hospital, etc.)	2.94	0.886	5.9%	23.5%	41.2%	29.4%
28	Counselling for patients through online means	3.06	0.886	5.9%	17.6%	41.2%	35.3%
29	Internship in social work according to the organisation of the school	3.38	0.954	5.9%	14.7%	14.7%	64.7%

4-point Likert Scale: I. incorrect; II. partially incorrect; III. partially correct; IV. correct.

Table 4 shows that the majority of students (85.7 %) want to participate in anti-pandemic activities of medical facilities (Mean = 3.26, SD = .919). And 85.3% of students want to participate in volunteer groups to support the disadvantaged (Mean = 3.21, SD = .845). However, with the direct participation in the work of a social worker (consulting, supporting patients at the hospital, etc.) and consulting for patients through online means, the number the number of students who want to participate is less with the percentage of 70.6% (Mean = 2.94, SD = .886) and 76.5% (Mean = 3.06, SD = .886)

The group of internship supervisors participating in the interview had quite unified opinions on finding the solutions for students to do internship online.

Internship supervisor's opinion: 'We are looking for alternatives to the internship program. For the students volunteering to participate in pandemic prevention and control activities at medical facilities, we will assign to them internship requirements and their works are considered as internship's results'.

So how to distinguish students who have completed the requirements of community development internship, individual social work or group social work?

Internship supervisor's opinion: 'depending on the service user that students had supported, it is possible to distinguish which form of internship they did. If it is support for an individual, it will be counted as individual social work, if it is support for a group of patients, it will be counted as group social work, and if students perform tasks that support a community, it will be counted as a community development internship'.

4.2. Discussion

4.2.1. Research question 1

With the number of 60 students participating in the survey, only 15 2nd year students participated, while the vast majority (45 students) are in their 3rd year. This shows that the 2nd

year students had only experienced the 2nd year improving community capacity internship, so they did not fully understand the importance of being organised for a social work internship and as the result, not interested in participating in the survey of this study. The remaining 45 third-year students had completed 2 internships, namely improving community capacity and community development, so they felt more attached to the social work profession. They expected to complete the internship in individual social work and group social work, as well as complete the internship training to finish the program. That is why they were interested in this survey.

Researching students' beliefs when facing difficulties, with beliefs about religion, ancestor worship, science, self, and social values helps internship supervisor of the faculty of social work to know how to support the students when they face difficulties and crises caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. The survey results show that students put their beliefs about social values, self, and scientific values higher than beliefs about ancestor worship, religion when having difficulties. This reveals students' understanding of the social values that the profession of social work brings to people. Believing in their own strength and overcoming difficulties by themselves might be a characteristic of today's youths. Study results on where to live before and after the pandemic show that the vast majority of students have their family to rely on when facing difficulties during the pandemic. Home is where they choose to return to.

Research results on difficulties when learning online show that up to a third of students do not agree with the internship supervisor's teaching methods and do not absorb the learning materials as well as they do in class. The reason was that without communication with friends, the students felt bored so their behaviour when studying online were quite diverse, as they usually only listened to lectures for about 10 minutes, then they started to get distracted and often kept their avatars on and then left to do other things. This result also proves that a student answered an interview: 'I think that because I study online, I don't understand the content of the social work internship.' Internship supervisors do not adequately demonstrate and illustrate the requirements when students going under different types of internships, and the differences between individual, group and community development social work internships. Students also worried about how to complete the required practical exercises correctly, and how to complete the exercises when there are a lot of work at the internship site.

These research results also make us think about the organisational strategy for students to practice social work during the Covid-19 pandemic. That's how to improve the quality of online teaching so that students can fully understand the requirements for doing assignments when doing internships.

4.2.1. Research question 2

The results of the student survey showed that half of the students accepted to do an internship right in the Covid-19 pandemic season and half of the students wanted to do the internship after the Covid-19 pandemic ends. For students who agree to do an internship, the strategy for organising them to do an internship is quite simple. Finding a school supervisor looking at where they can be sent for internships and what kind of work they can get into, depending on the level of work they've been given. If students are going to practice individual and group social work, the prerequisite is that they have learned the theory of methods of working with individuals and groups. With work during the Covid-19 pandemic, students need to have more knowledge about how to work with service users in the hospital, how to communicate with people in mental crisis.

For the group of students who refuse to practice during the Covid-19 pandemic, the school

supervisor can organise an online internship for them. Online jobs can be psychological counselling for service users, participating in social networking groups to learn and support, connecting services (medical, psychological, providing oxygen tanks, charities, etc.) that the service user needs. However, this online job is a job that does not directly interact with others, so if students are not introduced to work for an online counselling centre, they cannot do it themselves. In addition, school supervisors need to find a way to come up with specific exercises and requirements for students to be able to do. In general, the online form of internship requires a very high degree of initiative of students and depends on their level of understanding. Once students do not have enough qualifications, it is difficult to practice online.

5. Conclusion

5.1. Summary of findings

The researcher conducted the study with the aim of understanding the difficulties in organising social work internship for students during Covid-19 pandemic, then suggest the solutions to organise social work internship. After researching and analysing, the study has found 3 main difficulties when studying online including:

Difficulties in online learning: the teaching method of the internship supervisors was not suitable, the students had not acquired much knowledge before going to internship, the students did not understand the internship requirements when they go, and the students did not distinguish the specific requirements of each type of internship (individual social work, group social work and community development).

Difficulties arose because students went home to live with their families during the pandemic, so it was difficult for students to organise internships in groups and go to a social institution in an organised manner.

Difficulties arose because the traditional social institutions (schools, places to raise children, care centres for the elderly ...) did not accept students for internships and with the situation of Covid-19 pandemic uncertain to end, in the long run, these institutions will not accept students.

From the above difficulties, the study proposes the following solutions to organise internship for social work students as follows:

Solution 1: Improve the quality of online learning through changes in teaching methods for adaptation of online learning conditions.

Solution 2: Before going to internship, it is very important for students to understand the theory of individual, group, and community development methods of social work, so students need to be taught these methods well.

Solution 3: School supervisors should clearly state the internship requirements for each type of internship. Students need to know the appropriate assignment requirements, how to write internship diary, internship report, how to make individual and group support plan, how to do a community support project.

Solution 4: School supervisors needs to give students a specific internship plan, time to work at the institution, time to submit the internship, time to meet with the school supervisor and the site supervisor.

Solution 5: Students are encouraged to actively find internships suitable to their residency and working conditions during the Covid-19 pandemic. In addition, for students who cannot find

an internship on their own, they also need the support from the school supervisor.

Solution 6: Encourage students to participate in anti-pandemic work at health facilities and count as students' social work internships. However, school supervisors need to come up with internship assignments that are appropriate to the circumstances of the student's internship location (requirements for submission deadlines and appropriate type of internship).

5.2. Recommendations

The Covid-19 pandemic caused all our activities to come to a halt. Especially in the field of education, students are not allowed to go to school or go on internship according to the planned schedule, causing all participants of educational activities to change their plans. The education ministry has set a goal to not let students delay learning schedule due to the pandemic, which means that students need to complete their program on time. Thus, to complete their program, social work students need to go on internships, directly interact and work with people.

However, the Covid-19 pandemic does not allow us to do this. Therefore, it is necessary to change the mindset in organising internship for students. University's Faculties of Social Work need to come up with solutions to deal with difficulties caused by the pandemic, from editing the teaching program, changing the order of study modules, calculating the appropriate time to organise internships, building a system of assignments and requirements for students to practice in the form of online or off-line internships, to establishing relationships with social institutions to come up with solutions not only to organise internships for students but also to ensure maximum prevention of the Covid-19 pandemic.

For students of social work, the more difficulties, the more they learn and accumulate their own experiences on how to deal with difficulties caused by the pandemic, how to complete the work of a social worker, preserving the qualities and values of the profession without backing down from difficulties.

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LOCALIZATION OF AGRICULTURAL SUPPLY CHAIN AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN RURAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract: Local community participation has been widely recognized as imperative for balanced and sustainable tourism development (Din, 1996; Simmons, 1994; Taylor, 1995; and Tonsun and Jenkins 1998). The process involves the localization of the agricultural supply chain to both meet the needs of local communities and ensure tourism development is sustainable within their social and environmental capacities (Sharpley 2003). Applying ethnographic fieldwork focused mainly on observation, participation and in-depth interviews with 12 households intermittently from 2019 to 2020 on Con Chim islet, Chau Thanh district, Tra Vinh province, the author realizes that available capital and human resources of the community have been mobilized to serve visitors and bring back many benefits for both individuals and the whole community. The study is self-evident in that by localizing agricultural supply chains, local communities can effectively play their host role and independently operate their tourism business to create a balanced and sustainable tourism development in their community.

Keywords: Rural tourism, community participation, supply chain, localization, Mekong Delta, Vietnam

Introduction

Rural tourism has become a part of strategies and policy documents for rural development at the national and international levels. It has become widespread since the 1970s in developed countries and since the 1990s in developing countries (Khartishvili et al. 2019). In Vietnam, the countryside occupies a large area of the mountainous regions, mid-lands, plains, and coastal regions with abundant natural resources as well as a variety of cultural products created from the daily lives of different local ethnic groups, rural environments. There is a reason why rural tourism is one of the key forms of tourism being invested and developed (As stated in Decision No. 2227/QĐ-TTĐ dated November 18, 2016, of the Prime Minister on approving the Master plan for tourism development in the Mekong Delta region to 2020, vision towards 2030). Based on the attraction of natural landscape, natural environment, a culture of local people, heritage and aesthetic beauty, handicrafts, socio-cultural environment, rural tourism satisfy the demand of the tourists who seek stress-relief and rejuvenation within a nature-based environment (Ozdemir & Yildiz 2020) or engagement with physical and psychological wellbeing activities. The form of rural tourism has brought in many benefits to solve such problems as poverty alleviation, producing jobs, improving the quality of life for the local community, preservation, and promotion of the national tradition and culture's characteristics, and capital accumulation for the national economy.

The concept of rural tourism first originated in the mid-19th century in Europe and later on

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spread over different parts odd the world (Zang 2012). Rural tourism preserves some depth of culture in a world increasingly flattened by globalization. Rurality is the basis of sustainable rural tourism development and the key to maintaining the rural features in the operation of small-scale businesses, local ownership, community participation and the sustainability of local culture and environment (Brohman,1996). Rural areas are in stage with small communities with social control based on personal relationships and local organizations. Telfer (2002) suggested that more and more urban residents want to leave the city life to go to the countryside. One of the advantages of rural tourism is that it could be based on local; initiatives, local management, local variations, rooted in the local context and embedded in the local culture.

There are two elements to develop rural tourism such as participate community and agricultural supply chain. Short food supply chains (SFSCs) in the field of rural tourism has an interdisciplinary character because it approaches fields of interest, such as agriculture, tourism, culture, gastronomy, ecology, environment protection, which are interdependent and under continuous change and innovation process. Short Food or (SFSCs) have been established in parallel to conventional food chains, playing a key role in the emerging food networks that are continuously arising as an alternative to the globalized agri-food model. The very concept of SFSCs emerged at the turn of the century in the context of the broader debate on 'Alternative food chains' (Ilbery & Maye 2005), 'Alternative food networks' (Goodman & Goodman 2009) or 'Sustainable food chains' (Roep & Wiskerke 2006).

However, most research in the field of tourism supply chain management is focused on distribution and marketing activities, not taking into account the range of different suppliers involved in creating tourism products in the 'upstream' part of the supply chain (Zhang et al., 2009). It is in this part of the supply chain that community participation plays a significant role supplier of goods and materials. They can supply other participants in the supply chain of natural resources, agricultural, food, handicraft products and raw materials, souvenirs, etc. Goods and materials from the community are most often used by participants in the supply chain in rural tourism. So that the community should substantially control and participate in tourism development and management and retain most of the benefits within the community (WWF 2001). Murphy (1985) believes that only full participation can prevent the decline of tourism and the disintegration of the community. This approach considers rural communities as an object of rural tourism consumption; the success of rural tourism is thus determined by the leadership and participation of community residents in process of development. Participate community and agricultural supply chain is considered as a possible solution to the negative impacts of mass tourism in developing countries, as well as a strategy for communities to achieve better conditions (Cioce, Bona and Ribeiro 2007).

Methodology

The research design consists of three components: semi-structured, unstructured interviews and participant observation. Interviews were recorded and lasted over one hour on average. We expand the scale of study within the network of social relationships of these people by the snowball interviews method. In addition, the group of researchers observe daily local people and even tourists visiting local destinations. During the process of observation and participation, the research group plays both the emic and etic roles in tourism activities.

To summarize, we conducted two in-depth unstructured interviews with the leader of the hamlet and the first household registered to participate in tourism in 2019. In 2020, we had in-depth interviews with nine people who were taking part in tourism activities. In addition, we

also officially had a short informal conversation with the owner of the Dai Hung travel agency and a representative of the Institute of Economic Research and Development and Tourism.

Findings

Con Chim islet

Con Chim is an islet hamlet in Hoa Minh commune, Chau Thanh district, with 60ha located in the middle of Co Chen river. Con Chim is 10km northeast of Tra Vinh city center along the riverside and about 15km along National Highway 53. The name Con Chim originates from two characteristics: the shape of the helmet is like a bird and it is home to many species of birds. Con Chim Hamlet was established in 2010, in 2012 Con Chim was equipped with electricity, the infrastructure was built in 2013 and 2014. The population on the dune is about 220 people, 68 households, including 52 households who registered as permanent residents in the dune, 12 households registered temporary residence and 4 households went to work far away. As a hamlet with incomplete infrastructure, Con Chim is a naturally beautiful and peaceful place which is the identity of the Southern cultural region. On September 9, 2019, Con Chim officially started tourism activities after 6 months of preparation which has been proposed by the Economic and Tourism Research and Development Institute Department of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Tra Vinh province.

Rural tourism in Coa Chim islet

Local people in Con Chim islet are working mainly in farming such as fishing and growing crops. Annually, local agriculture is divided into two activities following two periods: farmers grow rice for six months of freshwater, they focused on fishing activities for six months of saltwater. After 6 months of freshwater period, the saltwater season comes up, people take advantage of this natural feature to raise shrimps, crabs, fish and other aquatic products on ponds that were previously used to grow rice. The strain of rice in the hamlet is a special kind which farmers grow and obey seriously the rules of farming as they do not use pesticides. This farming method is verified by the form of 'shrimp hugging the rice plants', not only planting rice but also raising shrimps on the same fields, which guarantees a clean environment. Fishery feed is reused from rice bran, mixed with shrimps and rolled into balls. This not only increases the quality of the seafood but also saves the cost of buying fish feed. In addition, other households grow fruit trees such as coconuts, bananas, mangoes and some vegetables or raise poultry and cattle. The supply of agricultural products is based on the principle of using local food sources as most of the households grow rice and practice aquaculture. It's a way that local people can apply to protect the environment, minimizing chemicals affecting wastewater which is released into shrimp ponds and rivers.

In 2019, a new livelihood activity appearing in the islet is tourism. Tourism services at Con Chim are developed according to the model of 'each household engaged in tourism', which means that each household will be able to hold its activities under the strengths of the family to create diverse but integrated, different but supportive approaches. The activities that were organized including visiting, experiencing, participating in folk games, enjoying dishes, handmade cakes and buying souvenirs from available materials at the destination. (Figure 1).



Figure 1: Travel map in Con Chim islet (Source: Author)

Tourism development at Con Chim is countrified, rustic and not too professional with the implication that doing tourism by bringing one's breath of life to visitors, and bringing feelings of their home visitors to have a feeling of 'like coming home'. People develop a community-oriented tourism model in the direction of 'slow tourism' - a model that needs to be sustainable in rural areas.

Travel slowly, every day will change, if the brilliant tourist area is an artificial tourist area like Dam Sen, Suoi Tien, it is not as real as my hometown, when I come here I get the fresh air, experience the real-life, slow travel is more sustainable than the new ones which turn out to be a beautiful place for about a year, people will eventually find these places not attractive. Therefore, these households could gain experiences from that to develop their models of tourism (in-depth interview. Ch.NL, February 25, 2020, translated by the author).

Supply chain in rural tourism development of Con Chim islet

The tourism supply chain (TSC) is a network of tourism organizations engaged in various activities, from offering different components of tourism products/services (Zhang et al., 2009). Local people in Con Chim islet can be TSC participants at various tiers. They supply in the supply chain of natural resources agricultural, food, handmade products and raw materials,

souvenirs, which are available on site. In general, the supply of agricultural products is quite diverse and abundant such as rice, seafood, vegetable, fruit...

My family does not have ready-to-eat food. When tourists order their meals, such as shrimp and crab, my family will immediately cook the dish for them with fresh ingredients. If the customer asks for other dishes like chicken, I will buy them from my neighbours. I won't buy them plants available at the market. It is certainly slow travel as it's similar to normal life, and we do not modernize our modern tourism. Tourists, mostly from metropolises, always integrate into the life of the countryside where I feel like I could live like the olden days" (in-depth interview, C.TP, February 26, 2020, translated by the author).

In other cases, some people even run their own business with materials that are produced themselves

Depending totally on the seasons, I sell what nature provides me. For example, Ms. Dep, my neighbor, will bring me food that she catches herself, and then I could make meals from this food source, ranging from fish to crabs. (in-depth interview, C.V dated 14.08.2019, translated by the author)

TSC is not only in agricultural products but also in natural resources and local human resources as well as social relationships. Local people's houses are cottages, the ground is made of clay, construction materials are used from plants available in a home such as coconut leaves, bamboo. Local people use the leaves of coconut trees that grow naturally around the home, then dry them and use them for roofs or walls. Mud houses are typical features of local culture in the Mekong Delta.

Tourists like to sit on the floor and take pictures with the uneven floor so that walking on the floor makes the guests feel similar to a foot massage. I used to flatten the ground because it was too rough to sweep. However, since I ran the tourism business, I have let it be as its nature because tourists enjoy its situation and take lots of photos (PVS, C.BS, interview February 26, 2020, translated by the author).

Human resources involved in tourism activities are local people. Although there are not many of them, they still meet the demand of serving customers. The relationship between the members who participate in the main activities in the process of welcoming guests only shows up within the area of Con Chim. It seems that this connection is not associated with organizations and individuals that are not residents of the home. (Figure 2).

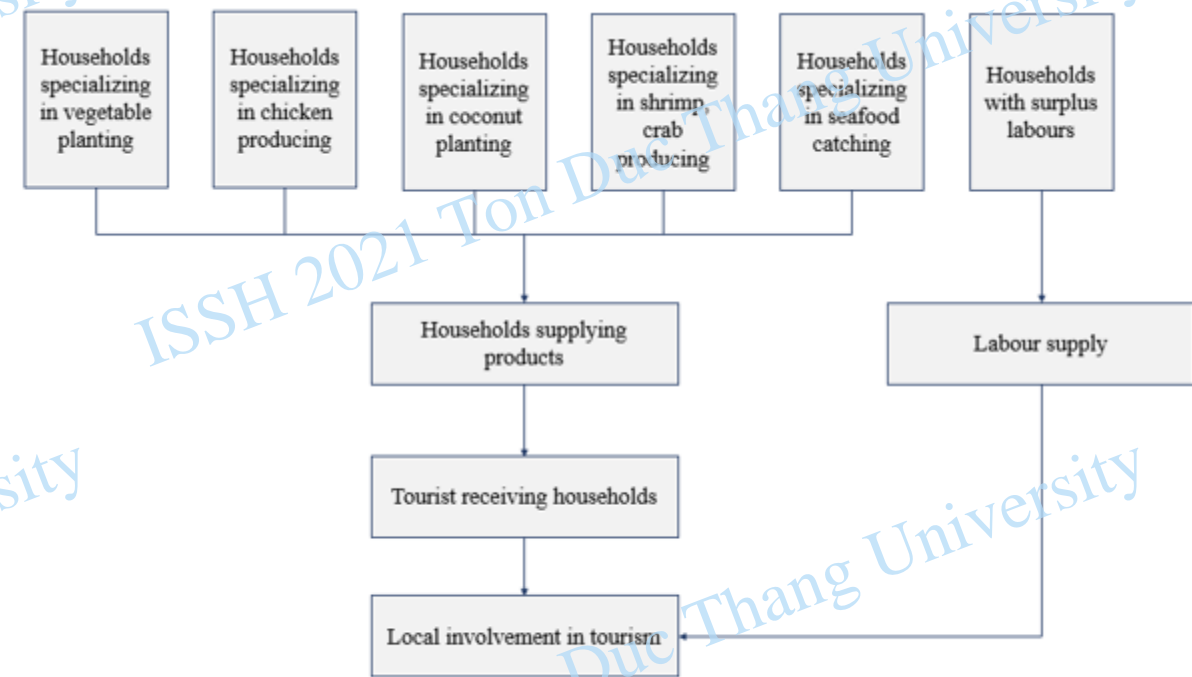


Figure 2: Agricultural supply chain (Source: Author)

Local participation in tourism supply chain activities in Con Chim islet

It can be seen that native people completely uses the local tangible and intangible resources, the labours force for tourism is also the residents here. They participate in tourism by using most of their raw materials, products and services. People use their capital to participate in tourism flexibly and rhythmically. It seems that local elements are subconsciously absorbed because after welcoming tourists, they realize that this indigenous culture will attract visitors, but not modern facilities or modern houses. In other words, the local culture is clearly shown through wearing Vietnamese loose-fitting blouses and conical hats to welcome tourists. Furthermore, these people join hands to make decisions of management and distribution benefits for individuals. It is the democratization of their making decisions.

People's participation in tourism activities is how they localize the tourism products supply chain, which makes a different impression and satisfaction to visitors. It can be seen that external factors from organizations, companies and governments have a great influence on local people's perception, however, these factors are transformed by local people into internal resources.

Thanks to participation in STD, most revenue generated from rural tourism was retained inside the community; the community residents play an active role in the rural tourism development. Young people in the community are motivated to stay in their village rather than working away from home; women and elderly people also get more employment opportunities than before.

I have advised my son to come back home to start his own tourism business due to the advantages of the available agricultural products. I own a piece of land which is next to the main road in Con Chim. He could open his restaurant there as he is talented at cooking (PVS, C.M, February 25, 2020, translated by the author).

Participate 's local people in tourism supply chance is the localization of tourism products (the community manages and provides resources in the tourism economy); tourism businesses run by households and outside investments account for the small percentage; the community actively offers decisions. Sharpley (2003) claimed that localization is essential to the

sustainable development of rural tourism; he further noted that developing rural tourism should address the following concerns: (i) satisfying the needs of the local community (ii) establishing a supply chain of local products (iii) encouraging the production of local crafts (iv) ensuring the locally maximum profits; (v) ensuring that development is within the capacity of the local environment and society. It can be seen that the driven-community tourism model of Con Chim is in the author's analysis frame.

Conclusion

A potential feature of sustainable tourism development is localization. That is, sustainable tourism development should ideally focus on satisfying the needs of the development local communities through, for example, promoting local product supply chains, optimizing the maintenance of tourism benefits at tourist destinations and ensuring that development is within local environmental and social capacities. The achievement of such localization is, in turn, dependent upon the local control of tourism development. Indeed, a fundamental objective of sustainable development is the satisfaction of basic needs and the encouragement of self-reliance based upon the grassroots, endogenous developmental process. The involvement of locals is seen as one way of controlling the pace of development, integrating tourism with other activities and producing more individualistic tourist products. Furthermore, by emphasizing the individual characters of destinations, tourism can become a vital force against the negative sides of cultural homogenization (Murphy 1985, p151). There are differences among regions, cultures, and people's awareness when joining the tourism industry, thus, the product localized for tourism activities will also not be the same. Typically, tourists could enjoy authentic local foods instead of those purchased from urban wholesale markets, leading to the rural tourism experience being more unique and differentiated from their daily routine. In conclusion, thanks to the available resources of rural areas that the writer has mentioned, participate 's local people in tourism supply chance could be developed and this helps to contribute to the national economy. Especially, the cultural features and the natural aspects of the countryside have not been destroyed.

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DISCIPLINES AND MEDIA ANTHROPOLOGY/SOCIOLOGY, HISTORY/MODERNITY

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This paper[†] addresses subjects of social structure and developmental presumption by turning to the past and the present of the human sciences. It makes a case for anthropology, history, and sociology as disciplines, archives, and (thereby) media of modernity. Following procedures of critical yet careful genealogical mappings, I explore how these disciplinary formations have at once inscribed and unraveled, erased and instated modernity's traces and tracks. At stake are important issues of the disciplines, archives, and media of modernity, ever turning on apparitions of social structure as already haunted by developmental specters. My effort is to open out such compelling questions, where the very reference to the disciplines of modernity and their archival tracks ever entail the media of modernity, a point that should henceforth be taken as already read in this paper.

Consider now that pervasive presumptions in the human sciences project its disciplines as taken-for-granted divisions of knowledge, whose relationship is then tracked as being vexed but constructive. Yet, what might it mean to rethink central strands of the human sciences as disciplines of modernity, bearing the archival tracks of modern disciplinary formations, protocols, and procedures? Emphasizing the relations between discipline and development, I shall focus here principally on anthropology and history, while raising questions for classical sociology as well as other enquiries.

Let us begin with the meanings of discipline, which I derive freely from the Merriam Webster Online Dictionary. As noun: 'a field of study'; 'a rule or system of rules governing conduct or activity'; [obsolete] 'instruction'; 'control gained enforcing obedience or order'; 'orderly prescribed conduct or pattern of behavior'; 'self-control'; 'training that corrects, molds, or perfects the mental faculties or moral character.' As transitive verb: 'to train or develop by instruction and exercise, including in self-control'; 'to bring [a collective] under control'; 'to impose order upon.' Now, these discrete meanings and their key conjunctions have shored up the human sciences as variously overlapping, constitutively contradictory, necessarily split, and formatively contended disciplines of modernity. As mentioned, I focus here on anthropology and history as humanistic social-sciences and social-scientifically-inflected humanities, for most part leaving aside those influential formations of economics, politics, demography, and sociology that mainly model their protocols of truth and method on the natural sciences.[‡] The point is that, as archive and practice, the disciplinary formations of the human sciences at large have at once inscribed and unraveled modernity's traces and tracks,

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[†] Draft: Not to be cited/used without permission, please; the paper derives from the introductory (and other) chapters of two forthcoming books, one authored (in English) and the other co-edited (in Spanish); I have principally omitted citations and references.

[‡] Needless to say, these nomothetic knowledges have constituted formidable disciplines of modernity, variously bearing their own contradictions and contentions. Later, we point toward these issues in relation to sociology. At the same time, my focus here is on those human sciences and their lineaments that can be seen as influencing the chapters in this volume

archives, disciplines, and media of modernity.

The institutional emergence of modern enquiries in the human sciences occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century, but their provenance lay in prior formations of power and knowledge as well as their contentions and criticisms going back to the Enlightenment and its adversaries. Together, to be found are arenas and ideas turning upon the Enlightenment and empire, the counter-Enlightenment and nation, reason and race, settler colonialism and racial slavery, and genocide and violence. It is upon such scenes and sites that the different registers of *discipline* came to be at once entwined and unraveled within modern enquiries as intimating disciplines of modernity.*

Here, far from an exclusive, instrumental connection with state and governance, these elaborations not only happened in decidedly contradictory and contended manners, but could be entirely imbricated in one another. This occurred across distinct yet overlapping social terrains, discrete expressions of authority and alterity. Turning to modern enquiries, such entanglements extended from the mutual making, the shared fabrication, of the Enlightenment and the counter-Enlightenment through to the face-offs and admixtures between analytical and hermeneutical procedures. Indeed, it was upon such grounds that the aggrandizements and conceits of reason came to be queried and exceeded not only by counter-Enlightenment and romanticist thinkers but by contending strains of the Enlightenment, expressed by philosophers such as Hume and Kant.

At the same time, such contentions variously coalesced with each other. This happened in a manner whereby the crossovers uncertainly, conjointly shored up the developmental idea of universal history. Here, imprints of universal-natural history embedded within contending procedures not only sought to name and describe but to objectify and reshape the subjects of their desire and despair. If this brings us face to face once more with disciplines of modernity, it underscores also the importance of understanding the politics of knowledge – and the knowledge of politics – as grounded in broad-based matrices of meaning and power, intimate formations of subject and sociality.

For finally, in the schemas under discussion, the place and play of abiding antinomies between static, traditional communities and dynamic, modern societies – including as articulating other enduring oppositions between ritual and rationality, myth and history, community and state, magic and the modern, East and West, and emotion and reason – have played a crucial role. Such copulas have been imbued with contradictory value and contrary salience in rationalist and historicist, progressivist and romantic, analytical and hermeneutical, post-Enlightenment and non-Western thought. For long now, the copulas entered also the lives and meanings of the subjects and worlds that modern knowledges have not only represented and reified but sought to render and rework in their own image. I am suggesting, then, that the human sciences and their constituent knowledges, far from being already autonomous academic enquiries, emerge as always acutely embedded in the world, that is as *worlded*. They are, in a word, the disciplines of modernity, strewn with dominance and dissonance, shaped by the social and the spectral.

Now, these weighty protocols of meaning and power – that is, bearers of politics, including of knowledge – acquired particular contours and manifold makeovers in the institutionalizations and contentions of the human sciences as disciplines of modernity from the second half of the

*None of this to ignore the more conventional understandings of discipline and disciplinarity as intimating scholarly enquiry, but to widen the range of address of these terms. Indeed, we have learned much from the particular usages and concrete genealogies of discipline and disciplinarity as offered, for instance, by Paul Forman, but we also seek to place such discussion as drawing in worlds outside academia.

nineteenth century, and unto the times and terrains that have come after. The universities in Europe that had developed after the sixteenth century centered on philosophical (and theological) enquiry yet as connected with worldly (and physical) investigations. Across the nineteenth century, this earlier, somewhat singular structure of the university was reconstituted as now made up of various departments, developments that themselves built upon the gradual separation of empirical investigation from philosophical enquiry.* Considering the dominant branches of the social sciences, the three-fold bourgeois separation of key human activity into the domains of the market, the state, and society now came to be mirrored in the tripartite disciplinary division of economics, political science, and sociology. The main tendencies in these disciplines – along with those of anthropology cast in an evolutionist guise – imagined themselves in principally nomothetical ways. In contrast, the elaboration of disciplinary history as an institutionalized inquiry, for instance, followed a different course.

Yet, understood together, these knowledges all variously emerged as disciplines of modernity, crucially shaped in the crucibles of meaning and power, authority and alterity. To repeat myself, these modern enquiries were elaborated amidst the light and shadow of empire and nation, bearing the impress of the *Ur*-distinction between the primitive/native and the civilized/modern, and variously expressing progressivist and romanticist sensibilities, analytical and hermeneutic tendencies, including the disjunctions and conjunctions between all such wide-ranging procedures. I turn here to examples from history, anthropology, and sociology, bearing in mind the claims of the academic autonomy of disciplines that are themselves closely connected to the wide-ranging politics of the subject and the social.

The institutionalization of the historical discipline in the latter part of the nineteenth turned upon articulations of *historismus* in Germany. Such historicism bore a double-side relationship with the ideas and imaginaries of universal human progress.† On the one hand, avowing hermeneutic and counter-Enlightenment impulses, such historicist accounts acutely articulated notions of culture, tradition, and the *volk*, principally of the nation. They queried thereby the conceits of an aggrandizing reason as well as of developmental schemes of philosophical history that they saw as leitmotifs of the Enlightenment. The point is that all this could allow for relatively pluralistic understandings of cultures and nations. On the other hand, following the influence of Leopold von Ranke's endorsements of 'source criticism', the official archive, and historical narration (as 'telling it the way it really was') such historicism principally reinforced the exclusive designs of singular histories, turning on a parochial, often divisive, nation-state and its power-politics. The documentary dispositions and the philological methods underlying the historicist principle of 'continuity' meant also that most non-European 'others' were banished from the pages of history. In sum, going back to the compelling influence of Herder, these traditions reveal the possibility of pluralist and relativist imaginaries *and* the presence of nationalist and racialist presumptions – providing a distinct twist to hermeneutic dispositions, analytical orientations, and their conjunctions within institutionalized history as an inherently, contradictory, internally contended discipline of modernity. These are all issues that I have discussed in detail elsewhere

*Such knowledges could of course remain imbricated in each other, including through the disjunctions and conjunctions, of analytical and hermeneutic.

†Here I am bringing together the emphases of works such as John Kelley, *Faces of History*, 244-72; Georg Iggers, 'Historicism: The history and meaning of the term.' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56, (1995): 129-52; Georg Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition of Historical Thought from Herder to the Present*. Revised edition. (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2012); George Stocking Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York: Free Press, 1987), particularly 20-5; and John Zammito, *Kant, Herder, and the Birth of Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

At the same time, the elaboration of the discipline in connected Euro-American arenas meant that history-writing bore the impress of nation and empire. Here, the recent pasts of dark and distant, chiefly colonial, territories and terrains frequently appeared as footnotes and appendices to the master-history of Europe, and the extending frontiers of the historical imagination in settler spaces orchestrated their subaltern subjects through civilizational allegories. And what of the modern histories construed in colonized countries and emergent nations? These accounts were not merely replications of blueprints out of Europe, instead imbuing their accounts with particular protocols of proof and method, truth and philosophy. At the same time, such renderings of the past were also often envisioned in the image of a progressive European civilization, albeit using unto their own purposes the hierarchies and oppositions of Western modernity. Once more, such were the contended contours, contradictory dimensions, of historical enquiry as a discipline of modernity, tied to the manifold registers of power and meaning, that is to politics at large.

Turning to anthropology, the sociocultural evolutionism characteristic of the discipline in Britain from the 1860s brought together two separate, prior tendencies. In the first place was 'a study of the variety of mankind that had yet to free itself from the constraints of biblical assumption.' Yet, alongside also was an exploration of 'the progress of civilization for which a positivistic program was already well established.' Now the key question increasingly came to be the development of civilization, turning upon the unequal participation of different subjects in its inevitable progress. Here, linear, developmental, and progressive time formatively entered the core of evolutionary anthropology and its racial assumption. At stake were temporal sequences and hierarchical stages between the savage and the civilized in the framing of anthropology as a strident and aggrandizing discipline of modernity, intimately bound to the conceits of empire and nation, not only in institutional but everyday arenas.

Yet there is more to the picture. The search of diffusionist ethnology for the unity and variation of humankind had proceeded principally from Biblical assumption. Now, even as tendencies of 'polygenism' and 'degenerationism' linked to biblical anthropology persisted, the premises of diffusionism came to be formidably challenged from the mid-century by biological evolutionism and the 'archaeological revolution'. All these developments came together in challenges to sociocultural evolutionism, including the presence in newer guises of the German romanticist tradition. Thus, even before the beginning of the twentieth century, Franz Boas proffered 'a neo-ethnological critique of 'the comparative method' of classical evolutionism', freeing itself of racial and biological determinations so as to intimate relativistic and pluralistic apprehensions of culture. This program insisted upon on specific historical enquiry, detailed linguistic investigation, and grounded physical anthropology. At the same time, the work of Boas is better approached as 'straddling the dualism between progressivist and romantic traditions, interweaving universalistic and rationalist orientations with particularistic and emotional dispositions, which is to say as at once entwining and holding in contrapuntal tension these contending schemes of modern knowledge'. The present discussion underscores the unraveling of anthropology as a contradictory discipline of modernity, which anxiously upheld as well as uneasily upbraided the racialized assumption of modern knowledge as bound to empire and nation.

This excursus into the pasts of anthropology and history has wide ramifications, extending to other disciplinary formations. Concerning sociology, for instance, the formative work of Emile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss, uncle and nephew, bears readings along the grain of its own contentions and contradictions yet against the grain of the parochialism and presentism, indeed whiggish-ness, of mainstream disciplinary accounts of it. Here, the centrality of classifications and categories in the thought and writing of the formidable duo – carrying important implications for sociological, theoretical, and anthropological endeavour – might be better

approached as embodying a constitutive not-oneness. First, in their discussions of 'primitive' classifications – marked at once by 'confusion' as well as 'revelation' – are to be found a simultaneous braiding of positivist, nominalist, structuralist, constructivist, and reflexive positions. These positions were caught up in wide-ranging colonial epistemologies as well as their somewhat spectral interrogation. Indeed, the work of the two sociologists 'combines contradictory uses, asserting a colonial dichotomy in a new guise while at the same time displacing previous methods of racial classification by insisting on intersubjective research.' Moreover, this was not unlike the manner in which the classifications of their own European society that Durkheim and Mauss described as 'religious survivals' at the beginning of the century came to be seen by them as 'solutions to modernity's lack of cohesion and reciprocity' in the two decades that followed. Finally, Durkheim's earlier assertion of the clarity of modern categories was later followed by an insistence that it is in routine social worlds that the unimaginable is imagined. In tune with these reflections, might we rethink also the formidable 'primitivist' phantasms embedded in Sigmund Freud's imaginaries and Max Weber's 'iron cage of bureaucracy', each intimating an anxiety with progress in history, as attributes of contended and contradictory disciplines of modernity?*

This brings us back to anthropology and history, and their internally contending institutional makeovers in the early twentieth century.† To begin with, conventional wisdom casts the emergence of fieldwork-based anthropology, as promoted by Bronislaw Malinowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, as a decisive step in the 'scientific' founding of the discipline. Here, the querying of the speculative nature of diffusionism – alongside a somewhat ambiguous relationship with evolutionism and empire – put a question mark on history as such within structural-functionalism (of Radcliffe-Brown) and functionalism of (Malinowski). Under the influence of Durkheimian sociology, the privileging of 'synchrony' over 'diachrony' presupposed that social orders were best apprehended in abstraction from historical transformation, instating a split between anthropology and history. And so, the disciplinary emphasis on consensus and continuity — bracketing conflict and change — in societal arrangements of the native came to sharply distinguish between non-Western cultures, as shored up by the myth and history, from dynamic Western orders, as grounded in history and reason. In a somewhat distinct manner, across the Atlantic, the turn to the diachronic, the

*Moving back even further, the work of Auguste Comte (the 'father of positivism'), read upon contrapuntal registers, underscores that its critical attributes have been readily, easily occluded in standard disciplinary histories. At stake are Comte's engagement with the 'metropolitan afterlife' of France's colonial endeavours, especially the importance of the Haitian revolution of the Black Jacobins. Clearly, this has salience for considerations of the human sciences as split disciplines of modernity, keeping view at once the evolutionist faith of Comte in historical progress as well as his interest in the implications of slavery and colonialism in the making of modernity. Might not we ask, then if Comte, in founding sociology, produced both a classic theory of the dynamics of modernity *and* new challenging perspectives that revealed this theory's radical limitations?

†Once more, it is with reason that I focus on history and anthropology in discussing disciplinary developments in the early twentieth century. These enquires and their pasts forcefully reveal key modern knowledges as a contradictory and contending disciplines of modernity, shored up by contended articulations of meaning and power. In contrast, it would be much easier to take up the emergence of, say, International Relations (IR) as a branch of learning during the inter-war years in order to show its imbrications with ends of empire, conceits of nation, requirements of capital, and conducting the cold war, all held in place by the dichotomy of the native/backward/colored and the civilized/modern/white. Such singular connections with state, governance, market, their implications do of course register IR as a discipline of modernity, but the exclusive interchanges between power and meaning in this enquiry are much too obvious and easy to upbraid here. It is the ambivalences, ambiguities, and anxieties of autonomy, authority, and alterity concerning knowledge and politics – or, the interplay between power and meaning – that concern us, after all. For all this underlies also the disciplines, archives, and media of modernity.

historical, and the temporal as emphasized by Franz Boas was mostly ignored by anthropology, including by Boasians, during most of the 20th century. Once more, we return to a constitutively contradictory discipline of modernity, whose very foundations rested at once upon claims of an autonomous enquiry alongside the play of the opposition between the 'native' and the 'modern', that is enchanted terrains of tradition and disenchanting domains of modernity.

As for the history-writing, its pervasive narrowness and limits, preoccupation with politics and nation, and a broader crisis of classical historicism meant that from the early 20th century there were attempts not only to found the historical discipline on rigorously analytical and 'scientific' principles but also to redress the so-far residual role of society and economy in the work of the historian. Especially important here was the Annales school of France, especially its decisive break with event-based political history from the 1920s. Drawing upon sociology, especially of Durkheim, the Annales creatively drew in processes of society, economy, and culture in order to open up the scope and subject of history-writing. At the same time, it is important to probe the implicit oppositions in the writings of the Annales between 'backward' communities and 'civilized' societies. These return us to the common antinomies and mutual hierarchies of power and meaning, turning upon the native and the modern, enchantment and disenchantment, at the core of the human sciences as contradictory and contended, contingent and contending disciplines of modernity.*

The enquiries and subjects of the human sciences that we have just discussed found expression within a wider valorization of disciplines, and disciplinarity at large, in the fifty years following the First World War. Here, as an abstract noun, *disciplinarity* refers to a cultural ideal as well as values and hierarchies of knowledge production. As noted above, the importance of disciplinary knowledges had begun at the end of the eighteenth century, acquiring momentum from the mid-nineteenth century. Yet all this had come about without the frequent use of the term discipline as such.† As a distillation of the prior processes, from the second half of 1910s through the latter part of 1960s, disciplinarity came to be clearly named, celebrated, and sedimented in academic practice. At stake was the salience of four conjoint cultural values as underpinning disciplinary conduct: namely, 'proceduralism' (or the centrality of scientific method), 'disinterestedness' (as the pursuit of pure knowledge), 'autonomy' (collective and individual, construing and curating the species of for-its-own-sake learning), and 'solidarity' (social and personal, in the conduct of scholarly disciplines).

All of this underlies pervasive projections – and ready rejections – of taken-for-granted disciplines, calls for inter- and multi-disciplinary endeavors, and claims for anti- and post-disciplinarity that continue to abound in our populist present. My point now is that such framing and championing, construction and consolidation of disciplinarity in the twentieth century might be better approached as self-confident yet self-critical, bearing aggrandizing yet anxious protocols of meaning and power, signifying the core of politics of knowledge and beyond. Along and against the grain of disciplinary conceits, to be found here is at once the making and unmaking of disciplinarity, and I provide a few examples.

To begin with, consider the counter-colonial endeavors and other emphatic practices of

*Thus, Fernand Braudel's influential writings rendered vast parts of the Mediterranean world as islands floating outside the currents of civilization and history, further casting as ahistorical the sphere of everyday material culture as compared to the historical dynamism of early modern mercantilism. Here, it is critical to explore also the ways that the formative 'structural histories' of the Annales could deprive 'history of its human subject', including its links to politics, democracy, and narrative.)

†All this entails intriguing genealogies of the term discipline and its usages, including the overlaps and distinctions of discipline from profession, self-discipline, and the disciplining of children (and minor subjects), ably discussed by Paul Forman.

colonized subjects alongside assertions of imperial interests and dominant nations during the interwar years. These were followed in the 1950s by persistent anticolonial mobilizations, protests against the Soviet invasion of Hungary, and reckonings with fascist pasts amidst aggrandizing McCarthyism, reworked capitalism, refigured social-democracy, and totalitarian imaginaries. Together, in the context of such processes of power and meaning, there were endeavors both to celebrate *and* to rethink the autonomy of analytical traditions, at once reifying *and* reconsidering disciplines themselves. All of this could lead to static understandings of cultural action but also newer engagements with social conflict, meaningful practices, and collective processes. Here were bids that brought to the fore formatively democratic tendencies but also Cold War rhetorics across the human sciences.

During the long 1960s, civil rights, radical student, emergent feminist, various anti-capitalist, and continuing antiimperialist endeavors – amidst the raging battle between capitalism/market and communism/socialism, including as manifested in the Vietnam War – had key consequences. In these scenarios, assertive processes emphasizing human-action and history-making could lead modern knowledges at once to increasingly conservative schemes, formidably structuralist analyses, and distinct avowals of agency. On the one hand, to be found were critical articulations across the human sciences disciplines of the interplay between structure and practice, rules and processes, social structure and historical action. On the other hand, these years witnessed also the rise of anti- and post-foundationalist assumption and analyses, which had wide ramifications for the social-sciences and the humanities. Together, at stake were the disciplinary transformations of the human sciences from the 1970s onwards. These decades have in turn been marked by distinct historical developments: the end of innocence of the Bandung Era as newly independent nations revealed their authoritarian and corrupt designs; the retreat of the institutionalized visions of state-sponsored equality with the fall of the Berlin Wall; the rise and decline of the magic of unfettered capital and the Midas of the market; and the ascent to power in the second decade of the 21st century of plutocratic and populist regimes that avow entitlement, while raising walls of different descriptions. Such developments have had immense consequences for modern enquiries.

My point is that it is such doing and undoing of disciplines as embedded in wider matrices of politics and knowledge, meaning and power are worth staying with and thinking through further. First, what is at stake in approaching inter- and cross-disciplinarity not as coming together of already known, always in place, taken-for-granted knowledges but of cautiously-critically rethinking the premises and foundations of disciplinary formations as the disciplines, archives, and media of modernity at large? Second what are the terms of acknowledging the shaping of our own efforts by the long pasts, historical transformations, and the unsteady redrawing of disciplines – understood already as the archives and media of modernity – including since the end of the twentieth century? Finally, consider the following basic verity. On the one hand, the dichotomy between the primitive and the civilized that defined the beginnings of history, anthropology, and other human sciences as modern, institutionalized enquiries – that is, disciplines of modernity – has been left behind by salient strands of critical knowledge, including hopefully our own. On the other hand, in newer and older avatars, the antinomy and its implications, especially unraveled as hierarchies of otherness, continue to haunt, surreptitiously and otherwise, our worlds at large. How are we to think through premises and promises of contending developmental visions and a priori social structures that ever intimate the ruins we inhabit?

SOCIAL NETWORKS OF OVERSEAS FILIPINO TEACHERS IN HO CHI MINH CITY

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Abstract: By transferring significant amounts of money to their families, overseas Filipino workers, are regarded as the country's economic backbone. Given that English, alongside Tagalog, is one of the two official languages in the Philippines, Vietnam has been a favorite destination for Filipinos seeking employment as English teachers. The growing number of Filipino teachers in Vietnam calls for study of their experiences with the country, considering both their general circumstances and the barriers they face. This study aims to evaluate the social networks of overseas Filipino teachers in Ho Chi Minh City (Vietnam) through the use of online ethnography. A total of twenty participants were found using snowball sampling to ascertain social network patterns based on the Theory of Weak Ties. According to our research findings, Filipino teachers continued to grow their social networks while retaining strong ties and bonds in order to build their social capital. Nonetheless, the many strategies employed by Filipino teachers to maximize this social networking also results in maladaptation and fragmentation. These research findings contribute to ongoing discussion about the current issues confronting the overseas Filipino diaspora.

Keywords: online ethnography, overseas Filipino's teacher, Facebook, social network, social capitals, Vietnam.

Introduction

Overseas Filipino Workers (commonly referred to as OFWs) continue to send money home to their family despite sentiments of homesickness, cultural connection, and social involvement. Though being hailed as modern-day heroes in the Philippines for forming the economy's backbone, OFWs suffer social issues and dilemmas relating to deployment, on-site working conditions, and post-employment, all of which are becoming national concerns (Ofreneo and Samonte, 2005).

As part of educational efforts to increase English language proficiency and the new rules and guidelines of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations when it comes to the free movement of professionals from its member states, there is a significant demand for Filipino teachers in countries such as Thailand, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Vietnam is becoming a growing hotspot for job seekers from the Philippines as it continues to fulfill the ASEAN

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community's criteria in English language competency (Walkinshaw and Duong, 2012). The potential of these Filipino instructors to form social networks to build a community vital to migration, mobility, and media consumption must be considered while evaluating their working conditions. In this regard, examining the teaching circumstances for Filipino instructors and the problems and issues of working as a teacher in ASEAN countries such as Vietnam is essential. However, just a few research in the region and across Asia have focused on this topic (Ulla, 2018). Limited research has also been done on the social networks of overseas Filipino teachers in the ASEAN region. To address this knowledge gap, the paper seeks to gain insight into the size, composition (actors), ties, and interaction of Filipino teachers' social networks. Additionally, it discusses the media's influence on the formation and dynamics of social networks among Filipino teachers and assesses the extent to which social networks help Filipino teachers build social capital, hence influencing their migration patterns.

Theories

To study Filipino teachers' social networks in Ho Chi Minh City, the paper employed the following theories:

- **Theory of Weak Ties:** Granovetter (1973) defines weak ties as social relations requiring a minor support system, comprising primarily of acquaintances or other loosely connected actors. Lin (1999) updated Granovetter's Weak Ties theory by reinforcing Social Capital theory into Social Network theory.
- **Theory of Social Movements:** Durkheim argues that collective activity and social consciousness are mutually reinforcing (Traugott, 1984). For example, people together for a common cause can experience society as a collective force and re-energize their social attitudes. Culture is split into morally distinct individuals and subgroups. Examples of Durkheim's subcategories are workers' unions in various industries and manufacturers' unions (Serge, 2016).
- **Social Capital Theory:** Social capital, as defined by Bourdieu (1986) as the sum of resources, actual or potential, that corresponds to an individual through the possession of a lasting social network based on good relationships. The social capital theory is characterized by networks, stressing the norm-laden nature of relationships within and between groups or organizations. A common differentiation of types of social capital is either referred to as bonding, bridging, or linking form (Woolcock, 1998).

Methods

This qualitative study utilized ethnography as a research method. Qualitative network analysis involves collecting data on the (a) meaning which individual actors connect to their ties and the network in general, (b) data on structured policy networks not accessible through quantitative means, and (c) a member perspective on the relationship between informal and formal sets of networks (Ahrens, 2018). The authors used online ethnography to study social network variables (migration, mobility, and media). This sort of ethnography collects and analyzes data from online texts, interviews, discussion forums, interactive chat rooms, and virtual communities (Reeves et al., 2013).

To determine the pattern of social networks, data was collected for a total of 20 participants using snowball sampling (Rahm-Skageby, 2021) This study focused on overseas Filipino teachers in Ho Chi Minh City who belonged to the four Facebook groups:

- Filipino Teaching Job Filipino support group in Ho Chi Minh City
- Filipino support group in Ho Chi Minh City
- Support Group for Teaching in Vietnam
- Filipino Teachers and Coffee Enthusiasts

Results

The general status of Filipino teachers' social networks in Ho Chi Minh City

The study analyzed four Facebook groups where Filipino teachers in Ho Chi Minh City were involved. Due to the request of the participants to keep their names and the names of the group anonymous, the research provided other labels for the study.

Filipino Teaching Job Group

Established July 9, 2016, the group currently has about 12,633 members with a weekly average of 10-20 new members. Its main objective is to provide a platform for Filipino teachers and create discussions related to Filipino business and teaching job applications (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Sample posts and discussions of the Filipino Teaching Job group

Source: *Official Facebook group of Filipino Teachers in Vietnam*

Filipino support group in Ho Chi Minh City

Established in 2016, the group has 6,363 members, with an average of 8 new members per week as of July 2021. Its purpose is to provide a support group for Filipino teachers and any Filipino working in Ho Chi Minh City and nearby provinces (Figure 2).

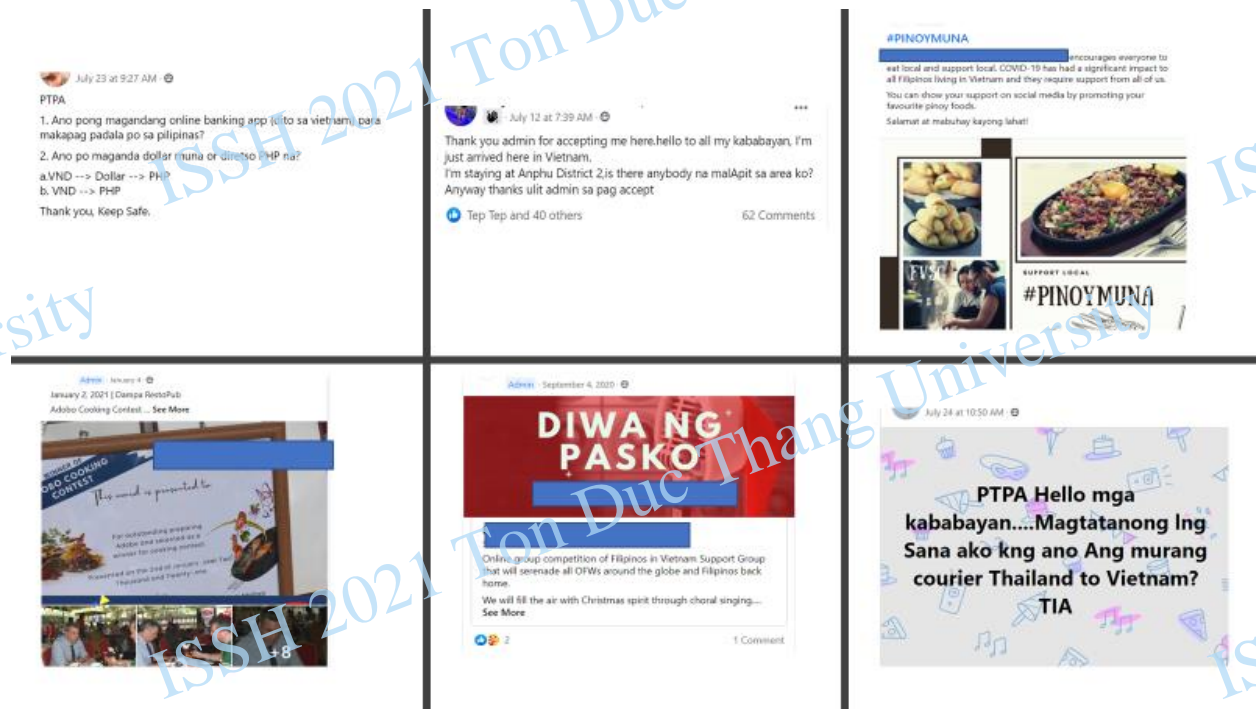


Figure 2. Sample posts and discussions of the Filipino Support Group in Ho Chi Minh City
 Source: Official Facebook group and page of Filipinos in Vietnam Support Group

Support Group for Teaching in Vietnam

Established last March 2020, the group is as a branch of a bigger group of Filipino workers in Vietnam. Its main objective is to be a social service group dedicated to supporting Filipino teachers and their families in Vietnam, particularly in Ho Chi Minh City, and to uphold Filipino teachers' heritage, tradition, ethics, and values (Figure 3).

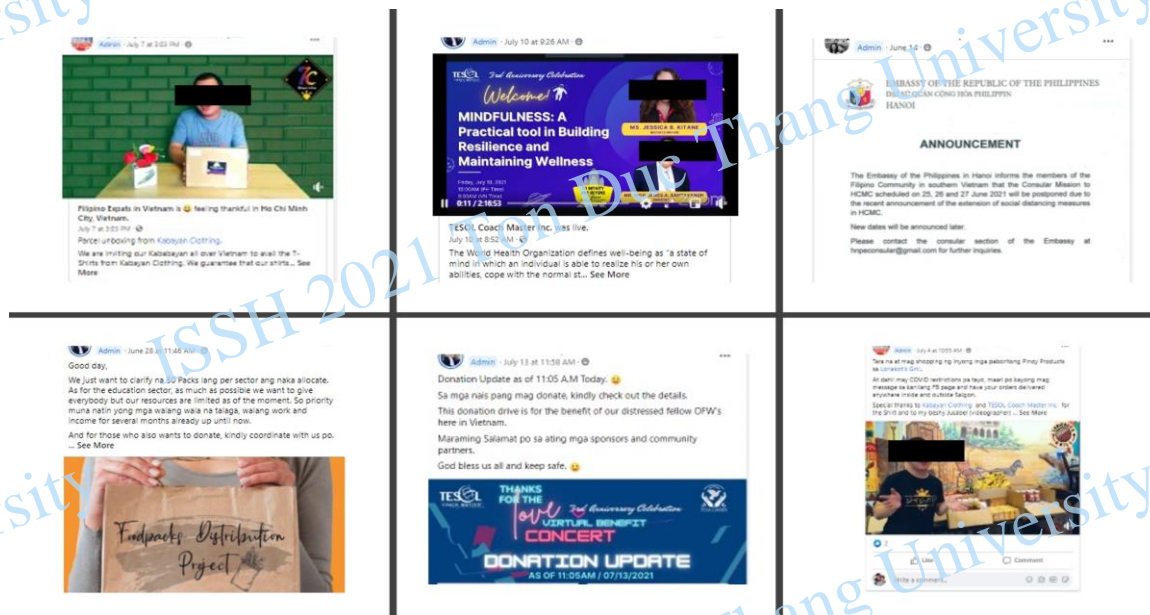


Figure 3. Sample posts and discussions of the group Support Group for Teaching in Ho Chi Minh City.

Source: *Official Facebook page of SAPI-Education in Vietnam*

Filipino Teachers and Coffee Enthusiasts

This is the most recent of the four groups, having been formed in August 2020. The group currently has 33 active members as of July 2021. The group recruits Filipino interested in coffee or putting up a coffee business. The group's primary objective is to connect Filipino coffee connoisseurs in Ho Chi Minh City (Figure 4).

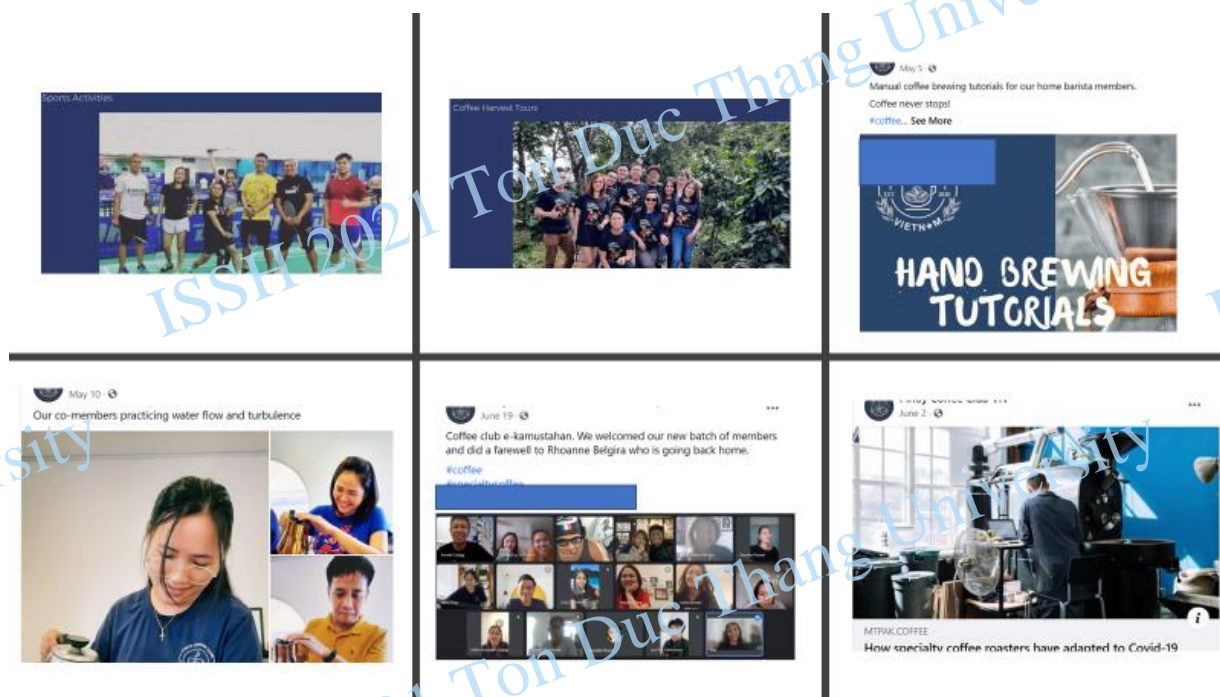


Figure 4. Sample posts and discussions of the Filipino Teachers and Coffee Enthusiasts group

Source: *Pinoy Coffee Club VN*

Table 1 presents the summary of the different Facebook groups in response to the various indicators of social networks.

Table 1. Social Network indicators of the 4 Filipino teachers' Facebook groups

Indicators	Facebook Groups			
	Filipino teaching job group	Filipino teachers' support group in Ho Chi Minh City	Support group for teaching in Vietnam	Filipino teachers and coffee enthusiasts' group
Time of establishment	July 09, 2016	2016	March 05, 2020	August 2020
Size	12, 633 members	6,363 members	1,280 members	33 members
Objectives	To provide a platform for sharing teaching experiences	To assist teachers when it terms to their work experience	To be a social service group supporting Filipino teachers and their families in Ho Chi Minh City.	To connect Filipino coffee enthusiasts in Ho Chi Minh City.
Content of posting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Advertisements of teaching vacancy - Members' interest in working in Vietnam. - Advertisements from Filipino businesses in Vietnam 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - News related to Vietnam and Philippines - Updates on Covid-19 pandemic (June and July 2021) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social events and online gatherings - Filipino products. - Sponsor advertisements - News and updates. - Professional training opportunities - Community service activities and programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - News related to coffee worldwide - Accomplishment reports - Upcoming activities - Local news updates - Reviews of cafes and coffee shops - Services provided to the Filipino community.
Events and daily activities.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Filipino businesses promotions and advertisements - Job opportunities in school and language centers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Social gatherings at least twice a year. - Events on Filipino culture. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Online TESOL and Teacher training programs - Food and business reviews - Annual Christmas party. - Concert for a cause and outreach programs. - Sports festival 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Café hopping - Coffee tasting sessions - Club assemblies - Coffee and barista training - Coffee Roaster Visits - Coffee Harvest tours - Café reviews - Coffee Education - Sports activities - Christmas and New Year parties

The research findings showed interesting insight into the characteristics of the network concerning size, actors, ties, functions and interaction. It could be observed that these networks were expanding. Filipino teaching job group and Filipino Support Group in Ho Chi Minh City were able to increase its number of participants since the establishment of the community. It was initially intended for a specific location (Ho Chi Minh City). Due to the complexity and movement of Filipino teachers over time, it expanded in a more extensive scope. In terms of actors, one of the biggest challenges among the administrators and moderators of Facebook pages was the proper screening of actors. They need to ensure that it is intended for their target community. Since the establishment of the groups, the actors were not only concentrated in Ho Chi Minh City, but it also reached the actors from the nearby provinces. For connection, only

one out of four groups were able to establish ties that were open to the public community. This means that people who were not part of the network can observe and see the group's daily activities. It was created in such a manner to allow its members to express themselves and welcome more networks freely. With these characteristics, the networks' functions were increasingly important. Since the embassy of the Philippines is only situated in Hanoi and the Philippine consular is located here in Ho Chi Minh City, many Filipino teachers are using Facebook groups as a network to gain important information and updates coming from the Philippine government as well as the Vietnamese government. For interaction, if one Filipino teacher wanted to join a specific group or membership, they need to be guided by the various rules and regulations, and at the same time, some restrictions need to be followed. Table 1 provides a summary of the different expectations for every member.

The influence of media on the establishment of social network among Filipino teachers.

Pacoma (2020) emphasized that Facebook was the most widely used social networking tool for Overseas Filipino Teachers. It is because it served as a platform for OFW's to share various forms of online media such as news articles, video conferencing and free messaging, videos, and other relevant links and websites. Following are there four main reasons why media influences the establishment of networks:

The media provide a platform for the development of ties that are not restricted by geography

The four groups started as a group intended for teachers in Vietnam, specifically in Ho Chi Minh City. With the continuously increasing number of actors and forming ties beyond the target geographical locations, they opened their groups to teachers and actors in the nearby provinces such as Binh Duong and Dong Nai.

Media enables more actors' participation in the face-to-face interaction

The two groups with the highest number of members, the Filipino Teaching Job group and Filipino Support Group in Ho Chi Minh City, were happy that their network was extended to many Filipino teachers working in Vietnam. Way back in 2013, the only mode of establishing networks among Filipinos is through religion. They often meet up together after the religious mass and gather outside near the church's main gate. The connection was so tight that they got to meet in person and share personal experiences, but due to the increasing demand for Filipino teachers to work even during weekends, such a culture of meeting up eventually faded.

Media outlets adapt to the increasing size of social networks

The Support group for teaching in Ho Chi Minh City was part of a larger group that catered to Filipino workers in the city. The group was founded in 2011, and has grown in size thanks to Facebook.

Media enables actors to establish networks for a variety of purposes

Members of the Filipino Teachers and Coffee Enthusiasts club were previous members of Ho Chi Minh City's Filipino Support Group. They were able to connect through media and build another connection to coffee. They remained active members of the other organization and took part in both activities and programs. The formation of the new group enabled them to build a distinct role and purpose based on their shared interest. The administrator of the Filipino Support Group for Teaching in Ho Chi Minh City was a former member of the Filipino Teaching Job group. The media did not ban performers from joining as many organizations as they choose, as each network served a distinct purpose.

Impacts of social networks on Filipino teachers' social capitals

The research highlighted how online social networks of Filipino teachers in Vietnam contributed to their social capital in terms of ties and resources.

Social Capital in terms of ties

- *Bonding social capital.* The Filipino Teachers and Coffee enthusiasts' group exemplified this social capital, creating a solid bond and cohesive network structure. They even had their organizational structure and a system of recruiting members. Support Group for Teaching in Ho Chi Minh City somehow manifested this form of social capital. They were able to gather and maintain a group based on commitment, support, and social solidarity.
- *Bridging social capital* flowed through the weak ties connecting network members to external factors. This type of social capital may be seen at the Filipino Teaching Job Group and Filipino Support Group in Ho Chi Minh City, which provided an open place for prospective members. Additionally, they had a broad membership, which included Filipino professionals based in Vietnam and Filipino teachers from other countries.

Social Capital based on resources.

- *Cognitive Dimension.* The Facebook groups in this study have one thing in common: their primary objective is to establish a Filipino support system. One of the primary reasons they did so is that there is still no recognized Filipino nongovernmental organization in Vietnam. These Facebook groups provide as a support network for Filipinos by providing immediate assistance to individuals in need.
- *Relational Dimension.* The four groups' objectives include linking Filipino teachers in order to share resources and interact via Facebook in order to enhance effective communication. Additionally, they give its members a sense of social control over decision-making by reacting to their concerns about teaching in Vietnam. They work collaboratively to disseminate behavior patterns by highlighting Filipino identity and culture.

Influence of social networks on teacher mobility

Contemporary sociologists like Urry (2007), Adey (2014), and Kaufmann (2014) see mobility as a convergence of physical movement of people, mobile connectivity, and technological elements which enroll people, space, and the features connecting people and areas into socio-technical assemblages. Using Facebook groups for communication allows users to connect with others and share resources (i.e., social support). They also let individuals from different social action groups communicate, creating a larger network of diverse linkages through which innovative resources can flow and mobilize horizontally and vertically. However, using social media like Facebook can have following detrimental effects:

- *Maladaptation:* The four groups emphasized the importance of establishing rules and guidelines for selecting members for their communities or social networks. The purpose of this is to ensure that social networks may be tightened.
- *Fragmentation brought by political parties:* Politics was a topic that most organizers wanted to avoid because Filipinos were deeply divided on the subject.
- *Social class:* A person's social class can be defined as the profession or job to which they belong. Many Filipinos in Vietnam, according to one of the group's

respondents or moderators, are looking for a group to help their fellow members of the middle- and lower-class communities.

- *Implementation of rules*: Before the year 2018, many Filipinos in the Filipino Teaching Job group wanted to leave the group because they were not being taken care of. Most importantly, people didn't understand the point of forming such organizations because the content was full of disparaging remarks and contradictions, and the administrators' response rate was low.

Discussion

The internet and social media play an important role towards the emergence of social connections among Filipinos working abroad, similar to the findings of Ignacio (2004). Since the introduction of new ways of communication, Filipinos working abroad are able to strengthen social ties and bonds to create a reinforced social network. The distribution into different geographic locations do not hinder them from establishing connections, creating shared functions, and influencing their living conditions (Steinfeld, 2013).

The study also supports the claim of Caguio & Lomboy (2014), where Facebook has dominated the creation of networks among overseas Filipino workers. With the emergence of other social networking sites, Filipinos in Vietnam still favor Facebook due to its inclusivity and accessibility. As a result, this study agrees with the proposition of the Social Capital theory that online communication and social networking engagement will impact one's social capital.

Although Granovetter (1973) failed to highlight the role of media in the formation and evolution of information dissemination, the research supports the assumption of Weak Ties theory, where people tend to look for job opportunities through their weak ties. The Facebook groups provide job advertisements and employment opportunities posted by members who do not know. Some have not even seen each other in person, yet they are able to establish the interaction. Thus, Filipino social networks in Ho Chi Minh City exemplify what San Juan (2009) referred to as the emerging diaspora's 'collective resistance and self-reflection'. These forms of social capitals would contribute to resolving typical OFWs mental health concerns that Garabiles et al. (2019) noted, such as loneliness, stress, anxiety, and depression.

Conclusion

The ethnographic study of four Filipino teachers Facebook groups in Ho Chi Minh City reveals a general state of rapidly increasing social networks. Each Facebook group or social network has seen an increase in the number of members or actors throughout the years. Simultaneously, other members are developing their own social networks in response to unique demands. Media is employed as a means of communication and a venue for dialogue. Social media facilitates dynamics and social networks among Filipino teachers in Vietnam, as it is the most convenient method of communicating and connecting. Additionally, the study illustrates how Filipino teachers use social media platforms to increase their social networks while maintaining strong links and bonds. Thus, it facilitates access to social capital by equipping people with connections with the resources necessary to maximize their social capital.

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AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE NON-ARCHIVED: USING MEDIA ETHNOGRAPHY FOR TRANSIENT MEDIA FORMS IN BENGAL

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Abstract: Lack of archival materials and objects appears as a primary challenge to follow the framework of media archaeology while conducting research in history of media and communications in India. This paper will try to look at video halls and video tapes as the transient media spaces and objects. In case of West Bengal, video tapes and video halls are important part of media history about which little has been written or researched. While researching on these transient media forms, media ethnography becomes the primary method. This paper will try to look into the process of writing media history of scarcely archived media forms following the method of media archaeology and question how media ethnography becomes the most important process in cases of absence of archival materials. This paper will also try to enquire how media ethnography unfolds a different narrative of media history which is otherwise absent in the material archives or institutional records. As a result, the history of the intermedia transactions shaped through media ethnography presents different histories of other media like film and television also.

Keywords: Archive, Bengali cinema, Ethnography, Film History, Media archaeology.

The formation of the category of 'Bengali' cinema is rooted in the arrival of sync sound in Indian cinema, following which the questions of nation and language became important factors of the category (Mukherjee and Bakshi 2017). Before the arrival of sync sound, the films produced from Bengal, or Calcutta, carried intertitles of multiple languages including Hindi, Urdu and English. In the 1930s, with the formation of studios, Bengali cinema started to consciously project itself as the cinema with a sense of 'Bengali-ness' which included involvements of important cultural figures of Bengal. This can be traced through the Indian Cinematograph Committee Report (1927-1928) or articles, essays, pamphlets and advertisements published in newspapers and magazines of that period (Gooptu 2010). The notion of a cinematic form which is culturally superior and elite got attached with the idea of Bengali cinema as a result of the *bhadralok* sensibility. Debates around this started from the 1930s and continued even till the 1960s in the Film Society publications (Dass 2015). The question of regionality or problematising the institutionalisation of the category of 'Bengali' cinema came later with the shift in mode of writing history of Bengali cinema. The periodisation of Bengali cinema was primarily based on auteur-based history where auteurs like Satyajit Ray, Ritwik Ghatak, or Mrinal Sen were only considered to be the primary objects of study (Chatterjee 2010). In the post-independence scenario of Bengali language films, discourses around realism and melodrama became important with the advent of the 'socials' (Biswas 2017). From the 1950s, 'new hybrid' melodramas marked by the star formation of Uttam Kumar, along with comedies started to occupy the central position in Bengali cinema. Post 1970s, following the change of the political and cultural situation in Bengal, there was a

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shift in form which was informed by the New Indian Cinema movement. In the 1980s and 1990s, again, different forms emerged within the domain of Bengali cinema, both in case of the popular and what we may call the alternative.

It may be noted that the debates or scholarly explorations around the category of Bengali cinema majorly focus on the questions of formal components or revolves around the domain of the auteur and the film texts. The questions of production, distribution, exhibition and consumption of Bengali cinema has gained attention of the film scholars with the emergence of Indian Film Studies. But the major scholarly works or researches on Bengali cinema are primarily concerned about the cinema of the celluloid era. Madhuja Mukherjee writes, 'there has been some consistent research on popular Bengali cinema of the 1950s and the 1960s, and on the exceptional star duo of the period, namely Uttam Kumar and Suchitra Sen, as well as on 1970s new cinemas, the emergent popular cinema of 1980s and the 1990s has remained grossly under-researched' (Mukherjee and Bakshi 2020, p. 113-121). Though there has been a shift from research on auteurs, authors, or movements to scholarly works on stars, film cultures or industrial history of Bengali cinema, there has been little explorations on the shift of the Bengali film industry in the post liberalisation era. The advent of colour in film, the gradual popularisation of new media like television and the VCR, along with the decline of cinema halls brought an important shift in Bengali cinema. Analyses of this shift, although scarce, are mainly concerned with the presupposed idea of change in viewership of popular Bengali cinema, which affected the thematic and aesthetic components of Bengali films of 1980s and 1990s. The questions of public sphere, distribution, corporatisation and formal elements of the Bengali cinema of these two decades have been emphasised upon (Nag, 2012).

The historiography of Bengali cinema, although recently, recognises the questions of exhibition and consumption as important elements of enquiry. The historical narratives of Bengali cinema that emerge from traditional archival research or text based analysis have not emphasised much of these questions. These questions, however, become central when one looks at the shift in Bengali cinema after the popularisation of new media. Therefore, the existing historical narratives can also be problematised with newer sets of enquiries, where political economy, transient media spaces and objects, exhibition and consumption networks or media history becomes important. For a new history of Bengali cinema, it needs to be revisited where the history of cinema will not be read in isolation. According to Thomas Elsaesser's idea of film history as media archaeology, cinema's past as well as future is firmly embedded in other media practices, other technologies, social uses and its interaction with all manner of entertainment forms, and is more important than cinema's uniqueness as an art form or its specificity as a medium (Elsaesser 2016). Historically, it can be traced that India's early cinema halls were located in places which had specific spatial qualities, such as, near city markets or railway stations, which clearly suggests that the positioning of the space of cinema had major impact on the city. Along with that, the specificity of the space was important in terms of how and who accessed it. As Adrian Athique writes, 'Operating in material and spatial conditions where scarcity and inequality are pervasive, the Indian cinema hall has always been an inherently political terrain ... The contemporary period is no exception. Whilst the recent growth of malls and multiplexes provides access to valuable public space for middle class citizens, such developments, inevitably entail the redistribution of public space at the expense of other groups' (Athique 2011, p. 158). Therefore, the differences in ownership, location, operating procedure between the exhibition space of cinema becomes important. With the advent of new media in Bengal, differences between exhibition infrastructures give rise to new questions and suggest shifts in cinematic culture. As a result, the enquiry about the space of exhibition and distribution, in case of Bengali cinema, may unfold a new history and connections or conflicts which were constituted around these spaces. If we consider the case

of multiplex in the 2000s, for example, it can be observed that the space of exhibition of cinema or new media made important intervention in the public history of Indian cinema. It is imperative that the question of exhibition space can be considered as an important element of Bengali film history. In the researches or the historical narratives of Bengali cinema, cinema halls are regarded as the space of exhibition; however, post 1980s, with the advent of new media like television, VHS and VCRs, the cinema hall no longer remained the only space of exhibition. Even there was a decline of cinema halls due to gradual abandonment after the advent of televisions and VCRs (Bhattacharya 2017). Despite lack of proper archival material, using very little recorded evidence that is available and using media ethnography, it becomes evident that video halls emerged as an important exhibition space in the 1980s and the 1990s Bengal. Questioning the emergence of video halls as a new exhibition space, with VHS, VCR and television as the new technology used in it, a new historiography of Bengali cinema can be traced.

THE CASE OF THE VIDEO HALLS

In the 'Part III' of the Indian Cinematograph Act, 1952 published on 21st March 1952, it has been clearly mentioned under the heading 'Cinematograph exhibitions to be licensed' that 'no person shall give an exhibition by means of a Cinematograph elsewhere than in a place licensed under this part or otherwise than in compliance with any conditions and restrictions imposed by such license' (Indian Cinematograph Act 1952). Also, in the section 7a of the same, it has been mentioned that a film in respect of which a certificate has been granted under the said act is exhibited, or a film certified as suitable for public exhibition, restricted to adults to any person who is not an adult, or a film exhibited in contravention of any of the other provision contained in the act or of any order made by the Central Government (the Tribunal) or the Board in the exercise of any of the power conferred on it, any police officer may enter any place in which he has reason to believe that the film has been or is being or is likely to be exhibited, search it and seize the film (Indian Cinematograph Act 1952). From this first version of the act, it is clear that Cinematograph was being considered as the primary exhibition technology and the government was trying to bring it under the purview of its judiciary. Even the government decided to take punishable measures in case of violation of the prescribed exhibition format. There had been numerous amendments after the first version of 1952. But the Amendment Act 56 of 1984 of the Cinematograph Act 1952 deserves special mention in this case. In third point, the Amendment distinctly mentions:

'Because of the video boom in the country, there are reports that uncertified video films are being exhibited on a large scale. A large number of video parlours have sprung up all over the country and they exhibit films recorded on video tapes and otherwise by charging admission fee from the clients. Among other things, this has also hit the Indian film industry very adversely. It is felt that there should be more stringent punishment provided in the Cinematograph Act 1952 to curb this practice of exhibiting uncertified Indian/foreign/regional films by video parlours, etc.' (Cinematograph (Certification) (Amendment) Rules 1984)

From this amendment, it is evident that by the 1980s, video tapes and video parlours or video halls had become a prominent exhibition format of cinema across India. It will not be an exaggerated assumption to say that by 1984 the video parlours had affected the traditional exhibition circuit heavily and the state and the judiciary had to intervene. Even the Tribunal clearly demanded stringent punishment procedures, but the unregulated, loosely-structured new media exhibition circuit was beyond the purview of judicial enquiry. The video parlours, by 1984, were not only affecting the national cinema market, but the regional and foreign film

exhibition circuits as well.

Just like most parts of India, video halls became one of the important sites of exhibition of films in West Bengal too. But what needs to be mentioned here is that unlike many other states, Bengal had a long history of film production and studio circuit and also a distinct history of cinema of its own. The case of *Chitranjan Koley vs State of West Bengal and Ors.* of 10th August 1989 in Calcutta High Court addresses number of writ petitions under Article 226 of the Constitution of India filed by several petitioners challenging the West Bengal Luxury cum Entertainment and Amusement Tax (2nd Amendment) Act. The petitioners were praying for a declaration that makes Section 4A of the West Bengal Entertainment - cum - Amusement Tax Act, 1982 as incorporated by West Bengal Taxation Law (Second Amendment) Act, 1987 and West Bengal Cinematograph (Regulation of Special Exhibition) Order 1987 and all notifications and circulars issued thereunder to be unconstitutional and void and to restrain the State respondents to initiate cases and seize video sets where public shows were being held without permission and without payment of stipulated tax and not to disturb and/or interfere with the respective business of the petitioners and the public shows of the video at the coffee centres and restaurants in any manner and in any form whatsoever. Even, it has been in the judgement that the judgement intended to cover all those writ petition as 'video cases'. It is worth mentioning that in 1985, the West Bengal Luxury and Entertainment cum Amusement Act, in its section 4, mentions:

'Subject to the provisions contained elsewhere in this Act, there shall be levied and collected on and from a holder of a video cassette recorder set or sets or a holder of a video cassette player set or sets a Luxury-cum-Entertainment and Amusement Tax, in addition to such tax referred to in Section 4, where such holder makes any performance or exhibition of films through such set in a shop, hotel, restaurant or business place'

The judgement also refers to the West Bengal Cinematograph (Regulation of Special Exhibition) order, 1987, which was issued to regulate the exhibitors in West Bengal and order also mentioned that a person needed to obtain a license in some Form 2 for special exhibitions of video films. The judgement also refers to an old judgement in the case of *Salil Kumar Chatterjee and Ors. v. District Magistrate, Birbhum and Ors. Suhas, Chandra Sen J.* Where it had been declared that video shows organised by the people came within the ambit of the West Bengal Cinema (Regulation of Act 1954), and states that it would be unreasonable to the petitioners to acquire licences under the said Act unless there is suitable amendments in the Rules and also the conditions of licence. The judgement further goes on to talk about the Midnapore Video Owners' Association. The judgement of the case clearly indicates the prominence of VCR and television as an exhibition medium for films. The number of writ petitions gives us an idea about the popularity of video halls in West Bengal at that time. The formation of Video Owners' Association or the amendments in the state acts clearly suggests that there had been initiative on the part of the state to institutionalise this new exhibition format. But the case distinctly shows that it was not possible to address this new phenomenon as the Cinematograph exhibition mode could be structured. It is also worth mentioning that the West Bengal Entertainment cum Amusement Tax Act issued licenses for running video halls and levied tax for television sets, VCR, VCPs and this was introduced in 1982, at the rate of Rs 50 for black and white TV, Rs 100 for colour TV, and Rs 200 for VCR/VCP per year. The new media and exhibition format affected the film production-distribution circuit of Bengal to a large extent. The phenomenon of video halls continued even post 2000s, after the advent of multiplexes in Bengal when another format of distribution like cable television had also

emerged. A report published on September 1, 2003 mentions the formation of high-level committee in Siliguri subdivision of Bengal to tackle video piracy which comprised high ranked police officials, administrative officers and representatives from Eastern India Motion Pictures Association, Cable TV Operators' Association and Video Hall Owners' Association. 'The move has been taken to ensure that cinema halls, cable television and video halls survive without any conflict of interests' (The Telegraph 2003). These fragmented sources of recorded evidences of video halls as a popular exhibition format points to newer questions about the historiography of Bengali cinema. But in order to address these new points as research enquiries, one also needs to take cognisance of the aspect of archival materials and objects associated with these transient media technologies. Due to the unstructured non-institutionalised format and its unorganised natures make it difficult for a researcher to trace a clear trajectory. In such case, the pattern of consumption needs to be enquired, where media ethnography can be used as a method. Public memory and personal anecdotes, in this case, can be treated as archive.

ARCHIVING THE NON-ARCHIVED

If we look at how the idea of the archive has been locked at historically, we may begin by invoking what Jacques Derrida has written in *Archive Fever*: 'The unstable future according to the open archive "produces more archive, and that is why the archive is never closed. It opens out of the future"' (Derrida 1996, p. 68). *Archive Fever* although promises to be a statement on the pervasive impact of media that hints at a total transformation of the entire public and private space of humanity, for most part, it speaks about the connection between archives and the structure of human memory. The books starts with an etymological study of the concept of the archive where the author traces the concept to the Greek word *arkhe*, which can mean both commencement and commandment. This, to Derrida, is important because it relates archive historically to government, power and law. Derrida continues to draw the connection by elaborating on the Greek work *arkheion* that refers to the home of the archive that was 'initially a house, a domicile, an address, the superior magistrates, the archons, those who commanded'. The relationship between the archive and the power that governed it is furthermore explained in the following:

The citizens who ... held and signified political power were considered to possess the right to make or represent the law. On account of their publicly recognised authority, it is at their home, in that place which is their house ... that official documents are filed ... It is thus, in this domiciliation, in this house arrest, that archives take place (Derrida 1996, p. 2)

The archive, basically, was a private or a privately guarded space with public access. Michel Foucault too, in the book *Archaeology of Knowledge* writes: 'The archive is first the law of what can be said, the system which governs the appearance of statements as unique events'. (Foucault, 2010, p. 129).

Archives as known to be sites of studies for scholars pursuing history or other empirical researches. But in more recent times, with the rise in contextual studies, more diverse set of scholarly enquiry also take recourse of the archive. Disciplines like literature, art or in this case film studies and other disciplines of humanities take help of the archive to seek answers to historical questions relating to cultural formations and so on. These questions being historical in nature, also revolve around ideas of historical memory and historical memory is larger and more comprehensive than conventional notions of history. The concept of memory aims to

encapsulate notions of specific pasts while moving beyond individuals, institutions or documents. In such a context, the institutional archive become, as Derrida has written, an *archon* of documents, that may by their 'domiciliation' have become far removed from the exact memory that they document.

Thomas Elsaesser in his book *Film History as Media Archaeology*, while proposing a method of media archaeology also touches on the concept of *arkhe* and questions the position of cinematic archive. Elsaesser proposes media archaeology as something of a hybrid, a part of which is borrowed from Foucault's 'political-polemical' and a part of it constitutes the literal archaeological studies which looks into past human activity through its material culture, physical remains and symbolic artefacts. While talking about media archaeology and the digital turn, Elsaesser highlights the fact that with respect to digital media, the previous notions of history are not adequate and that something like archaeology seemed important. It was necessary to adopt an archaeological method because it deals with the spatialised concept of time and transformation and the idea of media archaeology presupposes a discontinuous, heterogeneous and inter-connected emergence for digital media. Opposing the evolutionary models, it posits non-linearity and set the notions of networks and nodes against vertical causality and linear chronology. Elsaesser also mentions four dominant approaches within the field of media archaeology which consists in seeking the old in the new, the new in the old, recurring topoi and ruptures and discontinuities. He also mentions that the period between 1970 to 2000 is marked by rapid media changes which includes volatility, unpredictability and even contradictory nature of the dynamics between the practical implications of the new technologies and their perception by the popular imagination. He proposes that this shifting configuration poses methodological challenges and require new specific case studies and also suggests a new way of approaching the archive. Referring to Foucault, Benjamin and Derrida, he mentions that the archaeology and the archive are very closely aligned and interrogates the archive as a location of power. He proposes to consider memory as an authentic archive of history. This may help to write a history of Bengali popular cinema of 1980s and 1990s where a researcher is bound to take recourse of testimonials for the lack of documented pieces of evidence in traditional archives.

Elsaesser mentions Henry Jenkin's idea of media archaeology where transmedia studies and participatory culture is reframed – which is neither focused on technology nor determined by specific narrative formats. Elsaesser proposes a media archaeology of participatory culture by bringing in the question of audience engagement and subject positions. This also provides a methodological framework for researches which try to problematise the linear idea of the existing historical native. To quote Elsaesser:

Media archaeology is either a liberating force or a method that produces new knowledge and must be weighed against the possibility that it is itself no more than the ideology of the present: reflecting but also disguising the material conditions of our digital culture and its technical-technological infrastructure (Elsaesser 2016 p. 65).

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SLOW CINEMA AS TRAVEL: TSAI MING-LIANG AND THE WALKING MONK

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Introduction

Tsai Ming-liang, one of the most important *auteurs* of the New Cinema of Taiwan, is famous in contemporary world cinema for his unique film style and treatment of urban subjects. He develops a special kind of slow cinema which unfolds time in extremely sluggish cadence. Tsai Ming-liang is a powerful creator of slow cinema whose recent works known as Walker series raised interest among cinephiles and critics.

The contemporary world which we find in his films is full of glossy commodities, shopping malls, theme parks, busy streets, high-velocity traffics, sky-scrapers, neon-lit city-roads, mindless violence and extreme urban poverty. But the subjects of his films, mostly living like incommunicable lonely planets, are portrayed like animals living in an extremely cornered physical existence. The tremendous condition of living sometimes pushes them almost to a state of zombie. Their approach towards life is extremely passive. Their actions are terribly slow. Their movements are so sluggish that it looks like a tired state of existence where the only objective of life left to them is just to drag on the tiring business of daily life in some way (Raidel 2017).

His films *The River* (1997), *The Hole* (1998), *Vive L'amour* (1994), *Wayward Clouds* (2005), *Rebels of the Neon God* (1992) and *I Don't Want to Sleep Alone* (2006) are some best examples of widely acclaimed slow cinema. There are number of long sequences in these films which present his idea of time. We may refer to the final sequence of his recent film *Stray Dogs* (2013) where the passage of time so masterfully superseded action and movement that time appears as an autonomous entity in the image (Lim 2014). Theoreticians explain this kind of slow passage of time as 'glacial time' which is an 'alternative temporal framework in play in late modernity' (Keightley 2012). The glacial time is extremely slow-moving and ponderous, desynchronized from both clock and instantaneous time', critics say (Rosa and Scheuerman 2009). Conceptually, glacial time is closer to slow natural phenomena like growing of a plant or movement of a glacier. In most of the Tsai Ming-liang's films the movement of time takes a form of 'glacial time'. The time itself in his films appears as a critique of the celebration of *presentness* in the era of neo-liberal capital.

Some of his films finely juxtapose past/history and everyday modernity. In his films historical references are subtly interwoven with the emptiness and void of living in the late capitalist urban modernity of today. *Goodbye Dragon Inn* (2003) and *What Time is It There?* are good examples where his film delicately establishes the connection between these two temporal registers. Walker series films, his recent works, are another set of examples of establishing a metonymic connection between the history and the contemporary.

Tsai Ming-liang made six films in the year 2012, 2013 and 2014 which have been famously known in world cinema as 'walker series'. The series consists of four short films *Walker* (2012), *No Form* (2012), *Sleepwalk* (2012), *Diamond Sutra* (2012) and two feature length films, namely, *Walking on Water* (2013) and *Journey to the West* (2014). In these six films made by

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Tsai Ming-liang, we see a Buddhist monk travelling through chaotic city streets and other busy urban places in an extremely slow pace. The monk, acted out by Tsai Ming-liang's most favorite actor Lee Kang-sheng, moves with exceptionally sloth pace as if he is contemplating while walking. Tsai Ming-liang in his own style of 'slow cinema' depicts this long (duration) journey of the monk. The first film of the series was shot in Hong Kong, the next in Taipei, one film was shot in his home town in Malaysia and the next one in Marseille of France. And the latest film he has shot in Japan. The slow-walking monk Lee Kang-sheng, who is shot walking in different modern cities, is a kind of globe-trotter who travels through time.

Historical Inspiration

Tsai Ming-liang is inspired to conceive the idea of 'walker series' from the story of the life of famous seventh century Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang (Hsung Tsang) who tripped from China to India through land-route. Xuanzang travelled across different parts of India for seventeen years in search of knowledge. This great Buddhist scholar and traveler took some original copies of philosophical books of Buddhism from India to China.

He wrote his testimony of travelling different parts of the Indian subcontinent. The book, a travelogue on India and other Asian countries by Hsuan-tsang (or Chin shi), ca.596-664 is known as *Si-yu-ki*. This great book was translated as *Buddhist records of the Western world* by the sinologist Samuel Beal in the nineteenth century. Xuanzang's book has been used both by Indian, Chinese and Western historians of modern time as a dependable source of description of the then Indian life (Li 2014).

Tsai Ming-liang was highly impressed by Xuanzang's long journey in pursuit of knowledge. In fact, the determination of the Chinese Buddhist monk was exemplary, he acknowledges. To Tsai, the journey of the monk is more like a long session of meditation. The walker series films, following Xuanzang's example, reflects a sense of determination and meditation as opposed to the highly fugitive and contingent nature of late capitalist modernity. In these films a sense of the forgotten past stands against the jet-paced contemporary. Tsai Ming-liang himself says,

One Xuanzang is living in the monk, inside Lee Kang-sheng. Imagine, more than a thousand years ago, Xuanzang took the pain to come to India. All the way through walking. And he doesn't know what he would get. So, that kind of explorer spirit is lost now. In today's world, because everything is so fast, Xuanzang walks slowly (Tsai Ming-liang 2014).

Film Form

The pleasure of centering as opposed to the peripheral, which is a false consciousness in the realm of visual aesthetics, is destroyed completely as for most of the occasions the monk, the subject of attraction, in a dark red dress, is located at the periphery of the frame. And the monk usually enters and exits the frame in horizontal axis. This strategy of spatial construction contributes to the feeling of the duration/ time, because in conventional angular movements from the depth towards the centre the time is subsumed in the visually pleasing closed action.

But not in all shots the monk moves from the periphery of the frame; there are some shots where the subject moves from the depth to the centre. The monk moves up from the depth of the field but the subject is not fastened up by the interlocking gaze inside the text; rather we see that people are seeing the monk curiously but the monk in the contrary is not reciprocating their look. He direction of look remains fixed at his own slow-moving feet. This is another strategy employed by the director for negating the conventional cinema. The look / counter-look and the structure of point-of-view shots which secularize, rationalize and thus

aesthetically canonize the space-time bonding in conventional cinema is denied in Tsai's Walker series films. He uncouples time from the hegemony of space/ action and aims to create a scope for the autonomy of cinematic time.

Nevertheless, it is highly interesting to note that a strange rapport between the monk and the camera is established though no subjective shot of the monk is incorporated in the films. Perhaps it is one of the rarest instances in world cinema. As there is no subjective shot of the monk the 'passage of time' is not felt from the p.o.v., of the monk i.e., the passage of time is not appropriated in the character's gaze. The qualitative judgment of time is however felt by the meditating slow-travelling monk and he shifts the value of time from the level of mere cognition to a realm of interiority and contemplation. The audiences' gaze, that expects action from the characters present in the cinematic screen, encounters nothing except the body of the monk and his sloth movement however slow it is. The slow movement depicted during a long time as visualized through long takes of uninterrupted shots appears as a cinematic metonymy of traveling long path for a long period.

In fact, these experiments with images should not be really considered as 'film', so long we look at them through conventional definition of cinema. *Walker: No Form*, the first film of the series is made for an internet television channel. Tsai Ming-liang who declared his retirement from cinema in 2013 says that a 'walker series' film is more like a part of a complicated installation art project. They tend more towards post-cinema. Renowned theoretician of new media Lev Manovich notes in his essay on 'digital cinema' that the post-cinema, which is a new form of cinema in the digital era, often represents a return to the nineteenth century pre-cinematic practices (Manovich 1995). Manovich argues it for a different context but his statement may help us to explicate some trends developed in Tsai Ming-liang's new films.

The slow movement of the human figure, the principal subject of attention, in the walker series films provokes some kind of media archaeological interest (Elsaesser 2016). Tsai Ming-liang himself emphasizes on the beauty of slowness of moving body (of the monk) in his walker series films; it's more like the pre-cinematic experimentation of English photographer Eadweard Muybridge who devised photographic instruments to study the movement and anatomy of a running horse. Tsai's rebellion against action-dominated cinema and against the late capitalist world order proposes a counter-thesis of conventional visual practices by going back to the suffix *pre* in the age of *post*.

The Traveler

Wandering and mendicancy are very important practices in early Buddhism. Buddhist monks walk from one place to another. This travel is an important part of Buddhist scholastic living. Buddhist monastic schools are known in both *prakrit* and *Pali* as *mahavihara*. 'Maha' means big or great and 'vihara' means travel or *bhramana* or *parivrajya*. There exists a clear etymological connection between the intellectual journey and the physical journey from one place to another. Acquiring knowledge in Buddhism is closely associated with wandering or *parivrajan* or travel. According to Buddha, *dukkha* (sorrow/sufferings) occupies the center-stage of the world. The main reason of *dukkha* is desire (Peacock 2008). The ego and the material want of mundane life are the primary source of desire. 'The aim of Buddhist practice is to be rid of the delusion of ego and thus free oneself from the fetters of this mundane world' (Kuiper 2011: 166). This is the only path to be followed to get rid of desire, the reason of sorrow. The walking meditation is a method of neutralizing one's ego and disconnecting it from the stream of mundane life around. The scholar of Buddhist philosophy Charles Goodman explains,

The most powerful forms of walking meditation usually involve dramatically slowing down the pace of walking. One effective method is to synchronize your steps with your breathing. Take one step on the in-breath and one step on the out-breath. Do not force your breathing to keep pace with your walking; instead, adjust the speed of walking to the natural flow of the breath (Goodman 2013).

The aim of the director is to present two different concepts of time which are coexisting in these films. The walking meditation of the monk is a reference and a tribute to Xuanzang's determination who travelled a long path. Not in the form of spatiality but in the temporal frame Tsai Ming-liang has translated Xuanzang's long historic journey into images. The slowness of movement of the walking monk in these films, therefore, is producing a contrast with the dexterity of the boisterous glossy modernity.

The walking monk is a traveler, or to be more precise he is engaged in a metonymic travel. He invents a method of traveling that has been inspired by history and by Buddhist tradition of walking meditation. He is an insulated self who is fully immersed in a chaotic urban environment yet he is rejecting the entropy of urban life. He is a critic of tourism as he places *himself* against the logic of consumption of landscape, glamour and exotic of 'new' locations which he encounters during his movement. His slow travel and the mode of industrious walking resist the tourist gaze of viewers of the film. There is no pleasure of watching an ordinary monk moving with a deadly sloth pace. These images oppose the indolence of watching and consuming the pleasure usually radiated by cinematic images. On the reverse, seeing the travel of slow-moving monk invites the viewer to invest a 'labour' of watching.

The films promote an interaction between the labour invested through performance of slow walking and the labour invested through slow watching. The fetishistic reception of an image-as-commodity, produced out of the labour of performing, taking place through the pleasure of consumption of image-product where the 'labour' becomes invisible at the end, has been resisted by Walker series films. In Tsai's works these two ends of investing labour (of performing and of watching) meet. The conventionality of spectator-image relationship where labour/action is invested in the image that instigates the pleasure/ inaction of spectating is in general challenged by most of the slow cinema films. They usually tend to follow a philosophy of reversing and destabilizing the spectator-image relationship (Schoonover, 2012). Tsai Ming-liang follows a slightly different path. His films expect rendering labour in both ends of the spectator-image dyad.

The walker series films are assumed by the director to be placed at art gallery and at the site of installation arts, Tsai himself told this in several interviews. His desire to leave the conventional site of film exhibition must be emphasized. The conventional film exhibition sites are made to provide the spectator with the fetishistic pleasure which she draws from (watching) the image-product.

Walter Benjamin argued that the final destination of goods and articles produced in the high capitalist milieu is arcades; losing their material nature (of the process of formation) they are destined to acquire a phantasmagoric form and finally displayed in the arcades as commodity (Benjamin 1979). Today's world cinema is uprooted from its usual habitat. Single-screen theatres are rarely surviving in our neo-liberal metropolis. Cinema is displaced from single-screen theatres to the multiplexes and shopping-malls which are nothing but the extensions of arcades. It has lost the history of its own; it has acquired the final phantasmagoric form as cinema has been already integrated in the arcades with other commodities.

In Tsai's previous cinematic works, we find the critical engagement with conventional exhibition site which the earlier paragraph has mentioned. *Goodbye Dragon Inn* (2003) tells

the story of the late-night slot of the dying day of a single-screen cinema house. People are watching King Hu's legendary martial art film *Dragon Inn* (1967) as a nostalgia trip. They are having a cinematic tourism to pre-modern Chinese landscape and society. They are enjoying a visual feeling of exotic China – fantastic martial arts performance, movement through deserted landscapes, traditional Chinese cuisine served in a village inn, the costumes and customs of old China. It has been a fascinating cinematic tour. They have everything displayed before their eyes that an average tourist craves for – new landscape, exotic cuisine, old costume, traditional artifacts, physical action endowed with magical power, the rustic and the royal, and of course the comfort of the auditorium which offers the ideal space for becoming. Parallel with this, the camera shows a couple of employees of the auditorium preparing for shutting down. The camera majorly follows the movement of a woman-worker who has a slight difficulty in walking. Leaving the screen and the viewers, the film finally concentrates on the slow but laborious walking of her as she finishes her work moving in different corners of the premises.

It's already mid-night; raining torrentially outside, the streets are deserted. There is silence except the sound of raining. She comes outside walking slowly. The static camera continues to observe her walking until she disappears and the closing song marks an ambiguous ending of the film as it mourns the death of cinema as a single-screen phenomenon. The film conveys a nostalgia for bygone era of cinematic cans and phantasmic magnetism of large single screen theatres but it invests unusual long duration for showing the personnel working and specifically concentrates on the ticket woman (Chen Shiang-chyi) as she is walking and working. Working, walking and watching, Tsai creates a strange dynamic of the three in his film which takes a more resolute turn in his Walker films.

Conclusion

Let me start by quoting a meaningful paragraph from Walter Benjamin's essay:

The power of a ... road is different when one is *walking* along it from when one is flying over it by airplane ... The airplane passenger sees only how the road pushes through the landscape, how it unfolds according to the same laws as the terrain surrounding it. Only he who *walks* the road on foot learns of the power it commands, and of how, from the very scenery that for the flier is only the unfurled plain, it calls forth distances, belvederes, clearings, prospects at each of its turns like a commander deploying soldiers at a front (emphasis mine) (Benjamin 1979: 66).

Benjamin's articulation can be understood as an analogy to differentiate between traveler and tourist. The walker who is charmed by the unknown that she encounters in every turn of the road is like a traveler. An airplane passenger who can map the whole region at one bird's eye view glance and by virtue of it calculates the movement and as consequence actually loses the charm of encountering the unknown at every step, is like a tourist. To put it in Paul Fussell's terms, a traveler is more like an explorer who indulges the 'risk of formless' whereas a tourist 'moves towards the security of pure cliché'. An ideal traveler is a walker, if we go by Benjamin's analogy, who invests her labour in the process. Fussell explains that 'etymologically a traveler is one who suffers *travail*'; travel is work; travel is taking pain of exploring (Fussell 1980: 39). Borrowing ideas from the sixteenth-century French philosopher Michel de Montaigne, Emily Thomas says, '[T]ravel shows us the diversity and variety of the world ... Travel shows us *otherness*. We experience otherness when we come into contact with the unfamiliar — it is the feeling that things are different, alien' (Thomas 2020: 3).

The walker, the little monk Lee Kang-sheng, walks through the busy and familiar places of Hong Kong, Taipei, Tokyo, Marseille which have been common tourist attractions. But the

monk's detached and slow but laborious movement imports a sense of otherness in the images. He is an 'other' of the hegemonic visual and social order. His walking is a kind of working as it involves self-invited pain and labour. And from the viewers' side his presence in the screen as a slow walking travelling monk, as an alien, resists the pleasure of (cinematic) tourism and globe-trotting.

Fussell regrets that 'travel is now impossible and that tourism is all we have left' (1980: 41). Tsai Ming-liang's Walker series films responds to this impossibility. The travel has become possible as the specter of Xuanzang walks slowly through the city-scape. We see an 'other' time on the screen.

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CONCESPTUALIZING SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OF BANGLADESH POST-2013: A QUALITATIVE AND COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF TWO MOVEMENTS

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Abstract: Despite Mass grievances and moral support, the social movements in Bangladesh in the last decade, albeit very few, have failed to succeed and bring forth any systemic socio-political transformation. In fact, the country has not seen that many movements notwithstanding serious mass grievances on social, political and economic issues. This whole situation poses a paradox. I study two significant social movements' cases, the 2018 quota reform movement and the 2018 road safety protests, to conceptualize those movements by using a theoretical framework derived from Political Process Theory (PPT) and Resource Mobilization theory and compare their successes and failures. I contend that those movements need to be perceived as political phenomena rather than psychological; therefore, to understand the phenomena we need to analyze the structural aspects of those movements from a critical realist stand, which deploys both institutional and discursive dimensions in its analysis. My research will try to provide a genealogy of the movement's development, prominence and decline. These movements capitalize on mass moral support. The limited successes of the movements can be explained, mainly, by the lack of indigenous organizational strength, limited political opportunities due to the increasing centralization of the state power and authority. My theoretical framework will be supported by an exhaustive study and comparison through the collections of secondary qualitative data mainly from three major national newspapers of Bangladesh: *The New Age*, *Prothom Alo* and *bdnews24.com*.

Keywords: Social Movements, Bangladesh Quota Reform Movement 2018, Bangladesh Road Safety Protest 2018, Political Process Theory, Resource Mobilization Theory

Introduction

The ruling Awami League-led government of Bangladesh is in its 13th year of tenure; the longest in the history of the country. It came to power with a landslide victory in a relatively fair (Pandey and Jamil, 2010) general election of 2008. Although the government had massive support from civil society and initially from young voters alike, it soon started to consolidate power in an authoritarian manner (Moniruzzaman, 2019; Jackman, 2020). The following two general elections held under the government, in which cases it remained in power, is widely considered to be unfair, almost without the participation of others at all (Riaz and Parvez, 2021; Mollah and Jahan, 2018; Riaz, 2019a). It successfully managed to muzzle the opposition by various tools such as using brutal state violence (Riaz, 2019b) and by restricting freedom of speech (Parvez, 2018; Human Rights Watch, 2019). In the meantime, the unemployment rate, particularly among youth has skyrocketed (data.worldbank.org, n.d), the level of corruption has increased alarmingly (Transparency.org, n.d) and there has been a dangerous decline in moral values in society overall. Paradoxically enough, despite all these factors and mass grievances, the ruling government has faced very few significant social movements in its entire

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tenure. Although there have been some movements influenced by the global protest cycle (Nigam, 2012), they failed to transform politically and were mostly unsuccessful. The whole situation poses a paradox and raises some interesting polemics. Under this circumstance, my research will present two major movements as case studies and compare them to provide a genealogy of those movements' development, prominence and decline. For the sake of clarity, I will map these movements using two particular schools of social movement theory; 1) Political Process Theory (PPT), and 2) Resource Mobilization. Albeit I will use two movements as case studies, it will be an exhaustive study in terms of the sample/representative of the country because these were almost exclusively the most significant mass movements that have occurred in the country in the last decade; therefore, sufficient to understand the existing state of social movements in Bangladesh.

Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

The theoretical framework of my research will be drawn primarily from two particular schools of social movement theory; 1) Political Process Theory (McAdam, 1982a), and 2) Resource Mobilization. McAdams sees the classical perspectives of social movements as inadequate in their approach. Consequently, he develops an alternative to those perspectives in the pattern of the political process model which has two pivotal ideas: social movements are political phenomena rather than psychological and social movements depict a continuous process from development to decline (McAdam, 1982b, p 47). The political process model has three main components: indigenous organizational strength, political opportunities and cognitive liberation. Political opportunity is when the existing political system is vulnerable to a challenge, it creates an opportunity for others, like the movement members, to issue such a challenge and try to use this opportune time to push through a social change (Cragun et al., 2014). Political opportunity theory argues that the actions of the activists are dependent on the existence or the lack of a specific political opportunity (Meyer, 2004). Indigenous organizational strength refers to the resources of the aggrieved population that allow them to exploit the opportunities afforded them by the changes in the political opportunity structure (Armato and Caren, 2002). Without these resources, it would be difficult for a social movement to uphold a sustained effort. The final factor in the political process model is cognitive liberation. Political opportunities and indigenous organizational strength yield only the structural potential for mobilization. What is needed beyond this is the recognition by the excluded group that their status is not inevitable, that their status as a group has its origins in the political system, and that their status can be changed.

McAdam argues that Over time, the broad socioeconomic processes develop, maintain and cause decline within the movement. A movement, once developed, may be affected by the level of social control placed on it, which, in turn, affects its ability to mobilize and maintain members since when the movement's demands are portrayed as underdeveloped or unattractive, they risk losing or failing to receive support from outside institutions.

Furthermore, movements may get bureaucratized and ossified through developing rigid organisational hierarchy and as a result, lose their dynamism. A class of individuals within the movement working to ensure the maintenance of the movement itself, rather than a continual push for collective goals, or co-optation when outside support is garnered for the movement at the same time as it is forced to sacrifice its goals to meet the demands of those supporting institutions. That, in turn, may lead to the loss of indigenous support and, along with it, many of the supporting grassroots organizations able to quickly mobilize members at the onset of the movement. A key advantage of the theory is that it explains why social movements emerge and/or increase their activity at a given time. When there are no political opportunities, simply

having grievances (organizational consciousness) and resources is not enough. It is only when all three of these components are present that the movement has a chance to succeed.

Resource mobilization theory argues that first and foremost social movements need organizations. Organizations can acquire and then deploy resources to achieve their well-defined goals. To predict the likelihood that the preferences of a certain group in society will turn into a protest, these theorists look at the pre-existing organization of this group. When the population related to a social movement is already highly organized, they are more likely to create organized forms of protest because a higher organization makes it easier to mobilize the necessary resources (Stekelenburg and Klandermans, 2009). There are five types of resources: i) Material (money and physical capital), ii) Moral (solidarity for the movement), iii) Social-Organizational (organizational strategies, social networks, bloc recruitment), iv) Human (volunteers, staff, leaders) and v) Cultural (prior activist experience, understanding of the issues, how to take collective actions) (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004).

Methodology

I will use secondary qualitative data gleaned from three major newspaper of Bangladesh: *The New Age*, *Prothom Alo*, and *bdnews24.com* and as well as from extant research. I will then analyze and compare the movements side by side through an exhaustive study using descriptive statistics under the theoretical framework of Political Process Theory and Resource Mobilization theory. I will also use personal observation to some extant.

Background of the Study

Following are a very brief description of the two movements that I will use in my research as case studies-

i) **Bangladesh Quota Reform Movement 2018:** On 8 April 2018- Dhaka University – along with university campuses across the country – was alive with protest (Prothom Alo, April 8, 2018). Thousands of students congregated en masse at Shahbag junction at the university, speeches were delivered through loudspeakers, slogans for government reform were chanted by the crowd, and by the evening small fires and tyres could be seen burning on the street (Nirjhor and *bdnews24.com*, April 8, 2018). Together this created the largest protest movement Dhaka had seen for five years since the Shahbag movement of 2013 and demanded reform of the quotas that dominate access to employment in the public service (Jackman, 2020). The movement grew on the back of simmering discontent around work opportunities for the educated, urban middle class, for whom employment opportunities commensurate to education are perceived to be difficult to find. Throughout the movement, the protesters were not only suppressed by the state in an almost authoritarian manner but also viciously brutalized by the ruling party's student wing (Prothom Alo, July 2, 2018). In the wake of the movement, the Cabinet of the Government of Bangladesh on October 3, 2018, issued a circular dismissing the quota system for recruitment in the ninth to thirteenth grades (New Age, October 3, 2018). On July 30, 2019, the government said, there is no quota in recruitment in 9th to 13th grade at present, the quota for the post of 14th to 20th grade is still in force, but if no candidate of the relevant quota is found, it has to be filled from the merit list of the general candidate. In addition to clarifying the previous circular on quotas issued on January 20, 2020, the cabinet also approved a proposal provided by the Ministry of Public Administration to cancel quotas on direct appointments

to eighth or higher grade posts in government jobs (bdnews24.com, July 1, 2020). The movement demanded reform in the quota system, but the government abolished the quota altogether which put less privileged people in the society vulnerable. This is a massive failure for the movement.

ii) **Bangladesh Road safety Protest 2018:** A series of public protests in Bangladesh advocating improved road safety was held from 29 July to 8 August 2018. The protests were sparked by the deaths of two high-school students in Dhaka struck by a bus operated by an unlicensed driver who was racing to collect passengers (bdnews24.com, July 29, 2018). The incident impelled students to demand safer roads and stricter traffic laws, and the demonstrations rapidly and spontaneously spread throughout the country without any organizational structure whatsoever. The protests were peaceful until 2 August, when police attempted to disperse the demonstrators with tear gas and people believed to be members of a pro-government youth league attacked protesters and journalists (Hossain 2018). Various international organisations and high-profile figures expressed solidarity with the protesters (The Daily Star, August 5, 2018). The crackdown on the student protesters received high criticism both domestically and internationally (Al Jazeera, 2018).

Findings and Discussion

If we look at these two movements, we can see that they never had all the three components together that the Political Process model would suggest; they lacked one or the another. In all the cases, movements had a political opportunity and at least to some extent, considerable resources to deploy; but they lacked organizational strength. The protests were spontaneous and emerged with little political mediation. People gathered in an open space and the assembly grew in size every day. The protesters eventually petered out inimical to the state violence and in some cases with unwritten verbal promises by the authority. Despite the difference in ideology, the movements have one thing in common, the lack of indigenous organisational strength. Despite common grievances and mass support, the movements failed to transform and achieve their goals. The failure of the movements can be explained, mainly, by the lack of indigenous organizational strength, the lack of political opportunities (for some of these movements, which operated under the centralization of the authority of the state), and the unavailability of the resources in some cases.

Conclusion

Unlike the dominant forms of contemporary politics in Bangladesh, these movements have not been organised (at least initially) within conventional political boundaries. The transition of these movements from enjoying mass support in recent history to a small group of activists leading a small group is astonishing. This paper is an attempt to track this transition, evaluate the movements as a whole, and then compare and analyze the limitations that caused the movement to reach its end. Even though there are separate studies and research on the above-mentioned case studies, they were never brought together in a single study. Comparing these two major movements side by side and an exhaustive study altogether under a common framework should be enough to provide a clearer picture of the state of the social movements of Bangladesh. While issues of identity (secular vs religious) and such are extremely important in Bangladesh, a series of failure of movements in Bangladesh needs a structural (in addition to discursive) explanation, which the Political Process Theory and Resources Mobilisation

Theory provides.

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OUT OF THE LINE OF SITE

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Abstract: If men as 'fathers' remain a nebulous entity as long as they continue to willingly allow themselves to be constrained by conventional social, 'academic' (that is 'scholarly', 'psychological', 'sociological', 'biological', 'feminist') as well as legal notions of what fathers are supposed to be, particularly those constructions of masculinity of the West, then the very mention of a grandfather opens onto a tangent straight into and out of the imaginary. Far from being 'real', grandfathers are either entirely missing or become a complete fictional recreation of the descendant. This presentation discusses images grandfathers generate in the context of memory, family, masculinity, and fatherhood. It challenges contemporary assumptions of the foregoing by maintaining a primary investigative engine based substantively in the subjective – the experience of grandfathers, fathers, and sons as seen by someone who has experienced two of these three states of 'being' – the third (grandfatherhood) rendered an impossibility in terms of experience because of its contrived and utterly artificial origin.

Keywords: Gender, Sons, Fathers, Grandfathers, Men, Identity, Stereotypes, Individual.

I never knew my grandfathers. They both died before I was born. What I know about them comes down to me from my parents along with a few artifacts that are said to have been theirs. The only real thing I know about my grandfathers comes to me as hearsay. The rest is what I imagine.

I am a grandson. And I am a son! And for the last decade and a half, I've also been a dad. These are things I have experienced directly, physically, really! I do not have the experience of being a grandfather. And yet, talking about grandfathers, fathers, and sons – the lineage of men – introduces the spectre of power and authority (Ronell, 2013) and the supposed distillation and source of that – the patriarchy.

Contrary to currently popular perceptions, I propose to you that patriarchy is not a system of privilege for men. Rather, and to put it starkly, patriarchy is a system of domination and hierarchy based on the exercise of power (Benjamin, 2004, 236-252; Clastres, 1994, 43-51; Arendt, 1970; Canetti, 2009). I want to be clear on what that means.

Any woman may lust for, possess, and abuse power just as effectively as any man does. There is no compelling evidence to suggest that it is only men who seek, accumulate, and abuse power. Nor is there a natural or direct line of causality between men and the gaining of privilege and power under patriarchy.

As a system, patriarchy doesn't care what's between the legs of those who stand at the top of its hierarchy. All patriarchy demands is the unhesitating application of systemic domination, a system as I suggest that is founded in hierarchy and imposed through an often violent expression of power.

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Furthermore, the ability to fill the role of dominator is not unique to men. Anyone can be, and is, corrupted by power! And the more power an individual (or a group or a community or a society) accumulates, the greater the corruption individuals, groups, communities, and society are subjected to.

It is my contention that any accumulation of power – beyond individual personal power – results in corruption. Even driving a car corrupts us, for driving a car gave us, by dint of power, the capacity to obliterate space and all that stands within it.

But there's something else I want to be clear about.

This presentation makes no apologies for being polemical. I have no intention of portraying 'balanced' ideas in some sort of rhetorical academic game that pretends to be objective, unbiased, or merely 'observational'. Just as I have no desire to convince you or anyone to abandon your beliefs, your positions, thoughts, ideologies, and even prejudices, and adopt another (my own) stances, ideological positioning, and prejudices.

Rather than trying to convince you to change your mind and adopt mine, the reason I am presenting here is because I am trying to achieve a sort of balance – a balance of ideas and perceptions, all of which reveal something of the nature of truth and reality. But the balance this presentation seeks is not about eradicating oppositions or contradictions or differences. Indeed, I encourage everyone to share their perceptions and ideas. I encourage everyone to speak even though I know that for some of us, the adoption of a *singled out* speaking position runs contrary to our very nature. Some people are simply not comfortable when someone insists that they have to have their say or that they have to stand up in front of a group of people they don't even know and absorb all their focus!

I know many students feel like this. And I respect their right to withhold themselves from doing something they innately dislike. However, as they are 'students', and I am sometimes regarded as their 'educator', I also see it as my responsibility to ask people to do what they are unaccustomed doing – to at least try on the coat of stardom and see how it fits them – before they finally decide whether that's something they want to do again in real life or not.

Yet if speaking out in front of a group of strangers is uncomfortable for some, there are far too many people whose mode of speech is made redundant and/or summarily dismissed simply because such speakers refuse to or are unable to play according to rules of engagement. Or they are regarded as being fringe dwellers, unfashionable, old fashioned, eccentric, politically incorrect, regressive, or simply ill-informed, uneducated, or delusional. There are many ways the academy filters out the voices of humanity. One of these is called disciplinary rigour. Particularly in the Humanities and the Social Sciences, there is an urgent need to move beyond this so-called need to maintain certain gate-keeping functions in order to preserve the rigorousness of the discipline.

In any case, whether self-imposed or imposed by rules of others, I agree with Salman Rushdie (Rushdie, 'Outside The Whale', 1991, 87-101) that there is far too much silence when it comes to speaking out certain unheard or unpopular positions. This is particularly so when outside voices challenge the doctrines of power. People denied power need to become louder in their utterings of the truths, especially when such truths cut across currently accepted orthodoxies.

Indeed, the mere fact that one must possess the stature of a 'Salman Rushdie' in order to enter into and transgress a cultural norms in ways Rushdie does already says a lot about the system of privilege I wish to draw attention to. I hope this presentation challenges some of that silence.

This presentation does not seek to be provocative or challenge others (your) constituting notions of being, truth, or reality. It asks simply to be heard. But it is here to be heard and it

does ask to be stood next to other non-constituting propositions you may have absorbed in your life and to consider which of those non-constituting propositions you may be holding feels 'right' to you. I do not ask for agreement, and I dislike extremely the thought of conflict, violence, and the exercise of power! (Foucault, 2020, 326-348). So, what am I hoping to achieve?

Only the one thing that can ever be achieved honestly and with integrity when someone presents a paper – any paper, from anybody. That achievement is simply the taking of an opportunity to be heard. There is immense privilege when someone dares to give voice to something that no-one else can give voice to. Not in an entire lifetime, not in the vastness of the multiverse, will that voice, that intonation, that utterance or presentation, ever again be heard. Not even I, if I sat here tomorrow and delivered the exact phrases I'm delivering to you now, would say the same thing again. It would be a different articulation.

So, this is why I'm here – to give voice to a moment at a specific point in time and space and that will never again be heard. And I would like to thank the organisers of this conference, as well as you yourselves, for giving me the opportunity to be heard, at least this once, right here, amongst you.

But if, by dint of the idiosyncratic nature of this speaking position, the idiosyncrasy of any speaking position actually, such a position is only ever utterable once, there is an impulse in the academy to give such speech acts a two-faced duality – the 'Janus' effect Arthur Koestler speaks of (Koestler, 2014, 21, 500). Once uttered (and heard), reverberations from such a speech act (take Koestler as the example) may continue to ripple out indefinitely – *may*, I said – and it may even resonate for what seems to be forever.

Or it might simply disappear, never again to be re-membered or re-collected in any rational or coherent discourse at any point in future – as if it was never said.

But like some cosmologists (Barrow and Tipler 1988, Hawking 1995, Rovelli 2020, Barrow 2001), I want to imagine what might happen if something continues to echo, perhaps for a very very long time, like looking down the barrel of a radio telescope and seeing the first moments of the birth of a galaxy or star! Traces of the dead may continue to reverberate irrespective of the consequence that might have arisen when the original articulation took place. Such reverberations might in fact be the only necessary outcome needed when someone speaks and is heard. But often, instead, they become immortal gods, never again to be contradicted. I hope this presentation achieves the former and avoids the latter.

Still, the consequences of speaking and hearing are not to be confined to what can or will arise out of them, or anything in particular. Such an act simply is! Or, more correctly, it simply becomes! An act of expressing a fact of experience. Yet every quote of that expression, every re-citation and every re-presentation, after the original expression becomes a mere rendition, an interpretation, an extrapolation, an interpolation. An invention. An imaginary reformulation. **Unless** it is the direct expression of someone who is in fact expressing their own experience.

Which brings me to the central theme in this presentation I suppose. And perhaps there, this is the only idea I have to contribute. What I am presenting may seem banal to some of you – so banal that you ask yourself 'why is he saying it anyway?' 'And why am I listening to him talking?'

Some of you may even decide you've heard better ideas in a pub on a Friday evening coming from a half drunken bunch of football fans boasting about what the weekend will usher in for them. That may be true – but only you can be the judge of that.

Perhaps, to some of you, there are many other voices whose utterances are imminently more worthy of presenting here. I have no doubt there are many worthy voices still to be heard, on just about every topic that may or have already been constituted as a field of debate in the Humanities and Social Sciences.

But let me add this too.

There have been times when I too have been in an audience with exactly such thoughts running through my mind. And I have only one objection to this notion – the fact of exclusion. I have no qualms about anyone – you for instance – in speaking. It is your right. And no-one can or should try to take that away from you. From any of us.

Oh but there is one person who can actually do that, one person who can shut you up! And that person is you. Only you (and death) can stop yourselves from talking. The only other way to shut people up is to use guns. Guns, bullets, and all the paraphernalia that technology in all its destructiveness has given humans. The use power can, and often is used to, shut people up. But we should try to avoid that today.

I want to add what I have to say in as simple and straightforward way as I can. I am not interested in dressing up in the hype of theory or philosophy. I just want to be heard, and listened to if possible, but no more. I don't intend to change you, your mind, your ideology. And if by chance these words are ever re-remembered, well all the better, I suppose, but I don't think that's the be all and end of it all.

As I said, I never knew my grandfathers. Neither of them came to me as living beings. All I know about them is through hearsay (or heresy). Everything I've heard about both my grandfathers is pure invention, a myth wrapped up in mystery that only death can create. So anything I may have to add about either of those men will be pure invention. A further lining of the myth within which both men have become trapped in. I'm not particularly interested in adding to that myth or even trying to cut through it. The simple fact is that neither of these men mean anything to you, and nothing I will ever say about them will change that fact. So let's just let them sleep, shall we, and acknowledge that we will never know them.

But I also want to say that I cannot talk about my father either, although at least with dad, I did know him as a living person. I have and had a mixed relationship with my father, just as I've had a mixed relationship with my mother. Encompassing love and hate amidst many other emotions, it is impossible for me to arrive at any totalising statement that would somehow summarise or abbreviate what my dad means to me now, or how I felt about him at any given time. Let's just say that without him, I would not be here.

But I have to say the same I say about my dad for my son too. I cannot nor do I ever want to assume the right to speak for him, or to summarise his existence, or fact of being, both in my presence, and beyond, in the world that is his own.

And finally still, I have to admit that I cannot even speak for myself here – either now or in the past or even for some point in the future. I cannot even assume the right to claim I know myself enough to speak for me conclusively, or put myself down to words – even if those words amounted to all the entries in an English dictionary.

I don't know where the myths of men originated. Carl Jung once claimed that such notions arose from the archetypal 'soul image' created by individuals through repeated patterns of behaviour over many many generations. Eventually, according to Jung, those images came to form a lasting impression, the underlying traits and remnants (soul image) of what we – men of the future – tend to be and tend to act like (Jung 1997).

I used to think Jung was on to something when he spoke about archetypes. But these days, I have to say, I have serious doubts. It is no co-incidence that Jung was also interested in myth, and how myth might be formed. While the origins of myths may still be of certain academic interest to some, such a study does not actually reveal the truth about who and what we are or were. So, with the passing of time, I lost interest in Jung and with that, I lost interest in the archaeology of myth.

But it is not only myth that perpetuates the lies we choose to live by. Music does it too. So does art. And so does poetry, film, and sculpture. And so does history. And science and philosophy too! In fact, the lies embedded in myth are part of any system of representation.

No representation ever speaks the truth. And the truth is only here once, as we experience it, as we live it. There is no other fact. This transitory moment of being is all there is! This moment is the only fact. And what happens here, as I speak, is the only truth I have. Everything else is representation.

We have reached such a point of sophistication, we late moderns, in being able to present our selves, in these actually existing moments of facts and truth, as representations. The media that is enabling this conference is a representation of fact and truth. And yet none of it is real. This is what it is, but it is not real! What we experience is an electrifying simulation from an otherwise cold screen.

So, what have we to gain from experiencing our lives as representations?

I don't know where myths of men come from. What I know is that such myths continue to inhabit the corridors of power, especially those of Western power, whether that be the University, Law courts, or a darkened cinema. And neither do I care for myths much anymore. It doesn't even matter where any of these myths came from actually. What is increasingly clear, however, is that, today, it is getting exceedingly difficult to distinguish between the fact of someone or something real and the semblance of them as representation. The human sciences, the arts, even philosophy, but also technology too, have all played their part in enabling us to believe that somehow we can substitute the reality of living with a mere representation of it. And we can also substitute a representation for ourselves.

This is where the idea of allowing the living to speak, and for the living to hear and listen returns full circle. But those who are still living should at least acknowledge that they can only speak for ourselves. I cannot speak – I refuse to speak – for others. I do not speak for my grandfather. I will not speak for my father and I will not speak for my son. And I do not even lay claim to being able to speak for myself!

I can only speak in fragments, and in those fragments there are only more and more fragments buried deep within what Western epistemology seems determined to reshape into a singular uniform totality. But the gaps between those fragments are filled with our imagination – your imagination – we – the living – are the paste that holds them together. Even when we remain true to our subjects we can only do so within the limits of what we imagine the truth to be.

My final comments have to do with imagination therefore, which I love actually, and have used for most of my life to offset the limitations of the reality into which I was born and the fences placed around me. But if in some ways I have honed my capacity to imagine as finely as I could, I have also had to learn not confuse what I imagine with what is real. I don't believe it will ever be possible for a finite human being to imagine reality as a totality. This is why I do not assume the right to speak for others. I reject the impulse to speak for others, even for myself, as a totality. I give up this false idea of representation. And I want to give others the space to

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speak for themselves. And then I too can speak – for myself – as only I can and as I am speaking to you – in fragments.

As for my son, my father, my grandfathers? Well, they are here in a way, but they reside in an empty space buried deep within my presence. And they are determined to stay out of the line of sight. Staying out of the line of sight is to stay out of the line of fire (Henshaw 2016). Neither our ancestors nor our descendants have any desire to participate in the wars and power plays we stage between ourselves, the living, today. Have they earned the right to remain silent? I think so. And I think we should respect that.

And that is why, when it comes to writing or thinking or talking about anything, one ought never say that things speak for themselves. We should not hide behind the objects we are talking about and we should admit that we are only ever talking for ourselves – in fragments, true – and that everything we say is situated in a world we ourselves have made. This is not about the past, present or future. Nor is it about grandfathers, fathers, or sons. This is not even about a patriarchy. It is about me, here, now, as a member of the living, taking responsibility for what we, the living, are saying, hearing, and listening to, and the narratives we create from that.

Thank you.

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FOOD & PLEASURE: PRINCIPLES, COLLABORATION & INNOVATION IN RESEARCH & SCHOLAR ACTIVISM

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Abstract: *Memefest*, a social design network of scholar activists, students, and practitioners seeks to create change through community and creative action at the grassroots. The focus is on the margins and uniting around shared goals and interests across environmental, social and political challenges. The network addresses existential issues such as food democracy, climate justice and human rights. Our interdisciplinary network of artists, designers, activists and academics moves beyond thinking of instrumental 'innovation' to explore radical interdependencies through conceptualisations of collaboration related to care, pleasure and other strategies of sustainable development based on cultural exchange. Drawing on new techniques in media ethnography, we bridge multi-disciplines and actualise issues from the outside (extra disciplinary) and inside (intra disciplinary) in order to mobilise social change (towards a non-extractive epistemology). We take as our starting point local cultures of knowledge production as they exist within and between academia, practice and social movements. We begin our analysis through the dynamic lens of collaboration to ask: What does **innovation** look like in radical media, design and communication projects? What are the complexities of doing **ethnography** on the ground or as 'outsiders' and scholar activists? Is **collaboration** a help or a hindrance?

Keywords: scholar activism, collaboration, media ethnography, social movements, outsider research, pleasure

Why us and why Vietnam?

This paper *challenges, explores and interrogates* collaboration as a concept and process. We invite a way of thinking about how we can work together in solidarity and across cultural differences, and across the local and global. This approach is important in a context of conflict and contention that pits people, issues and the world against one another in competition. We do not have time for these kinds of attitudes and contestations, which are laborious and hinder progress on what matters. We do not want to work this way. This is an approach and a position that values the agency of community. We build bridges from the ground up. Our feet are firmly planted in social justice. Our feet are our foundation. Connecting our feet/stance to like minds builds collective strength and commitment in the cause.

The space of collaboration is by no means easy. It might be participatory and grassroots. The centre is not stable or still but in constant flux. This collaborative space is also agentic as we believe that individuals working in participation are and should be agents of change. The capacity to enact agency necessitates collective action outside the apparatus of power and institutions. This also requires working with and inside such apparatus. We mobilise to ensure

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the centre remains fluid, a place for conversation and action, a place to build community. The full expression of people's values and priorities are enabled and supported. The process of action generates productive spaces where people work towards a future oriented goal. We acknowledge differences and points of tension. Call them out; engender transparency and trust. Not everyone may agree on the right action to take at any given time though it would be appropriate to ask: What can we agree on as a starting premise? Let's start there.

For this project, we will focus on environmentalism and sustainability issues in Vietnam using food as the key entry point to engage with deep social, cultural, political and economic issues. It is important for us to emphasize that we do not wish to 'enter' Vietnam with our objectives already 'set' and ready to 'apply'. We are conscious of and respectfully acknowledge the country's long history of upheaval and bloodshed, occupation and resistance, war and oppression. We recognise this history continues to perpetuate deep divisions, stereotypes and dispossession for the people. We feel incredibly honoured to work in an environment where cultures of resistance persist. The expressive tenacity, strength and sovereign rights we see operating within local groups and communities yield enormous promise and possibility. The range of climate action activities across NGOs, government, community and corporate sectors in Vietnam is impressive. Alongside our engagement with these local initiatives, we are humbled and grateful for the opportunity to be part of this esteemed conference on Innovations in the Social Sciences at Tôn Đức Thắng University.

We look forward to sharing our work and engaging dialogue on how collaborations can be done better; what it means to come together to solve our most pressing environmental challenges. The aim of our work is to continue building on these traditions and principles of ethics, autonomy and justice in environmental and sustainability work through a focus on working 'with' rather than 'for' people. In saying this, however, we want to foreground from the outset some of the complexities and tensions around this aim. This is essentially about the politics of collaboration: *how* we do it and *why* it matters. Rather than claim this space of collaboration as a working principle from the outset, our objective is to work with participants to establish a cultural framework for collaboration that operates from the ground up.

About Memefest

Memefest (www.memefest.org) is an international collective and global network engaged in transformative social relations through communication design and art. *Memefest* fosters fundamental change on the most pressing issues of our times to address significant social and ethical challenges. We approach research as inter/extra-disciplinary and understand theory and practice as interrelated. *Memefest* is an active network of students, educators, researchers and practitioners for the industry and from social movements representing 60 nations. Our aim for this project in Vietnam is to offer an established network to attract new partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region in forms beneficial for partners and communities in Vietnam. *Memefest's* regular Festival of Socially Responsive Communication/Design and Art has led to significant outcomes on the topics/themes of 'Debt', 'Food Democracy' and 'Radical Intimacies: Dialogue in our Times'. Our values represent the deepest principles to which we can aspire and are governed by:

- 1) Communication as grounded in rigorous **research**,
- 2) **Collaboration** as central to practice,
- 3) **Reflection, commitment and action** that builds sustainable societies.

About the Collaboration: RMIT University and Tôn Đức Thắng University (TDTU)

The project's focus is to bring Australian and Vietnamese students together for collaborative learning and cross-cultural engagement with outcomes shared in the form of an exhibition in Vietnam. We plan to visit Ho Chi Minh City with students in late 2022 for a three-week period as part of the learning and engagement activities. These activities will be based around the following plans including:

- **The Memefest Social Design: Food and Culture** project, which connects Australian students from design, media, communication and the social sciences with students and staff from partner institutions and local communities in Vietnam and internationally respected mentors.
- Supporting the **participation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students**, as well as those from a low socioeconomic background. A total of 30 Australian students will participate in the project. We anticipate local Vietnamese students will also play a significant part in our collaboration.
- Fostering greater understanding of the **Indo-Pacific region through the network's** key cultural elements: **Food and Culture**. This thematic focus promotes contemporary issues of global scale and significance including food security, environmental sustainability, ethics, cultural diversity and community wellbeing.
- **Placing students directly in local community contexts in Vietnam** to work in partnership with industry and community participants. The goal is to empower students to act as informed citizens and engage with the world in a socially responsible way through creative design and media work. Student participation in community and industry projects will focus on real world issues and challenges, supporting them to build their employability capacities and transition to future careers.
- Co-convening a **Symposium** inviting local participation. Our plan is to have local food community groups sharing their knowledge on a range of interests including fair and ethical trade, sustainable livelihoods and food practices, community market gardens, environmental renewal projects and partnerships. Workshops will facilitate dynamic, intensive and participatory learning environments.

The project is supported by funding through Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) New Colombo Mobility Plan. Partners will work with RMIT to co-convene the Symposium and develop workshop activities. TDTU will host the Symposium and will organise pick-ups, orientation, language familiarity sessions, seminar content, urban walks, and a boat and street food tour. Members of Kholab Design and Advertising will support the delivery of workshops and speaking engagements at the Symposium. They will provide substantial mentorship of students in the workshops and facilitate partnerships with the local design and advertising community.

A robust history of collaboration in Vietnam

We do not wish to reinvent the wheel and recognise we have much to learn from current practice. Innovations in collaborative work already exist in Vietnam's working history and

across multiple disciplines (Cadilhon & Fearne 2005; Truong 2006; Hines et al 2010; Nguyen & Nguyen 2020). This history of engagement is rich, active and complex. Collaboration takes time is the general consensus. Not everyone has got it right but there are working models.

Our goal is to continually learn from these engagements while building on innovation through reflection. Within industry contexts, collaboration demands analysis of the full spectrum across food supply chain systems to address hierarchical relations (Yang 2021). The top-down approach to promoting tourism is no longer acceptable and has been exploitative of ethnic and minority groups whose participation remains limited (Van Nguyen et al 2020). Similarly, findings show that leadership analysis remains essential to collaborative engagement in contexts that continue to privilege top-down management styles, especially in the biodiversity sector (Van Cuong et 2017). Analysis is increasingly turning to a focus on communication 'practice' to reduce the often *abstract* space between people and 'places'. For instance, a study has looked at the role of youth, communication and community in terms of social-based activities as increasingly crucial to how Vietnam responds to COVID-19 emergencies (Le et al 2020).

Taken together, much of this existing and emerging collaborative work offers robust examples through which to build on innovative practice. We have learnt that sustainable collaborative models in education must be contingent on transparency and developing trust (Nguyen 2020). Innovations in collaboration demand deeper investigations into cultural styles of working and leadership (Pham 2016). Context-driven factors are crucial to strategy development in addressing social needs at the grassroots level (Ha & Nguyen 2015). Much has also been said on the robustness of networks, and the relationship between these networks and stakeholder roles (Nguyen et al 2018). Reflective practice continues to be high on the agenda for many practitioners of collaborative work, particularly where resource inequalities are evident (Jenkins et al 2021).

New collaborations, new agencies

We want to bring this rich and innovative history of collaboration in Vietnam into the current context. Our work with social design students offers unique ways to extend and expand on current and emerging collaborative practice with a focus on sustainability issues.

To this end, we are working within a rich history of inclusive and collaborative design practices. Participatory design started in Scandinavia in the 1970s with the aim to create better working conditions and leverage power between workers and managers (Spinuzzi 2005). Social design happens when problems cannot be solved by the market or the state, positioning the design process as relational within a gift economy (Mauss 2002). The demands for such design are not formal because the problems have not yet been internalised by institutions. Reasons for including social design are often political as people encounter new or ongoing problems or simply because they do not have the power to formalise their needs and demands. Questions of politics commonly emerge linked to the 'invisibility' of problems in so far as 'problems' are not made visible (due to lack of power) and/or are not seen at all.

Memefest operates in this political space of double invisibility. Our process seeks to find ways to *see and give voice* at the same time. The key here is not to start from a position of the professional expert who imposes their supreme knowledge. The onto-epistemic politics should in our methodology revolve around the idea of a dialogic culture, which underpins the collaborative aspect of the full design process. As *Memefest* collaborators described in the publication *Design is not Enough*: This approach is about '...improvising, finding the unexpected materials and expressions that can help release a power of collaboration going far

beyond the objects you can imagine and make. Design in these situations is a success when the designer disappears and the users take over. That's how design tactics can have a social impact, without all the resources and strategies of governments or big corporations' (Holmes, Credland & Kaltenborn 2001).

Dialogic collaboration demands an openness and the ability to listen. This form of collaboration also expands the idea that the designer acknowledges that designing is 'changing existing situations into preferred ones' (Simon 1988) and as a deeply human activity. In this sense we advocate for a process of deprofessionalisation, while still acknowledging the different layers, levels and qualities of the diverse knowledges enriching such collaborations: 'The result is that they, the design experts, should consider their creativity and culture as tools to support the capability of other actors to design in a dialogic way. In other words, they should agree to be part of a broad design process that they can trigger, support, but not control' (Manzini: 2015: 67).

The concept of social innovation design (Manzini 2015) understands design as an agent for change centred on collaboration. New ideas about products, services and models are seen as innovations, which should meet social needs and create new collaborative social relations. Such innovations benefit the society (in an ethical and pragmatic way) and enhance society's capacity to act (Murray et al in Manzini 2015). The collaborative aspect of such a process draws from existing social and community interactions. The design action is in their creative recombinations with the aim to achieve: 'socially recognized goals in a new way' (Manzini 2015: 12).

Our aim, *to see and give voice*, addresses the reality that socially recognised goals are not a given. As such we position our work to bridge social design and social innovation design. The position of social design to act in largely non-institutionalised spheres where problems are not yet seen, and goals are not yet socially recognised generates potential for innovation. Social recognition needs to be preceded by the ability to see and to give voice. We use both design approaches tactically and in a complementary manner.

Our onto-epistemic politics are based on non-extractive relationalities. Our feet are firmly planted in social justice. Collaboration is inherent to social innovation. But collaboration does not operate in a vacuum. Through a dialogic process we agree on the goals. We have clear roles in working to reach those goals.

Our research methodology employs interrelated intimacy, friendship, dialogue, collaboration, and pleasure to nurture a culture of research, reflection, pedagogy and social action.

Intimacy relates to how we are with each other and how we are with the subject of investigation. A radical intimacy seeks relationality in opposition to extractive capitalism and managerialism - both key contributors to our current environmental collapse. *Friendship* is an ideal and a fact. Many of the *Memefest* core members are close friends and have been for almost twenty years. New long-lasting friendships are made at each new festival event. *Friendship* is also crucial when it comes to difficult projects, the lack of resources and work which aims to be long term. *Dialogue* is the key communicative ethos, but also a skill that needs to be learned and nurtured in an anti dialogic society, driven by the destruction of knowledge, attention and self-reflexivity.

Collaboration stands in opposition to competition. It acknowledges the distributed nature of knowledge and the social construction of reality. Competition is an imposed myth, innovation and productivity are higher with collaboration (Kohn 1992). And *pleasure* connects with the deep human drive, which Freud (2015) saw as the driving motivation behind our actions. At *Memefest* pleasure relates to rituals of eating and drinking, spending time together and

discussing the next day's actions sometimes until three in the morning! Collaborating, getting to know each other, learning, teaching and connecting are crucial pleasure principles. Pleasure is deployed in creative ways in design as the key principle for interaction and collaboration. We apply it in opposition to normalised modes of working for governance or extraction. Capitalism largely governs through food, drugs and technology exploiting pleasure to develop patterns of addiction (Vodeb 2018). In this light it is important to engage with pleasure freely as well as critically and to understand the ways pleasure can mobilise, divide and conquer.

Complexities of doing ethnography

The macro view of our methodology comes from *Memefest* bridging the university, practice and social movements, while connecting different disciplines that operate across both intra- and extra- disciplinary contexts. Using food as a doorway to explore burning ecological issues, our starting point is to understand *food as media* (Vodeb 2017, 2018). This means we want to see and to give voice to problems at the grassroots through participating in and reconfiguring existing knowledge and social relationalities towards the pluriversal (Escobar 2019) as mediated through food.

Food has affective communicative potency and is the ultimate social medium. The physical and the digital environments amplify McLuhan's *The Medium is the Message*: food indeed 'massages' the human sensorium, explicitly in cross media ecologies (McLuhan 1964, 2019; McLuhan & Fiore 1967). Families are brought together by food rituals such as Christmas, festivals and other celebrations. Food images are some of the most circulated and published images on the internet. Why? Why not bicycles for example? And while we eat with our family, many of us may post images online, in a circular media economy that can work to connect and disconnect, exploit us or exploit others. In this whirlpool of circulating media and social 'traffic' we are often addicted to something be it the need to connect, share or influence. Food drives pleasure. Pleasure can be addictive in both good and bad ways.

Our work conceptually situates pleasure as foundational to cultural exchange. Food has the power to bring people together, to create relationalities between us. Food as a medium can act as a translator between people, a good example is when we travel, we can learn about the other culture through food. Seeing is then a radical process of translation, expanded through the multiplicity of food, eating, celebrating, sharing and the embeddedness of these pleasure practices in the world. Of course, this beautiful potential also has its counterpart, a social performativity of 'classness' reproducing hierarchies - a non-translation.

How to explore and use the communicative potency, social relationality and translational quality of food in Ho Chi Minh City as one of the fastest growing urban centres in Southeast Asia, the fastest in Vietnam and one of the cities with arguably the most concentrated and vibrant street food cultures in the world? In this complex pleasure landscape, the togetherness generated by eating is also disrupted in a 'conflict-laden terrain of negotiation between the country's socialist legacy and the ideal of communist class structure, and current neoliberal economic forces fostering individualisation and aggravating social inequalities' (Schwenkel & Leshkovich 2012 in Ehlert 2016).

Cities are *dream* and *pleasure places* according to the philosopher Walter Benjamin. Hence, answers to this question will be sought through ethnographic investigations of the sensorial and historical layers of the city (Guntarik 2018). Benjamin states: 'To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognise it 'the way it really was.' It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger' (Benjamin 1969, 255 in Guntarik 2018). The everyday, socially constructed, a contested territory in need of re-imagination necessitates an

'assertion (that) illuminates the nature of experience, the immediacy and political intensity of specific moments. Change. Transformation. The prophetic moment again. This would mean creating spaces for modes of representation in storytelling that can '[reveal] meaning without committing the error of defining it' (Arendt 1973, 107 in Guntarik 2018). Instead of defining the real, revelations about interdependency can be made by acknowledging other forms of knowing~doing~being. (Escobar 2020)

Jetztzeit is for Walter Benjamin time freed from the predefined flow imposed by the rule. The reconfigurations of the existing time/space continuum, and their meanings, are woven through pluriversal collaboration in the 'unformed but generative flux of forces and relations' (Escobar 2020). This much we know but how to do this exactly will be determined by us all, the community constituting on the ground.

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THE ROHINGYAS IN BANGLADESH: REFUGEES-HOST COMMUNITY CONFLICTS OVER NATURAL RESOURCES IN COX'S BAZAR

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Abstract: Over one million Rohingya refugees are hosted in Bangladesh. Newly arrived Rohingyas have received emergency protection, food, and shelter despite resource constraints, and the Bangladesh government responded to this crisis adequately. This paper mainly focuses on the inter-community conflicts over natural resources between the Rohingyas and the local host communities of Cox's Bazar district, which is generally neglected. Data for this paper has been collected through 20 in-depth interviews with refugees and host community members from June to September 2021, in the Cox's Bazar district of Bangladesh. The analysis shows that the refugee influx has adversely affected the host community, particularly on natural resources. The refugees add pressure on limited local natural resources such as land, water, agriculture, and forest. As a result, conflicts and social tension are rising gradually between two groups. I have followed Thomas Homer-Dixon's theoretical model on how resource scarcity can cause conflict between refugees and the host community. I argue that both the locals and Rohingyas are poor and depend on existing local resources, but locals claim that they have the only right to use these resources. Such attitudes create hostile relations between the two communities and lead to conflict, which has been highlighted through this study.

Keywords: Conflict, Host community, Natural resources, Rohingya, Refugees.

Introduction

The unlawful military operation, subjugation, and communal violence have forced over a million Rohingyas to flee across the border of Bangladesh. The Rohingyas entered the Bangladesh border at different stages, like in 1978, 1991-1992, 2012, 2016 and 2017 (Kader & Choudhury, 2019). In August 2017, more than 700,000 Rohingya refugees arrived in Cox's Bazar district of Bangladesh seeking refuge (Roy Chowdhury, 2020). This sudden refugee influx led to a humanitarian crisis and drew global attention and responses (Mukul et al., 2019). The government of Bangladesh has given shelter to Rohingyas on humanitarian grounds and allocated over 6,500 acres of land for refugee settlement in the Ukhiya and Teknaf sub-districts (ISCG et al., 2019). However, Rohingya people in Bangladesh are not recognized as refugees but rather identified as 'Forcibly Displaced Myanmar Nationals (FDMNs)' (Hammer & Ahmed, 2020). Additionally, population demographic size has been radically changed in these two sub-districts. The Rohingya population is threefold compared to locals who feel like a minor group on their land (Yasmin & Akther, 2019). However, refugees, despite resource constraints, are receiving emergency protection, food, and shelter from the host government and aid agencies. Cox's Bazar has undergone major social, economic, and environmental changes in the last three years due to population growth. The presence of Rohingyas in Cox's Bazar district may adversely affect farming, environmental and natural resources such as forest, land, water, wildlife, flora and fauna. The focus of host governments and aid agencies on the impact of

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refugees on local environmental and natural resources is relatively limited, both in the short and long term (Hammer & Ahmed, 2020). This paper mainly explores the conflict over natural resources between refugees and the host communities in Cox's Bazar; it also examines how conflicts arise and where is heading to? I have used Thomas Homer-Dixon's theoretical model on how resource scarcity can cause conflict between refugees and the host community. I argue that both the locals and Rohingyas are poor and depend on existing local natural resources, but locals claim that they have the only right to use these resources. Such attitudes create hostile relations between the two communities and lead to conflict, which has been highlighted through this study.

Study area and methods

For primary data collection, I have chosen the Ukhia and Teknaf sub-districts of Cox's Bazar, where mostly Rohingyas are sheltered. The camp area is bounded on the north by Ramu and Naikhongchhari upazilas (sub-districts), on the east by the Rakhine state of Myanmar, and on the west and south by the Bay of Bengal (Ministry of Environment and Forests, UNDP Bangladesh, and UN WOMEN Bangladesh, 2018). A million Rohingyas are now residing in 34 temporary camps and within the host communities of Ukhia and Teknaf sub-districts. The Kutupalong–Balukhali Rohingya camp is known as 'Mega Camp' (the world's largest refugee camp) extended from 146 hectares to 1365 acres. Cox's Bazar is socially and economically neglected and vulnerable to natural calamities. Due to limited space and local geological formation, Rohingyas settle in hilly areas, which are extremely vulnerable to landslides and flash floods (Hammer & Ahmed, 2020).

I adopted qualitative methodology and selected respondents by purposive sampling. I conducted almost 20 in-depth interviews between July and September 2021 with host communities, government and non-government officials, local journalists, environmentalists, and community leaders. I have also reviewed and analyzed the existing secondary sources such as the academic literature, news articles, policy documents, research and project reports from IMO, UNHCR, OCHA, published reports of local NGOs and online news portals, and other relevant online sources to understand the recent settings, evidence and study.

Theoretical understanding of conflicts over natural resources

There is a positive and contested relationship between resource scarcity and conflict. Following a neo-Malthusian perspective, it is assumed that population growth contributes to decreasing access to natural resources if the supply is less than the demand of more population. This eventually encourages competition over resources and leads to conflicts for survival (Mildner et al., 2011). T. Homer-Dixon has developed a theoretical model by analyzing sixteen cases and claiming that scarcity is created as a result of three reasons: degradation and depletion of agro-land, forests, water, and fish stocks; population growth and/or high living standards contributing to increasing demand; and unequal distribution of resources. All three factors may trigger conflict among groups (Homer-Dixon, 1994). In the case of Cox's Bazar, the huge presence of refugees has increased the population in the locality. Before the arrival of refugees, local people were dependent on agriculture and forest resources. This recent influx has harmed natural resources. The construction of Rohingya shelters, aid agencies' offices, schools, roads and drainage have contributed to forest degradation and deforestation (Ministry of Environment and Forests, UNDP Bangladesh, and UN WOMEN Bangladesh, 2018). The local community no longer has access to land or forest resources. Compared to locals, refugees are receiving more support and services from host governments and aid agencies. It is also creating

an unequal distribution of resources between the refugee and host communities.

Conflicts over natural resources

The presence of Rohingya refugees within the camps and in the surrounding areas negatively affects the environment and natural resources, including the ecosystem. The current large-scale refugee flow has contributed to changing the environmental and natural resource settings, including deforestation, land degradation, water resource depletion, rapid biomass reduction, loss of vegetation and species, damage to wildlife habitats and increased mortality risks of wildlife, and cutting hill and soil erosion etc. (Hammer & Ahmed, 2020).

Forest

Most of the large makeshift camps were established in the forest areas of Kutupalong, Balukhali and other areas in Cox's Bazar. The record shows that over 3,000 hectares of the Ukhia, Whykong and Teknaf forest areas were destroyed by clearing of vegetation and cutting of trees for the refugee settlement and fuelwood. Before the refugee influx, only the host communities relied on forest resources for their household firewood, medicine, and food, then the refugees depended on it. Rohingya refugees, particularly women and children, collect fuelwood from the forests and sell it at the local market (Ministry of Environment and Forests, UNDP Bangladesh, and UN WOMEN Bangladesh, 2018). Consequently, many locals have changed their livelihood opportunities. The tension is now escalating over forest resources between the two communities. It is claimed that almost 1.67% of the forest areas in Cox's Bazar and 0.05% of the total national forest areas were demolished (Ansar & Md. Khaled, 2021; (Babu), 2020; Khatun & Kamruzzaman, 2018). The popular biodiversity areas in Cox's Bazar such as Teknaf Wildlife Sanctuary, Himchari National Park, and Inani National Park are also threatened on account of population growth, their movement, construction of housing, schools, water supply and sanitation facilities (Ministry of Environment and Forests, UNDP Bangladesh, and UN WOMEN Bangladesh, 2018).

Asik Billa, Assistant Forest Officer, Teknaf sub-district says-

'Since the arrival of the refugees, the forest classification has changed, and the water level has also dropped a lot, and the canals have been filled to make way for new houses. The environmental system has been destroyed. Nearly 8,000 acres of land in Teknaf and Ukhia have been occupied and destroyed. Rohingya cattle are damaging local gardens, causing locals to quarrel with them'*

Land and agriculture

In Cox's Bazar, more than 60% of the land is covered by the forest and not suitable for farming in comparison with 40% of the entire country (UNDP, 2018). There is a distinctive land ownership system in forest and mountain areas of Bangladesh. The local marginalized people can often lease these plain forest lands from the government for a minimal price. A report claimed that within 6 months of the Rohingya arrival in 2017, nearly 100 hectares of cropland have been spoilt by refugee activities in Teknaf and Ukhia, humanitarian agencies have occupied almost 76 hectares of arable land (UNDP, 2018) for establishing warehouses, branch offices, and relief operations. Additionally, many arable lands have been used for the

* Interview of 1 taken at Teknaf sub-district of Cox's Bazar on 21 July 2021.

construction of hotels and resorts, including urban and tourism facilities, aquaculture and salt farming, human settlement, shrimp hatcheries, fishing, and dry fish processing (Ministry of Environment and Forests, UNDP Bangladesh, and UN WOMEN Bangladesh, 2018). On account of this settlement, people of the host communities, especially those living in nearby camps, have lost their ownership and cannot cultivate their lands anymore. Before, they could use these lands for small scale crop production, betel nut/leaf cultivation, and other homestead agroforestry. Many agricultural workers were forced to change careers and now work for low wages in the local market and within the camps.

Hasina, local inhabitant, Ukhia sub-district says-

'When we have given land to the Rohingyas, they cut down our trees; additionally, we can't now cultivate these lands, before we could raise cattle, now we can't, if we keep our cattle for grazing, they are being stolen'*.

Water (ground & surface) resources

Cox's Bazar district is a dry zone and has low water resources. This groundwater contains a high level of arsenic and salinity (Ministry of Environment and Forests, UNDP Bangladesh, and UN WOMEN Bangladesh, 2018). The water crisis has increased in Teknaf and Ukhia sub-districts due to the drawing of excessive groundwater by locals and refugees for drinking and washing purposes. The shortage of groundwater may increase social conflict between the host communities and the Rohingya over the use of water resources. Over 5,700 deep tube wells were installed in the camps after the arrival of Rohingyas in 2017 (UNDP, 2018). The excessive dependency on groundwater is creating water resource depletion in Ukhia and Teknaf areas. It is reported that the water level around the camp areas has fallen 5-9 meters (UNDP, 2018). Moreover, locals cannot use surface water for land irrigation purposes anymore due to canals and streams being logged by the establishment of camps and new road construction. Surface water was also contaminated due to having insufficient drainage facilities. Local people usually depend on ponds, canals, small water streams, and the Naf river for daily washing clothes, cooking utensils and bathing, but the surface water sources in the host communities were polluted by heavy rainfall, which spread waterborne diseases among both communities. Freshwater sources, particularly in the Teknaf area, are very limited, leading to increased tension between locals and refugees. Solid waste is another severe strain for local communities in Cox's Bazar. It is recorded that nearby 10,000 tons of surplus solid waste are being produced in a month, which is polluting the air and contaminating surface water.

Wildlife

The Teknaf peninsula and Ukhia forest area are significantly rich habitats for wildlife such as wild elephants, deer, wild boar, monkeys, birds, squirrels, red jungle fowl, and different types of snakes. Refugee people and wildlife are now cohabiting in these territories. More than 63.8% of wildlife relies on forests as a habitat. The establishment of makeshift camps severely affects the wildlife, creating food shortages, reducing habitats, and disturbing animal breeding. Moreover, there is a high possibility of conflict between humans and wildlife. Wildlife is also

* Interview of 2 taken at Ukhia sub-district of Cox's Bazar on 15 August 2021.

at risk of being hunted and killed by locals and Rohingya people.

Hill Cutting, Soil Erosion and Stream Congestion

Several hills in Teknaf and Ukhaia have been cleaned and cut to accommodate a huge number of Rohingya people (Ministry of Environment and Forests, UNDP Bangladesh, and UN WOMEN Bangladesh, 2018). Due to cutting hills, soil erosion, sedimentation, and siltation have occurred that made the hills not suitable for growing any vegetation. Cutting hills also increases the vulnerability of landslides. Additionally, the eroded soil may hamper streamflow, resulting in the loss of habitats, including increased water pollution and water scarcity. It is reported that almost 21 canals and streams in the area are now fully polluted (Hammer & Ahmed, 2020)

Conclusion and recommendations

Over a million Rohingyas are hosted in Bangladesh's border. In collaboration with aid agencies, the Bangladesh government provides emergency protection, food, shelter, and other life-saving assistance. The presence of huge Rohingya refugees has caused a major impact on natural resources and accelerated the refugee-host conflict in southeast Bangladesh. Competition for natural resources such as fuelwood, construction materials, clean water, and wild food has become a matter of immediate concern in Cox's Bazar district. Increasing pressure on local natural resources has impacted the wellbeing and lives of both the host and Rohingya people. To improve the degraded environmental settings and natural resources, I suggest several recommendations/actions such as: actively involving locals and Rohingyas in social forestry, reforestation, soil and mountain management; providing adequate alternative fuel sources to poor people of host communities and refugees; improving drainage and soil restoration initiatives in affected areas. Last but not least, multiple stakeholders may play a key role in resolving the conflict and promoting social cohesion among the affected host communities and refugees.

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situation is similar in East Asia, especially in countries with historically low birth rates. such as Korea (1.0), Singapore (1.1) and Taiwan (1.1). (Anh, 2019). For women who decide to have children, not only do they have fewer children, but they also give birth late. Studies in Australia and Canada show that the average age of having a child is 30 years old (in 2006, 2007) and in 2005, the age of first motherhood among women over 35 years old was 11% (Le 2020). In recent years, Vietnam has witnessed a continuous decline in fertility. After 2005 (the year Vietnam reached the replacement fertility rate with a fertility rate of 2.11 children/woman), the fertility rate in Vietnam decreased by 0.1 unit and preliminary data in 2018, the fertility rate dropped to only 2.05 children/woman (General Statistics Office 2021)

It can be seen that, in our results, there is a low birth rate, women are giving birth late, or not even giving birth, all of which seem to have become new patterns of modern women. It is also easy to see that the more industrialized and more developed countries are, the more strongly those birth patterns are expressed. The relationship between the process of modernization and the change of socio-cultural structure as well as the pattern of human behavior is the most important point of modernization theory. This theory holds that eventually, countries will develop according to the Western model in socio-economic aspects, and the fertility pattern is no exception.

The above empirical studies seem to confirm the validity of modernization theory. However, this theory is one of the most heavily criticized theories today. The main criticisms are the tendency to favor the West, which is based on the foundation of capitalist ideology, has traces of social Darwinism (Goorha 2010) and has equated industrialization with modernization. (Tipps 1973). Some researchers have even argued that modernization theory is a mistake (Roxborough 1988) because the modernization process simply does not exist (Marsh, 2014) and thus the Classical Modernization Theory has become extinct (Goorha 2010).

There are several reasons, however, that the future of modernization theory is not entirely pessimistic. Firstly, Modernization Theory is much improved now than in the past, especially conceptually, it has tried to remove the political and ideological elements and use neutral terms. For example, contemporary modernization theorists have distinguished 'modernity' from 'civilization' and often compare modern societies with 'social tradition', avoiding the use of outdated concepts or 'barbarism' (Tipps 1973). Secondly, there is strong empirical evidence for differences between agrarian-traditional and industrial-modern countries (Marshall 1998). there is a general process of social structural change due to the effects of population growth, urbanization, the decline of traditional power, viewpoints (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner 2006). Many researchers also agree on the negative effects that are characteristic of modern societies - which are absent or very rare in traditional societies - such as the erosion of traditional values, a state of lifelessness, inhumanity and the appearance of social problems, which are characterized by an increase in crime (Lawson and Garrod 2001). Thirdly, the application potential of the theory is still a lot and is used in many fields, including the population field.

Demographic modernization theory is supported by the fact that where higher indicators of modernization see a decrease in the need for children, many parallel with the phenomenon of using multiple methods of contraception, abortion and delayed marriage (Nag et al., 1980). The reasons for this trend are often explained in economic terms. The factors that determine fertility from an economic approach are the demand for children and the costs of fertility control. The factors that determine the need for children are income, the price of children relative to goods, and preferences for having children. children compared with goods) (Easterlin, 1975, p.56) extended the economic approach by introducing the concept of 'psychic costs' in addition to 'market costs'

Even so, the economic-based modernization theory's explanation still has a major weakness in that it cannot anticipate the confounding factor of culture. Some authors, while studying the influence of culture, have even suggested that the diffusion of ideas about birth control behaviors, nuclear families and the small family model may precede the social structural change (Hirschman, 1994; Freedman, 1979). Several studies have showed that the idea of small family sizes spreads rapidly among families regardless of their economic status. (between rich and poor families) and place of residence (urban and rural areas) in some localities in countries/regions such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, S.Korea (Freedman, 1979). In addition, there is some evidence to suggest that unintended childbirth cannot be explained by an economic approach (Easterlin, 1975).

The emergence of cultural factors makes the approach to modernization in the field of population more or less questionable about its effectiveness. However, while the arguments of modernization theory on fertility are based on regional and global data, the arguments for the role of culture are largely based on data at the community, local and national levels. In addition, while the studies applying modernization theory mainly use quantitative data, the probability sampling method should be highly representative, the studies with cultural factors often use the data of qualitative and scientists used an interpretivism approach. It is not fair to say which approach is more effective, but it is also unfair to say that modernization theory is outdated.

This paper is an attempt to test the validity of modernization theory in the field of population through an exploratory survey of childbearing in several countries/territories in East Asia (such as South Korea, Hong Kong) and Southeast Asia (represented by Thailand and Laos). The key research question is: What are the current fertility patterns in some Asian countries, and do they support the modernization theory?

Methodology

Theory

The process of modernization in both economic and social aspects will have a strong impact on fertility. The increase in career opportunities, the improvement of education level, and the status of women are manifestations and consequences of this process, and these affect women's childbearing behavior (Baschieri, 2007). Common behavioral patterns of childbearing are: having few children (Nag et al., 1980; Bulatao, 1984; Adhikari, 2010; Awad, 2017; Alam, 2018; Cabella, 2018), few Preference for sex of child (Uddenberg et al, 1971; Steinbacher & Gilroy, 1985; Hammer& Mcferran , 1988), giving birth out of emotional rather than economic necessity (Hoffman, 1988).

The analytical model proposed in this article is translated from modern theory, which explores the influence of the country's socio-economic development level (representing the level of economic modernization in Vietnam). - national society), social class (representing the socio-economic status of individuals in the social stratification system) and individual demographic characteristics (representing the level of education and mother's age). (See figure 1)

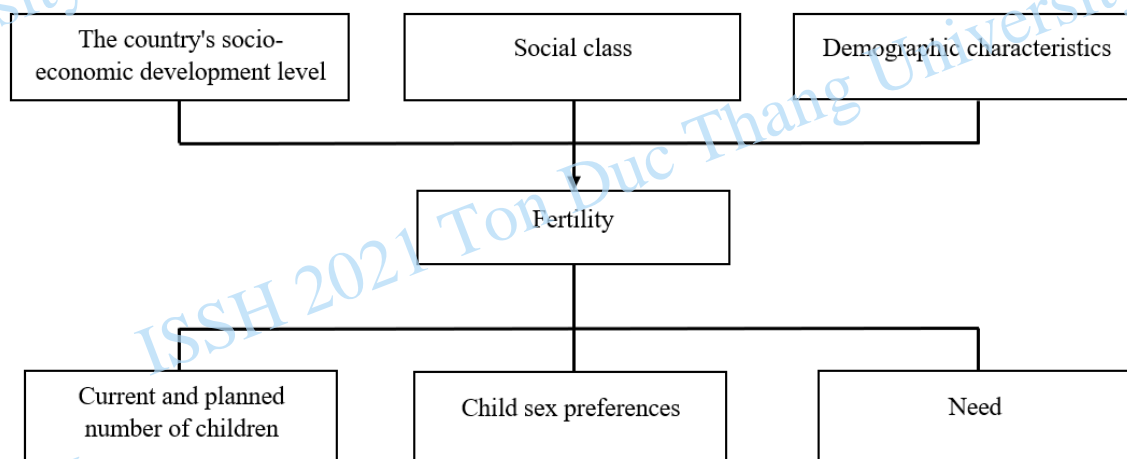


Figure 1: Conceptual framework

The hypothesis posed in this article is:

- H1. Families now maintain the status of having few children (from 1-2 children).
- H2. Most women show equality in their child's sex preferences in subsequent births
- H3. The need to have children for emotional reasons is stronger than economic reasons
- H4. Young, highly educated, middle-class women in industrialized countries clearly demonstrate the modern pattern of childbirth.

Data sources

The data source is taken from a cross-sectional survey conducted by the author and a group of foreign students studying at Ton Duc Thang University in the 1st semester, the academic year 2020-2021. Research objects are women from 21-68 years old from countries/regions: S.Korea, Hong Kong, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam. A closed questionnaire with 21 questions is designed into 2 main parts: 1) Parenting pattern, 2) Personal information.

The method of sampling snow pellets is done through the following steps: 1) Make a list of foreign students studying Introductory to Sociology at Ton Duc Thang University, 2) Select students from different nationalities of S. Korea, Hong Kong, Thailand, Laos to conduct the questionnaire training, 3) The trained people will translate the Vietnamese questionnaire into their national language and conduct the interview (or send the questionnaire via email) object.

The main concepts in the study are measured through the following indicators: 1) The concept of childbearing pattern is measured through indicators: current number of children, intention to have children, sex preferences to second child, the need to have children; 2) The concept of demographic characteristics includes indicators: age, social class, religion, education level, country/territory, family structure, type of housing.

Data were processed using SPSS 20.0 software. Descriptive statistics method was used to present demographic characteristics of survey objects, birth patterns. Meanwhile, the bivariate analysis method is used to test the relationship between the factors of socio-economic development level of the country (through the variable of nationality), social class of the family and demographic characteristics for childbearing patterns. It should be added that the survey can only be a snapshot – without controls for class, elite status, career demarcation. Thus, the research results from our sample of 139, seeks descriptive rather than inferential statistical evidence for the hypotheses generated.

Characteristics of research objects

Figure 2 depicts the demographic characteristics of the study objects. Two groups of mothers from East Asia (South Korea, Hong Kong) and Southeast Asia (Thailand, Laos, Vietnam) participated in the survey with 45% and 55% respectively. In which, the majority of participants in the study were middle-aged mothers with an average age of 36.3, middle class (63.3%), Buddhist (52.9%), university graduate or above (67.6%), living in a nuclear family model (74.1%).

Figure 2: Demographic characteristics of the respondents who are mothers

		N	%
Age			
Mean: 36.3			
Min : 21.0			
Max : 68.0			
Social class			
	Middle class	88	63.3
	Working class	51	36.7
Religion			
	Buddhism	72	52.9
	Roman Catholicism	10	7.4
	Protestantism	10	7.4
	Other Religions	2	1.5
	No religion	42	30.9
Mother's education level			
	High school	44	32.4
	University and above	92	67.6
Country/ Territory			
	S. Korea	31	22.3
	Hong Kong	5	3.6
	Laos	14	10.0
	Thailand	30	21.5
	Vietnam	59	42.6
Family structure			
	Nuclear	103	74.1
	Extended	36	25.9

Research results

Childbirth patterns

Childbearing pattern is understood as the needs, intentions, and behavior of couples to have children (married or unmarried). In this study, childbearing patterns were measured through indicators such as the current number of children, whether or not they intend to have another child, preferences for the next child's sex, and the need to have children.

Figure 3 depicts birth patterns in families in the sample. The results show that the majority of families have 1-2 children (89.9%), in which the proportion of families with two children is higher than that of one child. The majority of families did not plan to have another child (66.7%) and the number of families planning to have another child was as same as the number who hesitated (16.7%). The mother's motivation to have children is said to be mainly because of the emotional needs (Primary Ties and Affection) (66.3%), while the economic needs (Economic-Utilitarian) and the need for achievement and creativity. (Achievement, Competence, and Creativity) are nearly equal at 16.6% and 17.1%, respectively).

Figure 3: Patterns of childbirth

		N	%
Current number of children			
	1 child	50	36.2
	2 children	74	53.6
	3 children	14	10.1
Planning to have a baby			
	Yes	23	16.7
	No	92	66.7
	Don't know	23	16.7
The need to have a baby			
	Economic-Utilitarian	29	16.6%
	Primary Ties and Affection	116	66.3%
	Achievement, Competence, and Creativity	30	17.1%

Thus, the research results fully support the hypothesis H1 (*Families now maintain the status of having few children (from 1-2 children)*), H3 (*The need to have children for emotional reasons is stronger than economic reasons*). However, hypothesis H2 (*Most women show equality in employment*). *preference on the child's sex in subsequent births*), was not tested because the number of respondents in each group was not statistically significant.

Factors associated with childbearing patterns

The difference in the number of children

Social class often has a strong influence on human behavior because it creates limitations on resources (time, finance, social relationships) to action. In this study, social class is measured through parental occupation indicator - one of the most popular indicators of social stratification criteria (Turner, 2012; Giddens & Sutton, 2017)

Research results show that younger, university-educated, working-class mothers in S. Korea & Hong Kong have fewer children than Laos & Thailand but the average number in Vietnam is the least.. (See Figure 4). It can be seen that the results almost completely support the

hypothesis H4 (*Young, highly educated, middle-class women in industrialized countries clearly show modern childbearing patterns*) in terms of number of children born. Specifically, the data show that the age, education, and level of socio-economic development of the country have a negative relationship with the number of children and the number of children of middle-class families. more than working-class families. However, the differences between countries with different levels of development in fertility are not consistent, with the average number of children in Vietnam - a developing country - being the lowest.

Figure 4: Some factors related to the current number of children

	N	Mean
Mother's age		
From 40 years old and under	50	1.78
From 41 years old and above	31	1.80
Mother's education level		
High school	40	1.80
University and above	92	1.70
Parents' social class		
Middle class	88	1.82
Working class	51	1.61
Region		
S. Korea & Hong Kong	36	1.77
Laos & Thailand	44	1.84
Vietnam	57	1.67

Needs Children Satisfy

Needs Children Satisfy is measured through values such as economic needs (Economic-Utilitarian) (helping parents in childhood and adulthood), emotional needs (Primary Ties and Affection). (children help satisfy the need to be loved, which strengthens marriage), the need for achievement and creativity (Achievement, Competence, and Creativity) (the sense of being a complete woman and the feeling of satisfaction). when having children and when raising children well). Research results show that there are three factors that make a significant difference to a woman's need to have children: the mother's age, the mother's education level and the social class of the child's family. Figure 6 shows that middle-class, university-educated, middle-class mothers in East Asia (S. Korea & Hong Kong) place greater emphasis on achievement/creation needs and less on economic needs. than mothers aged 41 years and over, with a high school education, in the working class, in Southeast Asia (Laos, Thailand, Vietnam)

Figure 5: Some factors related to the mother's need to have children

	Economy		Affection		Achievement/ Creativity	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mother's age						
From 40 years old and under	14	20	39	57.3	15	22.7
From 40 years old and above	8	21.6	23	62.1	6	16.3
Mother's education level						
High school	16	25.4	38	60.3	9	14.3
University and above	13	11.9	76	69.7	20	18.4
Parents' social class						
Middle class	15	14.1	69	65.1	22	20.8
Working class	14	20	48	68.6	8	11.4
Region						
S. Korea & Hong Kong	1	2.5	29	72.5	10	25
Laos & Thailand	20	31.3	34	53.1	10	15.6
Vietnam	7	7	54	77.1	9	15.9

This result almost completely supports the hypothesis H4 (*Young, highly educated, middle-class women in industrialized countries clearly demonstrate modern childbearing patterns*) in terms of child needs. However, the number of responses in the groups of economic needs and achievement/creativity was lower than 30 cases. Therefore, studies with larger sample sizes are needed to increase the reliability of this conclusion.

Discussion

Research results show that the birth pattern of some families in East Asia and Southeast Asia today has all the characteristics of the modern childbearing model such as: low birth rate (from 1-2 children), emphasizing emotional value over economic value of children. Modernization seems to be a plausible explanation for this phenomenon as young, well-educated, middle-class women in more advanced countries have fertility patterns by modern standards higher than other women. The most likely reason is that the decision to have children is a negotiated process between husband and wife and is highly dependent on future life situations that make it difficult for even highly educated and wealthy women to have children. Well-off economic conditions are still uncertain about his plans.

Thus, when the cultural variable is controlled (the topic only examines childbearing patterns in Asian countries/regions, heavily influenced by Confucian philosophy), the modernization theory seems to be suitable to explain the concept and behavior of families to have children. However, due to the small sample size and the non-probability sampling method, the research results and conclusions drawn from them are only a study exploratory and suggestive research for further studies on a larger scale in which the correlation between independent and dependent variables will be clearly identified, serving as the basis for testing, supplementing modernization theory in the topic of childbirth.

This exploratory study - show that modern theory remains a powerful, useful approach to research into childbirth in particular and the population in general despite some weaknesses such as small sample size and convenient sampling method. Further studies at the national or international level may prove the points of modernization theory in the field of reproduction more clearly, and will also uncover gaps for complementation and improvement. it.

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GIVING VOICE TO SITE, PLACE AND HISTORY: A CASE STUDY OF A CONTEMPORARY ART EXHIBITION IN A HERITAGE SETTING

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Abstract: In 2020 Ry Haskings and Vincent Alessi were invited to present a contemporary art exhibition in The Bahay Nakpil-Bautista, a heritage house museum in the district of Quiapo in Manila, an area dominated by its street vendors, mosque and cathedral, and its off-the-tourist travel identity. Built in 1914, the house is nationally significant as an intact example of Vienna Succession architecture and for its connection with key Filipino revolutionary figures; its importance officially recognised in 2011 by the National Historical Commission of the Philippines who declared it an important cultural property. The practice of curating contemporary art in heritage spaces came to the fore in the late 20th century, particularly in the UK. In discussing this phenomena, Niki Black and Rebecca Farley argue that this upward trajectory 'led to a rapid growth in heritage tourism and through this a transformation in both heritage and contemporary art audiencing.' This paper will discuss Haskings and Alessi's project, exploring its methodology, curatorial approach and its role in expanding the Bahay Nakpil-Bautista's audience. It will explore Quiapo's complex past and present, particularly as a site now rarely visited by many Manila residents and how this project enabled Haskings and Alessi to continue their ongoing engagement and exploration of history, site and place.

Keywords: Contemporary Art; Curatorial Practice; Heritage Sites; Tourism

Introduction

The practice of curating contemporary art in heritage spaces came to the fore in the late 20th century, particularly in the UK. In discussing this phenomena, Niki Black and Rebecca Farley argue that this upward trajectory 'led to a rapid growth in heritage tourism and through this a transformation in both heritage and contemporary art audiencing' (Black, N and R. Farley, 2020, p. 16) .This paper discusses our 2020 project *Moral Assembly Vest*, the first contemporary art exhibition at The Bahay Nakpil-Bautista, a heritage house in the district of Quiapo in Manila, an area dominated by street vendors, a mosque and cathedral, and its off-the-tourist map identity. It will explore the project's methodology, curatorial approach and its role in expanding the Bahay Nakpil-Bautista's audience. It will discuss the guiding curatorial and conceptual principles which framed the making of artworks and the exhibition and discuss the role of contemporary art exhibitions in audience engagement strategies.

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Background

As regular visitors to Manila, we have accumulated knowledge of the Philippines's history & experienced navigating its capital city, one of the world's great mega-cities. We have done this via multiple and diverse channels: research, reading texts, visiting sites and having conversations with colleagues, academics and the occasional Grab or taxi driver. Our knowledge is a palimpsest of experience, ideas, opinions and historical facts. As such we are not experts but rather curious participants in an ongoing conversation and exploration. *Moral Assembly Vest* was an exhibition that reflected this position. This palimpsest of knowledge defined the making of the work and the curatorial voice for the project, presented Bahay Nakpil-Bautista.

Built in 1914, the Bahay Nakpil-Bautista is one of Quiapo's finest homes, lovingly restored by the descendants of the original inhabitants. It is nationally significant as an intact example of Vienna Succession architecture but perhaps more importantly for its connection with key Filipino revolutionary figures.

The house was designed by the famous architect Arcadio Arellano for Dr Ariston Bautista and his wife, Petrona Nakpil. Old time residents of Quiapo they were eventually joined by Petrona's brother Julio, a pianist and composer, and his wife Gregoria de Jesus, the widow of Andres Bonifacio, the driving force and founder of the Katipunan, the revolutionary group which declared war on the Spanish in 1896. These two families were staunch Nationalists and had close ties with the Katipunan. Bautista was friends with Jose Rizal, considered the undisputed National hero of the Philippines, and helped secretly distribute his novels. Julio Nakpil was close friends with Bonifacio, serving as his Supremo in Manila and composing Revolutionary songs, including the national hymn of the Great Katipunan, which was conceived as the first national anthem. Gregoria de Jesus, was not only the widow of the great Bonifacio, she was also integral in helping organise and lead the women's chapter of the Katipunan.

Today the Bahay Nakpil-Batista is an important historical architectural example as well as a memorial for the Katipunan. It is home to important historical flags, archives, paintings and objects, including the rattan bench seat that was used by the founding fathers of the Katipunan at their first secret meeting. The house continues to act as a place for meeting and discussing pressing issues in a non-partisan and neutral manner. It doesn't seek to be an authority or to claim a position. Like its original patriotic and revolutionary occupants, it has the greater good as its core function and it was an ideal venue for an exhibition like *Moral Assembly Vest* which was likewise non-authoritative and purposely open to conversation and meaning.

The district of Quiapo, where the house is located, was also an important conceptual pillar in the development of the exhibition. Once seen as the jewel in Manila's crown, Quiapo is now viewed by most locals as the 'other'. Whenever Haskings and Alessi mentioned that they were developing and presenting a project in Quiapo the general reaction was one of surprise: although it was not clear whether this surprise was shock, disbelief, admiration or disgust.

Quiapo is now part punk, part pop. It is historic, manic, crowded and multi-layered, bringing together people from all walks of life. It is a microcosm of all things held dear by Filipinos: religion, shopping, show business and décor. It cuts across class-lines and with its fiesta-type atmosphere enthralls visitors, both tourists and locals alike. It is important for understanding Manila and the Philippines. Embedded in this pocket of the city is the history of the Spanish, the Americans and the rise of the Filipino Nation. It is a place of boom and bust, imagination and reimagination, religion and commerce and the general manic feel of Manila. Looking through the streets one sees chaos and excitable energy. Cast your eyes upwards and you also see evidence of the splendour of the old Quiapo. Ornate buildings that housed the wealthy and

in the case of the Bahay Nakpil-Batista, the history of the Katipunan, and the holding place for the works created by Haskings for *Moral Assembly Vest*.

The artworks

For *Moral Assembly Vest I* (Haskings) made three related sculptural/installation elements that were placed in different spaces within the various rooms that make up the Bahay Nakpil-Bautista.

Each element was built around the skeletons of old sidecars that can be found attached to Manila's renowned trikes. These sidecars were reconditioned for the installation with canvas roofing and other comfort features removed, stripped back to their steel frames and panels. To position the sidecars, stacks of cleaning rags – specifically made from sewn together recycled t-shirts unique to Manila and sold throughout the streets of Quiapo – were placed under the connection points between the floor and the sidecars.

Cut to shape text-based stickers and ben-day dot photocopy textures and images were sparingly adhered on to the sidecars. Large high-quality colour photographs - three printed on photographic paper and another three on a fabric material - were cropped, cut into long strips and draped through the sidecars' roof-frames. These images captured a range of details and documentary evidence of research through several disparate yet somewhat related fields relating to Manila.

The stickers consisted of appropriated fonts from the titles of three related films by the renowned Philippines director Marilou Diaz-Abaya; *Moral*, *Brutal* and *Karnal*. These films depicted the social conditions of women's lives and experiences during the late 1970s and early 1980s, the period of martial law and the economic and political instability that led to the EDSA revolution of 1986 and the end of the Marcos dictatorship. The photographs, printed on to photographic paper, related to my research of the Katipunan. Rather than documenting any direct historical imagery of the Katipunan, I used photographs I had commissioned depicting spaces around the Museum of the Katipunan, in Manila's San Juan district and the Bonifacio and Katipunan Monument in Ermita, Manila. These images focussed on a range of colourful objects and detritus that built aesthetic connections between the pictorial materials placed on the sidecars. A series of three black and white photocopied prints that revealed obvious ben-day dot effects were adhered to steel panels on each of the sidecars. These prints related to Anting-Anting amulets that feature throughout Filipino history from the Katipunan, to Ferdinand Marcos and in popular culture to the story of Nardong Putik, a Filipino gangster from Cavite province.

Between these three entities I found serendipitous links to develop a historical assemblage of place; an assemblage developed through a halo-halo methodology. The term, halo-halo, which in English translates to mixed together, is the name of a unique desert that developed from colonial influencers such as the Japanese and American and is sold throughout the Philippines. Using such a methodology allowed me to engage with multiple historical moments in some depth and to construct a unique position of enquiry. It was developed to respond to problems of colonial authorship specific to site-specific art while developing perspectives of place through strategies that preference a heterogeneous mode of historical and political investigation.

The in-depth networked approach to research developed for this project was limited specifically to three fields of historical research for various reasons. Limiting the fields to two offers a binary mode of analysis that is constrained by comparison and the identification of what is lacking. When opening the fields to three, diversity and difference is discovered while

also allowing meaningful observations to occur. A constraint of three fields, rather than any more, was implemented so as to maintain a level of control over the complexity that resulted from multiple historical fields and their associations alongside the aesthetic products of these fields.

Serendipity and intuitive moves were related functions for this project. Serendipity enabled connections between the historical fields of investigation while intuitive moves guided the practice-led contemporary art outcomes. Using these two distinct functions was important because of their subjective dimension. They could describe something of the collective experience of a place and the added complexity of an individual's experience of a new place with all of the stimuli, interest and understanding that that can bring. By understanding difference through modes of data collection and physical material assemblage, a heterogeneous position, closer to the complexities of this site-specific project, was reached.

The site was also an important aspect for my conceptual assemblage of and incongruously placed works. The Bahay Nakpil-Bautista provided an alternative way of reading the works which would have been lost in a white-cube gallery; in the latter context the project's conceptual reach would have been inhibited. The Bahay Nakpil-Bautista allowed audiences, who were generally tourists, a way into the deeply complex and conceptual ideas of the work. Initially, this was done via historical discovery embedded in the house and its permanent displays and subsequently through the frame of contemporary art. Additionally, the aesthetic of the works reflected the chaotic bustling of Quiapo's streets with its detritus, visual chaos and repurposed vehicles and architecture. Therefore, these works not only directed conceptual lines of relation to the history of the building for visitors, but also outside of the house to present day Manila. The work was also designed to point audiences at once at Manila and Philippines histories, but also the present regarding this site. If the work were placed in the street outside the Historic House within the chaotic bustling of Quiapo, the detritus, visual chaos, repurposed vehicles and architecture would consume these assemblages' concepts and aesthetic and the relationship would be clear.

While free associative relations expanded out from the sculptural installations, the work was still constrained and reliant upon its site for its precise reading. Moreover, standing on the street outside of the house, it became clear that the work was also situated uniquely as an assemblage within the larger assemblage of place, of Quiapo, and its condensed marketplaces, churches, informal settlements, historic buildings and busy streets.

The curatorial voice

For *Moral Assembly Vest*, the curatorial voice, usually held by the curator, was devolved to the exhibition space, the Bahay Nakpil-Bautista. The voice of the house informed all decision taken by my (Alessi) in the curating of the space and the writing of the accompanying texts. This process was reached by researching the original rhythms and functions of the house and the stories of its inhabitants, its contemporary role as a historical house museum and archive for the history of the Katipunan.

In initial discussions with Haskings and then the custodians of the house, I intended to empty certain rooms of their furniture, paintings and informative didactic posters, in order to create a clean open gallery-like space. However, this was quickly dismissed in favour of intervening into the space without any disruptions. Haskings' artworks were to sit alongside and in conversation with the house and its museum-associated artefacts; the house was to remain as the primary conversant in the relationship. The jarring juxtaposition of Haskings works would also draw attention to the objects in each room and the architecture of the house, thereby not

dismissing its primary function of a museum. As such, it created dual exhibitions, different in intent and aesthetic, within a singular space.

The selection of the rooms for the artworks was based on scale but also in response to certain historical functional aspects of the house. The spaces chosen – the mezzanine landing at street level, the formal lounge area and the dining room – all had and have particular functions which speak to the conceptual framework of the artworks and the project as a whole.

The mezzanine landing, the location of the first trike, is a place which acts as a mediating space between the private realm of the house and the public domain of the street. It overlooks the cobblestoned courtyard where vehicles can enter, dropping off goods and visitors alike. The physical aspect of the trike reflects this idea of arrival and means of transport. Moreover, it is an aesthetic link with a defining feature of the external streetscape; the endlessly parked and moving trikes buzzing around the neighbourhood.

The two further works were placed within the private sphere of the house and spoke to the porous nature of the building. The imposing figures of the trikes, while seemingly out of place in these living areas, related to crucial aspects of the house and its history. They engaged with the house's past and existing function as a place of discussion and bringing people together; its role as a museum and platform for cultural programming; and lastly as a living history and archive of the Katipunan.

One work was placed in the large lounge area, which engages with the street below. The privacy of the lounge opens-up by way of wall-length windows where one can engage directly with the public space of the street. In an interview with Maria Santos-Viola, current Director of the house museum and descendant of the original owners, she recalled how those living in the house would have conversations through the open windows with those below on the street, including the children of the house, who would organise times to play with their friends who lived in neighbouring properties. Today, such conversations continue. This room is porous. It is both a sanctuary, a reception and space for private conversations but also, due to its wide and openable shutters, a portal for public engagement through direct conversation and ambient noise.

The third work was positioned in the main dining area. The dining room, located on the same floor as the lounge, was the original hub of the home. It is where adults and children came together for meals – albeit sitting at different tables – and where guests were entertained. Today, it continues to bring people together: for meals, lectures and meetings.

The inclusion of didactic panels and an exhibition catalogue was also reimagined. Rather than providing information about the artworks I decided to take a non-authoritative conversational approach. The original idea of didactic texts imbedded in bespoke timber-stands and a catalogue with an essay was dismissed. In its place was the printing of a newspaper which contained numerous articles about the key conceptual framing devices of the works and project without overtly connecting, intervening or trying to describe the artworks. The articles within the newspaper were written in a journalistic voice. They included reviews of the exhibition and the three Díaz-Abaya films, travel/tourist articles on Quiapo and the Bahan Nakpil-Batista, an editorial on the disputed recognition of Bonifacio within the national-building narrative and an historical essay on the anting anting vests. These were stand-alone articles where any form of conceptual linking between the articles to understand the artworks was at the behest of the reader.

The idea of the newspaper was informed by a key historical convention for visitors. Upon arrival, they would be met by a porter at the landing, the location of the first of Haskings trikes, who would ask who they had come to visit. They would take a seat and wait to hear if they

would be received. While waiting they could read the daily newspaper. This landing is an interim space, one of waiting, contemplation, hesitancy, expectation and thought. In the exhibition it acted in a similar way. The history of the building selected it as the location for the installation and reading of the exhibition newspaper.

The last component of the house-centred curatorial voice was the decision to include all of my notes, images and archival material in files available to the public. Like the newspaper and Haskings approach to the artworks, these were non-authoritative and non-directive. While filed under different headings, they were made available in the dining room, a place of meeting, discussion and reading, to be viewed at one's own leisure and directed by their own interests.

Conclusion

The Bahay Nakpil-Bautista is a heritage house museum. Its displays and the composition of the rooms follow a diorama museum methodology. Its core audiences are tourists and locals interested in the Katipunan, including school groups. In contrast, *Moral Assembly Vest* was a contemporary art installation/intervention and curatorial project. It was defined conceptually by three historical pillars, brought together within the structure of Manila's omnipresent trikes, all the while listening to the history of the house for guidance. It also explored how contemporary art and curatorial practice could engage together in unique ways and how such approaches work within heritage tourist sites.

At the opening event many of our artistic peers, colleagues and friends commented on how they rarely came out to Quiapo and how they had never visited the Bahay Nakpil-Bautista. *Moral Assembly Vest* was their portal for visiting, engaging and exploring. In the first instance they came to engage with the contemporary art objects, Haskings assemblages, but they were also quickly engaged with the history of the house and its displays – old furniture, paintings, flags, dioramas and posters which spoke about the history of the building, its inhabitants and their connection to the Katipunan. They also had to navigate the streets of Quiapo, that part of the city, that was always the 'other' and not an area they felt they needed to visit. Our non-authoritative approach also encouraged discussions on contested historical narratives, such as whether Bonifacio, and not Rizal, should be seen as the great liberator and founder of independence, as well as folk traditions, such as Anting Anting vests and amulets. Political discussions were common with our peers, but the ambience and history of the house provided new ways to think about and engage with this and raised questions about the construction of national narrative and contemporary political life. They are discussions that live within the fabric of the house, which continues to be added to by its current function as a museum and venue of ongoing open discussion, and which *Moral Assembly Vest* has contributed to as a project and invitation to a wider audience to visit.

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EXAMINING THE EFFECT OF DESTINATION BRAND EQUITY DIMENSIONS AND NOVELTY REGARDING REVISIT INTENTION

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Abstract: The novelty of a destination is always a factor which stimulates tourists' motivation to travel. Meanwhile, tourist destination marketers always want to improve the competitiveness of their destination brand equity. Is there a relationship between destination brand equity and tourists' revisit intention under the influence of destination novelty? This paper examines the relationship between the components of destination brand equity (specifically about destination brand awareness, destination brand image, destination brand perceived quality, destination brand loyalty) and the revisit intention of tourists; and their impact on tourists' revisit intention to the destination under the influence of novelty. By conducting an online survey with a sample size of 467 international tourists who had visited Vietnam before, the obtained data were analyzed using SmartPLS 3. Results showed that the components of destination brand equity are positively related to revisit intentions of tourists. Additionally, novelty has positive moderating effects on the relationship between destination brand awareness and revisit intentions and also has positive moderating effects on the relationship between destination perceived quality and revisit intentions of tourist. The study also suggests some future research directions which might make practical contributions to Vietnam's destination brand from the perspective of foreigners. At the same time, they are good strategies to support the further development of Vietnam's tourism industry.

Keywords: Destination brand equity; Revisit intention of tourists; Destination novelty;

1. Introduction

Unlike other tangible products, tourist destinations are unique and not marketed. They are also considered intangible products, multidimensional and can give tourists different experiences, so it is subjective and depends on trip itinerary, purpose of trip, culture, education level and the experienced travel in the past. For this reason, destination brands become riskier because much of what makes up a brand can sometimes be altered by relatively simple human influences, natural events and natural or sometimes targeted intervention. As a result, other destinations cannot directly determine destination brand equity. Instead, brand equity must be assumed based on tourists' spending, revisits compared to renewal rates and overall visit rates (Szymanski & Hise 2000). Measuring the effectiveness of destination brand equity building on visitor perception is considered an essential tool for assessing intention to visit or return to a place (Pike & Bianchi 2013).

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Previous studies have shown that tourists tend to choose new and different experiences, not because of a lack of satisfaction but because they want to experience something opposite of their previous experiences (Crompton 1979; Bigné et al., 2009; Niininen et al., 2004). It is a challenge for the tourism industry, as returning tourists is both economically and practically beneficial (Darnell & Johnson 2001; Tjørve et al., 2018). Dedeoglu et al. (2018) argue that tourists who perceive novelty in the experience will want to experience the sensation again and thus may exhibit behavioural intentions. Through the issues mentioned above, the relationship between destination brand equity and destination revisit under the influence of novelty requires further research.

In addition, most empirical and conceptual tourism research focuses only on destination image (Kim & Perdue 2011; Blain, Levy, & Ritchie 2005; Konecnik 2004; Gnoth 2002; Cai 2002) in measuring destination brand equity, but other aspects are still needed to accurately assess the effectiveness of destination brand equity (Konecnik & Gartner 2007; Gartner & Ruzzier 2011). Furthermore, diverse quantitative methods are needed to effectively recognize the constitutive elements of brand equity (Chan & Marafa 2013). However, the lack of research on measuring destination brand equity has exposed the complexity of such assessments, and destination brand equity is a potential research gap that researchers need. Much more must be done in the future to expand into measuring repositioning and brand equity strategies (Pike & Bianchi 2016).

Therefore, this study aims to provide tourism researchers with a comprehensive overview of the general context and clarifying the relationship between the components of destination brand equity and the intention to revisit of tourists, specifically about destination brand awareness, destination brand image, destination brand perceived quality, destination brand loyalty; and their impact on tourists' intention revisit to the destination under the influence of destination novelty. Research concepts, relationships between factors will be clarified by analyzing previously studied destination brand equity literature and. On that basis, the authors propose a theoretical model and research hypotheses. By analyzing the data collected from the 467 online surveys with the point of view of international tourists with intend to revisit to their previous tourist destination trip. The study also suggests some future research directions in order to make practical contributions to Vietnam's destination brand from the perspective of foreigners. At the same time, they are good strategies to support the further development of Vietnam's tourism industry.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Destination brand equity

2.1.1 Destination brand awareness

Destination brand awareness is defined as the image of the destination that exists in the minds of potential tourists (Konecnik & Gartner 2007). When a tourist destination wants to be successful, it must first gain the recognition of tourists (Milman & Pizan 1995). In tourism, perception plays a vital role in tourists' intention to return to the destination (Yuan & Jang, 2008). As a result, how to generate visitors' views of a location through certain sentiments and connections with the place is a critical topic (Murphy et al., 2007). The purpose of destination marketing is to raise the awareness of the tourist destination by advertising and creating a distinctive brand (Jago et al., 2003). Destination selection is made from a selection set, based on tourist evaluation criteria. More specifically, destination marketers must raise awareness of destination-associated visual images as a means for tourists to perceive the destination brand.

2.1.2 Destination brand image

Destination brand image can be viewed as anything that associates the visitor's mind with the attributes of a particular city (Yuwo et al., 2013); it can be a country, an island or a town (Hall 2000). According to Cai (2002), building destination brand image is an important component in a destination brand equity model. Destination brand image refers to a set of connections associated with a brand tourist's mind, requiring the travellers to recreate the brand correctly from memory. Therefore, the more positive exposure, a tourist associates with a brand, the higher the brand value. Besides, the more unique and favorable images that tourists keep in their memory, the stronger the connection between tourists and destinations. Destinations make extensive use of images in promotional materials to raise awareness of attributes that set them apart from competitors.

2.1.3 Destination brand perceived quality

Destination brand perceived quality is defined as tourists' perception of the destination's ability to meet their expectations (Konecnik & Gartner 2007). Perceived quality is the customer's subjective assessment of a product's overall perfection or superiority (Zeithaml, 1988). Therefore, perceived quality is an important attribute of brand equity because it creates value for consumers by distinguishing the brand from competitors and giving consumers a reason to buy (Allameh et al., 2015). Destination brand quality is measured by two factors: service quality and physical quality. Personal experiences, special needs and consumption situations can influence a customer's subjective assessment of quality. For the tourism industry, the perceived quality of a destination compares tourists' actual perceptions and expectations about a destination's service quality and is the main factor affecting consumer behaviour (Myagmarsuren & Chen 2011).

2.1.4 Destination brand loyalty

Destination brand loyalty shows the degree of tourist attachment to a particular destination in terms of re-visit intention, along with the desire to recommend that destination to other travellers (Myagmarsuren & Chen 2011). Brand loyalty is often approached from two main aspects, which are: (1) Attitude: is the commitment of customers to the brand (Aaker 1991); and (2) Behaviour: The extent to which an entity has purchased a particular and in a unit of time (Javalgi & Moberg 1997). In this study, the description of brand loyalty was considered to be equivalent to a tourist's intention to visit a destination. Among the various indicators of brand loyalty, travelers' recommendations based on their personal experience/visits are considered an essential attribute (Oppermann 2000).

2.2 Revisit intention of tourists

Revisit intention to a destination is defined as an individual's willingness or willingness to make a repeat visit to the same destination (Tosun et al., 2015). Laroche and Teng (2001) argue that the brand selection process is sequential and in which brand understanding is shaped first, followed by three specific factors, ranked in order of importance, including attitude, trust level and purchase intention. Bian and Forsythe (2012) demonstrated that a personal trait affects their behavioural intentions and directly affects the behaviour's intentions (Szymanski & Hise 2000). Perceptions from visitors' previous experiences lead to their intention to return to the destination in the future. Travel motivation can be considered an indicator of their actions as their mindset to travel can greatly influence their future travel decisions (Jang & Namkung 2009). Some finding also emphasizes the importance of measuring tourism perception and identifying the brand equity factor affecting the intention to return to a tourist destination (Stokburger-Sauer 2011; Kim & Kim 2005; Boo et al., 2009).

2.3 Novelty

Novelty in travel experiences is 'the feeling that one is experiencing something new and the feeling that one is experiencing something different from the usual daily life' (Mitas & Bastiaansen 2018, p.99). Recent studies show that novel experiences can trigger strong emotions and enhance attention, thereby increasing the rememberability of the experience (Skavronskaya et al., 2020). Previous studies found a positive relationship between novelty and behavioural intention in experience (Chang et al., 2014; Dedeoglu et al., 2018; Jang & Feng 2007), and that novelty affects affect behavioural intention, both in the short and long term (Bigné et al., 2005; Bigné et al., 2009; Mitas & Bastiaansen 2018). Dedeoglu et al. (2018) that tourists who perceive novelty in the experience will want to experience the sensation again, and thus may exhibit behavioural intentions.

2.4 Hypothesis development

2.4.1 The relationship between the components of destination brand equity

The results of several studies demonstrate that destination brand awareness positively affects destination brand image (Tran, Nguyen, Tran, Tran & Huynh 2019; Subaqyo, Ujjianto & Susanti, 2019; Chen & Myagmarsuren 2011; Pike et al. 2010; Konecnik 2010); Positively affect destination brand perceived quality (Keller 1993; Tran, Nguyen, Tran, Tran & Huynh, 2019; Pike et al. 2010); Moreover, Kotsi, Pike and Gottlieb, (2018); Pike et al. (2010) also suggested that there is a relationship between destination brand awareness and destination brand loyalty. Similarly, for the relationship between destination brand perceived quality and destination brand image, research results of Myagmarsuren and Chen (2011) Aliman (2014); Konecnik (2010); Pike et al. (2010) demonstrated a direct, positive relationship between these two concepts.

At the same time, destination brand perceived quality can also influence destination brand loyalty (Huerta-Alvarez, Cambra-Fierro & Fuentes-Blasco, 2020; Tran, Nguyen, Tran, Tran, Huynh, 2019; Boo et al., (2009); Pike et al., 2010). With the actual research on tourist destinations, it has also been suggested that the positive relationship between destination brand image and destination brand loyalty is also confirmed by the actual research results of Tran, Nguyen, Tran, Tran, Huynh, (2019); Subaqyo, Ujjianto & Susanti, (2019); Kotsi, Pike, Gottlieb, 2018; Aliman (2014); Pike et al. (2010); Bianchi et al., (2010); Pike et al., (2010); Boo et al., (2009).

With these shreds of evidence, the authors propose to test hypotheses H1 to H6:

- H1. Destination brand awareness will have a direct and positive influence on destination brand perceived quality.
- H2. Destination brand awareness will have a direct and positive effect on destination brand image.
- H3. Destination brand perceived quality will have a direct and positive influence on the destination brand image.
- H4. Destination brand awareness will have a direct and positive influence on destination brand loyalty.
- H5. Destination brand perceived quality will have a direct and positive influence on destination brand loyalty.
- H6. Destination brand image will have a direct and positive influence on destination brand loyalty.

2.4.2 Destination brand equity and revisit intention of tourists

Previous studies suggested that perceived brand quality plays an important role in extending value to brand loyalty and consumer purchase (Low & Lamb 2000). Murphy et al. (2000) found that trip quality has a positive effect on tourists' perception of the trip, as well as the intention to return to the destination. Destination marketers aim to build a distinct, effective and powerful identity image on encouraging tourists' intention to travel, with the expectation, of course, of making them return loyal tourists (Camarero et al., 2010). The concept of loyalty has been widely applied in marketing strategies to assess repurchase likelihood or consumer recommendations (Flavian et al., 2001). Yoon and Uysal (2005) state that brand loyalty benefits tourist attractions because tourists can re-visit or recommend the place to other potential visitors. Baloglu (2001) studied tourism and showed that loyalty and intention to travel are positively correlated. Ferns and Walls (2012) studied tourism and showed that loyalty and intention to travel are positively correlated.

With these pieces of evidence, the authors propose to test hypotheses H7 to H10:

H7. Destination brand perceived quality will have a direct and positive influence on the revisit intention of tourists.

H8. Destination brand image will have a direct and positive influence on revisit intention of tourists.

H9. Destination brand loyalty will have a direct and positive influence on revisit intention of tourists.

H10. Destination brand awareness will have a direct and positive influence on revisit intention of tourists.

2.4.3 The role of the moderator of novelty

Previous studies have identified new levels of novelty based on current perceptions versus past experiences (Judd, 1988). Jang and Feng (2008) proposed a definition in which the intention to visit is the results from a subjective assessment of novelty-seeking. Tan et al. (2013) acknowledge that novelty with added value can create unique experiences for tourists. Low and Lamb (2000) also noted that brand loyalty and added value to the consumption experience of tourists was increased based on the destination novelty. Zhang et al. (2020) demonstrate that novelty and destination brand equity are closely related, novelty affected travel intention and intrinsic motivation through brand equity as they explore the nature of value added from brand equity was an important mediator that connected novelty and tourists' travel intentions. For tourists, the novelty of a tourist destination can stimulate their preferences and beliefs about the destination, influencing their attitudes and decision-making processes.

The results of Duman and Mattila (2005) show a close relationship between novelty seeking and tourist motivation. Accordingly, if a tourist seeks novelty in a tourist destination, then novel experiences will significantly influence the intention to return to the destination and the destination brand equity (Zhang et al. 2020).

With this evidence, the authors propose to test hypotheses H11 to H14:

H11. Destination novelty positively affects the relationship between destination brand awareness and revisit intention of tourists.

H12. Destination novelty positively affects the relationship between destination brand image and revisit intention of tourists.

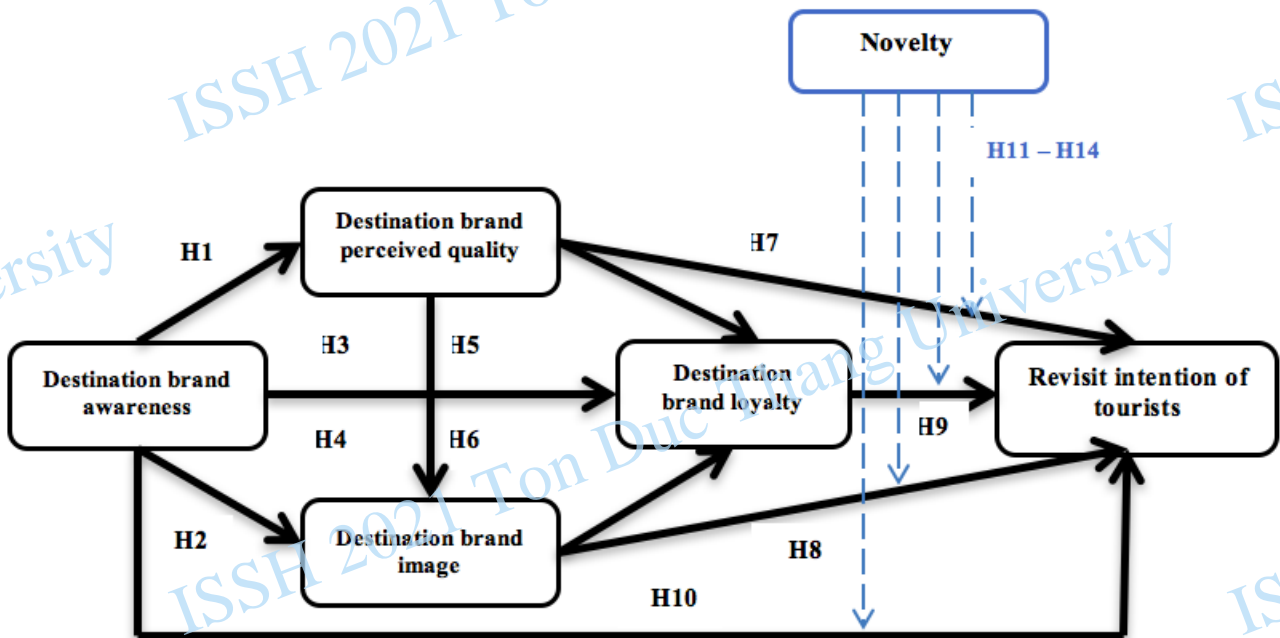


Figure 2.1: Research model

3. Methodology

3.1 Data collection and sample

The study adopted convenience sampling method. The main data were collected from an online survey conducted between May 2018 and August 2021. The questionnaire was executed individually to respondents online google form because of impact of the pandemic Covid-19. A total of 480 survey questionnaires were delivered, but the total valid sample was 467. This sample can be representative if comparing to the general profile of international tourists to Vietnam, as shown in Table 3.1, the characteristics of international visitors.

Variables	%	Variables	%	Variables	%
No. of previous visits		No. of days of travel		Gender	
1 time	44.8	Under 3 days	39.0	Male	44.5
2 times	29.3	3~7 days	26.8	Female	55.5
3 ~ 5 times	15.0	8~14 days	17.8	Education	
Above 5 times	10.9	15~ 30 days	13.1	Junior high school	8.1
Age		Over one month	3.4	Senior high school	30.2
<20	16.7	Travels with who		University	49.0
20-30	25.7	Alone	16.9	Graduate school	12.6
31-40	27.6	Spouse/Girlfriend/Boyfriend	26.8	Occupation	
41-50	16.5	Friends /Co-workers/ Classmates	30.8	Business people	13.1
51-60	8.6	Family or relatives	21.6	Professional	19.7
>61	4.9	Group tour	3.9	Education worker	13.3
Marital status		Main purpose(s)		Governmental officer	13.3
Single	53.1	food & cuisine	12.2	Workers	10.5
Married/partner	36.2	Religion	8.4	Housekeeper	5.4
Divorced/separated/widowed	10.7	Visit friend/ family	20.3	Retired servants	3.4
Monthly income		Shopping	9.2	Student	16.7
Below \$1000	16.7	Sightseeing	11.1	Others	3.6
\$1000-\$1999	16.3	Conference	5.1	Nationality	
\$2000-\$2999	17.3	Night life	4.9	Asia	28.5
\$3000-\$3999	28.3	Visit historic relics	11.3	America	22.9
\$4000-\$4999	13.1	Cultural experience	16.5	Europe	16.5
\$5000 and Above	6.0	Others	9.9	Australia/New Zealand	17.3
No income	2.4			Africa	14.8

Table 3.1: Demographic profiles (N=467)

3.2 Measures

The questionnaire is used to collect data for the variables of the research model, the author has referenced some scales of previous research documents. Specifically as follows: Destination brand awareness, 6 items, referenced from Pappu & Quester (2006); Yoo & Donthu (2001); Arnett & et al. (2003); Konecnik & Gartner (2007); Destination brand image, 4 items, referenced from Grace & O'Cass (2005) & Boo et al. (2009); Destination brand perceived quality, 5 items, referenced by Boo & et al (2009), Sweeney & Soutar (2001); Destination brand loyalty, 5 items, referenced from Bianchi & Pike (2011), Boo et al. (2009), Konecnik & Gartner (2007); Revisit intention, 3 items, referenced by Pike & Ryan (2004), Ryu & Jang (2006); Destination novelty, 5 items, referenced from Nicholson & Pearce's (2001), Zhang et al (2020), Blomstervik, et al (2020).

Principal component analysis was used to investigate the role of novelty and the components of brand equity in revisit intention. Partial least squares (PLS) analysis was employed to test the hypothesized model of destination brand equity. The data were processed with the SmartPLS version 3.0 statistical software package.

4. Results

4.1 Assessment of the measurement model: reliability, convergent and discriminant validity

The results show that the scales built in the research model have the necessary reliability, all have the reliability coefficient Cronbach's alpha > 0.7 and alpha coefficients ranged from 0.835 (Destination brand perceived quality) to 0.887 (Destination brand awareness). Besides, the analysis results show that the overall reliability of the scale fluctuates in the range [0.879; 0.914].

The observed variables of these scales will be further evaluated for convergence and discriminancy. According to the test results, the factors are reliable and have good convergence value; Composite reliability (CR) and average variance extracted (AVE) of the factors are all greater than the minimum values of $CR \geq 0.7$ and $AVE \geq 0.5$, respectively. Besides, the external loading coefficient of all observed variables is from 0.701 to 0.877, which is greater than the minimum value of 0.5. Therefore, it can be concluded that the observed variables in the factors in the research model all have convergent values.

According to Fornell and Larcker's conditional region results, all square roots of AVE with coefficients higher than 0.5 (ranging from 0.771 to 0.872) are satisfactory. In each factor, the square root of AVE has a higher value than the correlation coefficient of other factors in the same column. Therefore, all factors have discriminant value.

According to Garson (2016), the discriminant value between the two related variables is demonstrated when the HTMT index is less than 1. Besides, Henseler et al. (2015) believe that the HTMT value must be less than 0.9. The results of data analysis also show that the values of the HTMT index of each factor are lower than 0.9. Thus, the criterion of discriminant validity is established.

4.2. Structural model testing

4.2.1. Path coefficient

The proposed research model is estimated using PLS-SEM. The results of the tested measurement model are shown in Figure 4.1. The t (Bootstrap) value was used to estimate the statistical significance of each path coefficient. The results of figure 4.1 show that all links have a (+) impact on customer loyalty as well as the intention to return.

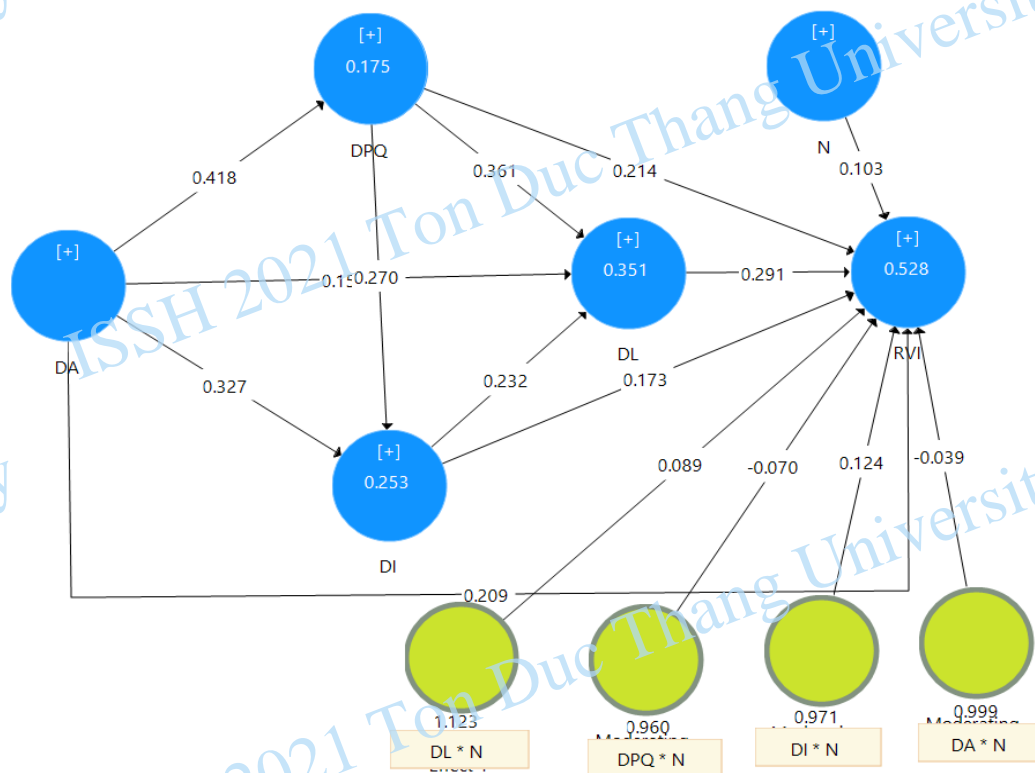


Figure 4.1: The impact of research factors

After performing the analysis of the external model, the internal model (structural model) is analyzed to specifically estimate the relationship between latent variables. Path coefficient values for endogenous latent variables and R-square analysis were used. It is important to note that significance is at the 5% level (p values < 0.05). Evaluation of research results was done through non-parametric Bootstrap analysis (Bootstrap test). Table 4.1 shows the important values for the path factor determined from the bootstrapping process.

Hypotheses	Regression weight (β)	T test	P Value	Conclude
H1. DBA → DPQ	0.418	10.116	0.000	Accept
H2. DBA → DBI	0.327	7.079	0.000	Accept
H3. DPQ → DBI	0.27	5.765	0.000	Accept
H4. DBA → DBL	0.15	2.875	0.004	Accept
H5. DPQ → DBL	0.361	7.813	0.000	Accept
H6. DBI → DBL	0.232	5.021	0.000	Accept
H7. DPQ → RVI	0.214	5.035	0.000	Accept
H8. DBI → RVI	0.173	4.252	0.000	Accept
H9. DBL → RVI	0.291	6.721	0.000	Accept
H10. DBA → RVI	0.418	5.094	0.000	Accept
H11. N → DBA on RVI	0.089	2.201	0.028	Accept
H12. N → DBI on RVI	-0.07	1.541	0.124	Rejected
H13. N → DPQ on RVI	0.124	2.871	0.004	Accept
H14. N → DBL on RVI	-0.039	0.877	0.381	Rejected

Table 4.1: Result of path coefficient test

4.2.2 Evaluation of coefficient of determination adjusted R²

The coefficient R² was used to measure the overall explanatory variance in order to account for the endogenous structure. Based on result, it shows that the volatility of the endogenous variable revisit intention of tourists (RVI) explained by exogenous variables is quite high with the adjusted coefficient of determination R² of 51.9%. This result shows that the predictive power of the model is significant. Next, Destination brand loyalty (DBL) has a medium predictive strength with an adjusted R² of 34.7%. The endogenous variables of destination brand perceived quality (DPQ) and destination brand image (DBI) have a low predictive level with adjusted R² coefficients of 17.3% and 25%, respectively.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

The results of the study have some similarities with previous research topics in the field of brand in general and the field of destination brand equity in particular. However, the study also found some differences compared to previous studies. Specifically, the research results have shown that the components of destination brand equity have a strong impact on the return of tourists (H1 to H10), this result is similar to the studies of Chi, Huang, Nguyen (2020), Salehzadeh, Pool, Soleimani (2016); Kheiri et al (2016); Horn et al. (2012).

Meanwhile, the results of the study have some contradictions with previous research topics, specifically, some previous studies investigate the destination familiarity, the moderating effect on the relationship between the factors of destination brand equity and travel intention (Chi, Huang, Nguyen 2020), Horn et al. (2012). According to the analysis results of Chi, Huang, Nguyen (2020), destination familiarity has a positive moderator to the relationship between destination brand awareness and travel intention; and the relationship between destination brand quality and travel intention. This result is in contrast to this study that examines destination novelty. Instead, destination novelty does not have a positive regulation on the relationship between destination brand image and travel intention; and the relationship between destination brand loyalty and travel intention (H12 and H14).

Based on the theoretical basis and the actual research results, the paper has formed a theoretical model of the relationship between the components of destination brand equity and revisit intention of tourists. This theoretical model can be considered as a reference when applying the brand equity model survey to a specific destination to understand the needs of tourists. This suggests a practical implication for destination managers and destination marketers to pay special attention to increasing tourists' perception that the destination is novel. or familiar to tourists. In addition, destination managers need to increase focus on novel activities and on the quality of services provided to tourists. Only when the needs of tourists are fulfilled can a good tourism strategy be implemented. From the analysis of destination brand equity of Vietnam in general and destinations in Vietnam in particular, it will be constructive for the Government of Vietnam and tourism service providers to understand tourists' perceptions of Vietnam and evaluate and apply them to further develop the tourism industry.

Furthermore, this study has certain limitations and on top of those limitations, the paper suggests some directions for future research. First, when conducting variable analysis and testing, the researcher should further consider the role of different sociodemographic variables, such as income, education level or behavioural characteristics of tourists, and the influence of previous destination experiences to gain a more accurate perception of tourists' return intentions when conducting research. Second, this study only collects questionnaire data from tourists to accurately reflect tourists' evaluations, perceptions and attitudes. Therefore, research incorporating customer perspectives may not be sufficient to manage destination brands. As a result, additional effort has to be done to include stakeholder viewpoints, which can help to

build a more comprehensive picture of destination brand value prediction problem. Further study should be conducted in this approach.

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AGBIBINNULIG A SOCIOLOGICAL LENS OF WATER IRRIGATION PROBLEMS

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Abstract: This study attempts to document, understand and analyze the local construct *agbibinnulig* and its potential in addressing water irrigation problems in rice farming communities. *Agbibinnulig* (roughly translated as the ability to do collective action, cooperation or mutual sharing) is an Ilocano term for local resource in managing water conflicts among local farmers of Barangay Bagnos, Municipality of Aurora, Isabela in Northern Luzon, Philippines. In the course of this study highlighting the best practices in the community, the Ilocano term *agbibinnulig* came to fore in relation to their irrigation practices, farming methods, strengthening farmer's association, and significant metaphors. Along this farming practice, *agbibinnulig* is observed in the mundane activities in the communities and in efforts to strengthen some institutions. The study also revealed a connection between *agbibinnulig* and women's important contributions to farming and to farmers' organizations. Moreover, this study highlighted some aspects of *agbibinnulig*, which can be further explored using the sociological concept of human agency, particularly its practical - evaluative element. Through the lens of human agency, it can also be said that farmers who are engaged in *agbibinnulig* in the context of everyday life in order to consciously address farm-specific issues, such as water-related conflicts, and other broader problems affecting their livelihoods. This study hopes to pave the way for further studies on similar farmers' organizations in the Philippines particularly a comparative analysis of *agbibinnulig* with well documented similar practices of cooperation in other agrarian communities in Southeast Asia such as the *subak* (local/traditional irrigation system) in the water temples of Bali, Indonesia. Such a comparative study along with further research on the implications of *agbibinnulig* to the farming communities' ability to deal with the emerging environmental and social issues must be pursued in the future.

Keywords: *agbibinnulig*, collective and cooperative work, human agency, rice farming, water irrigation, sociology.

1. The natural construction of the research

This study on *agbibinnulig* which pertains on the ability to do collective action, cooperation or mutual sharing is very close to my heart. I looked into cultural practice of the Ilocano ethnolinguistic group in the context of farming and water irrigation not just for scholarly purposes but to fulfill my desire to help farmers in my place because I for one is a daughter of a farmer.

Farming does not only entail hard work but likewise a sort of gamble because of the challenges on pests, price increase for planting materials and natural calamities like flood and typhoons but also on irrigation, too. I recall the bloody circumstance that resulted to death of a farmer because of water conflict. In addressing this conflict, I look at the best cultural practice of *agbibinnulig* of the local farmers of Barangay Bagnos, Aurora, Isabela, Northern Luzon,

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Philippines, as a channel to unify the farmers and come up with a scheme on water irrigation that is founded on collective action, cooperation or mutual sharing.

Literatures showed the necessity of socio-political-economic-technical dimensions but as well as cultural aspect of rice farming in Northern Luzon, in the Philippines, as well as in some Asian countries (Lewis 1971 & 1991; Isles 1981 & 2015; Wickham 1973; Conklin 1980; Prill-Brett 1983; David 2003; Castillo 2006; Aguilar Jr. 2008; Kato 2000; Lansing 2006). Consequently, the significant contribution of women in farming communities, associations and institutions is also vital (Ancheta 1982; UPLB & IRRI 1998; Illo & Polo 1990; Aquino 2000).

II. Locale of the Study

An official of the National Irrigation Administration (NIA) in Barangay San Jose, Baggao, Cagayan suggested me to visit the Magat River Integrated Irrigation System Division III (MARIIS Division III) in the province of Isabela, which composed of Outstanding Irrigators Associations. Based from the suggestions of the informants I met from MARIIS Division III, they pointed out the best practices of Bagnos Irrigators Association (BIA) in Bagnos, Aurora, Isabela. The said association is a member of the North Diversion Canal 5 Council of Irrigators Association (NDC5 CIA) in MARIIS Division III were both associations were awarded for the active participation of farmers and their best practices in the farming and irrigation activities.

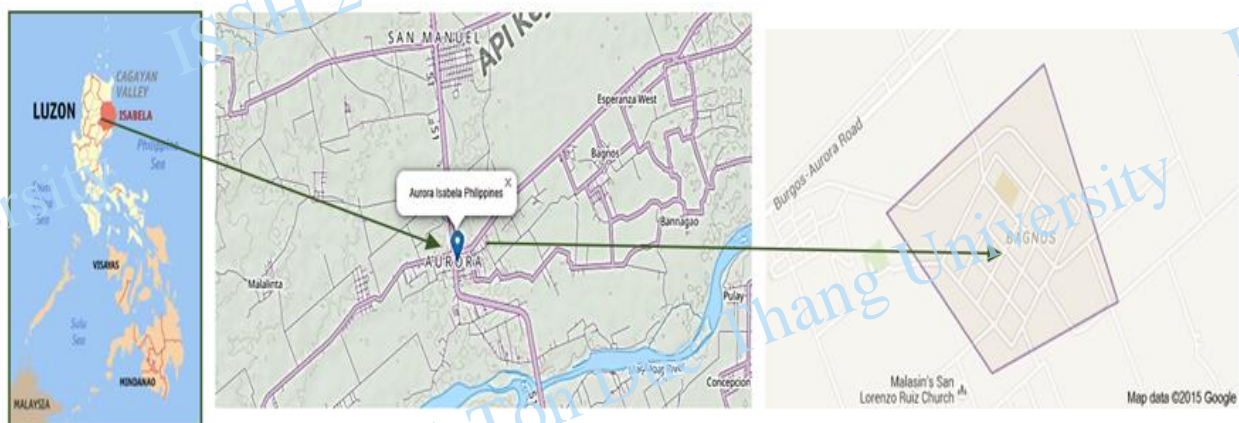


Figure 1: Maps of the Philippines, Isabela Province, Town of Aurora and Barangay Bagnos.

III. Theoretical and Methodological Underpinnings

The study was framed through interpretive perspective which foreground the experiences of the Ilocano farmers' cultural practice of *agbibinnulig* among the farmers of Bagnos community who are members of BIA. As elemental groundwork of the interpretive understanding, the works of Weber (1968), Geertz (1973) and Schwandt (2000) were utilized as well as the importance of everyday life, looking at the 'details and minutiae of local lives and livelihoods and the local structures and processes that create such everyday lives' (Rigg 2007:7). In addition, Rigg (2007) pointed out not only on the connection of the micro and the macro but more on the consideration on element of 'human agency' and the possibility of change (p. 9).

The interpretive perspective guides the design of this research which is a case study using different methods of *Sikolohiyang Pilipino* (Filipino Psychology) and *Araling Panlipunang Pilipino* (Philippine Studies) in gathering data. These tools from scholars who are advocates of methods rooted from our very own culture were then suited in the Ilocano context such as *panagsaludsod* (inquire), *panagpaliw* (observation), *pakiistorya* (asking to tell stories), *pakiinnistorya* (story sharing), and *makipagnaed* (to live with). My being Ilocano has helped me associate with the locals and the use of the Ilocano language made it easier for me to gauge and understand the narratives of *agbibinnulig*. The basis for the choice of the participants was the natural construction of my inquiries and my ardor for stories during the initial visits at the field site until additional stories were done from the first set of participants that were being talked to about *agbibinnulig*. Hence, there were eight (8) participants from this study: one (1) official of National Irrigation Administration, four (4) farmer officials, and three (3) farmers, where one from them is also a lady farmer.

IV. The Narratives of *Agbibinnulig*

The context and denotations of *agbibinnulig*

With the interesting conversation about *agbibinnulig* from the participants, I looked into the meaning in the Ilocano Dictionary where George Gelade (1993) explained the following:

Bulig 1

-*agbulig*, *pagbuligan*, *pagbinnuligan*. To carry between two, to do mutually, to accomplish through the bayanihan spirit.

-*agbinnulig*. To help each other, to do something together.

-*panagbinnulig*, *panagbibinnuligan*. Mutual cooperation in personal relations, community development, etc.

Bulig II

-*bulig*. Stem of bananas; cluster, bunch (of coconut, etc.)

-*sangabulig*. A bunch of bananas

From Gelade's definition, the first one has broadened the context of *bulig* (root word of *agbibinnulig*) in works, activities and occasions. Also, from the root word *bulig* which is associated to bunch of bananas, I considered looking into other meaning of *bulig* in some parts of the country other than in the Ilocano context in the northern part of the country.

Visayas: Cebuano, Hanunuo, Hiligaynon, Masbatenyo and Waray-waray		
Author	Dictionary	Meaning of Bulig
Yap, Elsa Paula & Maria Victoria Bunye (1971)	Cebuano Visayan Dictionary	Noun: bunch, cluster Verb: Bear fruits in bunch Verb: aid, help, assist, back-up, support
Wolf, John (1972)	A Dictionary of Cebuano -Visayan	N: bunch of large fruit, grow forth in bunches V: help. <i>Buligu ku-</i> help me
Conklin, Harold (1953)	Hanunuo - English Vocabulary	N: large bunch, a complete infructescence, as of bananas or palms; the classifier for enumerating such units V: weaving of strips of palm leaf and the like (<i>magbulig</i> . Weave mats)
Alcantara, Ruby (1977)	Diksyunaryong Hiligaynon-Filipino	V: <i>Buligan</i> . Tulungan. Helping each other
Motis, Cecille (1971)	Hiligaynon Dictionary	N. bunch of banana fruits intact on the trunk, help, to assist
Wolfenden, Elmer (2001)	A Masbatenyo-English Dictionary	N: bunch, cluster. Refers to banana, coconuts or other fruits on stalk or branch. V: help. Assist V: <i>Buligan</i> - help someone
Abuyen, Tomas (2000)	Diksyunaryo Waray-Waray (Visaya). English-Tagalog	N: The act of helping or assisting, the act of getting involved or becoming concerned into such undertaking V: to help, assist, to participate
Mindanao: Manobo and Tausug		
Author	Dictionary	Meaning of Bulig
Elkins, Richard (1968)	Manobo-English Dictionary	N: a small domestic or wild variety of banana
Hasan, Irene U, Seymor Ashley and Mary L. Ashley (1994)	Tausug-English Dictionary	N: a bunch or cluster (of bananas on central stalk)

Figure 2: *Bulig* in different dictionaries in the Philippines

From the different denotations of *agbibinnulig* all over the country, it can be figured out that *agbibinnulig* has the same context in working together in farm works like that in Bagnos community, where all involved are like the bunch of bananas being held together by a stalk or symbolically by one unified goal.

The Multi-context of *Agbibinnulig*

The colorful story of *agbibinnulig* in the purview of farming and irrigation problem has resulted to numerous insights and meanings through listening to the stories and narratives of the participants rooted from the culture of the community.

1. *Agbibinnulig* as solution to water irrigation conflicts and to refine the whole farming process.

Agbibinnulig is evident in reinforcing the different stages or processes of farm works. It is important for farmers to work together in the different activities such as the calendar of farming activities: preparation of seeds, clearing of areas and fixing of canals. With these works, the farmers and the associations should be in coordination and in full force to fulfill the scheduled farming activities.

2. *Agbibinnulig* in relation to farmers' associations

Agbibinnulig is manifested in the strong cooperation among members in the different levels of farmers associations such as the Farmers' Irrigator Group (FIG), where it is the foundation of the group of farmers which is a prerequisite to form bigger groups such as the IA (Irrigator Association), CIA (Council of Irrigators Association) and FIAD (Federation of Irrigators Association in a District).

3. *Agbibinnulig* as a heritage from the forefathers

Most participants narrated that they heard *agbibinnulig* from their elders whose origins are from Bacarra, Ilocos Norte where the existence of *zanjeras* or local irrigations were being operated by the community.

4. *Agbibinnulig* and its metaphors

In the work of Ancheta (1982), she pictures a farmer as 'man of the soil' where she discussed the sacrifices of a farmer under the scorching heat and heavy rains (cf. Castillo 2006; Aquino 2000). This can be gleaned from the description of a NIA official, wherein he compared the farmer to a *saluyot* (jute) plant which is resilient to all weather conditions, he said that farmers are *natenneb* (Ilocano term for resilient).

In the discussion on the metaphors of *agbibinnulig*, the NIA official compared this to a bunch of banana which pertains to the operation of MARIIS Division III while for President of BIA, he compared this to a stick broom. Moreover, the bunch of banana symbolizes unity and togetherness while the stick broom enunciates the mundane and ordinary life in Bagnos and in other parts of the country.

5. *Agbibinnulig* in the daily life in the community

Agbibinnulig is not only a practice in rice farming activities but it is also apparent in the daily life in the community like during wedding ceremony, baptismal, clean drive in schools/community, financial aids in educational fees, health aids and burial aids.

6. The role of *agbibinnulig* in strengthening of social institutions and the foregrounding of women roles in farming

Women have a big potential in the formation and strengthening of farmers associations. Example is the experience of the whole MARIIS system, there are a total of fifty-four (54) women as members and eight (8) of these are members of the Board of Trustees (BOT). This can be looked at as a positive indication toward the strengthening of the association such that, one of the criteria of NIA in choosing the Outstanding Irrigators Association is the active involvement of women.

The context of *agbibinnulig* is not only confined within the dimensions of farmers in the associations but likewise in other institutions in the community like school, other agricultural sectors and various government agencies. In the process of strengthening these institutions, it is necessary to recognize the key contributions of women (cf. Ilo & Polo 2009; Castillo 2006; Aquino 2000).

7. Relating *agbibinnulig* in other literatures in the country and Asia

Some Filipino authors have written on the many problems regarding the formation of organizations for farmers. One is Isles (1981) who discussed on 'the fly-by-night method of organizing, top-down model of organizing, and the organizational arrangements patterned after western models'. The same was shared by De los Reyes (1985), where she pointed out the need for 'development and improvement of human support structures... by strengthening organizational structures for managing irrigation' (p.5). In relation to this, the writings of Javier (2019) is also important in the strengthening of irrigator's system through the support of the Department of Agriculture and similar agencies.

As introductory in the Amianan Studies (Northern Luzon Studies), the works of Coward and Siy (1983), Krauze (2004), and Isles (2015) tackled about farming in *zanjera* (local/community irrigation) in Ilocos Norte. Next to these, Lewis (1991) focused his writing on the farming in *zanjera* of Ilocos Norte wherein the context of *agbibinnulig* is deemed apparent in corporate group (collective action, representative leadership and the shared ownership of property), cooperative systems (social and cultural resources that Ilocanos brought), *inkapulo* (the water buyers), *biang ti daga* (the original landowners), *atar* (membership shares of land), *inkalian* (freely owned land), and *komon* (communal property). Lewis (1971) also highlights the *ammuyo* (exchange of labor), *bataris* (it is a reciprocal, moral obligation developing out of *ammuyo* relationship and based on the continuing exchange of mutual services), *arayat* (social saving institutions), *sabong* (male land dowry), *padigo* (exchange of food), *kaaroba* (neighborhood) and *tagnawa* (communal assistance). Consequently, *agbibinnulig* is also found in the practices in Cordillera as elaborated by Conklin (1981) in '*ulpin-di-ala* (all landholders in the affected valleys may jointly hold an irrigation-works ritual) and Prill-Brett of *ugfu* (reciprocal labor cooperation).

It is also important to look at *agbibinnulig* in other communal practices in the different parts of the country like in Castillo (2006), with the notion of *bayanihan* (a customary practice of collective sharing in the ritual of planting and harvesting) or by looking into dictionaries of other ethnolinguistic groups who also have the contexts of *bulig* which all pertains to the bunch of banana and working together.

Two important literatures can be related with *agbibinnulig* of the Asian context. In the book edited by Kato (2000), we can frame similar idea of *agbibinnulig* of Bagnos community in the mutual cooperation of Indonesia, Korea's *p'umasi* (exchange of framework) and communal cooperation in Malaysia. The same context was also discussed by Lansing (2006) on the *subak* of Bali, Indonesia on their cooperative management (all others must rely on water-sharing agreements with other *subaks*). The practices and experiences of the *subak* are very notable because of their close relations to water temple flowing to their rice fields.

Based on these studies, it can be said that cultural practices on farming is still apparent not only in the Amianan (Northern) of the Philippines but also in other regions of the country and in Asia. The importance of these fields of study concerning the everyday life of the community and farming practices in a larger contexts is also one potential study.

Agbibinnulig and the context of human agency in Sociology

Significant to this section is the article of Mustafa Emirbayer and Ann Mische (1998) wherein the authors looked into the different perspectives of agency and came up with their own definition of 'the chordal triad of agency' as the relation or 'interplay of habit, imagination and judgment' as relating to the experiences on how one perceives the past, present and the future. (Emirbayer & Mische 1998: 963; cf. Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:56; Giddens, 1993:81).

From the mentioned 'chordal triad', the topic on 'practical-evaluative element' can be seen in the narratives of *agbibinnulig* where it was mentioned the 'capacity of actors to make practical and normative judgments among alternative possible trajectories of action, in response to the emerging demands, dilemmas, and ambiguities' (Emirbayer & Mische 1998: 71). In here, it was shown that the participants are looking for possible solutions for their problems and likewise, identifying their holistic needs just like the narratives of *agbibinnulig*. The 'practical-evaluative element' of human agency can further be studied using both the sociological and anthropological perspectives.

V. Researcher's standpoint, reflections and the interrelation of *agbibinnulig* in other Asian Studies

The researcher's standpoint is necessary in developing the theoretical framing of this study. At this point, I can say that although I am a daughter of a farmer and not a farmer myself, as a researcher, I have somehow understood the plight and issues confronting rice farming and the necessity of cultural practices such as the narratives of *agbibinnulig* in addressing water irrigation problems, and how this notable practice can strengthen institutions where the roles of women are duly recognized in Amianan Studies.

It is also noteworthy to consider the views of Kato (2000) and Wittfogel (1957) on the issue of irrigation in Asia, leading communities in Asia to help each other: their need for water irrigation has led in the formation of farmers' organizations in wider political-economic structures of the society. On the other hand, as I have observed and witnessed through fieldwork, *agbibinnulig* is evident in the everyday life of the participants, hence, it can be said that *agbibinnulig* is an organic and natural cultural practice in the community that is being adapted by the farmers of Bagnos. In turn, NIA as an institution, saw the importance of *agbibinnulig* in farmers' associations and thus, NIA tapped and strongly uphold *agbibinnulig* for its advantageous potentials.

This study hopes to pave the way for further studies on similar farmers' organizations in the country, particularly a comparative analysis of *agbibinnulig* with well-documented similar practices of cooperation in other agrarian communities in Southeast Asia such as the *subak* (local/traditional irrigation system) in the water temples of Bali, Indonesia. Such a comparative study along with further research on the implications of *agbibinnulig* to the farming communities' ability to deal with the emerging environmental and social issues must be pursued in the future.

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A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE KINH PEOPLE'S MOTIVES OF MIGRATION TO THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS DURING THE XX CENTURY

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Abstract: In the twentieth century, the occurrence of the Kinh people's migration to the Central Highlands could be divided into five main waves: the first wave took place from World War I to 1945; the second wave was in the years 1957-1961 as a result of the Land Development Program of the Republic of Vietnam government; the third wave was of refugees from all over the country fleeing to the Central Highlands during the war (1965-1975); The fourth appeared about 10 years after the country's reunification (1976-1989) and the fifth wave was during the 'coffee boom' in Vietnam (1990-1999). In this article, we analyze factors affecting the migration decision of the Kinh to the Central Highlands in the twentieth century, which included economic reasons, the war and migration policies of contemporary states while applying Everett Lee's Push-Pull theory (1966). From which, we seeks to build a conceptual model for the migration motivations of Kinh people to the Central Highlands in the twentieth century.

Keywords: Central Highlands, migration in twentieth century, Kinh's people migration waves, Highlanders, industrial crops.

1. Introduction

The Central Highlands is a highland region located in the west of central Vietnam, bordering Laos and Cambodia. According to the current administrative division of Vietnam, basically, the Central Highlands region includes Kon Tum, Gia Lai, Dak Nong, Dak Lak and Lam Dong provinces. This is the area with the largest basalt land area in Vietnam, accounting for about 60% of the country's basalt land area, which is a favorable condition for the development of perennial industrial crops such as rubber, coffee, pepper... In 2018, the Central Highlands accounted for 90% of coffee tree area, 60.8% of pepper area and 26.5% of rubber tree area of the country (Thu, 2019; Kieu, 2018; Van Long, 2019; reporters of resident agencies in the Central Highlands, 2019; Le, 2019).

After invading Vietnam (late 19th century), the French colonialists realized the potentials of the Central Highlands in developing industrial crops, so they began to bring the Kinh from the delta provinces to the Central Highlands and turned them into 'coolies' in industrial tree plantations. The first wave of Kinh emigration began after World War I and lasted until 1945, when the French colonial rule in Vietnam was overthrown. From the late 1950s, the government of the Republic of Vietnam (RVN) launched the Land Development program

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(LDP) (1957-1961), in order to move part of the Kinh population in the central coastal provinces to settle down in the Central Highlands. This is the second wave of Kinh people's migration to the Central Highlands in the 20th century. The LDP lasted until the early 1960s when the war between the RVN government and the communists (usually called 'the resistance war against the US' by the Vietnamese) began. The war reached its climax in the period 1965-1975, prompting the 3rd wave of Kinh migrants to the Central Highlands for seeking refuge. After the South Vietnam had been liberated and the country unified in 1975, over the next decade (1975-1989), the State of Vietnam mobilized millions of people, mainly from Northern provinces, to settle in the South. Nearly half of these people was sent to the Central Highlands to build new economic zones, forming the 4th wave of migration. Since the late 1980s, the above-mentioned 4th wave began to wane and gave way to the 5th wave which were free migration to the Central Highlands to develop industrial crops, mainly coffee – then was the Vietnam's coffee decade (1990-1999). Brief description of the above 5 waves of migration is as follows:

Table 1. Five waves of migration of Kinh people to the Central Highlands in the 20th century

	Timeline	Quantity of people	Population of the Central Highlands at the end of each wave (Unit: people)
Wave 1	1926-1945	~ 2.100 people/ year	444,404
Wave 2	1957-1961	~ 14.700 people / year	702,030
Wave 3	1965-1975	~ 42.000 people / year	1,377,522
Wave 4	1975-1989	~ 46.450 people / year	2,491,078
Wave 5	1990-1999	~ 60.000 people /year	4,058,602

Source: Hickey 1971; Naval Intelligence Division 1943; Republic of Vietnam 1961a, 1961b; Stan 2005; RVN 1966; RVN 1972; GSO 2004a; GSO 2004b; VNSSC 1989

2. Methodology

Our study applies literature review over plenty of highly credible documents to identify motivational factors of the Kinh's migration to the Central Highlands in the 20th century. To identify and elaborate research variables of the proposed conceptual framework, we used statistical data from surveys and censuses conducted in Vietnam in the 20th century. However, due to particular historical situation of the area during the 20th century, these sources were quite limited before the 1990s, especially during the French colonial period. Therefore, we also cited data from relevant researches. Most documents used hard copies retrieved from the authors' own archive. Facts about industrial crops areas and transportation of the Central Highlands were obtained from online official newspapers with high reliability and World Bank report through google search engine.

In this study, we adopted Push-Pull theory by Everett Lee (1966) to analyze collected secondary data. We identified push factors and pull factors associated with the migrants' origin places and their destination places, from which, proposing a conceptual framework of migration motivation through 5 waves of the Kinh's migration to the Central Highlands.

3. Findings and discussion

3.1. Push Factors

3.1.1. Origin Places

3.1.1.1. Poverty

Poverty was a constant obsession for most Vietnamese in the 20th century (ADUKI Company, 1995). Under the French domination, vast majority of Vietnamese people had to live below the poverty line (Gourou, 2015; Tran, 1961). Although to Vietnamese farmers, leaving their village had always been the last option, under poverty pressure, they still had to leave their homeland to avoid starvation (Hardy, 2003). The Central Highlands was among destinations attracting Kinh people from all over the country to come to work in industrial plantations, or in transportation projects on the plateau (Hardy, 2003; Salemink, 2003; Hickey, 1982a). Poverty continued to be the driving force behind the migration of Kinh people to the Central Highlands in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1957, 90% of the migrants to the Central Highlands under the LDP were poor farmers from central provinces of Vietnam (RVN, 1957). From 1975 to the end of the twentieth century, migration, especially free migration, to the Central Highlands broke out strongly, attracting not only the Kinh, but also a large part of ethnic minorities population from northern mountainous regions. Poverty was the leading cause of such migration (VNSSC, 1986). According to a survey in 2002 in Dak Lak, the province with the highest number of migrants, up to 90.1% of surveyed people claimed the reasons for their migration directly related to low income and difficult livelihoods (Dang, 2006).

3.1.2. Destination Places

3.1.2.1. Economic potential of industrial crops

As mentioned above, the Central Highlands is the region with the largest area of basalt soil in Vietnam. The soil and climate conditions here are very favorable for the development of large-scale industrial crops. Attracted by the undeniable value of these industrial crops, the French colonialists had increased land grabs to build up rubber, tea and coffee plantations in the Central Highlands (Tran, 1961; Ngo & Duong, 1973). They also implemented the differential wages policy among regions in which minimum wages of workers in the Central Highlands provinces were 10-50% higher than those in the Central and Tonkin Delta provinces to attract more workers from plain areas to the Central Highlands to work as 'coolies' (Cao, 1979). This was just a trick for labor recruitment, the French paint a scenario of prosperous life in rubber plantations for the farmers who were at the cul-de-sac (Ngo & Duong, 1978).

In the early 1990s, prices of industrial crops, especially coffee, began to increase rapidly and continuously set price records. In the 1994-1995 season, the export price of coffee in Vietnam reached 2,393 USD/ton, the highest price in the history of Vietnam's coffee industry (World Bank, 2005). A huge number of people from all over the country had come to the Central Highlands for that 'coffee dream'.

3.1.2.2. Large arable land area

In early 20th century, the Central Highlands was a new and sparsely populated area. By the mid-1950s, the population density of the Central Highlands was only about 10 people/km², and only 2% of agricultural land area of the Central Highlands was put into use (RVN, 1961) which meant that millions of hectares of land in the Central Highlands were unexploited. Such picture was in stark contrast to the land ownership situation in lowland provinces where overpopulation and severe shortage of arable land had become common (Hickey, 1982).

Therefore, when bringing people from lowland provinces to the highlands under the LDP, the RVN government implemented the policy of allocating up to 1 ha of arable land to each household (RVN, 1961). In the 5th wave of migration to the Central Highlands, free-migrant households could expand their farming area as much as possible which made the Central Highlands the region with the largest area of agricultural land per farm household in the country (Nguyen, 2017; Markussen et al, 2013). That arable land area could meet production and business needs was the second most important reason for the economic success of farm households in the Central Highlands during the coffee craze in Vietnam in the mid-1990s (GSO, 2004).

3.1.3. War

War happened for nearly half of the twentieth century in Viet Nam, becoming a special push, directly affecting the move/stay of Vietnamese people in general, and people living in war-affected areas in particular. Since the Central Highlands was relatively less ravaged by war, many people from other places sought refuge in this area. The time with highest number of migrants was during the years 1954-1955 when happened the transition between the two Indochina wars (Hickey, 1982; Stan, 2005) and in 1968 and in 1972 when large-scale military campaigns in South Vietnam took place (Nguyen, 2019). In the period 1978-1989, a part of population from mountainous areas bordering Vietnam - China also migrated to the Central Highlands to avoid the war of aggression by China (Khong, 1995).

3.1.4. Migration Policies

In the first wave, within their exploitation policy on the plateau, French colonialists promoted recruitment of Kinh people to work in the plateau, including in the Central Highlands. In the second wave, many who had participated in the resistance war against the French colonialists (1945-1954) were forced to migrate to the Central Highlands by the RVN government, in order to keep them away from revolutionary movement in delta provinces (Institute of Military History, 2013). Religion was also an important cause then: the government of RVN tried to 'push' Buddhists to the mountains to live (Thich, 1964). After the war against the U.S ended and the South was liberated in 1975, the State of Vietnam had a program to mobilize people, mainly from northern provinces, to the Central Highlands to build new economic zones. Within 15 years of implementing this program, more than 464,000 Kinh people had moved to the Central Highlands to settle down. The labor force from the Socialist North Vietnam was not only to help strengthen the Central Highlands' labor force after 1975 but also to help stabilize the complicated political situation there after the country's unification (Ho, 2012).

3.2. Pull Factors

3.2.1. Origin Places

3.2.1.1. Familiar living environment

The Kinh began to explore the Red River Delta about 3,000 years ago. Such a long settlement in the delta had made the Kinh adapt to the natural conditions there (Nguyen, 1996). They had rehabilitated the Red River Delta to develop wet rice cultivation, the main crop of the Kinh throughout their history (Gourou, 2015). The lifestyle, customs, culture... of Kinh people were vivid expressions of their adaptation and harmony to the delta living environment (Tran, 2005).

The temptation of such familiar living environment undeniably affected the Kinh people's decision of move or stay.

3.2.1.2. 'Attachment to village' psychology

Village has been the traditional residence unit of Kinh people ever since the Kinh society began to switch from primitive to class society (about 3000 years ago). The attachment of traditional Kinh farmers to their village was not only in term of economic (village was where the farmers worked and built their houses), but also in terms of kinship (in village resided their family and clans) and spirituality (the village gods were important to the Kinh's spiritual life). Being forced to leave or evicted from their village was such an extremely severe punishment to Kinh farmers that they only reluctantly accepted it when being in a cul-de-sac (Hardy, 2003). If a Kinh farmer left his village and came to settle in another village, it would be very difficult for him to integrate into the new community, because there was always discrimination towards him as an 'outsider' (Toan, 2005). Such psychology was a huge barrier for Kinh farmers to leave their villages to the Central Highlands or anywhere else.

3.2.2. Destination Places

3.2.2.1. Unfamiliar living environment

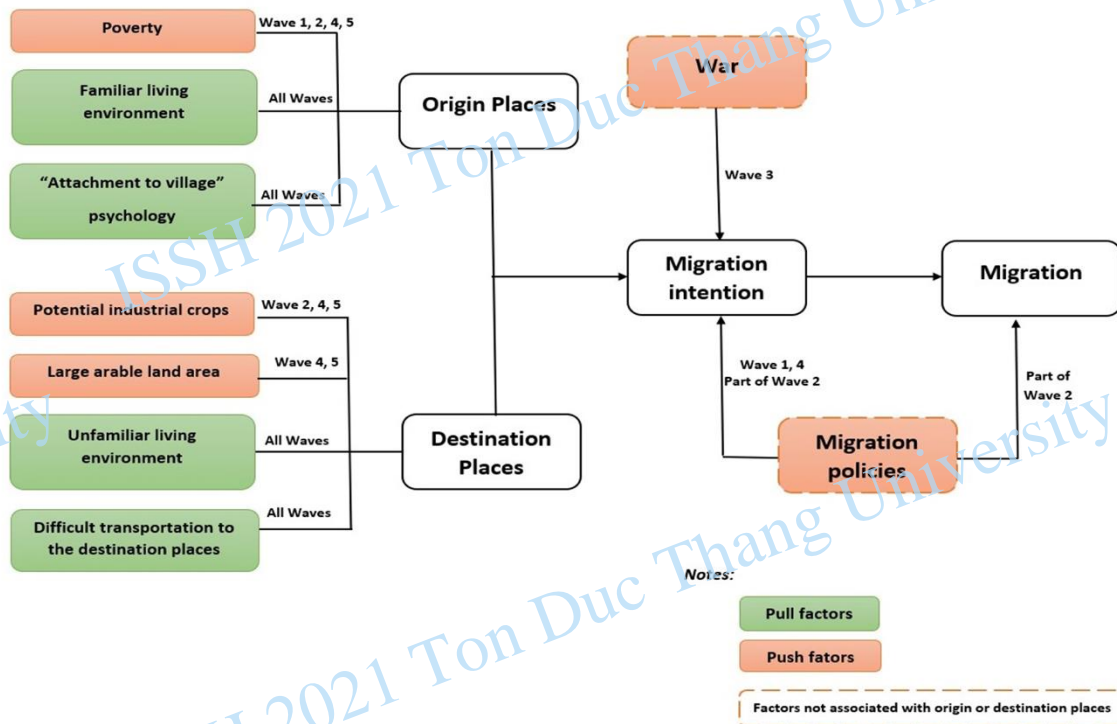
Topographical features of the Central Highlands are steep hills (slope ratio of up to ~ 15°, even 25° in some places like Lam Vien plateau). High level of erosion during rainy season causes arable soil layer in this area to be strongly washed away each year. (Le, 2013). Surface water resources in the Central Highlands are not as abundant as in the large deltas of Vietnam and the main soil type in the Central Highlands is basalt red soil (accounts for 66% of the Central Highlands area) which is only suitable for industrial crops such as coffee, rubber, pepper, tea... All of the above condition were completely unfamiliar to the Kinh, an ethnic group that lived in delta region, having wet rice (*oryza sativa*) as their main crop or an ethnic group living an 'away from the forest' lifestyle (Ngo, 2004), so before century 20th, the Kinh had not been interested in migrating to the Central Highlands.

3.2.2.2. Difficult transportation to the destination places

Most of Kinh people migrating to the Central Highlands were from the Central Coast region (mainly from Thua Thien - Hue back to Phu Yen), however, since 1954, especially after 1975, there were more and more people from the North and North Central provinces coming to settle down in the Central Highlands (Social Committee, 1989; Stan, 2005; Dang, 2006). Those localities with 'tradition' of migration to the Central Highlands such as Binh Dinh (through National Highway 19) and Quang Ngai (through Highway 24) were also about 200km away from there. Not until the 1960s that most national highways connecting the Central Highlands with the central coast region were renovated and upgraded (Hickey, 1982; Dang, 2008). Before that, quality of transport routes to the Central Highland was very poor. Obstacles in terms of geography and traffic conditions also made Kinh people less likely to migrate to the plateau.

Based on the above analysis, we propose a conceptual model of Kinh people's motives of migration to the Central Highland in the 20th century as following:

Figure 1. A Conceptual Model of Motives of the Kinh's Migration to the Central Highlands



According to our model, there were more push factors than pull factors affecting the Kinh people's intention of migration to the Central Highlands. Of course, a simple calculus of push factors and pull factors is not enough for people to decide to move or stay. The value of the factors would be more important for such decision. In our model, while the pull factors were mainly regarding the migrants' psychology of familiarity and attachment, the push factors were more strong since they are economic (poverty, potential industrial crops, large arable land area), legal (migrant policies) and even of live-or-die choice (war). Therefore, no wonder the number of the Kinh migrating to the Central Highlands was enormous. It must be noted that, while people knew their origin places well already, their knowledge of destination was learnt from others and can be inexact (Lee, 1966). This made ways for rulers to intentionally build people's perception of the destination places, thereby controlling the migration flow as of their wishes. For example, as part of the propoganda campaign for the LDP, the RVN government released the 'Plantation folk song', of which there was a part as following:

'Cao nguyên màu mỡ	The Central Highlands has very fertile soil,
Ruộng đất bao la	And immense land
So với tỉnh ta	Compared to our province
Mười phần có một.	It is 10 times better'

Source: The authors' material collected from field work in Dak Doa, Gia Lai (2020)

In fact, the Central Highland's soil was mainly basalt red soil with high level of erosion during rainy seasons and was only suitable for planting industrial crops. Unfamiliar soil and climate condition as well as cultivation customs of the Central Highlands had then driven Kinh migrants into famine and malaria nightmare (RVN, 1957; Stan, 2005).

4. Conclusions and implications for future research

Although migration of the Kinh to the Central Highlands in the century XX is not a new topic in Vietnamese studies, existing literature only focus on such migration in the second half of the century (after 1975). Our article sought to investigate the Kinh's motives of migration to the Central Highland throughout the century which has been a big research gap within the field. We proposed a framework of push and pull factors and provided evidences from the collected literature to support the framework. There needs to be more researches that explore different aspects of the migration process to the Central Highlands in the 20th century. All the factors mentioned in the article are potential for further investigation. Additionally, association between individuals' demographic characteristic, societal and cultural norms... and the Kinh's motives of migration remains unstudied.

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PATHWAYS TO SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: ROSA LUXEMBURG'S STUDIES ON THE ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY OF IMPERIALISM

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Abstract: While Rosa Luxemburg is widely known for her political critique of reformism and advocacy of the mass strike, less attention has been paid to her anthropological and ethnographic studies of non-Western and precapitalist societies. In these multidimensional studies, which were integral to her critique of European colonialism and imperialism, she explored how communal social structures in the non-capitalist societies of her time provide important indications for how to organize a planned system of social reproduction following the abolition of capitalism. This paper examines Luxemburg's distinctive and exhaustive approach toward these issues by focusing on her *Introduction to Political Economy* (written between 1909 and 1916 but published after her death) as well as her essays, lectures, and manuscripts composed between 1907 and 1914 at the school of the German Social-Democratic Party in Berlin. Luxemburg's study of the social structures in India, Algeria, Southern Africa, China, Indonesia and among Native Americans will be compared and contrasted with Marx's late writings on non-Western societies, which likewise examined the liberatory potential of non-Western societies.

Keywords: Marx, Luxemburg, Precapitalist Societies, Peasantry, Communal Forms, Socialism, Capital, Colonialism, Imperialism.

I.

Rosa Luxemburg is widely heralded as one of the greatest Marxist theoreticians because of her deep commitment to revolutionary transformation, internationalism, and socialist democracy. While her work has inspired generations of radical activists and thinkers, with some important exceptions it has received less attention in the global south than in the West. This is now changing. New translations and discussions of her writings have recently appeared in Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, Hindi, Indonesian, Turkish, and Xhosa, while interest in her relevance for struggles against racism, imperialism, and environmental destruction is growing (Gordon and Cornell 2021). This is in part due to the discovery and publication over the past decade of her previously unknown anthropological and ethnographic studies of non-Western and precapitalist societies, composed as part of her work at the German Social-Democratic Party school in Berlin from 1907 to 1914. They mark an important contribution to the sociology of imperialism.

Luxemburg expressed an avid interest in the impact of colonialism and imperialism on the development of capitalism since the inception of her political career. In 1899, just a few years after arriving in Germany, she wrote:

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Around 1895, a basic change occurred [in world politics]: the Japanese war opened the Chinese doors and the conquest and partition of Asia became the goal which European policies pursued.... It is clear that the dismemberment of Asia and Africa is the final limit beyond which European politics no longer has room to unfold. There follows then another such squeeze as has just occurred in the Eastern question, and the European powers will have no choice other than throwing themselves on one another, until the *period of the final crisis sets in within politics* (Luxemburg 1989, p. 250).

She presciently recognizes that imperialism is not merely a political policy temporarily employed by capitalist powers, but is driven by capital's thirst for self-expansion—which, she prophetically notes, is bound to lead to violent conflict *between* the imperialist states.

She returned to this in *Reform or Revolution* in disputing Eduard Bernstein's claim that Europe's massive economic growth since Marx's death showed that he was wrong to expect capitalist crises to become more frequent and severe. She held that this in no way refuted Marx, since capitalism had so far managed to dominate only a small portion of the world. Its proclivity for periodic crises, she argued, will fully manifest itself as capital expands *globally* (Luxemburg 2004, p. 412).

The heated debates that accompanied the revisionism controversy and the 1905-06 Russian Revolution left little time for exploring such issues in the years following the publication of *Reform or Revolution* in 1899. But that changed in 1907, when she became an instructor at the SPD's party school in Berlin. Her lectures provided an opportunity to explore the latest scholarship on economic history, anthropology, ethnology, and non-Western societies, resulting one of her most important books, *Introduction to Political Economy*.

It stresses that the expanded reproduction of capital depends upon invading, occupying, and *destroying* social formations in the non-Western world. She did not extol this as the price of 'progress.' She instead singled out the 'extraordinary tenacity and adaptability' (Luxemburg 2013, p. 226) of communal forms of possessing and working the land among the Kabyles and Arabs of North Africa, the Iroquois and Seri of North America, the Botocudo and Bororó of South America, the Aka, Twa, and Chewa of Central Africa, and the Mincopie, Kubu, and Aeta of South and East Asia. She saw their reciprocal, non-commodified form of their human relations as an anticipation of *socialism*. She wrote of the Australian aborigines, 'All the groups together form an ordered and planned whole, and each group also conducts itself in a quite ordered and planned way under a unitary leadership' without relying on money, commodities, or classes = (Luxemburg 2013b, p. 178). And she noted of the Mincopie of the Andaman archipelago,

Each of these groups has its leader, and the whole tribe has a chief who stands above those of the individual communities. Yet his authority is very limited; it consists principally in holding assemblies of all the communities that belong to his tribe... It is the duty of all men and women who stay at home to care for children, the sick and the aged, and to keep the fires going in the various huts; each person capable of work is obliged to work for themselves and the community, and it is also the custom to make sure that there is always a reserve of food to provide for any strangers who may arrive (Luxemburg 2013, p. 184).

She also focused on northern India, writing that its communal forms of possessing and working the land is far superior to capitalism's destruction of the property of the direct producer—in direct opposition to James Mill and John Stuart Mill's claim that the absence of private property in land means that the 'despotic' sovereign owns all immovable property. This cornerstone of

the theory of 'Oriental despotism' is rejected by her on the grounds that it 'completely fails to understand the agrarian relations of the indigenous population' (Luxemburg 2013, p. 156). It is a mere ideological fiction used by the British to impose private property.

Nevertheless, she acknowledges that unlike the relatively egalitarian Native American and aboriginal societies, 'The direction and execution were the work of an authority that stood above the individual village marks (Luxemburg 2013, p. 215). She points to a similar phenomenon in Incan society. She approvingly quotes Heinrich Cunow's comment that 'the greater part of what the Social Democrats strive for today as their conceived ideal, but at no time has achieved, was carried out in practice' by Incan civilization (Luxemburg 2013, p. 154). Yet she also notes that the Incas imposed communal forms upon earlier existing ones through military conquest and domination: 'What we have here, as it were, is two social strata, one above the other yet both internally communistic in their organization, standing in a relationship of subjugation and subordination' (Luxemburg 2013, p. 201). Over time, this leads to class inequities in status and wealth that erode the community from within—long before the Spanish arrive on the scene.

Luxemburg therefore did not idealize precapitalist formations: she drew attention to their internal contradictions that erode them from within—which is accelerated and amplified by contact with European colonialism. She writes, 'each community based on economic solidarity could and necessarily was periodically driven into deadly conflicts of interest with similarly constructed communities because of the low level of development of production, or the scarcity or exhaustion of food sources due to an increase in population' (Luxemburg, 2013, p. 201-2).

Despite her emphasis on the 'remarkable longevity' of precapitalist communal forms, Luxemburg held that they were 'inevitably' doomed to be destroyed upon contact with capitalism-imperialism. Commodity exchange, theft of land, and imposition of debt serves as an acid that dissolves precapitalist forms. Their violent destruction moved her to fiercely attack capital's subjugation of the non-Western world. Wherever it intruded—whether in the Amazon, South Africa, the Middle East or East Asia—she condemned it without reservation. Unlike other Western Marxists of her time, who supported or remained silent in face of these crimes, she lent her voice to the suffering masses of the global south.

II.

In her analyses of the non-Western world, Luxemburg was striking out on her own. She was of course aware that Marx tied the "rosy dawn" of capitalist accumulation to the discovery of the Americas and the rise of European colonialism, but she held that he had failed to show in Volume Two of *Capital* (published after his death by Engels) that the expanded reproduction of capital depends upon the exploitation of non-capitalist strata (see Hudis 2014 and 2021). On these grounds, she critiqued Marx for restricting the violent process of accumulating capital at the expense of non-capitalist strata to the distant European origins of capitalism; for her, the "so-called primitive accumulation of capital" continues through *all* phases of capitalist development.

Luxemburg was not aware—since they were not published until decades after her death—that after the publication of Volume One of *Capital* in 1867 Marx embarked on a decade-long study of precapitalist formations among Native Americans and Australian aborigines as well as of the rural peasant commune in Russia, China, Indonesia, and North Africa. Indeed, she used some of the exact same source material as did Marx some 30 years earlier! These studies were no idle pursuit on the part of Marx: he apparently realized he could not complete Volumes Two

and Three of *Capital* without gaining a greater understanding of the non-Western world. His voluminous writings and notes on the global south and Russia from 1868 to 1883—much of which remain unstudied to this day—indicates that its realities would have played as large a role in Volumes Two and Three of *Capital* as England did for Volume One.

There are many similarities between Marx and Luxemburg's analysis of indigenous communal forms. Like Luxemburg, Marx fiercely opposed their destruction by capitalism; his *Ethnological Notebooks* praises Native American societies as more advanced in many respects than European ones and refers to English colonists as 'dogs,' 'asses' and 'blockheads' (Marx 1972, p. 323). Like Luxemburg, he praises the resilience and progressive nature of communal forms of possessing and working the land. And like Luxemburg, at various points he indicates that such 'archaic' formations provide a basis of a future socialist society.

But there are major differences between Marx and Luxemburg's analyses—which is especially evident in their divergent response to the texts each of them studied. One was Maxim Kovalevsky's *The Communal Ownership of Land*. Relying on the latter, Luxemburg argues in *Introduction to Political Economy* that the conquest of North Africa and the Middle East by 'nomadic Mohammedan peoples' brought about 'the feudalization of the land.' She writes, 'the spread of Islam implemented a profound change in the general conditions of existence of primitive societies' by introducing feudalism (Luxemburg 2013, p. 233). This was not Marx's view. His 'Notebooks on Kovalevsky' takes issue with Kovalevsky's claim that feudalism arose from the Muslim conquest of North African and northern India. He writes, 'Because 'benefices,' 'farming out of offices' (but this is not at all feudal, as Rome attests) and commendation are founded in India, Kovalevsky here finds feudalism in the Western European sense. Kovalevsky forgets, among other things, *serfdom*, which is not in India, and which is an essential moment' (Marx 1975, p. 383) He adds, 'According to Indian law the ruling power is not subject to division among the sons; thereby a great source of European feudalism [is] obstructed.' And he takes issue with the claim that the Ottoman Turks introduced feudalism in their conquest of North Africa: 'There is no trace of the transformation of the entire conquered land into 'domanial property.' The lousy 'Orientalists' etc. refer vainly to the places in the Qu'ran where the earth is spoken of as belonging 'to the property of God' (Marx 1975, p. 370) Marx objected to using European categories like 'feudalism' to define non-Western societies—in contrast to later Marxists, who insisted that pre-capitalist India and China were 'feudal' as a way to defend their thesis that an extended stage of capitalism is needed before socialism can be actualized.

Luxemburg also differed from Marx on the Russian commune, the *mir*. She held that the *mir* was bound to be destroyed by encroaching capitalist relations and that it had survived only by being subsidized by the Russian state. Marx argued the opposite in his draft letters to Vera Zasulich in 1881 (published only after Luxemburg's death): He wrote, 'What threatens the life of the Russian commune is neither a historical inevitability nor a theory; it is state oppression' (Marx 1983a, pp. 104-105) Moreover, he held that the persistence of its peasant communes makes it possible for Russia to embark on a socialist revolution without first undergoing a prolonged period of capitalist industrialization. He writes, 'It is no longer a question of a problem to be solved, but simply of an enemy to be beaten. To save the Russian commune, there must be a Russian revolution...If the revolution takes place in time, if it concentrates...the intelligent part of Russian society...to ensure the unfettered rise of the rural commune, the latter will soon develop as a regenerating element of Russian society and an element of superiority over the countries enslaved by the capitalist regime' (Marx 1983a, p. 115).

The difference between Luxemburg and Marx on the *mir* reveals a divide in their evaluation of pre-capitalist communal forms as a whole. Although Luxemburg pointed to the positive

dimensions of communal forms, she never questioned the assumption that they would dissolve long before the advent of socialism. She held that socialism can only come into existence on the basis of a developed *capitalist* society, which destroys such communal forms. She never wavered from this view—from her entry into the Marxist movement as a teenager to the end of her life. As she stated many times during and after the 1905 Russian Revolution,

The Russian proletariat...knows quite well that the introduction of the rule of socialism overnight is an impossibility; it knows that nothing other than a bourgeois constitutional state can come into being (Luxemburg 1906a, p. 270).

The fighting proletariat is led today not by bourgeois classes and parties but by Social Democracy. For this reason, its vanguard has an awareness of its class interests, its objectives, and also the social conditions needed for their realization. Precisely because of this, the proletariat is not setting itself utopian or unreachable goals, like the immediate realization of socialism: the only possible and historically necessary goal is to establish a democratic republic and an eight-hour workday (Luxemburg 1906b, p. 148).

The claim (made recently by Gunnett Kaaf) that Luxemburg 'rejected the trap of this socialist strategy of the Second International that proposed that countries must first undergo capitalist development before they proceed to the socialist stage of development' (Kaaf 2021, p. 151) is completely without foundation.

III.

Marx was certainly mindful of the destructive impact of imperialism. But unlike Luxemburg, he did not assume that all precapitalist formations would inevitably succumb to it. To be sure, in the 1840s and early 1850s he proclaimed that such strata would be quickly washed away by the 'progress' of capitalism, but as he became better acquainted with conditions in the global south and Russia in the 1870's he changed his mind. But unfortunately, what called itself 'Marxism' after the death of Marx did not proceed from that standpoint.

This has critically important consequences. If it is assumed, 1) that the progress of capitalism leads to the complete destruction of pre-capitalist forms, and 2) that a nation can transition to socialism only after enduring a prolonged stage of capitalism, it logically follows that indigenous people and peasants cannot serve as a subject of socialist revolution.

Marx did not uphold that view: as he makes clear in his letters to Zasulich and Preface to the 1882 Russian edition the *Communist Manifesto*, the Russian peasantry can play the leading role in promoting a socialist revolution so long as they build upon their indigenous communal forms and the workers of the industrially-developed West come to their aid. Luxemburg, in contrast, denied that the peasantry could play such a leading role, since she assumed (wrongly as it turned out) that their communal forms were headed for imminent destruction. The *mir*, while weakened in some respects, persisted right through the 1905 and 1917 Russian Revolutions. It was destroyed only later, by Stalin's forced collectivization drive of the 1930s.

Moreover, despite her passionate opposition to imperialism and fervent defense of its victims, Luxemburg never singled out the colonized masses as a subject of revolution in their own right. The task of their liberation fell to the working class—and the working class alone.

Ironically, some contend that Luxemburg is more relevant to today's global south than Marx—despite her view that the latter is doomed to repeat the trajectory of the West insofar as its

communal forms will inevitably be obliterated by contact with capitalism (see Soiland, 2018). This renders her position more Eurocentric than that of Marx. One reason some think otherwise is that they assume Marx restricted the primitive accumulation of capital to the European origins of capitalism instead of treating it as a continuous process. If that were the case, Luxemburg would indeed stand higher than Marx. And to be sure, the vast majority of Marxists from Luxemburg's time to our own *have* accepted the claim that Marx held that the violence of 'primitive accumulation' is left behind by 'mature' capitalism, which outgrows the need for such 'extra-economic compulsion.' But Marx himself did not endorse such a reading of his work. A decade after the publication of Volume One of *Capital*, he took issue with an important review of it in a Russian journal by insisting that its section on the historical development of capital accumulation is not a universal projection of how capitalism will develop everywhere but rather a *descriptive* analysis of how it had evolved in Western Europe (Marx 1983b). And as he insists in his correspondence with Zasulich, that section of *Capital* provides no answer one way or the other as to how developments might unfold in lands outside of Western Europe. That is why he took such pains in the last years of his life to explore the extent to which primitive accumulation applies to countries that were only first experiencing contact with capitalism.

That said, Luxemburg's standpoint should not be equated with the unilinear, rigid determinism of orthodox Marxists, who held that it was an 'iron law' of history that all nations must undergo a lengthy period of capitalism before reaching socialism. She had no use for such metaphysical claims, cloaked in the dogma of 'dialectical materialism.' Her position was based on a different criterion—that socialism cannot come into being without 'unlimited democracy' (Luxemburg 1918, p. 308). The Russia of her time, she repeatedly emphasized, was overwhelmingly composed of peasants—most of whom, she held, desire not socialism but private ownership of landed property. Since the working class was a small minority, and socialism can only come into being through the support of the vast majority of the populace, how can a transition to socialism be immediately achieved? She held that it can't—unless one wants to divest socialism of any democratic content. Indeed, she shared that view with virtually every Russian Marxist prior to April 1917, including Mensheviks and Bolsheviks (the dispute between them did not concern whether a bourgeois-democratic stage had to precede socialism but which class was to lead it). In sum, Luxemburg never upheld the view—later propagated by Leninists worldwide—that a minoritarian working class under the leadership of a vanguard party that itself represents a minority of the working class can force through a transition to socialism.

The past 100 years is a tragic tale of one revolution after another failing to achieve a transition to socialism when led by a minoritarian political party that lacks support from the majority of the oppressed masses. It has led instead to various state-capitalist regimes that called themselves 'socialist.' A new day is however dawning, as recognition grows around the world that a different kind of socialism is needed—one that is thoroughly democratic. As the most fervent voice proclaiming there is no socialism without democracy and no democracy without socialism, Luxemburg speaks to our present predicament as no other.

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FOOD IMAGE TO PERCEIVE TOURISTS' AWARENESS ON BRANDING DESTINATION AND REVISIT INTENTION WHEN TRAVELING POST-PANDEMIC

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Abstract: This study considered the conceptualization of food image as well as the function of food image in branding destination and visitor's intention. Food image was separated into two components, including intangible value and tangible value. Regarding this point, the food image was mentioned in the photo factor provided by the destination, and another factor, which is tourists' real experiences about local cuisine. The results verified positively effective relationships between food image and other dimensions, and between destination branding and the revisit intention dimension. Furthermore, this study addressed the role of food image not only retaining tourists' awareness of destinations, but also promoting the choice of a destination when traveling post-pandemic.

Keywords: food image; destination branding; revisit intention; marketing tourism; post-pandemic.

1. Introduction

Globally, travel and tourism are a leading sector making huge contributions to job creation, and socio-economic and cultural development worldwide (McCabe and Qiao, 2020). With the tourism market becoming increasingly competitive, policies, products and strategies related to tourism are the focus of research and training. Knowledge about tourism is promoted among countries, territories, and across our region. Recognizing this, each country concentrates upon building destination branding, presenting specific tourism products to create distinct impressions compared to other countries. Thus, the national tourism industry explores and innovates constantly to strengthen destination appeal to tourists, enticing arrivals and return visits. Furthermore, tourist demand seems to change endlessly and shows tendencies increasingly inclined towards comprehensive destination experiences that typically include landscapes, cultural heritage, nature, and local foods. According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) report in 2016, food is ranked third among the main reasons for tourists choosing to visit a destination, after cultural motive and nature. This study explores the intangible and tangible sides of food image. The tourism and leisure industry plays a crucial role in economic activities and in promoting customer satisfaction, but it has also become the most vulnerable industry (Ma et al., 2020). Specifically, the present pandemic of COVID-19 entails a global challenge in economic and healthcare terms, and global industries, including tourism and travel, face a crisis in terms of their contribution to the service industry worldwide.

Where the tourism and leisure industry has faced COVID-19, image plays a vital role of marketing applications for tourism. The fact that, in the fourth industrial revolution, people can look for information, use equipment to access and receive needed information, means therefore, that the image becomes strong across social media. Despite difficulties, social media platforms have provided information and complex resources in the crisis of the COVID-19

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pandemic (Abbas et al., 2019; Lin and Kishore, 2021; Lebni et al., 2020). This study demonstrates the impacts among dimensions including: food image, destination branding and revisit intention. Moreover, this paper also discusses marketing strategies of food image in post-pandemic.

2. Literature review

2.1 Food image

Particularly in the tourism industry, image is presented as a priority element for choosing a destination by tourists. In this context, favorable and unique images positively influence a tourist's perception, and more effectively influence decisions about a destination (Chi, Huang, & Nguyen, 2019). Firstly, image is considered, such as real definitions explained with image information, including photos, text, and complex media elements on the internet. The online world has various information sources, offered through a plethora of providers, consisting of tourist destinations, travel blogger accounts, tourist's comments, advertisement company copy... Gradually, the upsurge of the Internet has become an influencer attendant to a shift customer's tendency when seeking references, and this constitutes several challenges for tourism marketing (Foroudi, Akarsu, Ageeva, Foroudi, Dennis, & Melewar, 2018). Therefore, not surprisingly, websites or online media don't always convey all the relevant information for a destination because of the highly contested matter of image formation (Költringer & Dickinger, 2015). The fact that the meaningful function of WOM marketing (Word-Of-Mouth marketing) on commercial trade activities has been assessed and affirmed through previous researches, along with the increasing internet network that is eWOM (electronic Word-Of-Mouth) method is described as an innovation by WOM, but with a higher spread than WOM. The eWOM technologies don't only become a potential tool for marketing, but also raises issues for marketers because of both positive and negative sides to online representations (Jalilvand, Ebrahimi, & Samiei, 2013). In this research, this paper focuses upon photographs provided by tourist destinations and shared through social media as a marketing strategy.

Secondly, the image is defined as ideas, beliefs, and impressions about a destination (Lopes, 2011). In this manner, an image is a survival concept in the mind when not having direct communication by eyes and it is underpinned by attractions from effecting a few appealing of information (Foroudi, Akarsu, Ageeva, Foroudi, Dennis & Melewar, 2018). Additionally, the image is considered a consumer's asset when these are experience at a destination, thereby enhancing awareness (Hernández-Mogollón, Duarte & Folgado- Fernández, 2018). Previous research has pointed out the notion of the image through brand image as well as destination image literature. According to such research, experts also evaluated image and reputation as vital factors for successful business keen to meet tourist demands and expectations.

Recently, the demand for deeper understanding of destinations, overall local culture, and current practices, are concerns that show insight by modern travelers. Tourist desire is understandably diverse: it is often geared to enjoy authentic and local experiences, communicate with local people and includes expectations that travel agencies and hotels will deliver quality applied local values, especially food ingredients (Tolkach, Chon & Xiao, 2016). With this definition of touristic desire, local food is an iconic part of a cultural destination and is one of the most important factors in terms of the appeal of a trip. Local food provides a marketable impression with which to establish and make memorable the value of destination branding, for example, the Kebab is Turkey's specialty, pizza for Italy, kimchi in Korea, tapas as a traditional food of Spain, etc... Telfer and Wall (2000) evidenced that tourists spend one-third of their travel budget on consuming food which demonstrates an essential position for

food in tourism. Indeed, destination value is increased through discovering authentic local food products; as a feature of indigenous culture embodied via local dishes of the area (Akgol, 2012). For instance, in this, France's cuisine is well-known with both some of the world's best cheeses and wines, but it also shows in that food preparation is taken seriously in France and that food embodies part of the etiquette culture of France. Ultimately, local food indicates a part of territorial culture encompassing cultural heritage, cuisine value and lifestyle at a destination (Lai, Khoo-Lattimore, & Wang, 2019).

Consequently, food destination image has been expressed and concentrated in research. Thus far, food image has been a multi-dimensional construct in many researches. This thesis has been considered by researchers when exploring the influence of local cuisine in the tourism industry. In previous research, food image also has been considered with three components including tangible, affective, and conative aspects of a destination (Lai, Khoo-Lattimore, & Wang, 2018). According to this research, food image was defined in five dimensions, consisting of restaurant service, food taste, health and hygiene, variety and eating manners, and unique cultural experience – all when comparing Australian and Chinese tourist via the Thailand cuisine consumption. On the other hand, food image has been synthesized by two characteristics in separate research showing that the first trait in tourist cognition which indicates their conception and desire for a destination is seeing the destination's food image; the second trait is the food image as projected, which is composed by the destination providers via social media advertising (Lai, Khoo-Lattimore, & Wang, 2019). However, published studies of affective food image in destination branding are generally lacking. The food image of this paper is concerned with two dimensions, including the intangible in photography which displays the tourist's perception when they see photos updated by the destination, and a tangible component in tourist cognition when having experiences tasting local food at a destination.

2.2 Destination branding

Destination branding identity contributes to creating a distinctive impression focused upon the intentions of tourists, as mentioned, having a role in preparing the tourist's planning decisions and choices. Moreover, destination branding can contribute to expanding tourist awareness of a destination after their travelling experience (Chi, Huang, & Nguyen, 2019). Recognizing the importance of this is crucial for those who compete with or face a lack of competition in destinations, where many parts of the world establish place brand awareness and provide value developed as a priority strategy. Actually, destination brand strategy is considered as 'a plan for defining the most realistic, most competitive, and most compelling strategic reason for the country, region, or city; this vision then has to be fulfilled and communicated' (Anholt, 2004).

Thus, destination branding must present itself as able to fulfill and deliver the promise of enriching experience, in turn reinforcing, in the tourist's mind, a positive involvement with the chosen place. With this point of view, tourist destination branding is a consolidation between their experiences and destination branding (Manhas, Manrai, & Manrai, 2016). Mainly, the purpose of destination branding is to expose uniqueness's brand effectively and demonstrate a worth image to approach market segment thence leading to expression the function of marketing promotion (Roy & Hoque, 2015). The destination branding is indicated similar to a product including brand name, logo, symbol uniquely to distinct other destinations. Therefore, branding impacts into destination's position in a competitive market. The important function of the branding process is establishing a prominent, prestige image for a destination (Költringer & Dickinger, 2015) to lessen risk perception in tourists approaching. The brand is not only the first impression, but it is also a promise that shapes the tourist experience of a place. Meaningfully, destination branding must overcome the language of advertisement image and

transmit the brand a reality (Choe & Kim, 2018).

2.3 Revisit intention

Theoretically, customer behavior is concerned as a discipline in business. Indeed, customer retention posits an integral function in the marketing conceptualization, because priority strategy is to maintain a relationship with customers who are used to experience instead of building a new appealing (Foroudi, Akarsu, Ageeva, Foroudi, Dennis & Melewar, 2018). Regarding the tourism industry, the destination's stakeholder including the government and tourism managers have an aforementioned similar aspiration, since the marketing costs is high to attract first-time traveler (Lau & McKercher, 2004). Furthermore, a consistent image can affect tourist's appreciation and contribute to increasing intention behavior as returning that destination. In that, intention behavior is divided into two characteristics consist of 'intention to recommend', and 'intention to revisit'. With this concept is identified consistently, because the intention to recommend for food tourism proposes less preparing than the intention to visit (Choe & Kim, 2018). The distinction between these two conceptualizations is significant, especially when countries focus on building a favorable and distinguishable food and cuisine image into their branding strategy to attract tourists (Getz & Robinson, 2014; Henderson, 2009; Lin, Pearson & Cai, 2011).

The elaborate decision for choosing a destination in the future based on the visitor's experience results in the previous trip, the brand, therefore, will become a push factor to tourist's traveling intention (Chi, Huang & Nguyen, 2019). On the other hand, via researching memorable tourism experiences, appeared divergent concepts between loyalty is impacted by MTEs more positively than revisit intention because the main reason was that tourists desired exploring a new place in travel planning (Zhang, Wu & Buhalis, 2018).

2.4 Hypothesis development

UNWTO pointed out the key factors of gastronomy marketing including firstly, developing the chef's role as a representative person, who becomes an interpreter of the territory; secondly, investing in quality and credible promotional instruments; and then lastly, focusing on exploiting social media method. The abundant of marketing gastronomy strategic in the world market due to diversity gastronomy resources as well as unique local food at differences nationals, areas and territories. UNWTO's second report showed the marketing strategy of gastronomic tourism around the world. In addition to this, social media plays a significant part in gastronomic tourism marketing strategy, the strategies, as evidence is in immersed influences worldwide of 'TripAdvisor gastronomy trend'.

2.4.1 Food image and destination branding

With the upsurge of global competition between traveling destinations, creating distinctive experiences has become more necessary. Moreover, the destination brand must be underpinned by the congruence of a representative image to approach tourists. Currently, the tendency exploring cultural specificity is becoming a major motivation for choosing tourism destinations. Indeed, the cultural experience through tasting local food that was high appreciation such as a prospect factor for a competitive brand to contribute destination branding enforcement. In this manner, the stimulation and differentiation of tourist destinations is created by the food and cuisine considered as pivotal ingredients (Cambourne & Macionis,

2003) and the food also has a vital position in the comprehensive experience of a destination, along with the factors of landscape, culture, and history (UNTWO, 2107). 18

Recognizing food as a factor to appeal to more tourists as a destination branding driver needs to be established as part of long-term development plans and marketing strategies so as to clearly to the intervention and needs of stakeholders.

H1: The intangible factor is tourist's perceptions when tourists see the photo of local foods on the social media contributing to build the branding destination positively.

H2: The tangible factor is tourist's cognition when tourists experience the authentic of local foods on their trip contributing to build the branding destination positively.

2.4.2 Food image and revisiting intention

In general, food image is verified as a credible method in marketing strategy, which was considered in Korean when local food became the main motivation for visiting as well as a stimulus to promoted national branding (Choe & Kim, 2018). In this specific case, related to hospitality management, diners who have an equal with their feeling after having satisfied ethnic food experience, then they will not refuse to revisit an ethnic restaurant (Ha & Jang, 2010). Likewise, appearing a positive causal relationship between past behavior and tourists' intention to discovery the local food at destinations intentions (Ramkissoon, H., Uysal, M., & Brown, K., 2011). Hence, the tourist's contented evaluation throughout their trip consists of local cuisine, destination overall regarded as compatible, which demonstrates a pivotal position of food destination image to an appealing place. In essence, if the traveler's mind survives a positive image in a destination, they will have more trendy to revisit this destination. Previous studies also indicated past behavior that plays a predictable role to clarify future behavior intentions (Ramkissoon, Uysal, & Brown, 2011).

H3: The intangible factor is tourist's perceptions when tourists see the photo of local foods on the social media impacting to tourist's revisit intention significantly.

H4: The tangible factor is tourist's cognition when tourists experience the authentic of local foods on their trip impacting to tourist's revisit intention significantly.

2.4.3 Destination branding and revisit intention

The overall images of the destination composing the destination branding that is interference between its brand associations elements (i.e., Tangible, affective, and unique and tourists' choosing behaviors (i.e., intentions to revisit and recommend) (Roy, & Hoque, 2015). Destination branding is ranked on the top step leading to the purchasing decision in purchasing behavior (Chi, Huang & Nguyen, 2019). With these concerns, destinations apply for the spreading of social media to approach tourist with desirable branding image which is a critical element influencing tourist's behavior. Furthermore, when deciding destinations to visit, tourists based on previous experiences and memories to design their trip in the future (Lehto, O'Leary & Morrison, 2004; Wirtz, Kruger, Scollon & Diener, 2003). The memorable experiential attendances create a MTEs (memorable tourism experiences) including participation, pleasure- seeking and nation's culture impact into revisit intention the same country in the future. It depends on providing MTEs value to travelers, having as more positive images as more opportunities for revisiting intention (Zhang, Wu & Buhalis, 2018).

H5: Branding destination influences to tourist's revisit intention.

2.5 Research framework

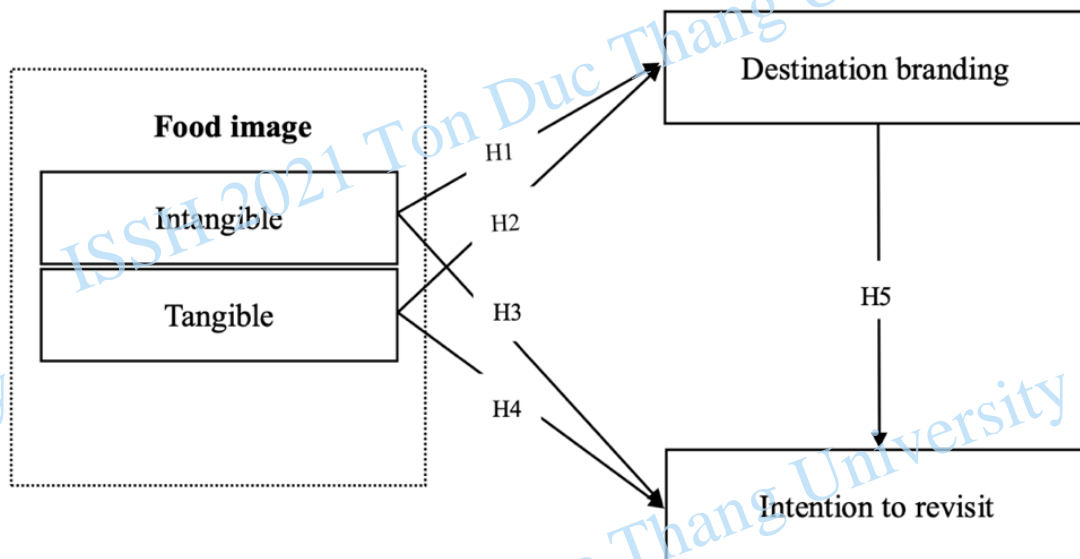


Figure 2.4.4. 1 Research modeling

H1: The intangible factor is tourist's perceptions when tourists see the photo of local foods on the social media contributing to build the destination branding positively.

H2: The tangible factor is tourist's cognition when tourists experience the authentic of local foods on their trip contributing to build the destination branding positively.

H3: The intangible factor is tourist's perceptions when tourists see the photo of local foods on the social media impacting to tourist's revisit intention significantly.

H4: The tangible factor is tourist's cognition when tourists experience the authentic of local foods on their trip impacting to tourist's revisit intention significantly.

H5: Destination branding influences to tourist's revisit intention.

3. Method

3.1 Data collection and sampling

This study needs to measure the following three constructs: food image including tangible and intangible factor, destination branding and revisit intention. Food image was considered by two orientations comprise intangible (tourist's perception when searching for the food of local food on social media) and tangible (tourist's cognition after tasting local food). This survey was favorable with a quantitative method by collecting data via a questionnaire. The questionnaire prepared in English version firstly, then was translated into Chinese version and compared to ensure homogenous concepts between two versions by an interpreter expert. The questionnaire was also sent to scholars, professors to moderate and complete suitability for this questionnaire.

The study selected the convenience sampling method. The main data collected from surveys conducted from January to April 2020. The target of this survey was 300 Taiwanese tourists who had previously visited in Ho Chi Minh City. The surveys sent questionnaires to travel

agencies in Vietnam, the Vietnamese party organization in Taiwan by email, Vietnamese group at Taiwan and international student hub in Taiwan by Facebook, Ton Duc Thang University, Vietnam's Communist Party in Taiwan to find supports from Vietnamese who have been living, working in Taiwan in order to they could send this questionnaire to their relationships. The tourists will respond online, a little survey were directly collected at Tan Son Nhat airport or some visit sides in Ho Chi Minh City. Moreover, some questionnaires were interviewed directly with Taiwanese at their home in Taiwan. Actual, the survey faced challenges of COVID -19 pandemic, but the result overcame the previous target with 343 suitable respond.

The questionnaire comprised 16 questions to explore food image value in Ho Chi Minh City, moreover, the online questionnaire also showed some photos which local foods in Ho Chi Minh City including Vietnamese beef noodle, bread broken rice, fresh spring roll, grilled pork rice noodle, Crab meat noodle, Nam Vang rice noodle, Salty sticky rice, Dried rice flour, Vietnamese Stew with Organ Meats, Stewed Organ Meats, snails, mixed rice paper, Crab meat soup, Iced Vietnamese coffee with condensed milk to support interviewee's approaching. It pretested to sure clarify and understandable of questions. The research used quantitative data from selection of online questionnaire to analyze the impacts of food image, branding destination and revisit intention. All of items will measure by five Likert-type scale from 'strong disagree = 1', 'disagree = 2', 'normal = 3', 'agree = 4', 'strong agree = 5'.

The characteristics of Taiwanese visitors related to age, education, gender, marital status, occupation, income, main travel purpose, and travel times (Chi, Huang, & Nguyen, 2019). The food image will divide two factor to measure consist of intangible value (When the tourist sees food image on the social network) and tangible value (when the tourist had authentic experience with local food in Ho Chi Minh City). Items and questions in this study were evolved from the previous research (Choe & Kim, 2018). Then, Items and questions in branding destination and revisit intention were selected from previous studies (Chi, Huang & Nguyen, 2019; Choe & Kim, 2018).

3.2 Data analysis

The data analyzed in a number of steps. Firstly, the demographic characteristic of Taiwanese tourists was described through the statistical analysis. With this manner, this research provided the tendencies of Taiwanese tourist including age, gender, marital status, education, occupation, income, main travel purpose, travel method, the best place where tourist had experiences with local food in Ho Chi Minh City, and exploring local foods which were tasting by Taiwanese tourist in Ho Chi Minh City. This paper understands that building a measurement scale means needing to have two keys, which are validity and reliability. Validity is used to reflect the correct of a study or moderating specific items which are being tried to measure by research, and reliability is applied to check suitability and stable in dimensions which is considered as intentions to measure (DeVellis, 2003). Therefore, the items in dimensions were verified reliability based on Cronbach's alpha to miss incompatible items. Then, transiting to EFA (Exploratory Factor Analysis) to discover convergence factors, contributing to decisions to edit the research model as well as using CFA (Confirmatory Factor Analysis) in the next step to confirm the quality of the research model. Lastly, the data was undertaken regression to verify correlation among hypothesizes by SEM (Structural Equation Modeling). This paper showed and explained some issues in the tourism department of Ho Chi Minh City.

4. Result

Chi-square= 208.160 ; df= 72 ; P= .000
 Chi-square/df= 2.891
 TLI = .926 ; CFI = .942 ; GFI =.926
 RMSEA= .074

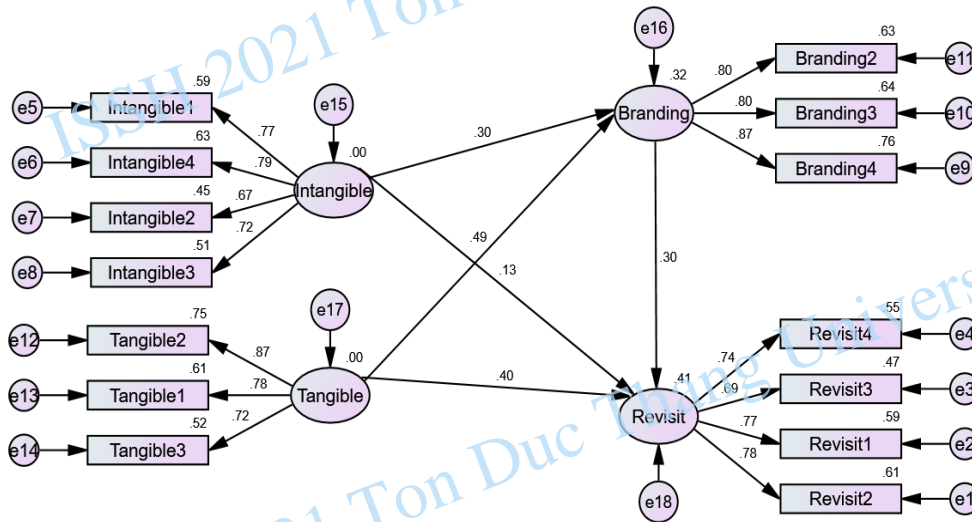


Figure. Structural Equation Modeling

Hypothesis 1 was checked by examining the path coefficient between 'the intangible of food image and destination branding' ($\beta=0.296$, $t = 0.306$, $p < 0.01$). This result integrated with trend researches in destination branding currently basing on food image, particularly for tourists who desire seeking experiences at destination via food image (Choe & Kim, 2018). On the other hand, period research explored the images which are provided by a destination, no having a homogenous perception with travelers. The chaotic upsurge of building local food images among stakeholders constitute a negative reactions impacting into affective values of tourists. The internal consolidation is really essential condition to find suitable manners in promoting the local food image at destinations (Lai, Khoo-Lattimore, & Wang, 2018).

Hypothesis 2 was checked by examining the path coefficient between 'the tangible of food image and destination branding' ($\beta=0.487$, $t = 0.509$, $p < 0.01$). The results illustrated that tangible value of food image had a positive attitude toward branding destination, being in line with previous studies (Kim and Eves, 2012; Kivela & Crofts, 2006; Sulek & Hensley, 2004). Overall cuisine experience in destinations is assessed positively by guaranteeing of the quality food. In competitive tourism market, the demand of local foods experiences is higher and higher about quality cuisine, therefore, the tourism providers need to underpin benefit functions which service for tourist as well as platform function of eating authentic local foods at destinations (Choe & Kim, 2018).

Hypothesis 3 was checked by examining the path coefficient between 'the intangible of food image and revisit intention' ($\beta=0.127$, $t = 0.117=09$, $p = 0.032 < 0.05$). This result discovered an interaction between intangible value of the food image and revisit intention. These findings contributed to confirm with those of prior studies (Chen and Tsai, 2007; Kim et al., 2012; Lee et al., 2011) that determined a positive connection between a local food image and consumers' intention. In addition to this research, when considering $\beta=0.127$ compared with other β value in the model, explaining the tourist's perception when searching for the images of local food in

Ho Chi Minh to support traveling intentions. With aforementioned hypothesis 1, intangible value of the food image at Ho Chi Minh City was not really an engine to appeal tourist attraction via local food photos.

Hypothesis 4 was checked by examining the path coefficient between 'the tangible of food image and revisit intention' ($\beta=0.398$, $t = 0.372$, $p < 0.01$). With Beta value ranked second about positive reaction, this result reveals the fundamental of empirical authentication impacting into travel intention significantly. In this manner, approaching and eating experiences are an important aspect of food tourism to establish positive memorable experiences. Indeed, tourists willing to apply remembered experiences for the travel intention as well as revisiting a destination to remind memorable (Braun- LaTouretal, 2006; Huang and Hsu, 2009).

Hypothesis 5 was checked by examining the path coefficient between 'destination branding and revisit intention' ($\beta=0.304$, $t = 0.271$, $p = < 0.01$). Research suggests that, madding up the awareness about branding destination supports tourists in revisiting on the next their vacation spots. This hypothesis displayed a positive moderation by the relationship between destination brand and travel intentions (Chi, Huang, & Nguyen, 2019).

5. Conclusion

This research identified dimensions consisting of food image, destination branding, revisit intention and capable impact in constructing relationships. Clearly, the analysis above accentuated that current food research offers plenty of challenges to locate the abstract notions of food image diverging to three fields: (1) using of conception of food image (intangible and tangible value) to measure destination branding and travel intentions; (b) the positive moderation the relationship between destination branding and travel intentions. The review resulted in the development of a conceptual framework that debated the tangible, intangible elements of food images and their extraordinary effects on extant elements. As these hypotheses, this measurement was explored by a SEM approach to analysis the perception of Taiwanese tourist who have traveled to Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam once time at least. The survey conducted, designed suggestion pattern and moderated to test the function of food image in the relationship with two dimensions including branding destination and revisit intention.

First, the travel intentions of Taiwanese tourists are influenced by destination branding. In this manner, Ho Chi Minh City created a brand in consumer's choosing about a branding tourism. The quality experiences, homologous culture and uniqueness comparing with other countries in the area constituted famous branding for Ho Chi Minh City. Hence, this study emphasized the importance of building a destination branding is really essential with a destination. The marketer must invest strategies to enhance tourist's awareness

More importantly, second, the findings demonstrated that food image both intangible and tangible value became priority indicators to underpin branding destination and a determinant of revisit intention. This study gaps concerning food image in destination branding, establishing a crucial antecedent for enhancing researches on food image in destination marketing. Indeed, as the result, the tangible dimension implies the tourist's cognition when experiencing local foods at Ho Chi Minh City having strong effects to branding destination and revisit intention. These relationships verified a center function of tasting local foods, evoked for focusing on development utilities to meet tourist's demands about eating local food at Ho Chi Minh City. However, the service manners must be improved to support the approaching of Taiwanese tourist with Vietnamese culture via eating local food. This point verified period studies, tasting local food keep an essential position of travel experience because it provides both cultural activities and leisure, contemporarily also showing the bridge function in

introducing flavor and diversity traditions at destination (Kim & Eves, 2012). Conversely, intangible dimension showed the tourist's perception when searching for local food images on the social media having interact less with destination branding and revisit intention. This result didn't complete the previous expectations which expected massive effects from intangible value because it is a first way to approach potential food tourists. Nevertheless, the result supported to better understand tourist's perception which renew marketing orientation for strategies will be suggested, is paved completely as a basis for subsequent research.

This food image surveys measured actual food image by tourists who have been already indulged the destination's cuisine (Ling, Karim, Othman, Adzahan, & Ramachandran, 2010) and the perception of those tourists about the food images on social media. Thereby this, the surveys created the shortcoming to understand the potential tourists who have never experienced in this destination. Thus, a future outlook was evoked as diverging the perception of tourists who have visited experienced its food at destination and an another is who have never had opportunity to visit.

The food image in post-pandemic

The COVID-19 outbreak and periods of lockdown identified not only the ways in which tourists find out destination information, but also their preferences, attitudes, and behaviors during and after receiving tourist or hospitality services. Updating COVID-19 publicity in social media lead to changing tourists' perception, behaviour and attitude (Bhati et al., 2020; Hassan & Soliman, 2020). Therefore, tourists' perspective need to be explored from risk and safety factors and seeking why tourists perceive risks differently and what factors influence these perceptions (Gössling, Scott, Hall, Ceron, & Dubois, 2012). Studies forecast the new tourist's behavior will be establish in the new normal including sustainability; interest in local, technology, and smart cities; luxury services; hygiene protocols; and emotions (Bastidas-Manzano, A. B., Sánchez-Fernández, J., & Casado-Aranda, L. A., 2021). With reconsidering PMT (Protection motivation theory) introduced by Rogers (1975), Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB), and Service-Dominant Logic (SDL) in COVID-19 situation to confirm the function of perceived risk, fear, and social media on attitude and customer brand engagement (CBE) which then orientates co-creation and revisit intention in managing tourism brands during pandemic (Raouf Ahmad Rather, 2021). On the other hand, tourists' past experiences which are their levels of familiarity with similar events, their novelty-seeking behaviors (Sharifpour et al., 2014), or their cultural orientations compared with those of the destination (Reisinger & Mavondo, 2006), they will support to decrease the their fear when choosing destination.

Following Gursoy and Chins' (2020) recent call for more research in the gastronomy industry during the ongoing crisis who discuss that 'it is critical to generate new knowledge that can provide insights to the industry about how to transform their operation according to newly emerging customers needs and wants due to COVID-19 pandemic. Tourism marketers/managers need to develop differing marketing strategies that base on the fear of COVID-19, perceived risk, and their effects on attitude during pandemic (Raouf Ahmad Rather, 2021). In addition, tourism advertising further affects tourist's attitude, so that tourism marketers should identify that their tourism experiences would be beneficial useful, valuable, positive, and attractive, in seeking to diminish the perceived fear arising from COVID-19 virus. Managerial-tracking of and insight into these consumer initiatives can be adopted to update service development, formal market research, or new promotional campaigns post-pandemic.

Post- covid is still speculation. The travel crisis during the pandemic helps to rethink the overreliance on tourism in some areas. The pandemic has opened up an opportunity to reflect on the pre-existing problems of tourism and pre-established the current approach to a more

sustainable and responsible tourism of the future. Destination brands or experiences should be discussed again about influencing decision-making, marketing in general and social media in particular is important.

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RESEARCH EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF VIETNAM'S POVERTY REDUCTION POLICIES FOR ETHNIC MINORITIES: CASE STUDY OF ETHNIC RAGLAI IN BAC AI, NINH THUAN

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Abstract: Research conducted among the Raglai ethnic minority in the mountains of the South of Vietnam suggests that 'development' projects that support women by both Government and by International agencies are actually an impediment to sustainable poverty reduction because they do not take account of the ways matriarchal practices actively demotivate male members of the community. The consequences of this are uneven and unsustainable, and indeed ineffective, poverty alleviation policies that need to be rethought with attention to cultural context and custom. This paper makes recommendations to address this policy shortfall.

Keywords: ethnic group, matriarchal custom, Ninh Thuan, poverty reduction policy, Raglai.

1. Introduction

Ninh Thuan province belongs to the South Central Coast region of Vietnam. Bac Ai is a mountainous area of Ninh Thuan province, located about 380 km north east of Ho Chi Minh City and listed in one of 61 poorest areas in Vietnam. Bac Ai's population counted for 30 000 people, of which the Raglai people are the majority (over 87%) (Ho Xuan Ninh, 2019: 137).

Research was conducted to identify exactly the causes of persistent poverty among Raglai people in Bac Ai district. The study explores why Vietnam's state policies have not been implemented effectively for Raglai people to get out of poverty sustainably. This research provide feedback into national policy discussions so as to adjust, revise or innovate policies more appropriate to sustainable poverty reduction for Raglai people. In the end, we make recommendations for the Vietnamese Government to revise its policies or have policies in place that are consistent with the customs and habits of each ethnic minority, especially for Raglai people who still follow matriarchy.

2. General background

By the end of October 2020, the Government of Vietnam issued 118 policies on ethnic minorities and mountainous areas, including 54 direct and 64 indirect policies that give priority to ethnic minorities (Nguyễn Thị Thu Thanh, 2021). Priority Projects from the state budget in the Socio-economic Development Plan 2011-2020 and Vision 2030 of Ninh Thuan Province

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related to Bac Ai district include: a project on the upgrading of urban roads, inter-district roads to join with other provincial districts of Bac Ai; a project on the construction of traditional medicine hospital; Project on the construction of vocational training centers in the district of Bac Ai; Project on the investment of Phuoc Thang Industrial Zone (JICA, 2012). These policies aim to solve difficulties in ethnic minority and mountainous areas such as the shortage of residential land, productive land and daily-life issues such as access to water so people can stabilize their lives.

In Ninh Thuan in 2004-2015, Oxfam began implementing livelihood projects related to Raglai people: RVNA33 'Ensure food security and increase incomes for poor Raglai people in Bac Ai' from 2004-2007; RVNA60 'Community forest management for poverty reduction' from 2007-2010; RVNA63 'Raglai ethnic minority development through livelihood and market solutions' from 2007-2010; RVA93 'Enhancing market access and encouraging Raglai women to become economically independent' (PWEL/WEL) from 2011-2015. The implementation of these projects showed the main traditional livelihoods of Raglai people included the reclamation of forest land for upland cultivation and animal husbandry.

Research on 'Gendered Market Selection and Mapping for Economic Leadership Development of Raglai Women in Bac Ai and Thuan Bac District, Ninh Thuan Province' funded by Oxfam Great Britain (OGB) and was conducted by Ph.D. Nguyen Van Huan and associates from the Centre for Sustainable Development Policy Studies (CSDP, 2010). This research provided a number of reasons for poverty: i) lack of water, especially during the dry season, resulting in ineffective land use and fewer crops; (ii) lack of cultivatable land especially for newly separated households who do not have land for wet rice. (iii) Lack of production experience. iv) limited market-oriented outlook: Raglai households mainly grow food plants and raise livestock for their families' needs but not for the commodity market, hence low productivity; v) underdeveloped market. vi) networks of agricultural and veterinary support at grassroot level are very weak which result in the loss of farming and livestock; vii) practicing some older customs entails considerable extra expenditure; viii) one particular reason for poverty in Raglai community is the matrilineal system which hinders men from feeling confident and motivated in doing business (CSDP, 2010: 28,29).

One common point of the above-mentioned studies is that the ability to receive state support for Raglai people remains limited, so the effectiveness of the policies is low.

3. Methodology

The authors collected data by different methods, such as reviewing journal articles and conducting interviews. For the research, we conducted 80 in-depth interviews with stakeholders in 10 districts, including village officials in charge of poverty reduction and 10 research experts on the Raglai people. Based on the analysis and evaluation of these materials, we find that several decades of Vietnam Government policies for ethnic minorities are incapable and insufficient to motivate Raglai people. The question must be asked: current Government policies are not suitable for Raglai living conditions, living environment, and the livelihoods, customs and habits of Raglai people? one particular reason for poverty in Raglai community is the matrilineal system which hinders men from feeling confident and motivated in doing business?

4. Data collection

The habits of the Raglai ethnic people affect the implementation of ineffective state policies
The reason of poverty in Bac Ai, Ninh Thuan

Cultivation and husbandry practices

The cultivation and livestock techniques of the people are weak, mainly cattle grazing, not paying attention to the productivity and efficiency of planting, as well as how to irrigate the fertilizer in the production process. Most people do not use fertilizers or drugs for crops, cattle and buffaloes are raised in the open air. Ms. H (with a grade level education junior high school), said 'One of the causes of poverty is technical. Most of the people do not know cultivation techniques; Livestock is not equal to others'. (in-depth interviews file 3).

The training of people in cultivation techniques is ineffective. There are two reasons: (1) On the side of the people, according to Patau AXA Tien (male, 1980, Tan Phuoc Commune) they just attended the training sessions, but did not learn or practice. 'Apply in practice is very limited, I am unlettered, but I think we could not do that since there is no water since the only water resource is from the rain. For example, to follow the conditions of the instructors, water is required before fertilization. If there is no water, fertilization is useless, we cannot invest in such conditions' (in-depth interviews file N 4,5). The second reason is from the trainer. Guiding people through the model is not effective because it is not practical in actuality.

Going to work for hire

If people do not participate in agricultural production, they will work as hired laborers. In addition to working as hired laborers, they do not know about 'factories', or find it very difficult to 'work far away from home' to improve their economy. Women work farther away than men. Typical is the sharing of Chamalé Thi Thuy, born in 1972: 'I was hired to harvest cassava for only two or three days a month and that is only enough for MSG but electricity and water'. Going abroad for labor is also mainly women. Ms. Chamaléa Thi Dieu, from Ta Lu 2 hamlet, Phuoc Dai commune (Bac Ai), had spent 3 years working abroad in Saudi Arabia, working as a housemaid'. According to Ms. Dieu, 'If I hadn't made up my mind that day, I would still be stuck in poverty now.' According to Mr. B.Q. V, Head of the Department of Labor, Invalids and Social Affairs, from 2010-2018, the whole Bac Ai district had 196 workers participating in export markets of Korea, Japan, Malaysia, and Saudi Arabia. weak are female workers. (Ngoc Hân, 2021). Chamalea Thi Ghinh's shared (in-depth interviews file No. 49) 'if I go too far for work I cannot go back home, sometimes they let me stay but work for free. There are so many people who do not dare to go to work far away from home since employers will not let you go back home until the end of the year with a little money for transportation. Some people work in Saigon, others work in Lam Dong, many people know that they have to work a lot but there is no payment so they do not go anymore'.

Spending without a plan

The next issue is household spending. It can be said that in a month people have no income but still have to pay for things like funerals, parties, or drinking. At the talk with local officials about the causes of poverty, one officer from the Department of Labor, Invalids and Social Affairs shared that irrational consumption of people is one of the causes leading to their difficult lives. Along with the 'lazy labor' behavior, people do not take the initiative in doing business, and not calculate reasonable expenditures. People are also relying on the state support and monthly rice allowances. Despite the harsh climate, only harvest once per season, people do not even consider saving for the difficult time. Dependency makes life difficult for the people, and they themselves do not want to change because they think that 'poor' will remain poor and do not know a different life.

Traditional restrictive and practices also have a considerable impact on the unreasonable spending of ethnic minorities. With the support of local authorities, when any household in which people pass away, the family will be supported with rice and money. The rice was not for eating but people sell it for alcohol. Rather than using the bank loans with a social policy to raise cattle for sale and make profit, when they have funerals, they kill the cattle, invite the shaman and relatives to eat several days and nights. They conceive that they have to do that for the dead. They are willing to sell cows to organize a generous 'funeral', ready to borrow from the neighbor, as a way to repay the dead. Mr C (local officials) shared:

if people come to the funeral and give the households food, they will cook them all, finish all the alcohol, and put the money into the coffin and dare not to use it. If you understand this custom, just give them a few hundred thousand Vietnam Dong for incense. If you want to support them more, you should wait until after the funeral since that is their tradition (in-depth interviews file 7).

The customs of the Raglai ethnic people affect the implementation of ineffective state policies

The reason of poverty in Bac Ai, Ninh Thuan

Regarding family relations, the Raglai people follow the matrilineal system, which they still maintain even though there has been a change in the new social environment. Daughters married their husband to their houses with the concept of 'Cutting down forest trees to build a house, forcing people to come back to be family members'. The groom and the husband become the breadwinner in the wife's family, but the decision-making power still belongs to the wife and her uncle. Daughters are born with the mother's last name and always keep the blood relationship according to the mother's family for 7 generations. The right to inherit property belongs only to daughters, especially the youngest daughter (Nguyễn Lan, 2021).

5. Result and discussion

The Raglai ethnic poverty presents a particular and persistent challenge for Ninh Thuận province. The policies of the Vietnamese government have not received a strong response from Raglai men for the main reasons: 1) the psychology of reliance, relying on the State's support policies, still thinking about how to 'fight' for support still exists in poor households. This is the basic cause limiting the will to rise out of poverty; (2) lack of awareness that the state only supports initiative, and people have to make efforts and do it themselves; (3) Raglai men's psychology asserts that all family assets are of the wife's family so they do not want to make any effort, but to drink alcohol; (4) Raglai men have less access to policies, laws and communication, so their awareness is limited and less progressive than women.

Raglai women dominate in accessing and using resources and services, their main livelihoods are cultivation and animal husbandry, but with low efficiency and productivity. The policies and projects that have been implemented thus far are focused on women, so these do not create motivation for men because men do not have property rights. The numbers of Raglai men who are hard-working and eager learners are not many, they have not really tried to lift themselves out of poverty. This is reflected in a large proportion of Raglai men who rely on women, despite being aware of their deprived life and difficulties, their will to escape poverty is not strong and they suppress their self-reliance. Poor Raglai men are limited in qualifications and foreign languages, they are not eligible for labour export and they do not want to work away from their home, young men engage in no 'competition' in life. The physical and spiritual needs of Raglai

men are simple, thinking little about the quality of family and personal life. They think that having a place to live, to eat, something to wear and so on, is enough. This thinking is not economical and they do not care about reasonable spending or not, never thinking about accumulating for the future. For this reason, welfare officials may find it necessary to issue policies to build and develop local production facilities for Raglai ethnic men to motivate them to expand social relations and affirm the position of husbands in the family as with other ethnic minorities. Promoting and enhancing the role of Raglai men would be a challenge to the development of the Raglai ethnic minority community. Thus policies, programs and projects need to be designed to increase the participation of the Raglai men's poor position in society generally.

6. Concluding recommendation

Poverty is always a problem for every country. In Viet Nam, fighting off the persistent poverty and reducing the level of increasing inequality in developmental achievement and access to opportunities for ethnic minorities, including the Raglai people, is a pressing issue, to be a challenge. Most of the Raglai are miserable people who suffer the most severe consequences of extreme weather and drought in Ninh Thuan. In order to prevent the increase of poverty and re-poverty of the Raglai people it is necessary to synchronously implement many solutions.

On the part of the people, it is necessary to take measures to continue the change in awareness of Raglai people so that they do not passively wait for the State's supportive policies but must strive to overcome sustainable poverty. Raglai men need to realize that they are the subject of poverty reduction process, and have more responsibility in their initiative to get out of poverty. This will be a long-term process.

For the government, in order to sustainably eradicate poverty, the Vietnamese government needs to revise policies or have its own policies in line with the customs and practices of each ethnic minority, especially for Raglai people matriarchy to eradicate poverty sustainably for this nation to ensure equality in the development of Vietnam's ethnic groups.

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THE KINSHIP NETWORKS AND CULTURAL REPRODUCTION AMONG BINH DINH MIGRANTS IN HO CHI MINH CITY – VIETNAM

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Abstract: While maintaining food consumption of migrants in their host countries in the context of globalization has been discussed by anthropologists for decades (Counihan and Esterik, 2013, Janowski, 2012, Mintz, 2008, Mata-Codesal and Abranches, 2018), literature on the same phenomenon for domestic migrant communities is still limited. This paper aims to explore the way HCM City dwellers who are organically from Binh Dinh province – central Vietnam, perpetually keep their homeland food in the diet. Methodologically, being an insider to the community provides the author accessibility to studied participants' residence to conduct participatory observation of their foodway for this ongoing project started in 2018. Research results show that there is an oppositional orientation in the continuation of homeland food among the community members which is correlated to whether the connection with their native relatives is preserved or diminished. Conclusively, the paper argues that cultural reproduction of migrant communities depends proportionately on supportive networks of people at home as much as the longing sense of rootedness of those who left.

Keywords: Binh Dinh migrants; HCM City, food culture, kinship network, cultural continuation.

Introduction

One day, I received an invitation to take part in a daily meal from my fellow home-towner at her house in Ho Chi Minh city. The meal included some Binh Dinh foods and there were more in her kitchen than I thought. Although we are Binh Dinh migrants in Ho Chi Minh city, she had much more homeland food than I had. I felt that there were a very Binh Dinh atmosphere in her house except me. How was the different between migrants about homeland food practicing in Ho Chi Minh city – Vietnam. I proposed to concentrate on the strong relationship between migrants and their kinship networks in sending and receiving activities (Olayinka Akanle and Jimi O. Adesina, 2017). Hence, homeland food parcels are the main part related to the relationship between migrants and their kinship networks in the context of migration (Diana - Codesal and Maria Abranches, 2018). This paper explores the role of Binh Dinh migrants' kinship networks through sending homeland food parcels and cultural reproduction to Binh Dinh migrants living in Ho Chi Minh city.

Homeland Food and Migration

Ho Chi Minh city is one of the big city in Vietnam in industrialization with variety

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opportunities for working, studying and living where attracted migrants from the North to the South and migrants who left from Binh Dinh, a province in the central of Vietnam coming to Ho Chi Minh city for their different purposes (Vũ Thị Hồng, Patrick Gubry và Lê Văn Thành, 2002). Some scholars studied migrants in Ho Chi Minh city focused on the moving reasons, labors, living standards, income as well as welfare of migrants living in Ho Chi Minh city (Nguyễn Thị Hồng Xoan, 2015; Nguyễn Đức Lộc, 2017).

Homeland food and migration discussed by anthropologists for decades that focused on the role of local memories of food and spices (Mintz, 2008; Czarra, 2001), the relationship between homeland food and identities (Chan, 2010). Living far from hometown, migrants revealed memories of homeland food and representing cultural (Janowski, 2012; Nyamnjoh, 2018) and homeland food parcels are important to migrants (Mata-Codesal & Abranches, 2018)

For migrants, changing living far from hometown in order to achieve meaningful aims in the life was one of the main reasons but *memories of homeland food and representing homeland food cultural* (emphasis by the author) through full of homeland food parcels with local spices were in their mind.

Kinship Networks and Migrants

The nature of support, exchanges and interconnectedness between migrants and their kinship was common for anthropological studies to give a role of kinship to migrants (Fleischer, 2007; Olayinka Akanle & Olanrewau Akinpelu Olutayo, 2011; Olayinka Akanle, Olufunke A Fayehun, Gbenga S Adejare & Otomi A., 2019; Olayinka Akanle & Jimi O. Adesina, 2017).

The relationship between kinship networks and migrants related to sending – receiving activities to each other. On the one hand, migrants sent remittances to the kinship networks ethos (Olayinka Akanle and Jimi O. Adesina, 2017). On the other hand, kinship networks sent back homeland food to the migrants in turn (Diana - Codesal and Maria Abranches, 2018). *The relationship between sending and receiving explored migrants who connected with their kinship networks closely* (emphasis by the author) and of course, homeland food parcels from kinship at home to migrants explored the *culinary practices* evolve over time in relation to a migrant's *culture experience* (Sara Greco Morasso and Tania Zittoun, 2014) and *homeland food parcels are essential in the relationship between migrants and their kinship networks* (Diana - Codesal and Maria Abranches, 2018).

Methodology

The term native anthropologists received different arguments both agreements and disagreements in the history of anthropology (Kuwayama, 2003; Narayan, 1993). However, native anthropologists have been strong in voicing the fluidity of identity which shows that every researcher is both an insider and an outsider in their fieldwork. Indeed, more and more native anthropologists were doing 'anthropology of home' by researching within their own communities as insider-outsiders with doing face different problems in field situation (Jones, 1970; Forster, 2020).

Participation observation and in-depth interviews methodology were applied to researching in food anthropologists to migration in which the maintaining of gastronomic culture through ethnic foods and homeland food parcels were discovered and struck because they *provided useful understanding of migrants' culinary habits and re-production of local identities* (emphasis by the author) (Nyamnjoh, 2018; Sara Greco Morasso and Tania Zittoun, 2014;

Collins, 2008).

The data has been collected first from my fellow Binh Dinh hometown, then opened with other migrating Binh Dinh people thanks to her introducing. After all, the research has been in-depth interviewed six females and two males who had all been living in Ho Chi Minh for a period of five to more than twenty years. The interviews and participation observation lasted from one to three hours, they were all recorded and translated in English by the author. At the time of the study, the interviewees separated into two groups; one group included Binh Dinh migrants have been maintained with their kinship at hometown and the other group had little or no maintained with their kinship at hometown.

From the methodological point of view, the study concerned about the role of kinship networks in transferring culture from hometown to Binh Dinh migrants have been living in Ho Chi Minh city through homeland food parcels.

Findings

The results of the study revolved around three main findings as follows:

- Migrants and memories of local food

During the interviewed, almost Binh Dinh migrants reminded their memories of childhood eating and drinking habits. Interviewees talked too much about memories of homeland food that they have experienced when they were a child both group one and group two.

M left Binh Dinh province last more than thirty years but the memories of the childhood rustic cake still in her mind from the shape of the cake, taste and the ways how to make this cake.

Until now I have remembered 'tai vac' cakes since I was a child. When I was so young, I so much loved eating 'tai vac' cakes which is a filter cake with a small shrimp inside and flour outside each of the cakes. The name of the cake looks like a baby bird's ear. Its taste is very special to us so I always remember about its taste. It is difficult to make it goes by.*

Migrants might be remembered a typical voice what the sellers say something loudly on the street at night in order to attract customers to their what they bought.

I remembered the sounds, indeed, I was addicted the sounds of the lady selling the 'trúng vit lộn' every night, so now when I would like to have some 'trúng vit lộn', I immediately think of that sounds many years ago†

From the memories of homeland food, visiting hometown became what migrants practiced culinary in their ways.

My purpose of visiting the hometown was not for eating, otherwise was to visit my relatives. Visiting my hometown was indeed visiting my parents but the first thing I did was to arrange some missing homeland food to eat. Honestly eating my favorite homeland food first. In my opinion, *hometown is homeland food* (emphasis by the author)‡

Memories of homeland food through remembering about the typical of floods in the countryside of Vietnam

* M, interviewed by author, April 16, 2019, District 11, Ho Chi Minh city

† V, interviewed by author, May 20, 2020, District 1, Ho Chi Minh city

‡ V, interviewed by author, May 20, 2020, District 1, Ho Chi Minh city

Until now I still remembered the foods in my hometown when I was a child. At that time, my nanny made small pouring pan cakes for us while it was raining heavily. My house was flooded and the weather was too cold while we were having hot small cakes made by coal. We were having hot small cakes with *bánh trắng*. Yes, *bánh trắng*, it was very wonderful.*

Every kind of homeland food connected to migrants' memories from the food to how to make them exactly.

The most of my favorite homeland food was flour. Yes, flour, flour, flour I love it. You know, I can put a little flour in a pan, after that, stir it in a little water too, for a moment, I have a delicious food. Oh my god, I could not say in words. How interesting this flour is!†

Binh Dinh migrants in both group 1 and group 2 have the same memories to their homeland food when they lived in Binh Dinh province. Memories of homeland food occurred in their mind from a specific food to a typical sound and the way how to make foods.

- **Kinship networks and homeland food parcels**

There was a difference in the relationship sending – receiving homeland food between group 1 and group 2

Group 1: Binh Dinh migrants have been maintaining with their kinship networks regularly

V kept a close connection with her sister at home. They talked on the phone very often about many things including sending homeland food.

It was very easy for asking my sister sending homeland food to me. If I want to eat some homeland food, I asked my sister to buy it and two or three days later I will receive a box of homeland food.‡

D was an interviewee who has both her parents and her parents - in - law living at home, so she kept getting homeland foods thanks to her kinship networks.

I always have many kinds of homeland foods in my house. You see, there are many kinds of *mắm* in the kitchen. I love *mắm* too much. I could not have meals without *mắm* and *bánh trắng*. Both my paternal and maternal relatives took turn send me many kinds of homeland foods. I used many food parcel boxes for planting in the balcony.§

* M, interviewed by author, April 16, 2019, District 11, Ho Chi Minh city

† H, interviewed by author, December 28, 2020, District 9, Ho Chi Minh city

‡ M, interviewed by author, April 16, 2019, District 11, Ho Chi Minh city

§ D, interviewed by author, March 15, 2018, District 10, Ho Chi Minh city



Food parcel boxes ready to be sent to Ho chi Minh city (photo by kinship's interviewee)

Group 2: Binh Dinh migrants connected to their kinship networks limited

T and her family left Binh Dinh province for more than twenty years. She has very little contact with her relatives as she said:

I am not close with my relatives so my relatives almost never send me any homeland food. I did not have too much homeland food. I sometimes bought Binh Dinh food in the market and shops and in the face book, very sometimes, not regularly.*

L made nothing contacted with her sister so Lan bought homeland food when she needed as she revealed:

I loved the taste of my homeland food but I have no any sister or brother or parents could send me some food.†

While T and L have no any close relatives, V is different. V's parents are living in Binh Dinh province and she often talks on the phone with them but her parents seldom send homeland food parcels to Ho Chi Minh city for her. This shows the role of kinship networks in sending homeland food parcels to Binh Dinh migrants living in Ho Chi minh city. The more migrants received the more they practiced homeland food in host city.

- **Homeland food parcels and culture practices**

The data explored that there was a different between two group in practicing Binh Dinh foods. Group one practiced homeland food more often than group two.

Participation observation the daily meal at Binh Dinh migrants' houses who have been maintaining with their kinship regularly with full of Binh Dinh culture from the kitchen to the dining table, especially '*bánh tráng*' (see pictures 1 and 2)

In picture 1, a daily meal combined Binh Dinh homeland food '*Bánh tráng*', fish from Binh Dinh homeland food parcels and some host food

* T, interviewed by author, July 10, 2020, District Tan Phu, Ho Chi Minh city

† L, interviewed by author, January 16, 2020, District 2, Ho Chi Minh city



A daily meal at Binh Dinh migrants' house with '*bánh tráng*' (photo by the author in 2019)

In picture 2, thanks to sending homeland food parcels regularly so the daily meal was full of many kinds of fish from Binh Dinh province, especially '*bánh tráng*'.



A daily meal at Binh Dinh migrants' house with some kinds of fish from homeland food parcels, especially '*bánh tráng*' (photo by the author in 2018)

Binh Dinh migrants practiced homeland food not only for private daily meal but also for both their relatives and host friends as an interviewee said:

I received homeland food parcels, I have tended to invite some friends as well as my

brother and sister migrants come to my house and enjoyed the meal with me.*

Although both groups have '*bánh tráng*' in their kitchen (see picture 3), Binh Dinh migrants in group one has more homeland food parcels for daily meal than the other.



'*bánh tráng*' in an interviewee's kitchen who did not receive any homeland food parcels (photo by the author in 2020).

Discussion

Firstly, memories of local food always had great significance with migrants who used to live experience of locality conditions. Mintz (2008) suggested in researching the relationships between migrations and food should be paid attention to locality in order to answer the eternal question of why these individual and communities were different with another one in taste and culinary experiences (Mintz, 2008)

Indeed, memories of local food was not only specific dishes but also sounds evoked images of homeland food (Anderson, 2018). When people move to a new place, these memories of local food in the past reflect feelings about the present tend to creative acts of culinary practices.

Secondly, homeland food parcels which are routinely sent from Binh Dinh province are essential in remembering of locality foods in the context of migrants. The Binh Dinh migrants who have been maintaining with their kinship networks closely have more opportunities in practicing Binh Dinh food culture than the Binh Dinh migrants who have been maintaining with their kinship networks in a limited way.

Last but not least, I argue that the kinship network is a key part in reproduction culture to

* M, interviewed by author, April 16, 2019, District 11, Ho Chi Minh city

migrants through sending homeland food parcels to migrants in order to reduced remembering in homeland food and maintaining homeland food practiced in the host city.

Conclusion

This paper set out to explore migrants' kinship networks plays a unique role in maintaining and reproducing culture to Binh Dinh migrants living in Ho Chi Minh city through homeland food parcels. In this regard, Binh Dinh homeland food parcels are significant to Binh Dinh migrants as they reduced both the remembering hometown and the remembering homeland food taste. As a tightly closed circle, nostalgia and memories of homeland foods urged Binh Dinh migrants eating and drinking homeland food practiced, homeland food parcels was sent by Binh Dinh kinship networks. As the results, the Binh Dinh migrants who connected with their kinship networks closely have more opportunities in practicing homeland food than the Binh Dinh migrants who connected with their kinship networks limited. Another way, cultural reproduction of migrant communities depends proportionately on supportive networks of people at home as much as the longing sense of rootedness of those who left.

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EXPLOITING STREET CUISINE IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN VIETNAM NOWADAYS (CASE STUDY IN HO CHI MINH CITY)

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Abstract: Nowadays, in tourism development, many countries have recognized the important role of culinary culture, a type of tourism and also one of the humanistic resources in tourism development. In particular, street cuisine is a special product. In Vietnam, this type of 'business-culture' form has long become a feature of big cities such as Ha Noi, Da Nang, Hoi An, Can Tho, and Ho Chi Minh City. This research, by approaching qualitative design with participatory observations and in-depth interviews, will survey and focus the multi-dimensional reality (risk and benefit) of street cuisine in Ho Chi Minh City. SWOT analysis has been applied in this study in order to acknowledge the Strength/Weakness/Opportunity/Threat of street cuisine industry in Ho Chi Minh city. The resulting paper will suggest some solutions to exploit and promote the traditional and modern values of this type of cuisine for tourism development in Ho Chi Minh City. It is also applicable to Vietnamese urban life in general within the complex and dynamic context of tourism development.

Keywords: street cuisine, culinary culture, SWOT analysis, tourism development, Ho Chi Minh city, Vietnam.

Introduction

In contemporary tourism development, many countries around the world have been well aware of the role of culinary culture in this smokeless industry. Along with other types of tourism such as ecotourism, MICE tourism,[†] spiritual tourism and medical tourism, culinary tourism is becoming more and more popular and plays a significant role. Coming to a new land, tourists always want to have experience of different cultural imprints in many different ways. Culinary culture in each region tells us the habits, customs, character and history-culture of that region. It would seem a big omission for tourists if they saw no mark of a dish or drink in the local sites where they have traveled, including the mark of street cuisine.

The purpose of this paper aims to develop the role of culinary culture in tourism development in Ho Chi Minh city, then extend this to other main tourist attraction destinations, such as Hanoi, Danang, Hoi An, and Can Tho. This research also focuses upon the problems of street cuisine and seeks solutions in order to promote Vietnamese culinary food for the long term. This will help to improve our knowledge of street cuisine in Ho Chi Minh city and encourage tourists to sample the food without any concerns or difficulties in communication, culture or other barriers. These aims are concretized by the tasks: To explore the characteristics of street cuisine in tourism development in Ho Chi Minh city; To find out the advantages and disadvantages of street cuisine in Ho Chi Minh city; To study ways of improving satisfaction and experiences of tourists with street cuisine in Ho Chi Minh city.

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[†] Meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions

The Research Questions focus on three issues:

1. What are the tourists' perceptions towards street cuisine in Ho Chi Minh city?
2. What are main factors that affect street cuisine in urban settings?
3. How might street cuisine improve satisfaction for tourists?

Literature Review

What is street cuisine (street food)? In general, street cuisine is understood to be food sold on the street, where people can find it easily. The World Health Organization (WHO) has given a definition of street food: 'foods and beverages prepared and/or sold by vendors in streets and other public places for immediate consumption or consumption in later time without further processing or preparation'. It can be understood that street cuisine is a part of the street economy (public trading and business activities related to sidewalks, streets, residential areas but not at markets, where it is officially planned). According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of United Nations (1986), street foods are ready-to-eat foods and beverages prepared and/or sold by vendors and hawkers especially in streets and other similar public places. Street food vendors differed from such formal food service operations as cafés, 'takeaways', 'chopbars' and restaurants. 'Street foods are minimally processed to highly processed foods that are sold on streets and other public places, consumed on the spot and/or ready to take home or delivered to the workplace' (FAO, 2014). Thus, the common characteristics of street cuisine could be identified as cheap and convenient for ready-consumption. Street cuisine has a pivotal role in contributing to the development of the tourism industry. According to Hudson (1999), motivations of travelers are composed of 'push' factors and 'pull' factors. In addition, the study also indicated that the role of these business units is prominent in promoting local economic growth, food security- sovereignty, and sustainable food supply chain between urban and rural areas. The culinary experience brings relaxation, provides knowledge, and shows personal status and style of the customer (Frochot, 2003). 'Street food attracts visitors by satisfying visitors' desired experiences, it is a critical asset for sustainable tourism growth (Sims 2009).

About street food in Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh city, in recent years there have been a number of articles mentioning this issue such as 'The Social Life of Street Food: Exploring the Social Sustainability of Street Food in Hanoi, Vietnam' (Stutter 2017); 'Factors influencing international tourist's behavioral intention towards street food in Ho Chi Minh City' (Trinh Duy Thanh 2017) 'Factors affecting international tourist's satisfaction of street food in Ho Chi Minh city' (Tran Vinh Thuan, Nguyen Thi Phuong Chi, Tran Thi Trung 2018); 'Developing street food in Ho Chi Minh City to attract international visitors' (Pham Xuan Hau, Bui Xuan Thang 2019). For these perceptions, the researches focuses on the influence of street food on international tourists in Viet Nam and Ho Chi Minh city.

Methodologies and Data

Qualitative design: Qualitative method is applied for this paper based on the author's view and to answer research questions more efficiently. Qualitative method will allow researchers a deeper understanding of the current situation, and the details of problems and such, which can be more informative in giving responses about local conditions. Moreover, it can help the author to explain the research with better ideas from interviews. In this research, two main qualitative practices were applied:

In-depth Interviews: In-depth interview is known as a tool to draw out results for better understanding of interviewee points of view and exploration of topics. There are many types of in-depth interview for the research field, such as structured interview, survey interview, counselling interview, diary interview, life history interview, and open conversations. In this study, the survey interview (questions are set to be open-ended and include small number of structured questions, with choices and rating types) and conversations have been applied for interviewees (tourists) in order to get several perspectives from street cuisine tourists, based on store location and types of customers.

In April 2020, before the Covid-19 pandemic broke out in Ho Chi Minh City, we undertook visitor interviews about street cuisine in Ho Chi Minh city, focusing mainly on 2 districts (District 1 and District 3) where many tourists have stayed and consumed street cuisine. In this study, there were 12 tourists who were able to give their time for our interview (5 males and 7 females), in the age range from 24-35. We chose these people for interview because they have experience through past work. or were then currently working in the area which was suited to our research purpose.

As for sampling design, the interview was conducted in in-depth interview style with open-ended questions in order to give interviewees the chance to express their opinions, perceptions and attitudes, as well as marking choices and ratings of their satisfaction based upon their personal view. The interviews were from about from 10 to 20 minutes long, depending on the interviewee. The most frequent appointment time for the interviews was in rush hour, such as 5-7 PM, which is the time that street cuisine activities are very popular.

The limitation of the research is that we focus upon interviewing tourists, not on interviewing sellers. Besides, due to time constraints of visitors, we have not really explored their information in depth. Hopefully in future articles we will have the opportunity to study this issue more comprehensively.

Participatory Observation: Observation is a important method for humanities and social science scholars. It is that the systematic description of events, behaviors, and artifacts in the social setting chosen for study. By talking and participating with the locals, noticing atmosphere and actual conditions of the study, the observation method often gives more to the interview situation. Besides, observation allows an observer to sense real problems, and enables them to remember events all the better. For this study, the author attended the activities of street cuisine in the same situation and at the same time of the interview events, communication between sellers and buyers, the cooking process and food preparation, prices, traffic conditions, waste, water use and such were observed. This has given the author fuller knowledge and experience about participation within the street cuisine context and enhances the analysis of situations related to street food.

Data collection

Primary data: In-depth interviews on tourists and direct observation.

Secondary data: Several data about food tourism provided the main literature for this section. The secondary data was gathered from academic researches and journals, news articles and similar, that offered fundamental understandings about food tourism and street cuisine studies; moreover, the literature provided ideas for preparing most of the research interview questions.

Results and Discussion

Based on Primary data and Secondary data, the article initially offers an analysis of the current situation of street cuisine in Ho Chi Minh City, as expressed through many different aspects.

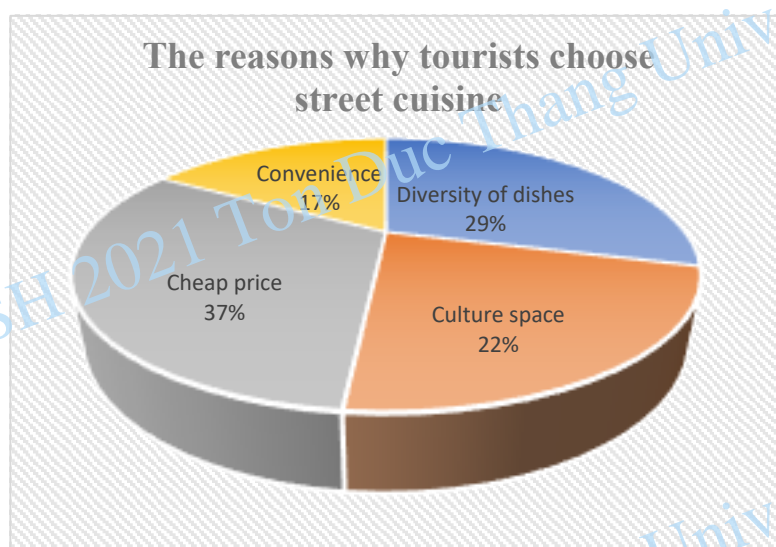
Current situation of street cuisine in Ho Chi Minh city- SWOT Analysis

In this paper, the author has used the word 'cuisine' instead of 'food' because of wanting to refer to the characteristic style of preparing food, often associated with a place of origin. Is street cuisine positive or negative? In this study we will conduct a SWOT analysis to find the answer to this complex question.

Strengths

Figure 1: The reasons why tourists have chosen street cuisine

Source: Author (2020)



From an economic point of view, it can be seen that street cuisine has provided the people of Ho Chi Minh City with a form of dining at an affordable price. According to the survey results, up to 37% of respondents answered 'cheap price', 32% answered 'normal' and only 19% of respondents answered the price of Ho Chi Minh City street food dishes. Obviously, street cuisine has helped visitors in saving trip costs that is an important issue in tourism. This is probably one of the most important strengths of street cuisine not only in Ho Chi Minh city but also in other urban in Viet Nam.

The second strong point of street cuisine is the diversity of dishes and drinks, showing the richness in the culinary culture of Ho Chi Minh City - the place where almost all food and drink converges and collects from all parts of the country. This is also one of the basic characteristics of the city's culture. In the journey of formation and development, this cultural sub-region represents a mixture of cultures from many different lands, creating a diversity of cultural values - in general and culinary culture in particular. Visitors can experience this through dishes and drinks with flavors from many different regions, such as cakes (filter cake, leaf cake, spring roll, roll cake...); noodle dishes (beef noodle, grilled meat vermicelli, crab vermicelli...); salads (shrimp and meat salad, chicken salad, vit/duck, mango salad, ...); grilled dishes (grilled seafood, grilled duck, grilled chicken); fried dishes (fish balls, beef balls, fried shrimp balls, cheese sticks, fried dumplings...); broken rice; sandwiches of all kinds... In addition, visitors can also enjoy Thai cuisine, Chinese cuisine and even Western cuisine on the streets or

sidewalks of Ho Chi Minh City.

The third strength is convenience, especially for people who may have limited income and limited time. Diners can visit a small shop with modest display on the side of the road or buy some food and drink to take away, instead of having to wait or take time for the processing and presentation stages like in luxury restaurants.

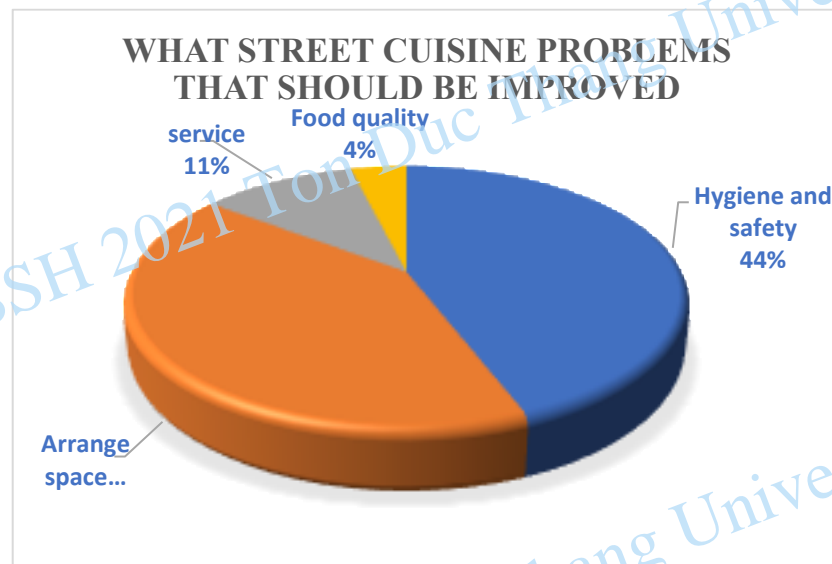
The fourth strength is creating livelihood activities for a part of the working poor from all over the country. Behind the burdens of street vendors, food carts on the sidewalks and streets are the difficult lives of vendors who, without those means, many of whom would almost be without any means or livelihood. Therefore, street food has not only economic meaning but also to some extent human meaning. This type of street food especially thrives in central areas or planned tourist areas of the city such as District 1 (Co Giang Street), District 3 (Turtle Lake area), District 5 (Co Giang Street). Tran Binh Trong). These places, however, often have high rental prices, leading to higher prices for food services than the common ground, so street food is considered a reasonable option for low-income people according to area. On the other hand, the central zone is home to many visitors with different dining needs, and street food is also a reasonable choice for this group of people. According to the survey data of the Nutrition Center of Ho Chi Minh City, up to 95.5% of people are using street food, of which 51% are used for daily meals, an extraordinary 82% are used for breakfast, which shows how important role of street cuisine is in the material life of Ho Chi Minh City people, in general and in tourism activities in particular.

Weaknesses

With the question 'In your opinion, what problems about street cuisine in Ho Chi Minh City should be improved in tourism development today?', data was collected follows:

Figure 2: Street cuisine problems that should be improved

Source: Author (2020)



From the perspective of visitors' wishes, it is possible to draw some inadequacies of street food in Ho Chi Minh City as follows:

The first is the issue of food hygiene and safety (44%). It can be said that this is one of the most worrying realities of street food, creating a risk to public health. In big cities, street vendors, street eateries, and sidewalks are mostly spontaneous small eateries, sellers are almost unaware

of the issue of food hygiene and safety and also not yet aware of the consequences that diners have to bear after enjoying unsanitary street food. The preservation and processing of sidewalk cuisine often prioritizes the criteria of fast, compact, convenient, easily contaminated with microorganisms, cheap and of unknown origin; Food stalls are mostly located on the ground, even close to sewers, manholes, public toilets...; Food containers are not up to standard, food is mostly not covered or lightly covered, vendors use their hands to pick up food and then count money, etc. are very noticeable realities of street cuisine in general and street food in Ho Chi Minh City.

The second is the situation of selling food and drinks occupying the streets, sidewalks as parking spaces for passenger cars, placing billboards... have been causing painful and difficult problems for local authorities. This situation not only causes loss of urban beauty but also threatens the health and even lives of people participating in traffic in the context that the city needs to expand public spaces to meet the needs of the urban people demand. According to our interview on the influence of street food on urban civilization, there is an opinion that 'There is no denying the convenience of street food, however, this type is taking a lot of urban public space. Without a clear plan, the street cuisine trade will significantly affect the face of urban civilization' (Reporter of diners).

The third is the issue of the seller's awareness and service in the street food business. Although the percentage of comments that need to be improved is not high (11%), this is still a problem worth thinking about in the process of building and developing urban culture and civilization towards the goal of attracting tourists, serving tourism development of the city. A number of sellers are still unexperienced in customer service, dress 'sloppy', litter indiscriminately, creating an unsavory image in the eyes of diners in particular and limiting urban civilization in public places.

Opportunities

From a tourism perspective, street cuisine plays an important role in creating a tourism brand for Ho Chi Minh City. In recent years, Vietnamese street cuisine in general and Ho Chi Minh City in particular have continuously entered the list of the best street food in the world by various organizations and magazines. In 2012, the world culinary magazine 'Food and Wine' voted Ho Chi Minh City as one of the cities with the world's leading street food. 'In addition, street food is also written up by writer Richard Sterling (the American, author of *World food - Vietnam* published by Lonely Planet Publishing House in 2000 and also of a number of books on tourism and cuisine of other countries). Of all countries in the world, Vietnamese street cuisine is highly appreciated. Sterling in particular, shared on television about many street foods he has enjoyed, including fried chicken thighs that are 'considered the best in the world, not even KFC (American fast-food chain)'. These are very effective promotional channels for Ho Chi Minh City tourism. Many visitors have affirmed that the best and fastest way for you to discover the cuisine of a City is to participate in a street tour and enjoy local specialties on the streets.

Threats

The problem of management and planning with the overall strategy of building street cuisine to serve people and tourists is one of the first challenges that street food has to face. It must be clear that the central roads are associated with the needs of people to enjoy diverse cuisines. In particular, it should be possible to synchronize a number of forms of display and sale in specific culinary streets, creating a basis for the management and decentralization of management of these types of business.

Clearly demarcating the sidewalks and streets that are allowed for use in the culinary business

also becomes a dilemma when sellers always necessarily tend to 'reach out' to invite visitors. Therefore, there may be a need to require sellers to commit to local government rules, such as those designed for keeping the streets and sidewalks clean, along with recognising the need to implement specific sanctions for cases that do not comply with (especially health) regulations of the street food trade. This is the way that countries like Thailand, China or Singapore have been effective, and they show how the city can both synchronously plan the culinary business to meet the needs of consumers and contribute to building a street identity in tourism development.

Promotional strategy is also one of the challenges of street cuisine. This is a difficult problem in general for Vietnam's tourism in the development process. Overcoming the inadequacies of street food to turn it into an advantage requires the synchronous participation of local authorities and the active participation of the people involved in street food activities. The program 'Street cuisine reportage' is one of the suggestions in introducing, promoting and shaping the street food brand in Ho Chi Minh City.

The issue of training and improving the quality of human resources related to street cuisine is also a big challenge because street food vendors are mostly poor, uneducated workers educate. Therefore, it is necessary to organize propaganda sessions and training courses on skills (communication skills, customer service skills, presentation skills...) Ho Chi Minh City tourism brand.

Thus, from the SWOT analysis above, we summarize as follows:

Tab 1. SWOT Analysis on street cuisine in Ho Chi Minh city

Source: Author (2021)

Strengths	Weaknesses	Opportunities	Threats
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Cheap price -Convenience -Diversity cuisine -Creating livelihood activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Food hygiene and safety -The situation occupying spaces - Service issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Creating a tourism brand - Promotion channels for tourism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Overall strategy of building street cuisine - Promotional strategy -Training and improving the quality of human resources

Conclusion

Street cuisine with its distinctive and unique characteristics has become an indispensable part of socio-economic development in urban areas today. However, for this type of culture-business to truly make a mark in the space of culture, urban civilization and tourism development, Ho Chi Minh City still has a lot of work to do. Reconciling economy and culture, traditional and modern values, in this type of cuisine, is always a difficult problem. And only when street cuisine is planned and managed synchronously and clearly by the authorities, will this type of food really become the highlight of Ho Chi Minh City in tourism development. To some extent, the issues of street cuisine in Ho Chi Minh City shown in this study through

interviews and Strength/Weakness/Opportunity/Threat analysis, will continue for some time to raise a set of common problems, and opportunities, for big cities in Vietnam today.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARENTS' INTERNET USAGE PURPOSE AND COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES BETWEEN PARENTS AND CHILDREN IN THE FAMILY IN HANOI, VIETNAM

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Abstract: In the general picture of the world's Internet use situation, Vietnam has noticed a high and rapidly increasing user rate in recent years. The Internet plays an increasingly important and indispensable role in social life. In terms of the family, the Internet is having multidimensional influences on each member as well as the functions of the family. This study was conducted to evaluate the relationship between parents' purpose of Internet use and communication activity between parents and children in families in Hanoi, Vietnam. A survey was conducted on a total of 113 study samples of parents aged 35 to 55 in families in Hanoi. The survey results provide notable data that parents' purpose for using the Internet has a relationship with communication activity between parents and children. In families, parents use the Internet for sound purposes such as communicating, looking for information, or establishing and maintaining relationships that contribute to promoting communication between parents and children. Besides, the parents' sound purpose use of the Internet still has a negative effect on communication between them and their children. Research results will be the input basis for building a system of solutions and services to support effective Internet use.

Keywords: Internet, purpose, communication, family, influence, Vietnam.

Introduction

Innovation always creates fascinating things that urge people to learn and explore. The Internet is a perfect example of innovation, more people continue to use the Internet, more people realize it (Ruzgar 2005). People in the 4.0 era could not do many things without the Internet. Hoffman et al. (2004) think that the Internet has reached the point of indispensability. Research by Rahmah & Becker (2001) show concludes consistent with these controversial statements. Indispensability, suitability, satisfaction, and benefit are variables of sustainability in Internet use behavior (Ruzgar 2005) which motivates users to repeat Internet use behavior to satisfy multiple needs.

However, the Internet has two sides. On the one hand, the Internet brings many benefits to users, on the other hand, the Internet is addictive due to its effects on the brain system and leads to dependence (Kandel 1998; Chou et al., 1999; Griffiths 1998). When studying the influence of the Internet on users, many scholars have mentioned considering their purpose of using the Internet. Greenfield (2014) refuted the idea that as long as the Internet is used wisely and rationally, we can fully enjoy the great benefits of virtual life and overcome the negatives. There is a series of disadvantages from excessive Internet use that Greenfield (2014) listed

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include sensory disturbances, problems with maintaining attention, lack of deep thinking, and critical thinking. Kraut et al. (1999) alert that we can only anticipate the social impact of the Internet if we understand how people use it. Examining the user's needs and how the Internet meets those needs is a significant basis for assessing the impact of the Internet on users. Suler (1999) argues that understanding such needs can illuminate how and why some people become morbid concerning the Internet. Besides, in addition to considering users' needs, it is also significant to pay attention to the purpose of using the Internet.

Within the impact of the Internet, personal communication is most affected. Williams and Rice (1983) forecasted that no field is more affected by the Internet than how people communicate with each other. The Internet is fundamentally changing human communication (Shim 2007), including communication within the family. Hughes and Hans (2001) argue that families are provided with a new communication tool thanks to the Internet. Pénard et al. (2013) confirmed that the Internet helps to increase interaction through intermediate means such as computers or phones. Besides, Reisberg (2000) and Anderson (2001) argue that the Internet reduces interaction with friends or family members. This statement is relatively suitable with the research results of (Kraut et al., 1998; McKenna et al., 2002) that using the Internet makes individuals less engaged in communication, including communication with family members.

Vietnam is a country with a high percentage of Internet users in the world. In 2020, Vietnam is a country in the group of 20 countries with the highest Internet usage rate in the world (Lan, 2020). Studies on the influence of the Internet on family communication in Vietnam show that technology devices can trenchantly dominate communication between family members (Le et al., 2017). The Internet is proven to reduce the interaction time between parents and children (Nguyen, 2017). The face-to-face interaction time between parents and children seems to be less, the distance between family relationships tends to increase (Nguyen and Le, 2021). This study focuses on clarifying the relationship between the purpose of parents' Internet use and the communication activity between parents and children in Vietnamese families to fill in the gaps that were left open by previous studies; at the same time contribute to creating a basis for building a system of solutions to support families solve negative influences from the Internet.

The study focused on three purposes of parents' Internet use are communication, looking for information, establishing and maintaining relationships. In addition, parents' other uses of the Internet are also taken into the survey to serve as a basis for level comparison with the three purposes mentioned above. The results show that using the Internet to communicate, find information, establish and maintain relationships are the three primary purposes of parents' Internet use. Descriptive statistics data show that 90.3% of parents use the Internet to communicate, 90.3% of parents use the Internet to search for information, and 62.8% of parents use the Internet to establish and maintain relationships.

Research hypothesis

* Research question 1: How does parental purpose to use the Internet positively influence the effectiveness of parent-child communication?

Hypothesis 1A. The more parents use the Internet for communication purposes, the more flexibility in the moment of parent-child communication.

Hypothesis 1B. The more parents use the Internet to look for information, the easier it is to reach consensus in parent-child communication.

Hypothesis 1C. The more parents use the Internet to establish and maintain relationships, the more diverse forms of communication between parents and children.

* Research question 2: How does parental purpose to use the Internet negatively affect communication between parents and children?

Hypothesis 2A. The more parents use the Internet for communication purposes, the more effectiveness of face-to-face communication between parents and children decreases.

Hypothesis 2B. The more parents use the Internet for information search, the more ability to share and understand in communication with children decreases.

Hypothesis 2C. The more parents use the Internet for establishing and maintaining relationships, the more time spent in face-to-face communication with the children decreases.

Research method

*** Research sample**

The 113 parents with children between the ages of 11 and 18 (middle and high school students) in Hanoi City participated in a survey with a pre-designed questionnaire. The age of parents ranges from 35 to 50 years old. The parents who participated in the survey worked in many areas and were not limited in occupation. The gender structure of the survey sample consisted of 22.1% male and 79.9% female. The educational level of parents is pretty high, 67.3% graduating from university and graduate school. The 113 parents belonged to two basic family groups, three-generation families (36.3%) and two-generation families (63.7%).

*** Surveying**

Based on a review of research literature, a questionnaire is built to clarify the research hypotheses. The questionnaire was consulted with experts and pretested to verify the scale before being included in the official survey. Parents are invited to participate in the study by answering the questionnaire directly under the technical guidance of the researcher. Before answering the questionnaire, parents are provided with information about the purpose, content, conduct, and ethical principles of participating in the study. All information parents answered in the questionnaire is guaranteed to be for research purposes only, they can withdraw from the study at any time they want. All parents voluntarily consented to participate in the study. After cleaning, the questionnaire is processed using SPSS 20 software to serve as the basis for research analysis.

Results

All hypotheses are tested by Pearson correlation with Sig value < 0.05 .

The first research question examined the relationship between parental Internet usage purpose and the positive influence of Internet on parent-child communication.

Hypothesis 1A predicts that the more parents use the Internet to contact, the moment for communication between parents and children is more flexible. Hypothesis 1A is supported because there is a low-level positive correlation between the purpose of parents to use the Internet to contact and the flexibility of moment to communicate with their children ($p = .209^{**}$; Sig = 0.026) (Table 1). This means that the more parents use the Internet to contact, the more flexible parents' communication moments with their children will be.

Descriptive statistics data show that 63.72% of parents agree and 16.81% of parents strongly agree that the Internet increases flexibility in the moment of parent-child communication. The average score for the identify that the Internet increases the flexibility of the communication moment between parents and children is pretty high (3,885).

Hypothesis 1B predicts that the more parents use the Internet for looking for information, the easier it is for parent-child communication to reach consensus. This hypothesis is supported because there is a moderate positive correlation between the purpose of parents to use the Internet for communication and the ability to agree in communication between parents and children ($P = .382^*$, $Sig = 0.000$) (Table 1). That means the more information parents look for from the Internet, the easier it is to consensus in their communication with their children. 45.13% of parents surveyed agree that the Internet makes consent in parent-child communication easier, while the percentage strongly agree is 14.16%. The average score of assessment of Internet perception that enriches parent-child communication content is 3,611.

Hypothesis 1C predicts that the more parents use the Internet to establish and maintain relationships, the more diverse forms of communication between parents and children. Hypothesis 1C is supported because there is a moderate positive correlation between the purpose of using the Internet to establish and maintain parental relationships and the diversity of forms of parent-child communication ($P = .332^*$; $Sig = 0.000$) (Table 1). That means the more parents use the Internet to maintain and establish relationships, the more diverse forms of communication with their children. Descriptive statistics data point out 56.64% of parents agree that the Internet makes communication between parents and children more diverse, 15.93 parents strongly agree with this statement. The average score for the identify that the Internet helps to spend more time communicating between parents and children is 3,796.

Table 1. Correlation between parental Internet usage purpose and positive influence of Internet on parent-child communication

	Rating coefficient	The form of communication is more diverse	The communication time is more	Moment of communication is more flexible	The content of communication is richer	Consensus in communication is easier to achieve
Contact	Pearson Correlation	.306**	.125	.209*	.067	.251**
	Sig.	.001	.187	.026	.482	.007
Find information	Pearson Correlation	.306**	.292**	.356**	.269**	.382**
	Sig.	.001	.002	.000	.004	.000
Establish and maintain relationships	Pearson Correlation	.332**	.204*	.228*	.196*	.313**
	Sig.	.000	.031	.015	.037	.001

The second research question examined the relationship between parental Internet usage purpose and the negative influence of Internet on parent-child communication.

Hypothesis 2A predicts that the more parents use the Internet for contact purposes, the less effective direct parent-child communication is. Hypothesis 2A is not supported because there is no correlation between the parental purpose of using the Internet to contact and the effectiveness of face-to-face communication between parents and children ($Sig > 0.05$) (Table 2). That means parents who use the Internet a lot for contact do not reduce the effectiveness of direct parent-child communication.

Hypothesis 2B predicts that the more parents use the Internet to look for information, reduce the ability to share and understand each other in communication between parents and children. Hypothesis 2B is supported because there is a moderate positive correlation between parents using the Internet to look for information and the ability to share and understand each other in parent-child communication ($P = .329^*$; $Sig = 0.000$) (Table 2). That means parents use the

Internet a lot to look for information reducing the ability to share and understand each other in communication between parents and children. 42.48% of parents agree and 14.16% of parents strongly agree that using the Internet reduces the ability to share and understand each other in communication between parents and children. The average score for the identify the Internet will reduce the ability to share and understand each other in communication between parents and children is 3,478.

Table 2. Correlation between parental Internet usage purpose and negative influence of Internet on parent-child communication

	Rating coefficient	Reduce face-to-face communication time	Reduce the effectiveness of face-to-face communication	Increased disruption and decreased interest in face-to-face communication	Reduced ability to share and understand each other in communication	Increasing conflicts due to misunderstandings
Contact	Pearson Correlation	-.014	-.030	.146	.139	.051
	Sig.	.884	.751	.123	.142	.589
Find information	Pearson Correlation	.050	.003	.189*	.329**	.106
	Sig.	.596	.978	.045	.000	.263
Establish and maintain relationships	Pearson Correlation	.132	.137	.261**	.276**	.090
	Sig.	.163	.146	.005	.003	.344

Hypothesis 2C predicts that more parents use the Internet to establish and maintain relationships reduce the time spent in face-to-face communication with their children. This hypothesis is not supported because there is no correlation between parental purpose to use the Internet to establish and maintain a relationship and the time of face-to-face communication between parent and children ($P = 132^{**}$; Sig = 0.163) (Table 2). However, descriptive statistics show that 51.33% of parents agree and 19.47% of parents strongly agree that the Internet reduces the time spent in face-to-face communication with their children. The average score for identifying the Internet reduces the communication time between parents and children is 3,779.

Discussion

In the initial six hypotheses about the relationship between the purpose of parents' Internet use and communication activities between parents and children in the family, there are four hypotheses 1A, 1B, 1C, and 2B supported, two hypotheses 2A and 2C are rejected. This result shows that there is a relationship between the purpose of using the Internet of parents and the communication activities between parents and children.

Parents using the Internet for contact increases the flexibility in communicating moment with their children. This finding is pretty consistent with previous research results. With the help of the Internet, new communication tools appear (Hughes and Hans 2001) and people do not need to face-to-face to communicate, communication is still going on through an intermediary (Pénard et al., 2013). Thus, the limitations of space and time that are barriers to traditional communication activities are removed. A person can communicate with others anytime, anywhere with just a phone with an Internet connection. The flexibility of communication moment is confirmed as one of the advantages that the Internet brings. Parents use the Internet to contact, communication moment between them and their children become more flexible.

Parents use the Internet to look for information, it is easier to reach a consensus in communication between parents and children. The Internet brings diverse sources of information to users. Useful information from the Internet can provide parents with a rich resource for parent-child conversations. This study did not depth focus to find out which specific information sources parents have updated from the Internet but the result showed that parents use the Internet to look for information makes communication between parents and children is easier to reach consensus. However, the ease of reaching consensus in communication does not mean increasing sharing and understanding in communication. Because parents use the Internet to look for information search also reduces the ability to share and understand each other in parent-child communication (this is confirmed in hypothesis 2B).

Research results also confirm that more parents use the Internet to establish and maintain relationships, the more diverse forms of communication between parents and children. It proves that the Internet has provided new forms of communication in addition to the traditional forms of communication through verbal language and body language when interacting directly with each other. The Internet brings new ways of communication such as video calls, chat via messages, interaction on social networks. Shen et al. (2017) confirmed that video calls were observed to bring more expressions of happiness to the family. Thus, parents who use the Internet to establish and maintain relationships (through social networks) will diversify forms of communication between them and their children.

We have not found a relationship between parents' use of the Internet for contact reducing the effectiveness of direct parent-child communication. This proves that despite the addition of new communication channels via social networks, direct communication between parents and children is not affected. In addition, the research results also show that parents using the Internet a lot to establish and maintain relationships do not reduce the time of face-to-face communication with their children. This finding seems to be in contrast to many previous studies that have confirmed that the Internet reduces the time spent in face-to-face communication in the family (Kraut, R. et al., 1998; Reisberg (2000) and Anderson, 2001; Shim, 2007). However, it may be due to the cultural characteristics of Vietnamese people who attach great importance to and like to communicate to maintain relationships (Tran 1999).

Conclusion

Research results show that the three main purposes of parental Internet use (communication, information search, relationship establishment, and maintenance) are related to the positive and negative effects that the Internet brings to the communication between parents and children in Vietnamese families. Inside, the positive effects are predominant, the negative effects are much more limited. The three purposes of parents' Internet use mentioned in the study can be considered as healthy Internet use purposes. The more parents focus on healthy Internet usage, the more positive influence from the Internet on communication with their children. Although the negative influence of parents using the Internet for health purposes is limited, it also reflects the dual nature of the Internet. Therefore, it is necessary to identify the needs, purposes and control the behavior of using the Internet in the family. Research results are the basis to help parents orient on healthy Internet use purposes, from that, we can develop family support solutions and services to enhance the positive influence and limit the negative influence of the Internet on communication between parents and children.

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MOBILE COMMUNICATION AS AN APPROPRIATE INSTITUTIONAL MEANS TO CONTRIBUTE TO EFFECTIVE DIALOGUE AT THE ENTERPRISE

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Abstract:

Objective: This article presents a part of the survey results of the research project 'Improving the effectiveness of dialogue in private enterprises and foreign direct investment enterprises in Ho Chi Minh City' (2020-2022) granted by the HCMC Department of Science & Technology. It provides empirical evidence to answer the question: Is mobile communication an appropriate institutional means for employees to overcome barriers to engaging in dialogue with employers, contributing to improve the effectiveness of dialogue in the enterprises?

Methodology: Dialogue between employees and employers is defined as a social action within the social structure of the enterprise. The concepts of status, role and institution in Talcott Parsons' theory of social action are used to analyze the actual situation of employees participating in dialogue with employers; the reasons why dialogue activities at enterprises are only formal and not substantive; factors helping employees overcome barriers to dialogue with employers, and contributing to effectiveness of dialogue at the enterprise.

Findings: 1/ Dialogue between employees, Trade Union - employees' representatives and employers at enterprises is regulated in the Vietnamese Labor Law system. However, the rate of employees participating in dialogues with employers at enterprises is low and is only a formality, coping, not substantive; 2/ The reason for the above situation is related to institutional factors (status, role, power relationship between the subjects of the dialogue) and personal psychological factors; 3/ Mobile communication is considered an appropriate institutional means to help employees boldly express their thoughts, aspirations, feelings, needs, etc., instead of directly exchanging and talking with employers/managers at the enterprise, contributing to effective dialogue at the enterprise.

Novelty: The topic of dialogue between employees and employers at enterprises is widely studied in the field of management and labor relations. In this study, the topic is considered from an interdisciplinary approach: sociology and labor relations; Accordingly, dialogue is considered as a social action influenced and affected by two groups of factors: institutions and individuals.

Type of paper: Empirical

Keywords: Mobile Communication, institutional means, effective dialogue, enterprise.

Introduction

The process of Vietnam's integration into the world economy is also the process of Vietnam

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joining international organizations and implementing international commitments related to labor. Vietnam became a member of the International Labor Organization (ILO) since 1992 and has ratified 21 International Labor Conventions. Vietnam's accession to the World Trade Organization in 2007 opened the stage for attracting foreign direct investment into Vietnam. These can be considered as factors that have a strong impact on the change of the subjects of labor relations in Vietnam, giving rise to conflicts, especially conflicts of interest between the actors in the labor relations in Vietnam. The dialogue mechanism at enterprises has been a focus in Vietnam since a series of strikes occurred from 2006 to 2008, leaving heavy losses for businesses. The revised Vietnam Labor Code 2013 and 2019 both stipulate that it is mandatory to implement a periodic dialogue mechanism between enterprises and employees. The successful application of a regular and effective dialogue mechanism between employers and employees in a number of enterprises has resulted in a 44% increase in labor productivity in the 6 years from 2008 to 2014 and an increase in the percentage of employees in the labor market. Employee turnover decreased from 3% in 2008 to 1% in 2014. *'We can now easily communicate directly with the Board of Directors. This makes workers like me feel that their thoughts and aspirations are always heard, and people don't need to go on strike anymore'* (Female, 13 years working at Mabuchi Motor). (ILO Vietnam, 2016)

In 2020, in HCMC, there were 11 labor disputes that stopped collective work with the total number of participants being 4,886 people; of which 03 (accounting for 27%) labor disputes occurred in domestic enterprises and 08 cases (73%) occurred in foreign-invested enterprises. The impact of acute respiratory infection caused by a new strain of Corona virus, with complicated, prolonged and widespread developments, directly affected the production and business situation of businesses and jobs, and the income of employees, leading to their rights and interests not being guaranteed, late payment of wages, debts to social insurance, health insurance, unemployment insurance...; such that enterprises have not well implemented the regulations on dialogue at workplace, collective bargaining and signing of collective labor agreements. (VGCL, 2020, 4)

Psychologically, an employer's dialogue with employees will enliven, energize and stimulate positivity, cooperation to overcome difficulties, and create value for the business. However, to achieve these goals, managers must break down the most important silo — the thing that separates business leaders from their subordinates, where differences in lifestyle are almost in opposition to each other's interests, concerns and needs. In many businesses, employees and employers are increasingly invested in this dialogue activity to make changes to improve the management-employee relationship (Robert Heron, 3)

Conflict is an inevitable phenomenon in a work environment where members with different basic skills and standards are working together, trying to achieve their common tasks and goals. At the same time, in practice, conflict is rarely only destructive or constructive, but both sides of the conflict try to understand each other's needs so that they can come to a meaningful outcome (agreement) as much as possible (Agricola GH, 2009, 7-8). Therefore, dialogue and collective bargaining between employers and employees at the workplace is considered an effective mechanism to reduce disputes and increase the harmonization of interests between the subjects of the labor relations which are in conflict with each other's interests.

Methodology

Terminology

Mobile communication is the use of technology that allows us to communicate with others in different locations without the use of any physical connection (wires or cables). A mobile phone (also called mobile cellular network, cell phone or hand phone) is an example of mobile communication (wireless communication).

Dialogue at the enterprise (Dialogue at the workplace) is the sharing of information, consultation, discussion and exchange of ideas between employers and employees or an employees' representative organization on issues related to rights, interests and concerns of parties in the workplace to enhance understanding, cooperation, and joint efforts towards a mutually beneficial solution (National Assembly, Amended Vietnam Labor Code 2019, Article 63).

Research approaching. Dialogue between employees and employers is defined as a social action within the social structure of the enterprise. The concepts of status, role and institution in T. Parsons' theory of social action are used to analyze the actual situation of employees participating in dialogue with employers; The reason why dialogue activities at enterprises are only formal and not substantive; Factors help employees overcome barriers to dialogue with employers, contributing to effectiveness of dialogue at the enterprise.

Findings

Situation of dialogue at enterprises surveyed in HCMC*

In order to create favorable conditions for the relationship between the parties of labor relations at the enterprise to move towards harmony and contribute to improving operational efficiency in the enterprise, the revised Vietnam Labor Law 2019 has devoted Chapter V to 24 Articles on dialogue at the workplace, collective bargaining, and collective labor agreement as a legal basis for organizing dialogue and collective bargaining at enterprises (National Assembly, 2019). However, through the survey results, the dialogue activities at enterprises are assessed as formal, not substantive.

The survey results of 900 people working in private enterprises and foreign direct investment (FDI) enterprises in HCMC show that only 39.6% of employees are in private enterprises and 15.2% Employees in FDI enterprises were surveyed, and answered that they participated in dialogues at enterprises.

The reason for this situation is related to the effectiveness and negative consequences of the dialogues at the enterprise. 65.5% of employees in private enterprises and 64.1% of employees in FDI enterprises were surveyed and answered: after the dialogues, 'Only some proposals and requests of employees were resolved, there was a positive change'; There were 43.9% employees in private enterprises and 32.4% employees in FDI enterprises surveyed, answering 'Nothing has changed' after the dialogues. The following in-depth interview data gives us a better understanding of the above quantitative data.

Most of them go there to listen to the leaders/managers disseminate information without any comments.... The workers' requests are very small, for example, more

* Project 'Improving the effectiveness of dialogue and collective bargaining in private enterprise and foreign directed investment enterprises in HCMC' that granted by Ho Chi Minh City Science and Technology Development Fund, 2020-22 – HCMFOSTED.

food for lunch, more fans. because it's very hot, especially the desire to work overtime to increase income,... these requirements are often met by business owners right away because it's too small compared to their contribution,... Enterprises organize for dialogue to follow the rules (Female, 36 years old, Trade Unionist)

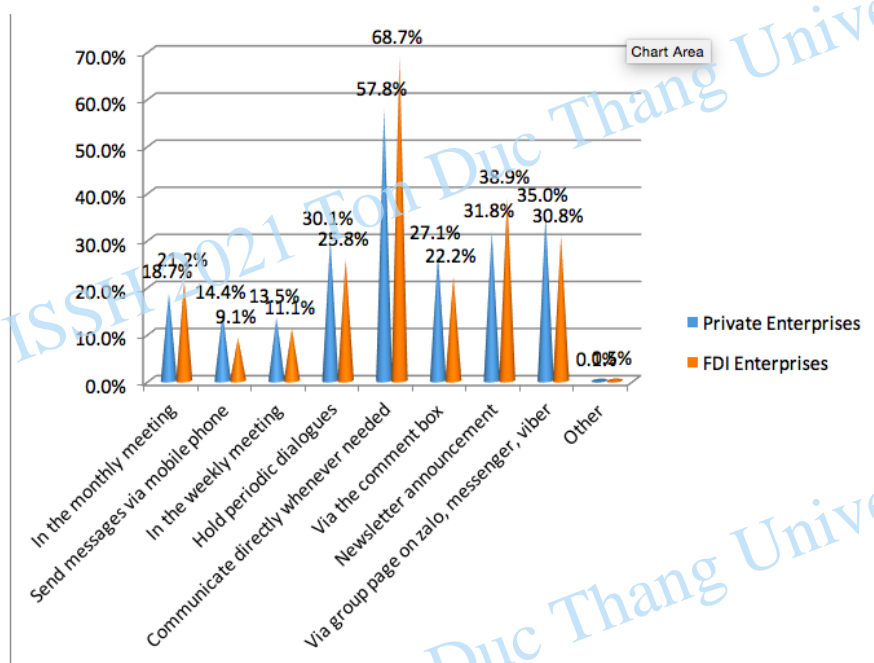
In particular, 34.5% of employees in private enterprises and 29.8% of employees in FDI enterprises were surveyed and answered: after the dialogues, 'people who speak a lot and struggle a lot are often persecuted, causing difficulties to the extent to which he has to apply for leave on his own' and 31.6% of employees in private enterprises and 31.3% of employees in FDI enterprises were surveyed, answering 'Those who speak a lot and struggle a lot are often persecuted by employers, being transferred to low-wage jobs'. This percentage is not small. Why so?

they have many ways, so many that he can't stand it, forced to apply for voluntary resignation. Evidence is hard to come by because the Law prohibits an employer from firing someone without an acceptable reason. (Male, 56 years old, Trade Unionist).

Nothing has changed, so if you are angry, you can just go fb ... and say it for peace of mind because no one will know you said that. The words of the rich man have power (Male worker of a wood processing factory for export, 35 years old).

This fact raises the question: How do employees open up to their employers/managers? What is the most effective and appropriate way of dialogue for workers in enterprises today? The survey results show that information exchanges between employees and management are carried out in many different forms.

Chart 1: Information exchange channels between employees, employers, managers, trade unions in private enterprises and FDI enterprises in HCMC



Source: The survey results of the Project 'Improving the effectiveness of dialogue and collective bargaining in private enterprise and foreign directed investment enterprises in HCMC', January, 2021.

The data (Chart 1) shows the information exchange channels between employees, employers, managers, trade unionist in private enterprises and FDI ones in Ho Chi Minh City is quite

diverse, of which only 31.1% of those surveyed in private enterprises and 25.8% of those surveyed in FDI enterprises responded to 'organizing periodic dialogues' between employers, employees at enterprises – a form of dialogue prescribed in the revised Vietnam Labor Law 2019 that all businesses must comply with. The highest rate, with 68.7% of respondents in FDI enterprises and 57.8% of respondents in private enterprises, responded directly to departmental managers with them about work or for whatever when needed. At the same time, the above data also reflects the fact that the actors in enterprises have used a network of mass media such as texting via phone, mailboxes, social networks (zalo, messenger, viber) to exchange information, communicate and respond to each other.

Mobile communication as an effective means for employees' opinions and attitudes to reach employers

Using mobile phones is common. All surveyed workers have at least one mobile phone, some even use two phones including one smart phone, because Chinese-made phones are very cheap. Cheap phone charges/multiple promotional sims. Using social media and social networking website) on smartphones such as zalo, messenger, viber, fb, etc. is very popular because of its ease of use, convenience, and especially information transmission in fast time.

Mobile phones are always carried on. It is more valuable than money. We often communicate with each other because each works at a different places in the industrial zone, we immediately know what's news. For example, at the beginning of last year, my friend who works in Linh Trung Industrial Park texted me that she had received a salary increase according to the Government's regulations. I just posted this news on facebook, immediately saw everyone in the chain whispering to each other about this news, then they ask the unionist to hold a meeting, ask the boss to raise wages, ... (Female worker at Asian fruit and vegetable processing Factory, District 7 HCMC)

I often go on fb, if there is any problem, contact the manager to handle it immediately, ... if left for a long time, it will make the situation worse. The boss will fine us,... we won't let problems arise until the year-end dialogue to resolve (Female worker, 38 years old, Unionist, line leader. Export Garment Factory).

Mobile communication is one of the effective and popular channels in receiving and transmitting information for both employees, employers as well as trade unionist at enterprises.

Discussion & Conclusion

Dialogue between employees, Trade Union - employees' representatives and employers at enterprises is regulated in the Vietnamese Labor Law system. However, the rate of employees participating in dialogues with employers at enterprises is low and is only a formality, coping, not substantive. The reason for the above situation is related to institutional factors (status, role, power relationship between the subjects of the dialogue) and personal psychological factors. Mobile communication is considered an appropriate institutional means to help employees boldly express their thoughts, opinions, aspirations, feelings, needs (without anyone knowing who you are), instead of directly exchanging and talking with employers/managers at the enterprise, contributing to effective dialogue at the enterprise. This is considered as a common behavior of people who are not confident enough but want their opinions, aspirations, reactions/voices to everyone, especially to their superiors in the hope that their wishes are taken care of without ridicule, criticism, rejection, or even retaliation.

In fact, there is not an effective model of dialogue between employers, employees and Trade

Unions - representatives of workers at enterprises, which can be applied to all. Whether the dialogue is effective or not depends not only on institutional factors but also on individual factors such as the value - oriented behavioral model of the dialogue participants at the enterprise. At the same time, the dialogue mechanism at the enterprise will be more effective if it comes from a bottom-up approach rather than a top-down approach.

It is generally acknowledged that, effective dialogue requires its preconditions: *First of all*, the parties must have enough information to properly understand the issues being discussed in the dialogue. *Second*, hold regular dialogue sessions. *Third*, the legal status of the subject must be recognized. *Fourth*, the representative capacity of the organizations participating in the dialogue (André Linard, 2000, 22). *Fifth*, the position, role and power correlation of the actors in the social dialogue at the enterprise. As the labor sociologist Mateo Alaluf said, 'The logic of the owners is not the only logic; there is also the logic of the workers' (Alaluf, Mateo, 2000, 21). These contents will have to be further analyzed on the basis of empirical data in future articles.

Note

The experimental data used in this article are from the survey results of the Project 'Improving the effectiveness of dialogue and collective bargaining in private enterprise and foreign directed investment enterprises in HCMC' that granted by Ho Chi Minh City Science and Technology Development Fund, 2020-22 – HCMFOSTED. Principal Invesgator: Le Thi Mai. Email: lethimai@tatu.edu.vn

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THE ROLE OF SOCIAL WORKERS IN PROTECTING NEGLECTED CHILDREN DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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Abstract: Law on Children of Vietnam (Law No 102/2016/ QH13) set the term neglect out as a form of abandonment. Neglect involves not meeting children's basic needs: physical, medical, educational and emotional. This study examines the prevalence of neglected children as well as the influences that increase the risk of child neglect in rural areas in Vietnam during the Covid 19 pandemic. To improve understanding of the influence of coronavirus disease on children's lives, study of the roles of social workers in Vietnam is needed. This study was conducted in two periods, November 2019 and August 2021. In the period of 2019, before the Covid 19 epidemic broke out in Vietnam, the study was conducted with 390 children aged from 9 to 14. In the period of 2021, further study was carried out with 98 parents of the children. The main method of implementation was an online questionnaire.

Keywords: Neglect, physical, psychological, educational, social worker, support.

1. Background

Child neglect is defined by the World Health Organization as all forms of ill-treatment, carelessness, being neglected, and physical or emotional neglect of children, leading to harm in the lives, safety and development of children (WHO 2012). According to the Vietnam Law on Children 2016, Chapter 1: General provisions, Article 4 and Article 5 clearly state that child abuse is an act that damages a child's physical, emotional, psychological aspects, honor and dignity in the form of violence, exploitation, sexual abuse, trafficking, abandonment, neglect of children and other forms of harm etc can be understood as the neglect, of children abandonment and it is also form of abuse [7]. The Ministry of Labour, Invalids and Social Affairs and UNICEF have agreed to use the term 'child abandonment, child neglect' and introduced the following concept: Child abandonment, child neglect is the act of parents or responsible persons - intentionally or unintentionally – did not care for and did not respond to

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a child's needs. These behaviors threaten and have harmful effects on children's physical and psychological development outcomes (MOLISA and Unicef, 2009). A neglected child is when a child is not provided with adequate accommodation, has been not received degrees of support from the community, unable to attend school, unable to use health services and is not entitled to full recreational services (Thuy et al, 2019).

The study on 'The reality of child abuse in Vietnam' conducted by UNICEF and the Children's Family Population Committee - Development Counseling Center in 3 provinces, Hanoi, Lao Cai and An Giang (2003), has shown that there are five forms of child abuse: physical abuse; sexual abuse; mental abuse (psychological/emotional aspect); children witness domestic violence and child neglect. Through the above terms, it can be understood that neglected children are children who are being neglected, they do not receive the attention and care from parents/guardians, are not guaranteed basic needs (food, clothing, accommodation, safety, learning, sharing feelings). There are three forms of child neglect that are common in most countries around the world: physical neglect, emotional neglect and educational neglect (Unicef 2020). Physical neglect is when a child is left alone, is not provided with basic physical needs such as shelter, food, clothing, and is not protected from danger. Mental neglect is when a child is neglected or isolated from parents and relatives, leading to the child having negative emotions, especially feelings of loneliness, boredom, anxiety, fear, insecurity. A child under educational neglect is when a lack of parental care leads to an impact on learning. Children lack daily parenting, tutoring and supervision (Jan Horwath, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan 2008). In addition, the negative effects on children's psychology can also make children less interested in learning than when parents are at home (Brigid Daniel 2011).

2. PARTICIPANTS AND PROCEDURE

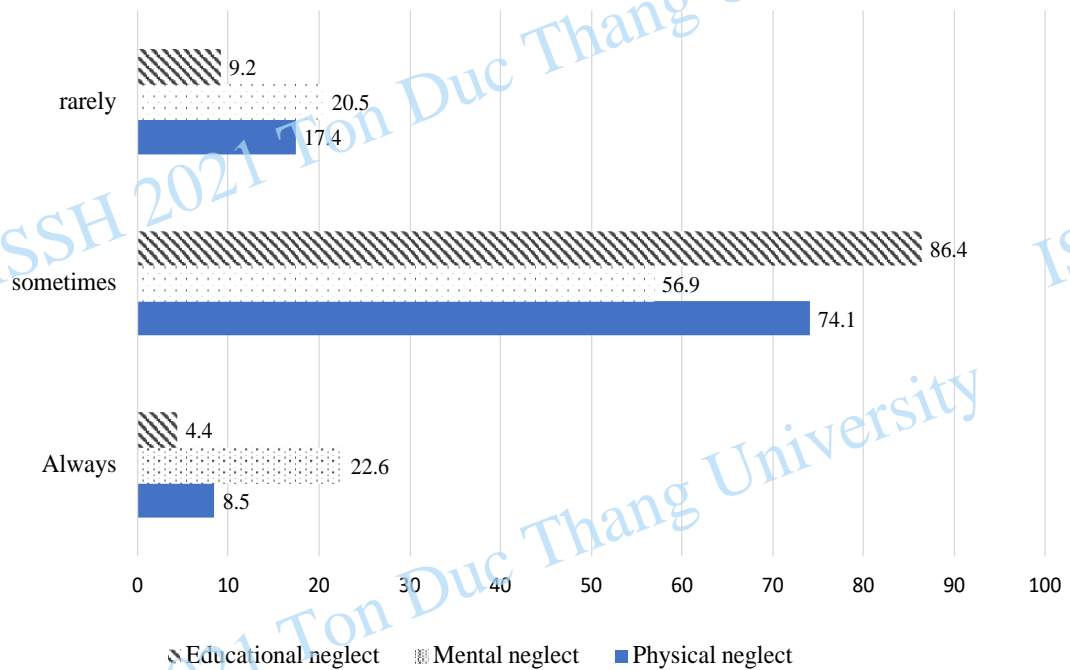
This study was conducted in two periods, November 2019 and August 2021. In the period of 2019, before the Covid 19 epidemic broke out in Vietnam, the study was conducted with 390 children aged from 9 to 14 (48.3% male and 51.7% female). They completed a survey about characteristics of neglect and reasons for neglect. The main outcomes measured were reported by questionnaires, deep interviews and focus groups. In the period of 2021, additional study was carried out with 98 parents of the children. The main method of implementation was by online questionnaire.

3. RESULTS

3.1. The degree and manifestations of children being neglected before the Covid-19 epidemic

To assess the extent and situation of children being neglected, the study conducted a survey on the criteria of 3 forms of neglect: physical, educational and mental neglect. The results showed that children rated as being neglected but the degree is not much. In the group of children who rated being neglected a lot, mental neglect was reported to be the most experienced by children, accounting for 20.5%.

Chart 1. Children's report about neglect



When comparing the difference in degrees and forms of neglect in children's ages, the results show that the older children are, the more physically neglected they are. This difference is statistically significant when $p = 0.04$. This also reflects the point of view of parenting in general and the situation in rural areas in particular. Children's parents perceive that their children are capable of taking care of their own bodies and ensuring their own safety, so they spend less time taking care of their children as they did when they were young.

The results of comparison measured by One-way anova on the degrees of different neglect forms in different groups of children show the following: When children live with other people, not with their mothers, they have the greatest risk of physical neglect, this difference is statistically significant when $p=0.03$. When living in a family with grandparents and brothers and sisters, the child's degree of mental neglect is less. Difficult economic conditions and low standard of living are factors that put children at risk of neglect. In recent years, the reality of people in rural Vietnam immigrating, going to work far away, going to work abroad has become common, children have to stay at home with their grandparents or brothers and relatives.

The results of comparing the degree of child neglect in families with different economic backgrounds show that the poorer the family, the higher the degree of child neglect. This difference is statistically significant when $p=0.039$. In contrast to the form of physical neglect, the wealthier the family, the greater the mental and educational neglect.

Table 1. Mean scores of neglect forms among rural children compared by family economic characteristics

No.	Forms	Economical features	Mean score
1	Physical neglect	Rich	1,8571
		Well-off	2,0000
		Medium	2,1137
		Poor	2,2593
2	Mental neglect	Rich	3,0000
		Well-off	2,7273
		Medium	2,8275
		Poor	2,7407
3	Educational neglect	Rich	2,2857
		Well-off	2,0100
		Medium	2,0549
		Poor	2,0741

It can be seen that families with well-off economic conditions, parents spend less time studying and playing with their children. The mean score for mental neglect in the rich family is 3.0 while that in the well-off, medium or poor family is between 2.7 and 2.8, this difference can be statistical significance. In rich families, the degree of educational and spiritual neglect is also close to 2.3 while in other families it is only 2.0.

The number of children in the family is also a factor affecting the degree of child neglect. Families with more children had higher degrees of neglect in all three forms, especially in the physical neglect form. This is a statistically significant difference ($p=0.01$).

- Manifestations

When examining the manifestations of neglect situations, the research team surveyed children's opinions about situations that occurred to them.

Survey results show that situations of common physical neglect include: 9.6% of children being alone at home for half a day or all day (11 years old, in 5th grade). Other situations such as 'self-managing in difficult situations, hungry children with nothing to eat; it is rarely that children did not wear warm enough when it was cold (from 0.8 to 2.8%)'. The results of the in-depth interviews show that the physically neglected children in this report were not guaranteed with good nutrition because 'there are times when they are hungry and they can't find anything to eat', they did not get exercise or take care of themselves, they did not receive the health care, regular health check-ups.

The most common manifestation of mental neglect is that children had to stay at home to take care of their younger siblings without an adult (20.8%), it is 16.5% that the children did not have time to play with their neighbors and it is 13.7% that they rarely talked to their parents. Among the manifestations of mental neglect of the children, the most common is that children

did not have time to invest in social and entertainment activities, they did not have time to play with their neighbors after school and they rarely talked to their parents, family members ignored them and did not talk to them (17.1%). Thus, it can be seen that children's need to have fun and share their feelings has not been met.

In terms of educational neglect, 35.2% of children said that this situation happened often because parents did not teach children basic skills to deal with risks, children were threatened by someone that their relatives did not know or pay attention to supervise. Their parents argued or had aggressive or violent behavior in front of their children; the child had no one to attend the parent meeting; teacher reminded because of lack of tuition fees or school supplies.

3.2. Forms of neglect children experience during the Covid-19 pandemic

According to the report 'Rapid assessment of the social support need of the Children and Families under the covid-19 pandemic in Vietnam' made by the Ministry of Labor, War Invalids and Social Affairs (2020): The pandemic has had a strong impact on life of poor families, families with children and especially disabled children, vulnerable children and children living in isolated areas. Capacity to access to and use of essential health care services such as immunizations, child health care, nutritional counseling and rehabilitation services for disabled children has also been reduced due to concerns about viral infections. The quality of meals also declined, especially in poor families because parents could not afford to buy essential foods. In many areas, children have limited access to clean water and essential items for personal hygiene, personal hygiene practices to prevent transmission of disease (masks, hand sanitizers and disinfectants, thermometers, etc.) (UNICEF 2020). On the other hand, many children have increased negative behaviors that were rarely managed by their parents, such as poor hygiene, eating, drinking, exercising and using social media have also changed significantly.

In this study, 76.4% parents report that they have distracted their children, of which the most was still mental neglect. They spend little time talking with their children, have not helped them overcome stress during the pandemic and let their children overusing electronic technology devices. The cause of this distraction comes from their stress when they have bereavement in the family, faced with a decrease in daily income.

The prolonged quarantine period affected the children's psychology because they had to live alone for a long time in a narrow space and lacked of social interaction. Children were not allowed to participate in cultural and artistic activities, lacked of opportunities for physical activity and entertainment, which also led to limitations in the development of social communication skills. Many parents said that they had to let their children use the phone as a way to look after their children, so that they did not disturb them. Some studies show that the problem of domestic violence has increased during the epidemic, which is also seen to have a direct impact on children. According to reports from provinces, as of August 31, 2021, there were 11,822 F0 children (infected children), 27,334 F1 (children are at risk of contracting Covid 19) children in Vietnam. In cases that children were separated from their parents, their anxiety and trauma also increased (Thu Cuc 2021).

Since the time of social distancing, children have switched to online learning, children's education quality has also been reduced due to different accessibility to online education, especially for children who have been living in remote areas, ethnic minority children and disabled children. Many children who lacking online learning facilities are at risk of dropping out of schools (MOLISA 2021). With a broader scale, the results of many studies show that

children have been seriously affected both physically and mentally because many children who had to study online for a long time, they should have a psychological disinterest in learning. In fact, during the time when children have been learning online at home, many parents have met difficulties in supervising their children, making them vulnerable to risks in the online environment such as falling into online games, visiting unhealthy websites, being bullied online or accidentally encountering tragic accidents.

3.3. The role of social workers in supporting neglected children

The cause of neglect is that all the interwoven factors including loss of income, restriction of movement, suspension of recreational activities, suspension of meeting the community can combine together to lead to conflicts and domestic violence between adults or between adults and children. In addition, children are also affected by the panic state, fear of the disease infection of their family members. Several studies have shown that an increase in mental disorders in children and adolescents parallels an increase in symptoms in adults. The epidemic itself also makes adults affected by changes in habits, economic pressure, and increased stress. This has a big impact on parenting behavior, less attention to children, and sometimes excessive disciplinary measures. There are many other cases of children not being able to see their parents due to isolation or they were sent to stay at home with grandparents while their parents were away on business, having to focus on earning for their life. When studying online, parents have to know their child's schedule, even sit next to their children to tutor, but this is also difficult because they also have to work all day. Social isolation, which causes loss of income, also makes the family atmosphere tense and heavy.

In activities to support neglected children, social workers need to have preventive activities such as early intervention, counseling and skills training for parents, mobilization of support resources, connection services. Most families who neglect children have multiple deficits, so there is no single technique or method that will be successful. Successful intervention requires the facilitators to provide a range of community services, support from multiple sources, and combine individuals, families and group of families together including family counseling, individualized support education of parenting behavior.

Social workers can participate in campaigns and support children such as Official Letter No. 327: Guidance on implementing support for children affected by Covid – 19 pandemics. That is to identify the right information of those eligible children for financial support. According to the Ministry of Education and Training, an estimated 1.5 million students in 26 localities do not have online learning devices, many of them have not prepared books. Social workers also launched a social movement to support the cost of purchasing and supporting internet-connected devices, computers, and smartphones for children of poor, near-poor households, and migrant children, children in economically disadvantaged areas may be eligible for online learning [10]. Social workers also connect available social services from organizations and individuals in the city with projects to be able to support children in emergency situations.

In fact, social workers have also organized training sessions for children and adults on disease prevention and mental health care through webinars and online exchanges. The purpose of these training sessions is to make parents and children aware of what they need to do, for example teaching children basic precautions, such as keeping a safe distance, avoiding crowds and close contact, wearing a mask properly and often washing hands. Social workers also need to guide parents to interact with children, teach children to do activities, habits of hygiene and self-protection.

In cases children fall into difficult circumstances such as parents or relatives being died due to the covid epidemic, social workers need to take measures to help and support to reduce trauma and crisis for children. Due to the characteristics of the disease, social workers also need to be sensitive to pay attention to anti-stigmatization and phobias for children in case children or relatives are infected.

4. CONCLUSION

During the covid pandemic, the group of children are easily neglected, the most vulnerable are at the ages of preschool and primary school; migrant children and children migrating with their parents; children living in families affected by income reduction due to the covid epidemic; Children in social centers; other vulnerable children. Children can face risks, can be neglected such as violence/bullying in the online environment, problems of violence, mental health and isolation. School closures and social distancing measures disrupt children's lives, they may be isolated, limited within four walls, bored, lacked of motivation, stressed, anxious, depression, risk of dependence on phones, ipads, technology devices.

In the context of the crisis because of the Covid-19 pandemic, in addition to the goal of preventing children from the risk of Covid-19 infection, protecting children from accidents and injuries, the risk of abuse, preventing psychological trauma, preventing the risk of violence is also of special concern. The condition for doing these things well is paying attention and recognizing what neglect is. Identifying manifestations of forms of child neglect helps parents better understand, care for and take care of their children, on the other hand, helps relevant agencies and organizations in caring, educating, and protecting children and it can provide appropriate support activities. Social workers can support individuals with depression or anxiety also advocacy for social inclusion of the most vulnerable into the social service system.

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SOCIAL REPRODUCTION AND THE DIVISION OF LABOUR

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Abstract: This paper examines issues related to the analysis of social and gender relationships that surround the reproduction of the workforce and the division of labor. It questions whether reproduction of labor capacity is considered as a job and creates surplus-value, and how capitalist society has separated the labor. Using the documentary analysis method from major research works of scholars such as Marx, Heather A. Brown, Barbagallo, Dunayevskaya, Federici, and Fortunati, these writings make it clear historically that much of this social reproduction and the work necessary to produce and reproduce workers, without the support of others, is mostly done by mothers, teaching their children the ways and conventions of social life. Of course, without being born, brought up, sustained, trained, and educated to certain levels, workers cannot work. Thus, we must examine women's contribution to the reproduction of class society in its entirety. Although the natural division of labor in birth according to biology is not necessarily an opposition, the division of labor according to the sex characteristics of class society is certainly so. The studies mentioned above were innovative because they refuted the stereotype that women's role in reproduction was unimportant and clarified their position in terms of social structure and development of society.

Keywords: Reproduction, division of labour, women, gender relations, Marxism, documentary analysis.

Introduction

Federici has always argued, and published in her work *Wages for Housework* (1974), that housework is an unpaid job. She helped found the organization Wages for Housework in the early 1970s (Federici 1974: 3). In that movement, her organization protested to demand payment for reproduction works, including housework, family care, and child care, or domestic works in general. However, there are places where there has not yet been discussion of the concept of social reproduction and the gendered division of labor. Without debate about their role, Federici believes that women remain unaware of their importance in the reproduction of labor power and how reproduction is the nature of women is used by capitalists to impose an unpaid reproductive role in society (Federici 1974: 4).

Why is it that, by a huge majority, in societies where liberal feminism has a large influence, women still maintain the role of reproduction? Why is there still a division of labor by gender? Will there always be such a divide? In *the Arcane of Reproduction* (1981), Fortunati tells us that that reproduction work taking place after regular labor production and the analysis of gender in society must put the analysis of labor and social reproduction (Fortunati [1981] 1995: 13, 16, 17). Surely, reproduction is inherently the work of all genders and it should be seen as contributing to societal upkeep, and in capitalism to the production of surplus-value, but in the gendered division of labor, most often reproduction is the unexamined role of women and leaves them undervalued and vulnerable in capitalist society.

For in any society or class, the traditional role of women including reproduction is always maintained and the social misconceptions that go with it. The purpose of this paper is to clarify

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women's position in terms of social structure and development of society and to explain why women are the protagonists in much of the work of social reproduction. Using the methodology found in Marx's analysis in *Capital* ([1867] 2015); *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* ([1884] 2010) by Engels; and together with the analysis of later Marxists with their works like *The Arcane of Reproduction* ([1981] 1995) by Fortunati; *Wages for Housework* (1974) by Federici; *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the future* (1982) by Dunayevskaya; *The Political economy of Reproduction* (2016) by Barbagallo; *Marx on Gender and the Family* (2012) by Heather Brown; analyzing the gender dimension of Marx's work, explained how the reproduction of exploited women's labor in capitalist societies and the gender division of capitalist labor affects women and the vulnerable.

'Gender' in Marx's works

Marxist feminism was concerned with the wider injustices of capitalism. To be concerned with gender equality as part of this, is important, but wider than slogans were issues of production and reproduction, as was evident in the text written by Fortunati ([1981] 1995: 40). In any society, when it comes to gender analysis, the issues of reproduction must be brought to the fore, and the initiator of Marxism's theory of reproduction is none other than Marx. However, throughout his writings, Marx rarely spoke explicitly about gender analysis, which led later sociologists to argue that Marx analyzed male labour in male-dominated societies more often than women's labour. In other words, they assumed that Marx never wrote about women. However, the Marxist Humanist - Dunayevskaya denied this point of view when she pointed out that Marx was the one who analyzed the female forces in her work - *Woman's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the future*:

Eighty full pages on women and child labor went into *Capital*, Volume I, not only as description and resistance, but, as Marx expressed it when he drew the whole work to a conclusion (Dunayevskaya 1996: 81).

Here Dunayevskaya confirmed Marx wrote about women and gender. Just as Marx argues that women have played a large role in being the anti-capitalist force. Contrary to the gender-blind myth, Marx wrote extensively about women and talked about the importance of women in society.

Women in Marx's social reproduction

Marx's purpose in writing *Capital* was to show how capitalism worked and the role played by workers. And it could be argued that Marx did pay attention to the role of women in the concept of social reproduction. In *A note on gender in Marx's Capital* 2017, Federici shows us that Marx in the chapter 'Machinery and Large Scale Industry' talks about women and drawing women and children into social production. Capitalist development and industrialization in particular paved the way to more egalitarian gender relations (Federici 2017: 22). From the very first sentence of his first chapter when Marx writes 'The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as an immense accumulation of commodities' (Marx [1867] 2015: 27). Then Marx argues that to understand the capitalist society we have to start from commodities. However, the goods are produced by whom? It is none other than the sum of human labour.

So commodity production in particular, production value and social production, in general, originate from human labour. So parallel to the social production process will be the reproduction process. The process of reproduction is a fundamental prerequisite of capitalism.

In *Capital*, book I chapter XXI, Marx emphasized the importance of this concept from the very beginning of his sentences:

Whatever the form of the process of production in a society, it must be a continuous process, must continue to go periodically through the same phases... every social process of production is, at the same time, a process of reproduction (Marx [1867] 2015: 401).

In the analysis of simple social reproduction, Marx referred to the first role that workers are exploited outside the production process. The workers worked day and night, creating surplus value to get back their meagre salary. It would not be a problem if the workers used that money for themselves instead of using their salary to buy capitalist's products which the workers themselves have produced or on the other hand they 'reproduced' for the capitalist. So, where were the women in this reproduction role? According to Marx, in order to maintain the process of production and reproduction, it is necessary to have workers and exploitative capitalists.

Capitalist production, therefore, under its aspect of a continuous connected process, of a process of reproduction, produces not only commodities, not only surplus-value, but it also produces and reproduces the capitalist relation; on the one side the capitalist, on the other the wage labourer (Marx [1867] 2015: 407).

The answer is, women are everywhere. If the worker is the producer of surplus-value, then the women are the people who give birth to workers and it is through their biological reproductive function. Next, in her PhD thesis on *The Political economy of Reproduction*, Barbagallo shows us that, if male workers are more often the ones who directly work and produce commodities in factories, then women are more often the home workers who reproduce the labor power of male workers including a large amount of unpaid work such as housework, home care, child care or domestic work in general (Barbagallo 2016: 17). In addition to physical reproductive functions, Hartley in her *Fed Up: Emotional Labor, Women, and the Way Forward*, argues women also have to reproduce emotions for workers, keeping joyful emotions for the 'main workers' to continue the production work for tomorrow. These works also apply to capitalist women, as they are forced to produce and reproduce physically and emotionally for the next generation of the oppressors (Harley 2018: 86).

Women's reproduction works contribute greatly to the production of surplus value, so why this work should be marginalized and assumed that it does not produce surplus value because it mostly happens in the domestic sphere? They are abandoned because they do not seem directly grasp the public means of production and work directly for capital. This is a myth and an injustice devised to exploit women. For Marx, surplus value included the whole process of production and reproduction of workers, in which they should be entitled to compensation for work equal to their productive value.

Then we can see that this exploitative process of hidden reproductive labour is repeated in other societies, but the class relations involved in reproduction is the main thing that exploits women and makes them fall into poverty along with powerlessness, hopelessness, and exploitation in the family, in marriage, and in their life.

Wages for Domestic works?

After understanding the concept of reproduction, as well as the reproductive labour that is done mostly by women, we should think again how the payment and recognized reproduction might actually work? Is it more important to recognize them as a worker or to recognize them as

human and entitled to their needs? For Marx, wages are always nominal wages, they always depend on working days, working hours and are always a variable quantity, so the payment of wages is inherently unstable when each person's needs are different. According to Marx, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' (Marx [1875] 1970: 10), since surplus-value is created by the exploitation of labor. If workers get back the value they produce, then there is no surplus-value, not that the worker must be in a passive position to have that little of surplus-value (Marx [1867] 2015: 134) Therefore, demanding wages through the government or capitalists remains a form of exploitation and coercion of workers, whether it is production works or reproduction works but I believe the struggle has to move on step by step, from recognition, to wages and to be united. Thus, woman should be paid for this heavily job.

Gender in the Division of Labour

In the *Origins of The Family, Private Property and the State*; Engels writes:

In the great majority of cases today, at least in the possessing classes, the husband is obliged to earn a living and support his family, and that in itself gives him a position of supremacy without the need for special legal titles and privileges (Engels [1884] 2010: 39).

As the usual breadwinner of the family, shouldering the direct production tasks, the man becomes the owner and binds the woman at home and considers them as commodity. Engels talks about the position of women in the family and the gender division of labor in society that comes from production. Moreover, through Marx, I would argue that the gender division of labor arises deeply when there is competition for economic interests and the division of 'skilled' and 'unskilled' labor. On another hand, 'productive' and 'unproductive' labour. Or rather, the gender division of labor appears deeply only when society begins to have classes.

In Marx's *Capital*, chapter XIV; Division of Labor, he begins with the analysis of manual workers gradually losing many of their skills, in favor of their specialization into a single and only job, and the division of labour starts from that. Later in the third part, he showed how the capitalist relies on specialized labor to separate 'skilled' and 'unskilled' workers – or 'productive' and 'unproductive' workers for exploitation. They believe that unskilled workers are not trained or educated, so they pay low wages or dismiss those with poor skills in the factory. Marx argued that it was this division of labor that fostered competition among workers, creating a competitive market subject to capitalist domination (Marx [1867] 2015: 246).

'Productive' labor is often thought of as hard-working, heavy labor and performed by men. The 'unskilled' – the 'unproductive', the weak as a symbol of the women in this division of labor. They are easily excluded from society because they have no experience, no vocational training and no education. To support this argument, I want to quote this part which Marx wrote in his *Ethnological Notebooks*:

Elements of oppression in general, and of woman in particular, arose from within primitive communism [...] beginning with the establishment of ranks–relationship of chief to mass – and the economic interests that accompanied it (Marx 1972: 299).

Marx tells us that in archaic society, women performed jobs related to economic production and there was economic competition with men. So, the division of labor has existed for a long time. Even if it's a patriarchal society where men have control. However, the conflict only occurs and the gender division of labor begins when the capitalist society wants to reduce the

wages of the weak in society. Women in the capitalist society - class society were brought into the group of 'unproductive' and weak laborers, and since then, the gender division of labor has formed, deepening the division of labor in gender and empower the patriarchal society to control women. Moreover, Engels shows us that capitalist societies give control of women's sex and reproduction to men that have led to widespread, historical, and enduring subjugation of the female sex in class society (Engels [1834] 2010: 39).

Biology myth on woman

This has led to material and ideological oppression in all aspects of women's lives. And also because of the 'weak' and 'unproductive labour' reasons of new workers in general and women in particular from farms to factories, from here, the division of labor has a class division, which opened up myths about women's biology - claiming that women are weak, they are exploited and they can only do light chores like housework and child care, reproduction, domestic works and emotional reproduction – These jobs, as I have analyzed above, are clearly not light jobs and except for the job of giving birth, a man or anyone can be done, and such attribution of women is caused by capitalist society and its class division of labor.

In addition to giving birth, which only women can do, nothing suggests that women are responsible only for the above 'light' jobs, and in history, as we know it, it is usually the reason why women have to shoulder all the domestic works and think that these are completely normal jobs that weak, 'unproductive', people have to take on. Socially, it has historically made women dependent on men; now, once again, economic competition has deepened divisions in terms of gender when they think that women are being exploited in reproduction works. Force women to quit those jobs and try to get rid of them.

Women in patriarchal society

However, can women who are very often if not always considered to be 'unproductive labor' ever escape from the exploitations of patriarchal society if, for example, they simply stop doing domestic works? They will not be able to escape when they still accept the ways capitalist society is maintaining a patriarchal society to exploit women and enhance the value of men through 'productive labour', or assuming that men are powerful main laborers in society. As long as women's jobs are 'unproductive' in a capitalist society, it is really hard for women to have their own place, but things will be different if all women alongside workers - men, start questioning gender ideology together, organizing the mass strike, sharing housework, reorganising childcare, there will be a bright spot like Heather Brown has shown us when Marx writes in his *Capital*:

In Heather Brown's *Marx on Gender and the Family*, she writes

In *Capital*, Marx writes ... On one hand, long hours and night-work tended to undermine traditional family structures, as women were to a certain extent 'masculinized' by their work and were often unable to care for their children to the same extent that they had been able to do in the past Marx notes that this seeming 'deterioration of character' led in the opposite direction—towards 'a higher form of the family' in which women would be the true equals of men... (Heather Brown 2012: 78).

Although on the one hand Marx said that women are in the shadow of men when participating in labor, on the other hand, he believes women will achieve gender equality if they participate in labor production. However, the most important thing for us right now, I argue, is people,

especially workers, should concentrate on and debate the concept of social reproduction.

Conclusion

We can see that reproduction and housework are really important in terms of social structure and development of society, and so are the people who work on them, especially mothers. Without the majority of women or 'unproductive labour' doing these jobs, it would be difficult for 'productive labour' to go back and produce commodities, continue the operation of the capitalist economic system. Moreover, anyone could shoulder the reproduction works and contribute to surplus value. Once again, I want to emphasize that the natural division of labor in birth according biology is not necessarily an opposition, the division of labor according to the sex characteristics of class society is certainly so. Class society made it deeply divided and brought the competition and exploitation between men and women as it is today.

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THE RIGHT TO THE NETWORKED CITY: URBAN COMMUNICATION, GEOMEDIA AND URBAN DIGITAL INFRASTRUCTURE

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Abstract: This paper explores the fundamental changes to urban communication and urban power that result from the growing deployment of networked digital systems as basic urban infrastructure. The ongoing digitization of media, communication and information technologies over the past 50 years has produced a new sociotechnical condition I have described as 'geomedia'. Geomedia is characterised by ubiquity of access to networked devices, the prominence of location-awareness and spatial logics in organizing both information and social behaviour, and the priority given to 'realtime' flows in urban governance. Geomedia underpins the rise of new urban imaginaries such as the 'smart city' but also enables competing imaginaries envisioning more self-organised and participatory modes of urban governance. Negotiating the tensions between these different trajectories has become central to translating what Lefebvre called 'the right to the city' into the right to the contemporary networked city.

Key words: geomedia, right to the city, smart city, urban communication, urban digital infrastructure.

Introduction

Urbanisation has been one of the long-term demographic trajectories of 'modernisation', with the majority of the world's population now characterized as urban dwellers. Recent decades have not only seen further rapid growth in urban scale—most notably in Asia and Africa—but also significant changes to the

forms of urban living. What I want to focus on here is the impact of 'digital infrastructure' on the contemporary city. By digital infrastructure, I am referring broadly to the various combinations of computation, software, networking capabilities and digital devices that collectively enable new ways of capturing, storing, processing and displaying data and information of all kinds. Assemblages of these elements are not only changing how cities look but how they work. We can think of this transformation extending across a number of related dimensions including, architecture and urban spatiality, practices of social encounter, and models of service provision and urban governance.

I'm not suggesting that the digitization of the city forms a single trajectory or is producing standardized urban settings across the globe—on the contrary. But, if we take urban digitisation as shorthand for a complex and uneven socio-technical transformation, we can recognize that it is generating a new setting for negotiating ongoing tensions between aspirations for urban democracy and new modes of managerial urban power.

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What I want to do in this paper is sketch out the terrain of this tension. I'll begin by discussing the historical emergence of what I call 'geomedia' before seeking to clarify the specific opportunities and challenges that urban digital infrastructure generates. In concluding I will seek to identify the further work needed so that the deployment of urban digital infrastructure has a better chance of fulfilling the manifold promises that are often made in its name.

From mediated cities to geomedia

Cities have long been information-rich environments. Historically, this richness was primarily related to the variety and intensity of face-to-face communicative exchanges that cities enable such as the business dealings of the crowded marketplace. But it also depended equally on the stores of material symbolic culture that accrue in cities. This includes the architecture and built environment, as well as the various archives such as libraries that constitute the traditional 'media' of a city.

If one way of defining a city relates to this distinctive capacity to incubate intensive forms of communication and storage media, the logistics of urban communication began to change significantly in the 19th century. This process, which forms an important strand of the industrial revolution, includes the steam-powered presses that industrialized printing, the photographic camera that initiates the growth of modern image culture, as well as the radical new forms of communication-at-a-distance, enabled by electric media such as electrical telegraphy, telephony and radio. In retrospect, we can see that all these technological media impacted urban social life in various ways. Telephony, for instance, contributed significantly to the different spatialization that characterised the industrial city by supporting the division between front office and off-site production facilities, a separation that depended directly on cheap, rapid, reliable communication. Along other fronts, we can see how 'new media' in this period also contributed to distinctive new visual forms of urban culture, from posters to billboards and illuminated signage.

My point in citing this history is, firstly, to acknowledge that the mediatization of urban space is not new. A secondary aim is to better situate the historical of the impact of digital media on urban space. While examples of digital media (such as electronic digital computers) date from the 1940s, what we generally think as 'digital' in a contemporary urban context depends on developments that more recent. These include the rapid expansion of computing across society from the 1980s, the massive growth of the internet from the 1990s and the proliferation of internet-enabled 'smart phones' in the 2000s. These, and related developments in areas such satellites and sensors, underpin the new spatialization of media *in* the contemporary city, as well as the transformed role that mediated interactions have in shaping our social experience of urban space.

I have used the term 'geomedia' to grasp these twinned trajectories (McQuire 2016). I argue that geomedia is a socio-technical condition that emerges at the nexus of three trajectories relating to media: ubiquity, positionality and 'realtime' connectivity. Let me unfold each briefly. The modern media paradigm can be described—at least in retrospect—in terms of relative scarcity and fixity. For most of the 20th century, in order to listen, watch or be connected, you had to be at particular sites. Telephone handsets were hardwired into particular locations. Television was primarily consumed within the family home, while computers were tethered to office desks. This has changed decisively in the present as media have become a pervasive element of urban life. Mobile devices and embedded urban media installations such as urban screens and information kiosks, coupled to extended and enhanced digital networks, recreate the contemporary city as a space in which connectivity and access is seemingly available

'anywhere, anytime'. Of course, there are practical limits to this 'anywhere' but expectations have changed and connectivity has become our 'new normal'. This is driving changes in our social behaviour in all kinds of ways.

The second broad trajectory relates to the enhanced role of location in the operation of contemporary digital platforms and services. One side of this process depends on the integration of military-based GPS into mobile media devices following the relaxation of US restrictions on civilian use in the year 2000. The other side of this development has been the rapid growth of geotagged digital data. Over the last decade, location has become a key logic for organising digital information—for instance, place-based Internet search has been Google's default setting since 2010. The combination of geotagged data with location-aware devices means users are increasingly able to access context-specific information while moving through the city. This offers all sorts of new possibilities about the way we experience and negotiate urban space

The third factor defining geomedia is 'realtime' connectivity. Of course, more or less instantaneous connection via technological media is not entirely new. Earlier media such as telegraphy, telephony radio and television all created radical new experiences of *social simultaneity*. However, this social simultaneity tended to take particular social-spatial and social forms such as the highly-centralised 'one to many' communication architecture of 'mass media' broadcasting. Realtime communication in the digital present is different because the 'many to many' communication architecture of the internet offers potential to reshape the way that social simultaneity operates. I'll return to this point below. But first, having established the threshold of geomedia, I want to think more closely about how digital urban infrastructure differs from traditional urban infrastructure.

Digital urban infrastructure

The study of urban infrastructure used to be more about the design, construction and operation of large-scale systems such as sewers, power grids, bridges or roads. These material infrastructures had a power geometry that was generally defined in terms of where it was built, who had access (and who didn't), who profited, and so on (see, for example, Graham and Marvin 2001).

While these issues persist digital urban infrastructure differs from older infrastructure in a key dimension: namely, its capacity to do what Shoshana Zuboff (1988) terms 'informate'. In other words, digital infrastructure has the capacity to capture, distribute, store and act on data as an integral part of its operation. This can be seen most clearly in 'native' digital services such as the internet and mobile devices, where use brings the capacity to track individual data such as a user's location. But 'informating' also applies to the digitisation of traditional infrastructure. Digitization means that all kinds of urban objects and services from street furniture and billboards to cars and transport to buildings and homes can be networked so as to emit growing streams of data about their use—and their users.

The relation between traditional urban infrastructure and what I am calling digital urban infrastructure is defined by this double dynamic. On the one hand, features that have been historically associated with infrastructure, such as ubiquity, general access, and reliability have been assumed by large-scale digital platforms that have increasingly achieve the social centrality of 'essential' services. On the other hand, features associated with 'platforms' such as programmability, modularity and the participation of heterogeneous sets of actors are becoming increasingly relevant to understanding the social and political effects of contemporary urban infrastructure. In a perceptive analysis, Plantin et al (2018: 295) argue:

'Digital technologies have made possible a 'platformization' of infrastructure and an 'infrastructuralization' of platforms.'

One of the distinguishing features of *digital* technologies compared to analog media such as the printed book is that digital data is immediately computational. This means that all the streams of digital data that are now generated in a city, from social media posts to security camera footage to sensor data recording mobility, can be easily subjected to computational analysis. In the past, such data was relatively expensive to harvest and especially to process. This is no longer the case. This is the context in which Gekker and Hind (2020) have argued for recognition of a new form of 'infrastructural surveillance'. As cities have become major data-generators, pressing questions have emerged about how this data will be used.

Smart cities and communicative cities

The rapid expansion of cheap and available urban data has directly fuelled the rise of 'smart city' imaginaries. The smart city concept emerged in the early 2000s, built on the ideal of collecting, assembling and analysing vast quantities of data so as to enable more calculated interventions into urban operations, potentially in realtime. But the approach has suffered from key limitations, especially in its early manifestations. The sociologist Saskia Sassen (2011) argues that early approaches to the smart city were primarily managerial in their orientation, too dependent on 'top-down' implementation via central 'control rooms'. She also criticized the short-sightedness of dominant smart city models for the way they favoured 'closed' technical systems whose workings remain largely invisible to citizens. Others such as Greenfield (2013) pointed to the heavy reliance of smart city programs on the uncritical application of terms such as 'efficiency' and 'optimization' to guide their operations.

The drawbacks of such reliance are manifold. Cities are extraordinarily complex, multifaceted environments. While 'optimization' and 'efficiency' might be appropriate for monitoring technical aspects of urban systems such as network capacity or electricity use, they offer little purchase in understanding the city as a social or political entity. Implementing smart city strategies based on 'optimization' and 'efficiency' mechanisms without critical investigation of basic sociological issues—such as asking 'optimized for who?', or 'efficient to what end?'—is extremely risky.

The limits of smart city discourse—or what I call 'smart cityism' (McQuire 2020)—is perhaps understandable, given the corporate origins of the concept. The agenda did not grow out of urban planning or urban sociology but from IT and tech companies keen to develop new markets. However, these origins should not lead us to dismiss the entire orientation, if only because the historical trajectory—the potential for urban transformations arising from digital technology—is much broader than this particular imagined 'settlement', shaped by a particular conjuncture of global capitalism. Since the digitization of urban infrastructure is already happening, it is critical to broaden the smart city agenda to give better expression to issues such as urban democracy and quality of urban inhabitation.

Sassen suggested that many existing approaches to the smart city have ignored the role that a city's inhabitants can—and need to—play in large-scale processes of social change. She called for inhabitants to have better access to urban information, as well as having better avenues to communicate with city authorities, and emphasized the distinctive historic potential of digital networks to enable these outcomes. This argument can be extended a step further. Urban sociability can be enhanced not just by helping citizens to 'talk back' to the city, but by enabling them to communicate with *each other*. Developing new forms of peer-to-peer *public* communication have great potential to improve urban life.

This brings me to the 'communicative city' as an orientation which seeks to expand the use of digital technology to measure and control urban systems towards a focus on enhancing the communicative possibilities of urban public space. There are many possible pathways to achieving such an outcome. Here I will briefly examine a public art installation, *The Investigators*, produced by Krzysztof Wodiczko in Weimar Germany in 2016. Wodiczko is a pioneering urban projection artist and has a long history of projects that utilise site specific projections to 'remotivate' urban monuments. *The Investigators* involved a projection onto the imposing Goethe-Schiller monument erected in Weimar, Germany in 1857. This monument to the two most esteemed German writers is one of the most famous in Germany, and holds significant symbolic and cultural capital.

Wodiczko's project involved interviewing refugees, mainly from Syria and Afghanistan, about their experiences of coming to live in Germany. The interviews were videotaped and the recordings were mapped to the statue's dimensions and contours, allowing participants to temporarily 'occupy' the monument with their faces and bodily gestures. In addition, a podium was erected to allow questions to be posed by an audience at the site, while live responses from refugee participants, situated in a nearby studio, were then relayed onto the statue.

What is going on in such a work? Why not just have refugees appear and give their testimony 'in person'? One answer is that this would likely be far more confronting for them. But a more compelling reason is that Wodiczko wanted to bring the symbolic and affective resources of the statue into play. Transforming the Goethe-Schiller monument using refugee faces, gestures and voices offers a particularly powerful gesture. We need to remember that Schiller was himself a refugee. He was a doctor who had deserted from the army, and had to cross several checkpoints to get to Weimar. He was eventually protected on his arrival by Goethe. The square in which the statue of their meeting is situated is the site where the Weimar Republic was formed in 1918 and where the national assembly met until the fascist takeover in 1933. Wodiczko's project recollects this history and uses it as an opportunity for creating a unique form of public testimony.

As Wodiczko put it: 'In fact, the whole trick of those projections has only one purpose: to create conditions for somebody to speak and somebody to listen.' (Wodiczko 2020: 116) in this respect, the work is about creating a temporary public sphere situated in public space. Wodiczko's projection enables the refugee participants to speak from the statue's position of aesthetic and cultural authority. Speaking and hearing this testimony in public is vital to its effect. Wodiczko (2020: 113) argues that the process of public testimony and public witnessing can aid in the healing of cultural trauma: 'It's not enough to tell the truth; it's important to make it public. And to perform it, to bring emotional charge to it — not just drop simple facts, but actually speak about your own feelings in the public space.'

How should we understand this example, where digital media is used to alter the ambiance of public space? The first point I'd make is that there are many such examples, and that their impact should not be judged simply from the number of participants they involve. It is important to consider the use of public space they establish and legitimate. If we recall Hannah Arendt's (1958) famous definition of public space as the space for the fundamental *political* acts of appearing and speaking, we can better situate the stakes bound up in Wodiczko's practice.

This points to the deeper significance of 'geomedia' as a distinctive historical threshold in which new capacities for communicative display and 'feedback' not only intervene in the appearances of the built environment but begin to recalibrate the public encounters that occur within it. Geomedia means that urban social encounters of all kinds—from how we arrange to meet our friends and acquaintances to how we organize collective assembly including political protest

are subject to new dynamics. This became evident in the various protests of the 'Arab Spring' in 2011, as well as various the Occupy movements including the Umbrella Movement in Hong Kong in 2014. I'm not trying to brand these protests as Facebook or Twitter revolutions (as some commentators hastily did with the Arab Spring) as if these diverse political struggles can be summarised as some kind of technology-led liberation.

Rather I want to underline the way that digital media platforms have altered one of the fundamental historical constraints on public assembly. Rapid mobilization of large numbers of people was once the prerogative of highly centralized organizations, such as the military or the police. What the threshold of networked digital media has done is open this kind of capacity for 'realtime' organization — which is to say control over social simultaneity — to a much wider range of social actors. A corollary of this shift is change in *how* public events are represented. Events like the protests in Tahrir Square were not simply reported 'on' by media professionals but were witnessed from the inside by numerous participants who distributed their own reports via websites, blogs, social media and online video.

This doesn't change everything. Mainstream media representations are still enormously powerful. But it does alert us to the way that that distributed digital networks enable the recursive modulation of events by those participating in them — even as those events are ongoing. These new feedback systems are changing how we engage with the city as a social environment.

Conclusion

Digitisation of the city is happening now, at different speeds in different cities across the globe. How we organise and govern urban digital infrastructure is going to be a major factor in what kinds of cities we find ourselves inhabiting into the future. Many questions remain to be addressed. One thing that should be obvious but is still important to state is that—like any major technological change—digitisation is neither purely technical nor inherently liberating. While digital networks certainly enable new forms of peer-to-peer communication, they are also implicated in the widespread data capture described above. One manifestation of this situation was evident in the Hong Kong protests of 2019-2020, where activists eschewed digital devices, such as phones and public transit tickets, in order to avoid tracking and identification.

But even in less immediately fraught urban contexts, questions about the widespread datafication of basic social practices raise pressing concerns. What data? Who holds it? Who has access to it? What will it be used for? How long will it be kept? These kinds of questions have been further sharpened in the context of the Covid pandemic, as many national governments have turned to digital tracking products to help control the spread of the virus. And, of course, this is not just about the state but also relates to data collected by commercial digital platforms, particularly as they enter new service partnerships with state actors—something very evident in the pandemic response.

While critiquing the governance of data collection is vital, it is equally important to continue to imagine different models for networked public space. One of the projects I worked on with colleagues involved 'repurposing' digital infrastructure such as publicly situated urban screens. While most urban screens are dominated by commercial advertising or official government messaging, this project focused on enabling members of the public to creatively shape screen content (Papastergiadis et al 2016). Experiments of this kind are integral to developing a richer 'communicative city'. Like Wodiczko's Weimar project, they are about establishing temporary public spheres that initiate social encounters between strangers within public space. They seek

ways to extend what Henri Lefebvre powerfully evoked as a 'right to the city' in the new conditions of the digitally networked city.

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WHY PHILOSOPHICAL METHOD MATTERS FOR SOCIETY: MARCUSE ON DIALECTICAL VS. FORMAL LOGIC

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Marcuse insists in *One-dimensional Man* (1964) that Plato's dialectical logic contains an open-endedness of concepts, an embracing of negation and movement in ideas, and an integration of thought and reality. Regarding the third, 'essential truth' is necessarily expressed in life, not just in 'philosophy' as a separate (alien) enterprise. In this sense, when he talks about philosophy, he is integrally talking about life in society and history. The critique of forms of thought is an important part of critiquing the state of society as a whole (along with material and social dimensions), so for Marcuse, the qualities of philosophy are directly related to the historical material reality.

Marcuse traces a broad arc from Aristotle's formal logic through scientific reason and technological rationality. The sense of there being no alternative operated to stabilize the capitalist world, and according to Marcuse, the sense of no alternative is bound up with the one-dimensionality of thought that considers no 'truth' content in anything other than the immediate facts. This extinguishing of anything beyond immediate facts stems back in philosophy, for him, to Aristotle's formal logic in its contrast to Plato's dialectical logic. In Plato's logic, universals are important and concepts are open-ended and in process, in dialogue between persons. This allows space for freedom in thought and discourse, and especially important, the cognitive freedom to see beyond the present, and recognize the potentiality of alternative futures.

All phenomena find their full truth in their Ideas or Forms. Phenomena are secondary, being fleeting expressions of these Ideas, whereas the Ideas are both primary and eternal. In this sense every phenomenon is contradictory, in that it is negated by its Idea, being its higher truth. For Marcuse, this renders empirical reality as 'false' in relation to the 'true' Ideas. This contradiction within every phenomenon constitutes a two-dimensional, *dialectical* view of reality, in contrast to the contemporarily popular one-dimensional view that recognizes 'truth' only in empirical phenomena. These truths are not value neutral either. They are inherently value-laden, pressing the 'is' of phenomena to live up to the 'ought' of the Forms. In this way, everyday life is connected normatively to a realm of Ideas that constitutes the greater truth.

The way dialectical logic plays out in Plato's dialogues is through a back-and-forth process of assertion, negation, and evolution in the meditation on concepts by people interacting. In this way, concepts are not pinned down to a fixed definition so much as problematized and explored, and this exploration happens within a deliberative exchange.

With Aristotle by contrast, and with much of the Western canon after him, the open-endedness is closed off and progressively chiseled out of philosophical discourse, which includes the removal of values from the philosophical enterprise - concern with the 'good life,' etc. Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* being a well-known document examining eudaimonia or 'the good life,' it is not as if Aristotle's project were all instrumental and value-neutral. Marcuse identifies Aristotle's writings on logic in particular to be iconic in the sense of foreshadowing, or perhaps inaugurating, philosophy's descent into one-dimensionality. Aristotle's *Organon* is

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concerned with logical relations with no concern for content. His concern is categorization and universal principles, and in this, his sophisticated architecture sidesteps questions of quality, of 'the good' and 'the beautiful,' for instance. His logical edifice is fixed and unchanging. There is no movement or dialogue, only a structure of denotation for logical relations between objects. The structure is unaffected by the object, and this is how it gains its universality, which is also a collapsing of qualitative difference into commensurability. The collapsing of concrete labor into abstract labor is comparable, as is the domination of exchange-value over use-value (Marx, 2019). The process that stretches from Aristotle to contemporary positivism is long, but Marcuse's argument is that way back here, the tendency toward one-dimensionality in philosophy is revealed to be provided support by way of example. In this trajectory toward positivism, philosophy becomes a dull, disinterested exercise with no meaningful relation to reality. Really, for purposes of liberation and for imagining alternatives, this points to the need to return to Plato, in many ways, at least in contrast to Aristotle.

In his essay 'Philosophy and Critical Theory,' Marcuse (1968) discusses the separation of philosophy from life as something to be overcome, and that critical theory can help in overcoming this divide, through directing abstract philosophical thought toward the concrete liberation of society. Marx's 11th thesis on Feuerbach is a classic statement of this idea – that 'The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to change it.' In overcoming the separation of philosophy and life, the difference between them should collapse. In practical terms, what such a collapse means goes unstated, outside of the turn away from seeking freedom in thought, and toward seeking freedom through sociopolitical transformation. But in Marcuse's celebration of Plato and of dialectical logic in *One-Dimensional Man*, it is clear that his wish is not for society to become more simplistic in thought. Hegelian that he is, Marcuse did not mean that critical theory's culminating purpose is to end philosophical thought in abstract negation. Rather, his collapse should be understood as a determinate negation, where life is imbued with philosophical tenor. It is likely to mean that 'philosophy' as a disinterested academic discipline will end.

He gives no precise description of what this means, and maybe it can only be for the people at that junction in history to decide collectively, rather than something for the independent philosopher to dream up. But some amount of guessing seems appropriate. First, I will interpret his theory as alienated philosophy. The alienation of philosophy from society happens on at least three levels. First, 'philosophy' is sectioned off in a specific discipline in the University, and with an abundance of esotericism and high bars for entry, most of society is unfamiliar and unconcerned with the vast majority of it in anything but a cursory manner if at all. Second, the content of philosophical writing becomes ever remote from the content of life in society. Issues such as 'pure reason' are meditated on extensively, rather than real social problems or questions about what it means to be human and how life should be best lived. Third, the style of philosophical prose becomes sterile and rigid, hyper-rational and lacking in poetic or literary impact. The human investment in philosophy becomes undetectable except via logical deduction. The language becomes ever-more esoteric, lifeless, and foreign to most people.

Now, what does it mean for this alienation to be overcome? Do people stop reading philosophy? Do we entirely stop talking about Marcuse after the revolution? My guess is that for Marcuse, the end of philosophy is the beginning of the philosophical society. The importance of transcending the alienation of philosophy means bringing society and philosophy into meaningful interrelation to the point where it is no longer meaningful to refer to 'philosophy' as a sectioned-off, elitist, esoteric discipline in the University. My guess is that this goes along with the end of the University system as a sorting and branding mechanism for the life chances and status of the population. The elitism of the University should be overcome, just as class distinction should be overcome. But just as much as the overcoming of class

distinctions does not mean everyone is supposed to be poor, the overcoming of educational elitism does not mean that everyone is supposed to be uneducated. Instead, workers reclaim access to collective wealth, and people reclaim access to collective knowledge. This means that the overcoming of the separation of education from society, of which academic philosophy is a part. Despite the fact that critical theory per se is supposed to disappear into the material transformation of society, the dialectical view of reality should return once one-dimensionality is overcome. The dialectical view is precisely a philosophical conception of life, where every phenomenon expresses an Idea or Form. To turn away from philosophic thought, then, as if its full Truth were only the alienated form it immediately takes in the analytic philosophy classes at top universities, is to take an undialectical view of philosophy itself, and in so doing, supports the alienation of society in the very gesture of refuting it. Ideally, after the revolution, there would be much more space for philosophical thought in society, not less.

The trajectory toward One-dimensionality was not, of course, only in the realm of academic philosophy – rather its development in philosophy coincided with its development in other spheres of life. Understood as part of an expressive totality, where the various pieces of society carry the logic of the whole within them, philosophy's One-dimensionalization is one expression of the One-dimensionalization of the totality of 'advanced industrial society.' Put another way, philosophy is always on a primary level connected with life, but may be in a state of relative alienation from the rest of life and society, when the rest of life and society is generally fractured – when alienation has become pervasive in the social totality. Philosophy should suffer from abstract negation no more than life should. The point is for their alienation to be overcome, along with the endemic alienations of advanced industrial society.

The way we think and experience life is a key component of revolutionary social transformation, for Marcuse. Overcoming alienated labor means overcoming the alienating system within which we labor, through structural transformation. This is clear – thinking differently is not enough. Good intentions are not enough. Power structures have to be transformed. And yet Marcuse insists that a 'new sensibility' is a profound component, if not foundation, of the liberation of society. People, when deeply transformed at the level of aesthetic experience and even perhaps at the level of instinct, so as to be incapable of accepting current sociopolitical conditions, will demand and bring into being a new structure that supports a new way of life that harmonizes with their new sensibilities. To very deeply view the 'ought' within the 'is', the Idea within the phenomenon, is a cognitive shift away from One-dimensionality, a partial triumph of a new sensibility. To reason dialectically rather than just using formal categories – this means to think in a more expansive, more philosophical way. To imagine alternatives requires the ability to think speculatively and historically, above and beyond the immediate facts. The embrace of dialectical logic, if understood dialectically (in other words in relation to the Truth of its full potentiality), means to *be* dialectically, not just to *read* dialectical philosophy.

Marcuse's description of the new sensibility is much more on the nonrational, unconscious or preconscious level. His sense of 'sense' here, makes sense in terms of bodily senses rather than of so-called 'making sense.' He is not talking about a change in rational belief (although different rational beliefs would be inspired by the new sensibility), so much as a deep shift in the way of very basic drives, perception, and direct aesthetic experience: sound, sight, etc. But a crucial component of this shift is in leaving the One-dimensional experience of phenomena to the dialectical one. In this way, all of actuality is full of potentiality, and so of freedom from the dictates of the present state of things. Every 'thing' is part of history, meaning it is a stage between what came before and what comes after. The present object is not absolute. Other ways are not only possible but inevitable. The freedom in the realm of potentiality is precisely that of the Idea of the object, rather than its phenomenal expression.

Marcuse emphasizes that this is not a rational, conceptual difference so much as a way within which reality is experienced. It is 'negative' and false in relation to the 'ought', the 'Idea', the full potentiality. It is on the level of a kind of instinctual moral sense. And yet he suggests that this deep, 'instinctual,' even 'biological' level, is altered in the course of life experience, that morality is not just from the inside out, but also from the outside in, that introjected morality 'sinks down' to the deepest level and not just represses behavior but actually joins in the production of different moral subjects (Marcuse, 1969).

And yet the senses need to be understood dialectically vis-à-vis reason. There is no sense 'experience' without the formative influence of the organizing, interpretive, conceptual mind. In *Phenomenology of Spirit*, Hegel reveals the cacophony of 'This'es is intrinsically connected – through several dialectical steps, but intrinsically nonetheless – with conceptual understanding. In *An Essay on Liberation* (1969) Marcuse says 'the radical transformation of society implies the union of the new sensibility with a new rationality. The imagination becomes productive if it becomes the mediator between sensibility on the one hand, and theoretical as well as practical reason on the other, and in this harmony of faculties (in which Kant saw the token of freedom) guides the reconstruction of society.'

Imaginative conceptualization is part of the fabric of everyday experience. Philosophical thought – not as rational proof and denotation but as expansive exploration of ideas and possibilities – is integral to the new sensibility. It does not rely on a University education, and to some extent a University education may even subvert it, especially an education focused primarily on amassing human capital. But it also does not exclude formal, rigorous study – and I would argue that it must remain open to it, especially when philosophy is experienced in an animated, playful way, as unalienated labor – an engagement with life energies rather than a retreat. But if play means freedom from necessity, then it is precisely the uselessness of philosophy that constitutes it as play, and of course, as beyond the logic of instrumental or technological rationality. So, it is very important to remember that philosophy, just like art, should not be locked in chastity for all purposes other than social transformation. Arguably the 'purpose' of social transformation is a serious endeavor and violates the nature of play. This is not to say that to say that seeking social transformation is a bad idea or ruins playfulness. But if bourgeois philosophy, as an alienated enterprise, is to be superseded by critical theory, which overcomes alienation first by calling out the alienation, second by demanding connection with real social struggle, and third by dissolving into the material transformation of society, then what of philosophy after the revolution? Critical theory, according to this reasoning, would have lost its reason for existence. But in the spirit of Eros, useless philosophy, hedonistic philosophy, guiltless philosophy, would have every reason for existence. Philosophy, playfully for its own sake, no longer a serious matter in chaste service to social transformation, could be released to go fuck itself like bunnies.

Personality matters. Even as individuals express the character of the social totality, the reverse is also the case: the social totality expresses the character of individuals. Agency and structure are co-determining. And so changes at the local level can and do reverberate out to the systemic level. This is not to say that capitalism does not have a crushing effect. It absolutely does. But if the crushing was entirely successful, we would not be having a conference dedicated to Herbert Marcuse. We would be crushed beyond that capability already. If experience in society 'sinks down' to the biological level, then the ways we personally impact one another can truly prepare the way for revolutionary change, and this is crucial, because, as he says, 'unless the revolt reaches into this 'second' nature, into these ingrown patterns, social change will remain 'incomplete,' even self-defeating' (Marcuse, 1969).

To move beyond just thinking formal logic to embodying dialectical logic is a step toward

social and political liberation. Marcuse's reasoning suggests that academic philosophy is often divorced from social reality, but it also suggests that a social reality that has abandoned philosophical thought is a one-dimensional one. This means that his ideas point against both academic elitism and anti-intellectualism, as two aspects of the same larger problem (an alienated society).

His characterization of Plato and dialectical logic in contrast to Aristotle and formal logic, also points to an epistemological position which might be more embraced within academic social sciences to move beyond the impasse of positivism and postmodern-era relativism. This could allow social scientists to be more morally invested without apology, as well as make more [soft] claims that can raise awareness, without the requirement/pretension to be precise down to the last capillary. This is helpful to enlist academic social sciences in becoming more human, and better serving the liberation of society. Maybe this is beside the point though – since the University is rapidly shedding away every trace of aims and values other than elitism, gatekeeping, skills-training, and human capital acquisition. Maybe the real issue we face is that for philosophy to be life-affirming and to directly matter for society, it has to be liberated from the dying University.

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UNSETTLING THE SETTLED CATEGORIES: LAND-WATER DYNAMICS IN THE INDIAN SUNDARBANS

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Abstract: The present paper relates to the Bengal delta, particularly the Sundarbans, an immense archipelago of islands and mangrove forested landscape across both India and Bangladesh. This was a place where settlement history particularly since the beginning of colonial rule began informed by a series of interventions that aimed at making land, water and forest appear as neat categories. Separating land from water had been central to colonial land making in the Bengal delta where land looked elusive (Hill 1990). The strategies of flood control wedded to modern science and capitalism came in handy as an instrument safeguarding the interests of propertied class and landed gentry in colonial India (D'souza 2006). The post independent development enterprise in the Indian Sundarbans informed essentially by the colonial legacy of land making (legibly categorizing land and water) only points to the limits of such ecological wisdom. This paper argues that in a place where boundaries between land and water are always found to be mutating despite all attempts to reclaim and fortify land amidst a soaked ecology (Bhattacharyya 2018), people's lives and livelihoods could be seen as expressions of their deeper implication into the moving delta, be seen as resembling the dynamic interplay of land and water, their livelihoods be seen as minutely textured into the constantly disappearing boundaries of land and water. Documenting instances of livelihood – such as making and breaking of embankments or of prawn fisheries – I argue how our neat ecological categories are thrown into complete disarray by human practices as they unfold in the deltaic Sundarbans.

Paper

The Sundarbans, stretched in a northern semi-circle across the mangrove delta north of the Bay of Bengal, is an immense archipelago of islands. The inhabited islands closest to the forest are part of the active delta and have the reputation of 'moving' (Ghosh 2004; 2019). The search for land to draw revenue was what prompted the East India Company about two hundred years back to embark upon large scale deforestation of the delta to pave the way for the islands to be settled (see Jalais, 2010; Mukhopadhyay 2016). The settled islands where the grantees were invested with land rights had embankments or mud walls built around them to prevent their daily submergence during high tides. It was only towards the later part of colonial rule that settling and populating the delta through deforestation slowed down and the remaining mangrove forests coexisted with and encircled the settled islands in this deltaic wetlands.

The watery landscape, particularly its proximity to the sea and the shifting river currents, makes the place erosion prone and vulnerable to cyclones. The embankments built to reclaim and fortify land amidst a soaked ecology (Bhattacharyya 2018) and protect it against brackish water flooding – the very lifeline of people – break and collapse under the impact of a cyclone resulting in saline ingress and flooding, destroying crops, rice fields, houses and ponds. The devastation that Amphan (in 2020) left in its trail was not something unique in the Sundarbans.

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Particularly in the past two decades cyclones, big or small have struck the region time and again - Sidr (2007), Aila (2009), Phailin (2013), Hudhud (2014), Bulbul (2019). The cyclone Aila was the severest in terms of its devastation, death and destruction having caused the death of 340 people and left many more homeless across the Indian state of West Bengal and the adjoining country of Bangladesh. After cyclone Aila, millions of young men, sometimes with their families, had left the Sundarbans in search of work in India's big cities.

The Managed Retreat, climate change: The unique spice

Thus, successive cyclones, particularly the frequency of their occurrence in the last few decades together with the growing threat of rise in sea levels and the possibility of the submergence of the Sundarbans islands has led some of the environmentalists to argue in favour of the retreat of people from the Sundarbans as an adaptive strategy to counter the threat of climate change and natural disasters (Danda, *et. al.* 2019; Danda *et al.* 2011; Ghosh *et al.* 2016; Ghosh 2020). According to WWF vision document 2050 a population of about a million would need to relocate from the vulnerable locations of the Indian Sundarbans (Danda *et. al.* 2019:328) because with time people's vulnerability to disasters will increase. Drawing on a generic adaptation decision framework (GADF), environmentalists arguing for managed retreat maintain that in locations where non-diminishing socio-economic wellbeing can be ensured, in-situ adaptation is the option. If the net value of ex-situ adaptation is the highest among all options, it creates a case for organic population movement as also state action in that regard (Ibid 320-21). This means that the settlers need to evacuate the Sundarbans because the problems people face are irresolvable and cannot be addressed keeping settlements intact and in place. The perspective firmly holds that in-situ solution to the severity of problems surrounding people in the Sundarbans, particularly their vulnerability to disaster permeated life seems impossible. Even those clamouring for evacuation and retreat envisage a planned retreat from the region which needs to be achieved over a period of time. A perspective has emerged and come to fore that portrays the Sundarbans essentially as a natural resource site whose preservation can be best achieved if left to grow as a natural habitat of flora and fauna. The land that was once reclaimed from forests and water and made nucleus of people's life needs to be returned back to water.

The perspective of planned retreat has certainly evoked much enthusiasm among environmentalists, geographers, development professionals and even policy makers involved with the Sundarbans development. Camelia Dewan in a different context shows how climate change is the 'amazing spice', the masala that holds the key to standardizing diverse disparate and heterogeneous vulnerability experiences and development initiatives into a common recipe for development funding and brokerage (Dewan 2020:2). A forested wetlands meant to be a place for wildlife had been wrested from nature by land hungry people. Therefore, they are destined to face nature's wrath. This place is not only remote and inaccessible, but poses all kinds of obstacles for any developmental work. The solution to people's problems leaves them with one and only alternative i.e. they be prepared to return the land they once reclaimed, to water. Anthropogenic global warming is one of the key challenges of our time (Dewan 2020:2), but processes of adaptation and resilience may assume many unique forms. However, in the case of the Sundarbans the framework of adaptation is made to appear as though it has one language namely that of a retreat from the climate induced vulnerable landscape. The language of adaptation seems to go hand in hand with the dominant image – staple on which development practitioners and policy makers have been brought up – sustained of the region.

The retreat perspective tends to treat the forests, water, mangrove vegetation, wildlife, tides engulfing land and land surfacing through tidal waves as naturally given and views human

presence in the delta as incidental and a mishap. However, what this perspective ignores is the fact that human settlements – even when they are viewed as being occasioned by specific and planned interventions – are indispensable constituent of the ecology and topography of the Sundarbans. The so called purely natural components of the mangrove delta are constantly and dynamically shaped and configured by human footprints. Similarly, human lives and livelihood practices demonstrate a deeper acknowledgement of the landscape and its whims. The constantly mutating boundaries of land, water and forests are found minutely textured into people's livelihood pursuits. Far from rendering the region as something naturally given, it is this dynamic encounter that assigns a unique character to the Sundarbans and does not make it amenable for an easy comparison with other geographies in the world. Hence what has been achieved elsewhere in the world, whether the so called developed North or developing South, can hardly be viewed as a precedent to bolster an argument (translated into something of a blueprint of the retreat plan) in favour of the retreat of the population from the Sundarbans delta.

Land-water binary: The standard ecological wisdom

The image of the Sundarbans as a wasteland under the colonial regime of reclamation and settlement and the region's re-emergence as a vulnerable site in post independent India under the regime of climate change with its accent on managed retreat and de-settling of the region, both tend to produce a reified vision of the delta. Both the perspectives of settlement and de-settlement, informed as they are by an ecological wisdom, look upon land, water and forest as neat physical realities. Separating land from water had been central to land making in colonial India. Colonial flood control strategies wedded to western science and capitalism had been instrumental in turning flood dependent agrarian regime into flood vulnerable landscape (see D'souza 2006). The Bengal delta witnessed countless experiments in search of land and land revenue. In a desperate bid to not only create land, but also to turn a transient and unstable land into a stable source of revenue, the Permanent settlement was instituted in the Bengal delta. In the words of Hill (1990; 1991).

Peasants were deserting their holdings rather than face prosecution for inability to pay the assessment on inundated lands. If they stayed during times of abundance, they found their plots being sold from under them when the land, which had been so productive the year before, was no longer fit to fulfill the terms of their contracts (Hill 1990:7).

The peasants were oppressed and tortured for revenue regardless of whether lands had produced enough. Hill refers to the *diara* tracts in the gangetic delta, the tracts that floated on water (land that was both land and non-land at the same time). Several acts were passed and surveyors deployed to ensure that land remained a visible and permanent source of settlement and revenue. The stringent and ruthless land search led to the most disastrous consequences in the Bengal delta. The first quarter of the 18th century witnessed numerous acts and legislations triggering reclamation and settlement in the Sundarbans. Mud embankments were erected around land retrieved from water and forest to make sure that settlement advanced in a region where land surfaced only to be lost to water (and vice versa), where land and water never acted as though they were neat physical realities.

Hill's concerns have been revisited by Lahiri-Dutt and Samanta (2014) in recent times in connection with their research on *char* land of the Damodar river in Bardhaman district of West Bengal. The book is a story of people on a land that rises from the bed of the river, a land that floats on water (2014: 1). Lahiri-Dutt and Samanta present *chars* in their work as hybrid environments, not just mixture of land and water, but uniquely fluid environment where the

demarcation between land and water is neither well defined nor permanent (Ibid). Their book does not simply provide an account of char land, but minutely documents life and livelihood practices of people living on *chars*.

Disasters, livelihoods and people's sense of belonging

I draw on Lahiri-Dutt and Samanta to argue that people's divergent livelihood practices and their immediate environment are constitutive of each other. In the Sundarbans, where boundaries between land and water are never defined, where such boundaries are found to be mutating beyond predictions, people's life and livelihood are only expressions of their immersions into the fluid and hybrid environment. In fact their activities - whether fishing in the sea or in the middle of rivers, whether working inside the forest or catching crabs or fish in the creeks along the forest – are expressions of their deeper and integral connection with the landscape. In the Sundarbans, the forest remains inundated during high tide and a floating forest tends to blur the boundary that exists between land and water. People's sense of tidal waves and land movements follow them while they catch crabs or fish in the narrow creeks. Their understanding of lunar cycle and tidal flows causing the submergence and emergence of land influence their fishing activities whether they spend days in the middle of rivers or draw nets along the river banks.

The mud embankments – the very lifeline of the people – not only build a protective ring around the settled islands, but mark the islands off from the rivers and forest. These embankments break and collapse during cyclones and sudden rise in water level leaving people with little or no option to draw a firm boundary between land and water, to decipher where their landed territory ends and water begins. The embankments also collapse because of continuous and imperceptible erosion at the bed of the rivers. Yet, people do not cling onto the embankment as if it is their last resort to reclaiming land in the Sundarbans. When a stretch of embankment collapses the land lying in close proximity to the embankment is the first to get flooded. If embankment collapses during high tide then a considerable area gets flooded instantly. It is only during low tide when the water retreats that villagers first try and repair the broken embankment. Subsequently, irrigation department acquires land to build a new embankment behind the old stretch that has collapsed. The land that is acquired for this construction, falls outside the periphery of the village and remains entangled with the tidal waves the river. People's right to this land is inconsequential, for salinity makes it uncultivable. The only solution lies in turning this land into a fishery where brackish water prawn farming is possible. It is interesting to see how people not only lose their lands to water, but also to land as well. Individual lands are lost to the land acquired for the purpose of building a new stretch of embankment. The land that is lost to the river re-emerges as a prawn fishery that is no longer privately owned but collectively held. The fishery is the new land that is soaked in water.

The life that revolves around embankments is a witness to a number of activities or practices where the boundary between land and water vanishes. For example when a stretch of collapsed embankment is turned into a brackish water fishery the embankment becomes both land and water at the same time. When a fishery is set up next to an agricultural land, the land opens up a renewed dialogue with the fishery, a dialogue that makes both appear as less pure a category. When a collapsed embankment is reconstructed and land is acquired, land is not only lost to water but also to land as well. The land that was away from the water all this while becomes the new stretch of embankment that now builds nexus with water.

Summing up

The retreat perspective that insists on planned evacuation looks upon people as those who once reclaimed land, but now must submit to the demands of ecology of the region. What unites the two apparently opposing perspectives, that of the managed retreat of today and of reclamation and settlement of yesteryears (the former insists on planned evacuation while the latter on reclamation and settlement of people) is their mutual admiration for the standard ecological wisdom that views all landscapes and/or environments as being constituted by clearly discernible and well defined physical (geographical) properties (for example where well defined boundaries exist between land, water and forest). When such discernible and definable physical (geographical) realities are not readily available, these perspectives tend to dismiss such hybrid ecologies either as wasteland (as in the case of colonial perception of the Sundarbans as a sodden wasteland which needed to be reclaimed and settled) or as a climate induced vulnerable site that needs to be evacuated (as in the case of the managed retreat discourse). What they both gloss over are the diversities that are not amenable to such easy classification and categorization; what they tend to ignore are the diverse ways in which people find themselves immersed in their unique environments. The reductionist logic of climate change and the imperative of adaptation (couched in the techno-managerial language of retreat) that comes with it streamlines diversities in an attempt to assign them the semblance of legibility, for development is not a set of coherent practices but a set of practices that produce coherence (Dewan 2020:4). In their recent article Bhattacharyya and Mehta (2020) show us the ways in which people relate to the Sundarbans. They present us with distinct and diverse narratives of people, the narratives that tell us how the islanders, the rich and the poor, migrants and returnees think differently of the place. The cyclone such as Aila had caused people to move out of the Sundarbans, but the pandemic and the lockdown urged them to return home, return to the Sundarbans. On their return, they suffered cyclone Amphan in May 2020 and Yaas in May 2021, yet the cyclones, each one of them, demonstrate people's sense of belongingness, the ways in which islanders build their life and livelihoods afresh, whether they pertain to embankment making, fishery building, fishing along the river banks or inside the forest. People's sufferings, experiences and nuanced engagements only point to the limits of the standard ecological wisdom and the discourse of vulnerability and managed retreat that grows out of it.

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GUATTARI AND VARELA'S 'AUTOPOIESIS': FOR A NEW CRITICAL PSYCHIATRY

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Abstract: With a view to the reinvigoration of a critical, or 'anti'-psychiatry in the first world, unfortunately still very much needed (Frantzen 2019, Cohen 2016, Burstow et al 2014, Fisher 2009), this paper interrogates the use of the notion of autopoiesis, first developed by Humberto Maturana and Francisco J. Varela (1973/1980, 1992), ultimately taken in a further and different direction by Varela (1991, 1992, 1999), and transformed in the final writings of Guattari (1979, 1989, 1995). While Guattari thoroughly raids Varela's development of this idea, this raid is also a profound *détournement*, with strong consequences for clinical engagement and interaction, not only criticism. Although Varela conceived of the nonsubstantial 'virtual' self that only arose through the periodic 'breakdowns' of habitual 'microworlds', Varela's experimental combination of cognitive science research, Merleau-Ponty's and later phenomenology, and Buddhism, however heuristic, is not capable of making *sens* of the extraordinary ruptures, black holes, and virtual dimensions that launch Guattari's late investigations. Since these dimensions are regularly psychiatrically stigmatized, if not punished, these theoretical divergences between Varela and Guattari are plumbed for their pragmatic applications in an alternative psychiatry.

Keywords: Humberto Maturana, Francisco J. Varela, Félix Guattari, autopoiesis, critical psychiatry, cognitive science, Maurice Merleau-Ponty.

It is primary to the definition of autopoiesis that any efforts to ground the autonomy of the living must take the form of such paradoxical, 'autopoietic' loops – the logic of the cell, for instance, that is one of self-production through a circular determination between its boundaries and its dynamics, which both produce these boundaries and is made possible by them. It is in this sense that Jacques Derrida referred to DNA as another 'trace,' a chain of supplements. Such phenomena offer a definition of complexity – they cannot be reduced to the sum of their parts nor are they separate from their products. Whereas these complex systems reveal an intermixed and only apparent hierarchical constituency they are linked up via this model of circular causality of 'autopoiesis' that Francisco J. Varela defined as an 'operational closure' (Dupuy and Varela 1992, pp. 4-5).

Such definitions grew out of the researches of neuroscientists Humberto Maturana and Varela at the University of Chile, published as *Autopoiesis and Cognition* (1973/1980), in what is now recognized historically as part of the emergence of a second wave from first-order, first-wave cybernetics (Hayles 1999, p. 141). Whatever 'reality' out-there existed, they argued, came into existence only through interactive processes determined by the self-organization of the organism (Maturana and Varela 1980, p. 121). It is this circularity or 'operational closure' that enables living systems to maintain their identity throughout various interactions and changes (Maturana and Varela 1980, p. 9). Yet this 'closure' indicates that all living systems are within boundaries closed to an 'outside.' In this radical departure from realist epistemology, there are

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no messages circulating in feedback loops, or genetic codes, which would all be attributed to descriptions or abstractions made by an observer of the autopoietic system, not features of the autopoietic system itself.

The reflexive, recursive loops formed by any observer interacting with other observers, themselves autopoietic systems, form more and more complex representations, creating reflexive circles which eventually 'corresponds to what we call thinking' (Maturana and Varela 1980, p. 29). 'Consciousness' thus arises from these potentially endless loops of observation, which create a 'new domain of interactions' (p. 29); given consciousness is an emergent process that is grown through the interactions and self-reflection of autopoietic actors, for Maturana and Varela (at least at this point) consciousness does not constitute a defining feature of human autopoietic systems. As Katherine Hayles has pointed out, in Maturana and Varela's system, human consciousness comprises only a peripheral role since cerebration occupies a 'small fraction' of the autopoietic system, and consciousness only an even smaller fraction of that (Hayles 1999, p. 145).*

Whereas Maturana largely stuck to his original theory of autopoiesis for the rest of his career, Varela departed from it as early as a self-critique published in 1981. Their theory was best applied to the 'domain of cells and animals' (Varela 1981, p. 38), organizations that produced their components, unlike social systems to which an analysis of 'autopoiesis' was increasing being applied. On the other hand, Varela argued that the notion of autopoiesis should accept as complementary explanatory terms derived from information theory – coding, messaging, the notion of information itself. This leads Varela to advocate a twin system – the idea of 'operational closure' that describes processes in their actuality and concreteness, and a perhaps higher order symbolic or systems theory that in its abstraction provided a description of greater generality. Yet this 'duality of explanation' must remain dual – Varela argued a symbolic description should never be taken for an operational one. There is no way, Varela wrote, 'information and information processing are in the same category as matter and energy' (Varela 1981, p. 45). To make himself absolutely clear, he continued, 'To assume in these fields [the study of natural systems] that information is some *thing* that is transmitted, that symbols are *things* that can be taken at face value, or that purposes and goals are made clear by the systems themselves is all, it seems to me, nonsense... Information, *sensu strictu*, does not exist. Nor do, by the way, the laws of nature' (Varela 1981, p.45).

In league with this, Varela was in the process of modifying his notion of autopoiesis, combining the results of the most recent cognitive and neuroscience with the investigations of a continued phenomenology, the late philosophy of Merleau-Ponty, Lacanian psychoanalysis, and increasingly an engagement with Buddhism. This bore fruit in *The Embodied Mind* he wrote with Eleanor Rosch and Evan Thompson, where they claimed the encounter with the East constituted a 'second renaissance in the cultural history of the West,' as important as the rediscovery of Greece in the European renaissance (Varela et al. 1991, p. 22). In *The Embodied Mind* Varela, Rosch, and Thompson develop the idea of 'enaction.' As opposed to the original notion of autopoiesis where perception results from prompts in the surrounding environment, enaction stresses the all-important role of *movement* in an environment, changing and guiding perception. While both perspectives deny any existence to a 'pre-given, perceiver-independent world', enaction describes cognitive structures as arising from 'recurrent sensory-motor patterns' (Varela 1992, p. 103), not a pile-up of recursive representations in what is essentially a circular if complex system.

* On this knotty issue of the relation of consciousness and cognition, see the recent researches documented in N. Katherine Hayles 2017.

A key, if not *the* key argument of *The Embodied Mind*, and how they argue that the most current cognitive researches coincide with the insights of Buddhism and other Eastern philosophies, is its contention that no substantial, unified subject or 'self' exists. Rather there are relatively autonomous modular agents, which juggle or adjudicate among themselves when there has been a 'breakdown' or conflict. What is called consciousness is an awareness that produces a 'story' about what has happened, that often has little connection to the underlying processes. Varela, Rosch, and Thompson write that cognitive science presents the mind 'not as a unified, homogeneous unity, not even as a collection of entities, but rather as a disunified, heterogeneous, collection of networks of processes' (Varela et al. 1991, pp. 106-107).

In describing the effect, the actuality, of the 'virtual' self, this argument made a sophisticated case that the cognitive sciences have demonstrated the coherence of emergence, as opposed to the input-processing-output computationalist model of the brain. In answering the question of how the mind so quickly and efficiently supplants one program with another, Varela and his collaborators posed the existence of microidentities, which composed a readiness to action. By pursuing this line of inquiry Varela was linking the early theory of autopoiesis to that of the dynamics of self-organizing systems, thereby providing a far richer and more accurate account of how living systems change and transform. In this view self-organizing systems were capable of constant self-reinvention.

Varela argued this adaptability hinged on *breakdowns*. In this theory of sensorimotor coupling (of the organism with environment), or cognition as enaction, enaction that is brought forth by the 'concrete handling' of day-to-day embodied existence, one lives in a state of readiness-for-action, in a series of habitual microworlds. Varela writes, '[I]t is in the breakdowns, the hinges that articulate life worlds, that are the source of the autonomous and creative side of living cognition...it is *during breakdowns* that the concrete is born' (Varela 1999, pp. 8-10).

This view of cognition as being based in enactions, or embodied actions that activate the various microworlds possible in any possible situation, not representations, was in the '90s already fueling innovations and developments in robotics and artificial life research. Varela argued the qualities of presence, of 'just *being there*, immediate coping,' belied enormous complexity in that this capacity took the longest evolutionary time to develop (Varela 1999, p. 18). The ability to deliberate during the breakdown of microworlds, to reassess and reconstitute, appeared only recently and in a very rapid evolutionary development. What is revealed in these voids during a breakdown are all the whirring subagents, identities, and microworlds that make up experience – what can be characterized as 'contending subprocesses' in which eventually one of the microworlds take over and form actions, definite behaviors (Varela 1999, p. 49). The dynamic opened during breakdown shows the competition as well as cooperation in which different agents vie for domination to provide the framework, the coherent response that forms the organism's next microworld. According to Varela, this is not a process of optimization but rather a 'bifurcation in a chaotic dynamic' (Varela 1999, p. 51). In this breakdown before the next microworld appears, there is a wide array of possibilities until one is chosen – 'This fast dynamic is the neural correlate of the autonomous constitution of a cognitive agent at a given present moment of its life' (Varela 1999, p. 52).

From this view, any situated cognitive entity has a 'perspective,' constituted by the continually 'emerging properties of the agent itself' which affects the consistency and definition of the 'coherence of the entire system' (Varela 1999, p. 55). The coupling of any agent with its environment gives rise to what Varela terms 'surplus signification,' that is in fact 'the origin of the cognitive agent's world' (Varela 1999, p. 56, see also Weber 2002). This continually shifting and changing coupling inspires what Varela characterizes as a neural jam session, without which the cognitive agent is reduced to a 'mere solipsistic ghost' (Varela 1999, p.56). As

evolutionary biology has discovered in regard to color, color is not produced through some universal environmental 'input,' but rather through the phylogenetic dialogue between an 'environment' and a highly autonomous cognitive agent, accounting for the very wide variety and dimensionalities of color formed by different species (Massumi 2002, pp. 162-176). A paradoxical if dramatic exposition of this surplus signification and neural jamming for Varela was provided by virtual reality technologies. In this instance, the VR-outfitted agent is coupling with a computer, not a more variegated, active, and unpredictable 'environment.' The physical movement is usually dictated and limited by the computer-program. What impressed Varela is how 'real' this virtual world quickly becomes. This is regardless of often low-bandwidth or image quality, or limited sensitivity of the sensors. One's nervous system is so adept at synthesizing and creating 'regularities' that 'any basic material suffices as an environment to bring forth a compelling world' (Varela 1999, p. 58). This is another way of stating what 'self' exists is very much a nonsubstantial self that only acts as if it were present. As Varela writes, it is much better characterized as a kind of 'virtual interface' (Varela 1999, p. 16).

The growing proliferation of virtual, augmented, and mixed reality technologies in this era of computerization, led some to optimism – art historian Frank Popper felt the increasing globalization of 'virtualism' would inevitably lead to greater ecological and biological commitments, social and political interventions, with the broadening and greater awareness of human capacities and potentialities, and psychoanalyst-activist Félix Guattari heralded a similar 'post-media era' (Popper 2007; Guattari 1998).^{*} These works based on various technical innovations, often in the mid- to late-80s, of in terms of computer interfaces and various sensory feedback systems (enabling one 'to enter the image'), immersive technologies, 'simulated reality,' and the combinations of holography with the 'new media' as well as the influx and proliferation of the world- wide web and the ensuing 'net art', telecommunication, telepresence, and telerobotics, invited or required one to adopt an *other* self, an *other* body. Popper described these practices as how 'the virtual self can be transformed into an actual, living personality' (Qtd. in Nechvatal 2004, pp. 69-70), or at least leading subjects to a wareness of the virtual components of their makeup.

Artists such as Roy Ascott often used metaphors of autopoiesis to characterize many of these convolutions and possibilities, but without opening to the pitfalls of the various processes of autopoiesis (Ascott 2003). In contrast, Guattari carried out a modification of Varela's development of the notion of autopoiesis. Articulating a generalized sense of 'machinism,' beyond Norbert Wiener's characterization of living systems as machines capable of feedback in first-wave cybernetics, or Maturana and Varela's version of autopoiesis that was only applicable to living systems, Guattari argued for a change in concept of the machine far beyond the 'technical machine' into the 'machinic assemblage' of 'possible fields, of virtual as much as constituted elements' (Guattari 1995, pp. 33-35). It is the 'autopoietic node' in the machine that 'separates and differentiates it from structure and gives it value' (Guattari 1995, p. 37).

Whereas Varela defined machines as that which had a set of inter-relations of components independent of the components themselves (Varela 1979; Guattari 1995, p. 39), Guattari saw this as denying their materiality. The original definition of autopoiesis via Maturana and Varela for Guattari 'lacks characteristics essential to living organisms, like the fact that they are born, die, and survive through genetic phylums' (Guattari 1995, p. 39). Challenging the distinction in Varela and Maturana of allopoetic machines (which produce something other than themselves) and autopoietic (which create, specify, and set their own organization and its limits), Guattari urged that autopoiesis be 'rethought in terms of evolutionary, collective

^{*} For an acute discussion of the dilemmas of Guattari's advocacy of 'post-media,' see Genosko 2002, p. 37-40.

entities, which maintain diverse relations of alterity, rather than being implacably closed in on themselves' (Guattari 1995, pp.39-40). In such a view, systems that are allopoietic according to Varela and Maturana, when considered 'in the context of the machinic assemblages they constitute with human beings, are ipso facto autopoietic' (Guattari 1995, p. 40). While as we have seen, Varela himself moves away from the circularity of original notions of autopoiesis Guattari's perspective ushers in a 'more collective machinism without delimited unity, whose autonomy accommodates diverse mediums of alterity' (Guattari 1995, p. 42), in fact, there can be no universal accounting or table for all these diverse registers of alterity 'because, in truth, their ontological modalities are infinite' (Guattari 1995, p. 45). So it is not too much to say that various modes of autopoiesis in this broader definition of machinic alterity populate and drive entire universes for Guattari. They form 'constellations of incorporeal Universes of reference with unlimited combinatories and creativity' (Guattari 1995, p. 45).

In this profoundly aleatory, mutating universe, whether on a macro-political level, or a psychic one, there are no guarantees to the direction of greater awareness or expanding subjectivation, and, in common perhaps with Varela's explication of breakdowns Guattari maintained a kind of psychosis is fundamental to the human condition. Guattari's proposed 'schizoanalysis'* looked at all modes of subjectivation 'in light of the mode of being in the world of psychosis' where alterity 'becomes the primary question' (Guattari 1995, p.63). In respect to this, in his last book the 1992 *Chaosmosis*, Guattari wrote of an 'intolerable nucleus of ontological creationism' (Guattari 1995, p. 83). In delivering some of the 'sense' of psychosis, of the psychopathology or 'chaosmic stases' ever present in philosophy or even 'the most rationalist authors,' Guattari argues, 'delirious narrativity, as a discursive power finalized by the crystallization of a Universe of reference or a non-discursive substance, constitutes the paradigm for the construction and reconstruction of mythical, mystical, aesthetic, even scientific, worlds' (Guattari 1995, p. 82). It is often the case in such 'collapsus of sense' breakdowns, Guattari maintained, that there is an 'event-centered rupture' that happens 'at the heart of being and it is from there that it is able to generate new ontological mutations.' In Guattari's distinctive language, 'Schizo chaosmosis is a means for the apperception of abstract machines which work transversally to heterogeneous strata.' This 'passage' through chaosmic homogenesis, 'can be a path to complexual heterogenesis (though this is never mechanically or dialectically guaranteed)' (Guattari 1995, pp. 82-83). Likewise, Guattari used the example of the 1979 Iranian revolution, the product of a tremendous popular uprising, as an example of subjectivation that could nevertheless lean toward fascism.

Guattari, in articulating the all the 'processual' capabilities of this manifold, rich and virtual 'machinic heterogenesis,' its blocking or stasis at stake with psychopathology, attempted to elaborate the qualities of a configuration which 'extracts its consistency by crossing ontological thresholds, non-linear thresholds of irreversibility, ontological and phylogenetic thresholds, creative thresholds of heterogenesis and autopoiesis.' In this passage Guattari uses as his example the paradoxes of fractals, which invent the scales they traverse, that were nevertheless 'already there.' These paradoxes are only comprehensible, Guattari argued, once one has been released from interpreting these assemblages in terms of 'energetico-spatial-temporal coordinates' (Guattari 1995, pp. 50-51). For Guattari this manner of being is not being identical to itself, but rather a 'processual, polyphonic Being singularisable by infinitely complexifiable textures, according to the infinite speeds which animate its virtual compositions.' This is an ontological relativity that is 'inseparable from enunciative relativity' (Guattari 1995, p. 51).

* For a treatment of the continuing vicissitudes of schizoanalysis, see Buchanan 2021

In this situation, Guattari describes the 'existential machines' that are their own 'material of semiotic expression,' freed from Transcendent signifiers. What Guattari terms this 'enunciative relativity' is called forth from these 'existential nuclei,' or 'autopoietic machines,' providing the groundless ground for his 'new aesthetic paradigm.' In these circumstances, 'art does not have a monopoly on creation but it takes its capacity to invent mutant coordinates to extremes; it engenders unprecedented, unforeseen and unthinkable qualities of being' (Guattari 1995, p. 106). These existential machines, like every type of machine, for Guattari are located at a junction of the finite and the infinite, of a point between complexity and chaos. This is a kind of coexistence of double-immanence, created by the 'initial chaomic folding.' Born in this 'event-advent' are the creative intensities where the virtual is converted into the possible, the reversible into the irreversible, the deferred into actual difference. This is a kind of 'chaosmosis' that does not oscillate between being and nothingness, or order and disorder, or any other binary, but rather a 'relative chaotisation in the confrontation with heterogeneous states of complexity,' emitting sensible bifurcations 'inscribed in an irreversible temporality' that remains in play with an 'a-temporal reversibility', or 'the incorporeal eternal return of infinitude' (Guattari 1995, pp. 112-113).

As much as Guattari raids Varela's notion of autopoiesis, it is also a *détournement*. The fissures and ruptures of these larger fields of complexity perhaps cannot be given justice in Varela's updated phenomenology and cognitive science. Varela has written of the key role of 'breakdowns' in perception of the 'concrete,' the emergence into a new clearing and modes of behavior. Varela's later models are based in part on Maurice Merleau-Ponty's attempt to renovate phenomenology. Whereas Michel Foucault examined the abyss between the sayable and the visible (Foucault 1981; 1987), for Merleau-Ponty this appears as the separation between the sentient and the sensible. But for Merleau-Ponty this separation enables the transitivity of communication among beings. In terms of visibility there is a 'cross-situating' of its modalities in the tangible, and the tangible in visual evidence. The evidence of the intertwined senses is that 'he is of it' (Merleau-Ponty 1968, p. 135), that there is a common world. In the 'later' Merleau-Ponty work, the body combines through its ontogenesis its different dimensions and aspects, its inner and outer, demonstrating there is a prereflective and preobjective unity of the body. There is a 'Sentient in general,' Merleau-Ponty wrote, 'before a Sensible in general' (Merleau-Ponty 1968, p. 142). The body, participating in this '*flesh* of things' (Merleau-Ponty 1968, p. 133), is part of an 'order of being' not via consciousness, but rather through what Merleau-Ponty called a 'carnal adherence' whereby the sentient returns to the sensible, the visible to itself, by means of the very *écart* or gap between them (Merleau-Ponty 1968, p. 142). To Merleau-Ponty the body is a 'texture that returns to itself and conforms to itself' (Merleau-Ponty 1968, p. 146), a form of being carefully making and remaking the inside of its outside, and the outside of its inside. This description of interlaced being is foreign to the non-relation of sensory modalities in Foucault, or the extraction of planes of consistency from chaos in Guattari and Gilles Deleuze.

Arguably, even the emergence of the 'virtual self' increasingly found in cognitive science researches cannot fully vouch for the coherence of Merleau-Ponty's 'general manner of being.' Varela's journey sought to combine these discoveries of cognitive science with psychoanalysis, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, and Buddhism. The recognition of emptiness, or *sunyata*, was basic to the Eastern traditions, a realization Varela thought had its complement in psychoanalysis' insistence that one could not make whole what is by its nature forever virtual and fragmentary. At the root of *sunyata*, however, still lay a primordial mind, wisdom- or Buddha nature, an original nature, or Merleau-Ponty's 'order of being'. Even this *grund* is nonexistent for Guattari, for whom any subjectivation must be '*opposite of the void*,' it is 'Spinozist. Not Hinduist & co.!' (Guattari 2006, p. 55). So while Varela, who had with Maturana

developed second-wave cybernetics with their inclusion of the observer in an account of a system's functioning, led into third-wave cybernetics with a more open definition of autonomous agents and development of the field of artificial life (Hayles 1999, pp. 222-223), Guattari increasingly relied on a protean diagrammatism to map the potentially infinite fields of virtuality (Guattari 1989). This transformation of philosophy into cartography has been argued as the future of Continental thinking (Mullarkey 2006).

Despite the manifest heuristic value in Varela's research, its reliance on an original ground appears a limitation in a world increasingly formed if not founded by virtual realities, and an ultimately conservative restraint in comparison to the permanent revolution both personal and political implied by the proliferating 'micropolitics' of Guattari's 'institutional analysis.' In reflections eminently applicable to psychiatry, Varela, Thompson, and Rosch had written in *The Embodied Mind* concerning post-Darwinian conceptions of evolution, of the key importance of the notion of *bricolage*, 'The putting together of parts and items in complicated arrays, not because they fulfill some ideal design but simply because they are possible' (Varela et al. 1991, 196). Similarly, in Guattari's 'institutional analysis' developed out of the 'institutional psychotherapy' of the practices at the alternative psychiatric hospitals St Alban and La Borde, the latter where Guattari lived and worked for most of his life, it is not a matter of postulating some external standard or optimal 'fit' of normality and sanity as much as it is accounting for this kind of bricolage, the putting together of parts and pieces in complex configurations that provide enough consistency, or sufficient integrity to persist, while transforming the psychotic's social existence through 'transversality'* with the institution. Guattari's conceptions were often too political and too close to antipsychiatry for La Borde's founder, Jean Oury (Robcis 2021, pp. 83, 87-88), and this was also the case for François Tosquelles, the originator of 'institutional psychotherapy' at St Alban. This was true even though Tosquelles was pioneering in elucidating the all-too-human character of psychosis, which he described as a 'creation' (Tosquelles 2012, p. 98), and Oury's position that there was an inescapably social and collective dimension to psychosis (Robcis 2021, p. 86). That there is a continuing political value in 'institutional psychotherapy' beyond the theories and practices of its founders, was also demonstrated by the career of Frantz Fanon in Algeria and Tunisia, who did not just apply what he had learned in the year he spent at St Alban, but 'transformed the practices and theories themselves' in what may be 'the most perfected example of institutional psychotherapy' (Robcis 2021, p. 73; Fanon 2018).

The contradictions between Guattari's schizoanalysis, and Varela's development of mind science with Buddhism, were only apparently stillborn with their authors' early deaths – Guattari age 62, and Varela at 54. Their researches are best developed practically in a revived critical psychiatry, in at least the first world the need for which unfortunately remains very great (Frantzen 2019, Cohen 2016, Burstow et al. 2014, Fisher 2009). Leaving behind 'objective' models of the cognitive sciences, Varela's last writings are tracking the perturbations of subjectivity and the body itself, through his accounting of his traumatic liver transplant. Varela wrote,

I can see it all: all of us in the near future being described as the early stages of a mankind where alterity and intimacy have been expanded to the point of recursive interpenetration. Where the body techné will and can redesign the boundaries ever

* Guattari first presented his notion of 'transversality' at a conference in September, 1964 (see Guattari 2015, pp. 102-120). Complex in its application, transversality was an attempt to (vastly) expand the psychoanalytic idea of transference to the wider social field, influenced by Tosquelles and Oury's recognition that transference in psychosis was essentially collective and historical, not one-to-one and intersubjective as in psychoanalytic practice.

more rapidly, for a human being which will be '*intrus dans le monde aussi bien que dans soi-meme*' [extruded as far into the world as far as into himself] as the epigraph says. (Varela 2001, p. 271).

Opposed to Varela's uroboric figure where the inner and outer coextend and meet, historically psychiatry has all too often reinforced draconian, illusory boundaries. Rather than aiding those labeled 'psychotic' in establishing a different relation to the world, psychiatry has exercised what Guattari called a 'quasi-zoological guardianship' (Guattari 2009, p. 177). In a transformed socio-economic landscape from the '60s and '70s, this time with overt and covert ravages of neoliberalism, renewed psychiatric activism often finds similar problematics as before of involuntary commitments, use of ECT, and heavily medicated populations (Burstow et al. 2014). The task remains, as scholar Camille Robcis described the praxis of Guattari and Fanon, 'to question everything all the time, quite literally' (Robcis 2021, p. 106).

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A REAPPRAISAL OF MARX'S ETHNOLOGICAL NOTEBOOKS

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Abstract: Between December 1880 and June 1881, Marx's research interests focused on a new discipline: anthropology. He began with the study of *Ancient Society* (1877), a work by the U.S. anthropologist Lewis Morgan. What struck Marx most was the way in which Morgan treated production and technological factors as preconditions of social progress, and he felt moved to assemble a compilation of a hundred densely packed pages of excerpts from this book. These make up the bulk of what are known as *The Ethnological Notebooks*. They also contain excerpts from other works: *Java, or How to Manage a Colony* (1861) by James Money (1818-1890), a lawyer and Indonesia expert; *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon* (1880) by John Phear (1825-1905), president of the supreme court of Ceylon; and *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions* (1875) by the historian Henry Maine (1822-1888), amounting to a total of another hundred sheets. Marx's comparative assessments of these authors is fundamental to have a clear idea of the main theoretical preoccupations of the 'late Marx' and suggests an innovative reassessment of some of his key concepts.

Keywords: Anthropology, Colonialism, Ethnological Notebooks, Late Marx, Lewis Morgan, Marxism.

Between December 1880 and June 1881, Marx's research interests focused on a new discipline: anthropology. He began with *Ancient Society* (1877), a work by the U.S. anthropologist Lewis Morgan (1818-1881), which the Russian ethnologist Maksim Kovalevsky had brought back from a trip to North America and sent to Marx two years after its publication (see Musto, 2020).

What struck Marx most was the way in which Morgan treated production and technological factors as preconditions of social progress, and he felt moved to assemble a compilation of a hundred densely packed pages. These make up the bulk of what are known as the *The Ethnological Notebooks*[†] (1880-81). They also contain excerpts from other works: *Java, or How to Manage a Colony* (1861) by James Money (1818-1890), a lawyer and Indonesia expert; *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon* (1880) by John Phear (1825-1905), president of the supreme court of Ceylon; and *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions* (1875) by the historian Henry Maine (1822-1888), amounting to a total of another hundred sheets[‡]. Marx's comparative assessments of these authors lead one to suppose that he compiled all this material in a fairly short period in an effort to get really on top of it.

In his previous research, Marx had already examined and extensively commented on past social-economic forms – in the first part of *The German Ideology*, in the long section of the

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† This title was given posthumously by Lawrence Krader (1919-1998), the editor of these manuscripts. However, the content of these studies is more accurately related to anthropology, hence the title of the section in the present chapter.

‡ The parts from Phear and Maine were included in Karl Marx (1972). Marx did not leave a precise dating of his work. Krader (1972, 87), the main researcher of these texts, argued that Marx first familiarized himself with Morgan's book and then compiled the excerpts. See also Kautsky's testimony from his trip to London in March-June 1881 that 'prehistory and ethnology were then intensively preoccupying Marx' (Kautsky in Enzensberger, 1973, p. 552).

Grundrisse entitled 'Forms Which Precede Capitalist Production,' and in *Capital*, Volume One. In 1879, his reading of Kovalevsky's *Common Land Ownership* directed him once more to the subject. But it was only with the *The Ethnological Notebooks* that he engaged in more comprehensive and up to date study.

The aim of Marx's new research was to widen his knowledge of the historical periods, geographical areas and thematic topics that he considered essential for his continuing critique of political economy. It also enabled him to acquire specific information about the social characteristics and institutions of the remote past, acquainting him with material that was not in his possession when he had written the manuscripts of the 1850s and 1860s. Finally, it acquainted him with the latest theories advanced by the most eminent contemporary scholars.

Marx devoted himself to these often time-consuming anthropological studies during the same period in which he aimed to complete *Capital*, Volume Two. The precise theoretical-political purpose behind them was to reconstruct the most likely sequence in which the different modes of production had succeeded one another over time, with a particular focus on the birth of capitalism. He believed that this would give his theory of the possible communist transformation of society stronger historical foundations.

In *The Ethnological Notebooks*, Marx therefore put together compilations and interesting notes on prehistory, on the development of family bonds, on the condition of women, on the origins of property relations, on community practices in precapitalist societies, on the formation and nature of state power, on the role of the individual, and on more modern aspects such as the racist connotations of certain anthropological approaches and the effects of colonialism.

On the particular theme of prehistory and the development of family ties, Marx drew a number of priceless indications from the work of Morgan. It was Morgan's research on the social structure of primitive peoples that allowed him to overcome the limits of traditional interpretations of kinship, including the one advanced by the German historian Barthold Niebuhr (1786-1831) in *Roman History* (1811-12). In contrast to all previous hypotheses, Morgan (1877, p. 515) showed that it had been a grave error to suggest that the gens 'postdated the monogamous family' and was the result of 'an aggregate of families.' His studies of prehistoric and ancient society led him to the conclusion that the patriarchal family should be seen not as the original basic unit of society but as a form of social organization more recent than was generally believed.

On the other hand, Marx constantly polemicized against Maine, who in his *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions* (1875) had visualized 'the private family' as 'the basis out of which the sept and clan developed.' Marx's scorn for this attempt to reverse time's arrow by transposing the Victorian era into prehistory led him to assert that this 'blockheaded Englishman started not from the gens but from the Patriarch, who later became the chief – what inanities!' (Morgan, 1877, p. 292) His mockery gradually reaches a crescendo: 'Maine after all cannot get the English private family out of his head' (1877, p. 309); he 'transports the Roman patriarchal family into the very beginning of things' (1877, p. 324). Nor did Marx spare Phear, of whom he said: 'The ass bases everything on private families!' (1877, p. 281).

Morgan (1877, p. 469) gave Marx further food for thought with his remarks on the concept of the family, since in its 'original meaning' the word *family* – which has the same root as *famulus* or servant – 'had no relation to the married pair or their children, but to the body of slaves and servants who laboured for its maintenance, and were under the power of the pater familias.' On this, Marx (1972, p. 120) noted:

The modern family contains the germ not only of servitus (slavery) but also serfdom, since it contains from the beginning a relation to services for agriculture.

It contains in miniature all the antagonisms within itself, which are later broadly develop in society and its State ... The monogamous family presupposed, in order to have an existence separate from others, a domestic class that was everywhere directly constituted by slaves.

Marx also paid close attention to Morgan's considerations on parity between the sexes, which argued that pre-Greek ancient societies were more progressive in respect of the treatment and behaviour of women. Marx copied the parts of Morgan's book that showed how, among the Greeks, 'the change of descent from the female line to the male was damaging for the position and rights of the wife and woman.' Indeed, Morgan had a very negative assessment of the Greek social model. 'Greeks remained barbarians in their treatment of women at the height of their civilization; their education superficial, (...) their inferiority inculcated as a principle upon them, until it came to be accepted as a fact by the women themselves.' Moreover, there was 'a principle of studied selfishness among the males, tending to lessen the appreciation of women, scarcely found among savages.' Thinking of the contrast with the myths of the classical world, Marx (1972, p. 121) added an acute observation: 'the condition of the goddesses on Olympus is a reminder of the position of women, once freer and more influential. Juno greedy for power, the goddess of wisdom springs from the head of Zeus.' For Marx, memory of the free divinities of the past provided an example for possible emancipation in the present*.

From the various authors he studied, Marx recorded many important observations on the role of women in ancient society. For example, referring to the work *Matriarchy* (1861) by the Swiss anthropologist Johann Bachofen (1815-1887), he noted: 'The women were the great power among the gens and everywhere else. They did not hesitate, when occasion required, 'to knock off the horns,' as it was technically called, from the head of a chief, and send him back to the ranks of warriors. The original nomination of the chiefs also always rested with them' (Marx, 1972, p. 116)†.

Marx's reading of Morgan also gave him an angle on another important question: the origin of property relations. For the celebrated anthropologist established a causal relation between the various types of kinship structure and social-economic forms. In his view, the factors in western history that accounted for the affirmation of the descriptive system – which described blood relatives and specified everyone's kinship (for example, 'brother's son for nephew, father's brother for uncle, father's brother's son for cousin) – and the decline of the classificatory system – which grouped blood relatives into categories without specifying proximity or distance in relation to Ego ('e.g., my own brother and my father's brother's sons are in equal degree my brothers') – had to do with the development of property and the state (Brown 2012, p. 104; See also Godelier, 1977, pp. 67-68, 101-102).

Morgan's book is divided into four parts: (1) Growth of Intelligence through Inventions and Discoveries, (2) Growth of the Idea of Government, (3) Growth of the Idea of the Family and (4) Growth of the Idea of Property. Marx changed the order to (1) inventions, (2) family, (3) property and (4) government, in order to bring out more clearly the nexus between the last two.

Morgan's book argued that, although 'the rights of wealth, of rank and of official position' had prevailed for thousands of years over 'justice and intelligence,' there was ample evidence that 'the privileged classes' were a 'burdensome' influence on society (Morgan, 1877, p. 551). Marx copied out almost in full one of the final pages of *Ancient Society* on the distortions that

* See also Brown (2012, p. 172), 'in ancient Greece (...) women were clearly oppressed, but, for Marx, their mythology had the potential to illustrate to them (...) how much freer they could be.'

† Brown (2012, p. 160ff), has diligently compiled many other considerations that attracted Marx's attention.

property could generate; it operated with concepts that made a deep impression on him:

Since the advent of civilization, the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent in the interests of its owners, that it has become, on the part of the people, an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property, and define the relations of the state to the property it protects, as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of its owners. The interests of society are paramount to individual interests, and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relations. (Morgan, 1877, pp. 551-552).

Morgan refused to believe that the 'final destiny of mankind' was the mere pursuit of riches. He issued a stark warning:

The dissolution of society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim; because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It (a higher plan of society*) will be a revival, in a higher form (of society), of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes. (Morgan, 1877, pp. 551-552).

Bourgeois 'civilization,' then, was itself a transitory stage. It had arisen at the end of two long epochs, the 'savage state' and the 'barbaric state' (the terms current at the time), which followed the abolition of communal forms of social organization. These forms imploded following the accumulation of property and wealth and the emergence of social classes and the state. But sooner or later prehistory and history were destined to join up once again (See Godelier, 1977, p. 124)[†].

Morgan considered ancient societies to have been very democratic and solidaristic. As for the present, he limited himself to a declaration of optimism about the progress of humanity, without invoking the necessity of political struggle. Marx, however, did not envisage a socialist revival of 'the myth of the noble savage.' He never hoped for a return to the past, but – as he made clear when copying Morgan's book – looked to the advent of a 'higher form of society' (Marx, 1972, p. 139) based on a new mode of production and consumption. This would come about not through mechanical evolution, but only through conscious working-class struggle.

All of Marx's anthropological reading had a bearing on the origins and functions of the state. The excerpts from Morgan summarized its role in the transition from barbarism to civilization, while his notes on Maine concentrated on analysis of the relations between the individual and the state (See Krader, 1972, p. 19). Consistent with his most significant theoretical texts on the subject, from the *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* (1843) to *The Civil War in France* (1871), *The Ethnological Notebooks* also present the state as a power subjugating society, a force preventing the full emancipation of the individual.

In the notes he wrote in 1881, Marx stressed the parasitic and transitory character of the state:

Maine ignores the much deeper point: that the seeming supreme independent existence of the state is only seeming and that it is in all its forms an excrescence of society; just as its appearance itself arises only at a certain stage of social

* The words in brackets were added by Marx (1972, p. 139).

† For a critique of any possible 'return to an original state of unity,' see Daren Webb (2000, p. 113ff).

development, it disappears again as soon as society has reached a stage not yet attained.

Marx followed this up with a critique of the human condition under the given historical circumstances. The formation of civilized society, with its transition from a regime of common to individual property, generated a 'still one-sided ... individuality' (Marx, 1972, p. 329; see also Krader, 1972, p. 59). If the 'true nature of the state] appears only when we analyze its content,' that is, its 'interests,' then this shows that these interests 'are common to certain social groups' and therefore 'class interests.' For Marx, 'the state is built on and presupposes classes.' Hence the individuality that exists in this type of society is 'a class individuality,' which in the last analysis is 'based on economic presuppositions' (Marx, 1972, p. 329).

In *The Ethnological Notebooks*, Marx also made a number of observations on the racist connotations of many of the anthropological reports he was studying. His rejection of such ideology was categorical, and he commented caustically on the authors who expressed it in this way. Thus, when Maine used discriminatory epithets, he firmly interjected: 'again this nonsense!' Moreover, expressions such as 'the devil take this 'Aryan' jargon!' (Marx, 1972 p. 324) keep recurring.

Referring to Money's *Java, or How to Manage a Colony* and Phear's *The Aryan Village in India and Ceylon*, Marx studied the negative effects of the European presence in Asia. He was not at all interested in Money's views on colonial policy, but he found his book useful for the detail it gave about commerce. He adopted a similar approach to Phear's book, focusing mainly on what he reported about the state in Bengal and ignoring his weak theoretical constructions.

The authors whom Marx read and summarized in *The Ethnological Notebooks* had all been influenced - with various nuances - by the evolutionary conceptions of the age, and some had also become firm proponents of the superiority of bourgeois civilization. But an examination of *The Ethnological Notebooks* clearly shows that their ideological assertions had no influence on Marx.

Theories of progress, hegemonic in the nineteenth century and widely shared by anthropologists and ethnologists, postulated that events would follow a pre-given course because of factors external to human action; a rigid sequence of stages had the capitalist world as its sole and uniform destination.

Within the space of a few years, a naïve belief in the automatic advance of history also took root in the Second International. The only difference with the bourgeois version was the prediction that a final stage would follow the inevitable 'collapse' of the capitalist system: namely, the advent of socialism (itself subsequently defined as 'Marxist!')*.

Not only was this analysis cognitively unsound; it produced a kind of fatalistic passivity, which became a stabilizing factor for the existing order and weakened the social and political action of the proletariat. Opposing this approach that so many regarded as 'scientific,' and which was common to the bourgeois and socialist visions of progress, Marx rejected the siren calls of a one-way historicism and preserved his own complex, flexible and variegated conception.

Whereas, in comparison with the Darwinist oracles, Marx's voice might seem uncertain and hesitant, he actually escaped the trap of economic determinism into which many of his followers and ostensible continuators tended to fall – a position, light years from the theories they claimed to have inspired them, which would lead many into one of the worst

* See also Marcello Musto (2007, pp. 479-480).

characterizations of 'Marxism.'

In his manuscripts, notebooks and letters to comrades and activists, as well as in the few public interventions he could still make against a backdrop of family dramas and declining physical capacities, Marx persevered with his efforts to reconstruct the complex history of the passage from antiquity to capitalism. From the anthropological studies that he read and summarized, he drew confirmation that human progress had proceeded more quickly in epochs when the sources of subsistence were expanding, from the birth of agriculture on. He treasured the historical information and data, but did not share the rigid schemas suggesting an inescapable sequence of stages in human history.

Marx spurned any rigid linking of social changes to economic transformations alone. Instead, he highlighted the specificity of historical conditions, the multiple possibilities that the passing of time offered, and the centrality of human intervention in the shaping of reality and the achievement of change (See Gailey, 2006, pp. 35, 44). These were the salient features of Marx's theoretical elaboration in the final years of his life.

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MAIN CHALLENGES OF VIETNAMESE FAMILIES NOWADAYS AND THE COMING YEARS

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Abstract: The Vietnamese Government has always considered family development as one of the decisive factors for the success of the country. Over the past few decades, the socio-economic changes in the process of international integration have significantly impacted Vietnamese family in many different ways. Favorable conditions and opportunities for families to access knowledge and goods and values from other cultures have been created. On the other hand, socio-economic changes have also created or deepened challenges for the Vietnamese family. Based on recent new survey data, this report outlines some of the main challenges facing Vietnamese families in the current period and in the coming years. These challenges can be listed as including how: the status of women in the family has not been significantly improved; child care and education face many difficulties in terms of time and methods; and elderly care in the family faces new challenges in the context of an aging society. Some implications to overcome these challenges in the coming years are suggested on the basis of the analysis.

Keywords: Child care, Elderly care, Family, Gender Equality, Vietnam.

Introduction

Family plays an important role not only for the development of each individual, but also in the implementation of social functions, preservation and transmission of national culture values from generation to generation.

Over the past few decades, major socio-economic changes in Vietnam have significantly impacted family life in many different ways. The process of industrialization and modernization has created favorable conditions and opportunities for families to access knowledge and good values of other societies and cultures. On the other hand, there are also potential challenges emerged such as the conflict between preserving the traditional family moral values and absorbing new elements of modern society. The relationship between family members is going to be loosened, leading to unstable family.

This report highlights some main challenges facing Vietnamese families in the current period and in the coming years, thereby raising some implications that need attention.

I. Socio-economic context since Doi moi and its impacts on Vietnamese family

In more than three decades since Doi Moi (1986), there have been strong socio-economic changes, affecting the change of family institutions in Vietnam. Playing a prominent role in that transformation are factors related to the education system, economic transformation, urbanization, and family legislation system.

The education level of the population is constantly improving. In 2019, the literacy rates for

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the male and female population aged 15 or older were 97 and 94.6 percent, compared to 93 and 84 percent in 1989. In general, gender inequality in basic education is almost eliminated and the urban-rural difference in education has gradually decreased (VCPHCSC, 2010; 2019). Improved education levels generally favors evolution of new concepts of marriage and family, especially among young people.

In terms of economics, Vietnam has graduated from being a poor country to being a lower middle-income country. The GDP per capita was 1,168 USD in 2010, a three-fold increase compared to that of 2000, and in 2019 it was 2,800 USD (VG, 2011; Nguyen Xuan Phuc, 2019). As a result of economic growth, investment in social sectors has increased (MOH and HPG, 2018).

Despite these significant changes, social and economic development processes in Vietnam still face many difficulties. It is especially difficult during Covid 19 pandemic time. Although compared to many countries, Vietnam is still a bright spot in coping with the Covid 19 pandemic with positive growth in 2020, its growth was very low (2.91%), less than a quarter of that during the period 2011-2020. (VCCI and WB, 2021). All of these factors have had strong effects on family life.

Urbanisation is changing rapidly in Vietnam. The proportion of the urban population has increased from 23.7% in 1999 to 29.6% in 2009 and 34.4% in 2019 (VGSO, 2017; VCPHCSC, 2019). The proliferation of nuclear families, diminished kinship ties, and the diversity of economic activities that generate extra income in urban areas have affected the way urban people think about family in general.

For the past decades migration has increased rapidly. The inter-provincial migrating population increased from 2 million in 1999 to 3.4 million in 2009 and 2.8 million in 2019 (VGSO, 2015; VCPHCSC, 2019). In the period 2010-2019, there were about 1,115,000 export labors (MOLISA, 2019; Anh Quyen, 2021). This creates a separation of families during peace time; all of the family's laborers had to leave, leaving behind only the elderly and children. The situation creates difficulties for spousal emotional relationship as well as elderly and child care systems.

Non-farm employment opportunities are also growing, creating favorable conditions for residents to find jobs outside the family, especially for women in rural areas. The overview of people participating in the labor force in 2018 shows 76.6% of the total population, 82% of the men and 71.4% of the women, 81.2% in rural areas and 68.4% in urban areas (VGSO, 2018). The growing participation in income-generating labor helps increase the accumulation of wealth of families and the status of the women. It will also help increase status of women. However, this would put more burdens on the women's shoulder, they have to work for income generation and at the same time fulfill housework that was traditionally considered their own responsibility.

In terms of legislation, the Party and Government have set up many directives and policies for family building such as Directive No. 49-CT/TW on building Vietnam family in the national modernization and industrialization (2005); the Strategy for Development of Vietnam family until 2020, vision 2030 and stressed that building prosperous, progressive and well-being Vietnam family is an important goal of socio-economic development strategy in the period 2011 – 2020 (in 2012); the Law on Marriage and Family (2000 and 2014); Law of Gender Equality (2006); Law on Domestic Violence Prevention (2007); Law of Children (2004 and 2016); Law of Elderly (2009), etc.

The above efforts of party committees, governments, unions and civil society have contributed effectively to the formulation and development of prosperous, progressive and happy Vietnam

family.

However, as the Directive No. 06-CT/TW on June 24, 2021 of the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee emphasized, some party committees, authorities and mass organizations are not fully aware of the role and importance of family and family building work. The promoting of the role of the community and investing resources for family building are not paid enough attention, etc.

These difficulties in practical implementation of family laws and policies have limited the sustainable family development to a certain extent. Main challenges that Vietnamese families have been experienced and continue to face in the past time can be listed as follows.

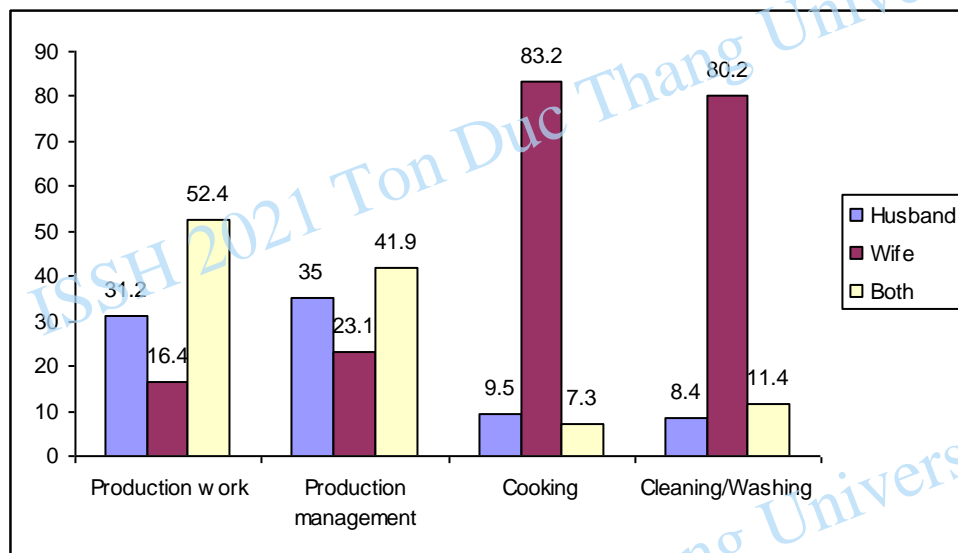
II. Challenges in the husband-wife relationship

The division of labor and decision-making power in the family still carry clear gender stereotypes

Under the socio-economic impact of the Doi Moi period as mentioned above, the status of women in society has changed a lot. There have been changes in gender roles in families, including a change in the pattern of division of labor between husband and wife in the direction that husband and wife work together has an increased rate, especially in young families and in urban areas.

However, in concept as well as in practice, household chores continue to be assigned roles for women in the family. The wife still mainly performs housework, taking care of children and the elderly/sick people. The husband is in charge of production, business, represents the family to communicate with the government and is the one who performs these tasks in practice (for example, see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Division of labor between husband and wife in some family works (%)



Source: the Vietnam Family Survey 2017 (VFS 2017)

The 'dual' labor burden, with limited time, poor health, etc. are hindering women's capacity development, both physically and mentally, thereby reducing the quality of spousal relationships.

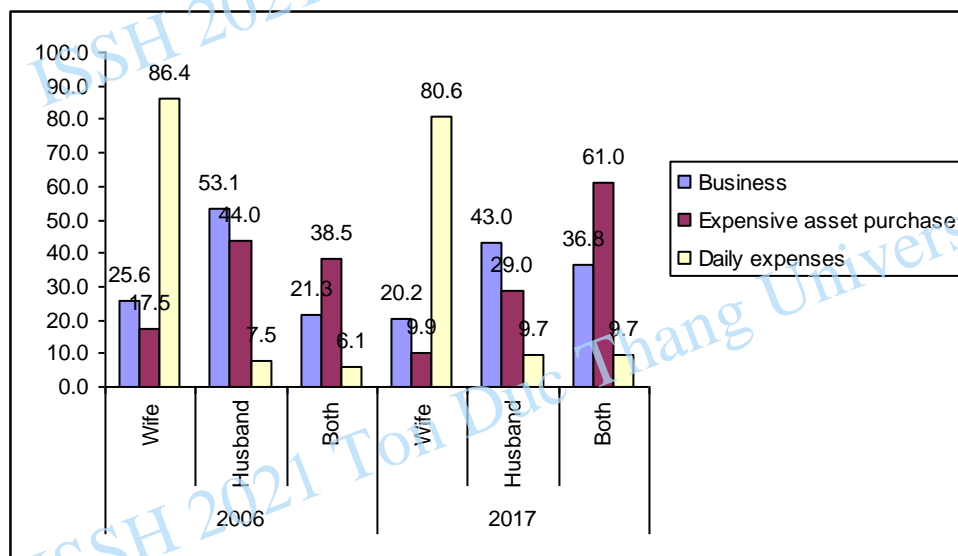
The slow change in the pattern of division of labor between husband and wife is due to the

persistence of preconceived traditional notions about gender roles that had assigned women's responsibilities to housework (Nguyen Huu Minh, 2016; Nguyen Xuan Thang, 2018). Through the process of socialization, this ideology continues to be maintained from generation to generation (UNDP, 2012; Nguyen Huu Minh and Pham Thu Phuong, 2021).

Another important issue that clearly reflects the position of women in the family is their participation in making family decisions. Over the years, there have been encouraging signs marking the performance of women's co-heading role in the family, initially confirming the existence of gender equality in the family. However, in general, the right to decide on important family affairs still belongs to the husband and is maintained quite stable (MOCST et al., 2008; Nguyen Xuan Thang, 2018).

Figure 2 shows the percentage of people who make the main decisions on some household chores, through the results of Vietnam National Family Survey 2006 (VNFS 2006-from MOCST et al., 2008) and Vietnam Family Survey (VFS 2017-from Nguyen Xuan Thang, 2018). The data shows that the pattern of decision-making power is clearly gender different. For jobs that traditionally belong to men, such as production, business and purchase of expensive assets, the decision-making power belongs mainly to the husband. Meanwhile, with the main task of taking care of housework, in the majority of families, the wife is the one who decides on daily expenses.

Figure 2. Main decision-making person in the family works, in 2006 and 2017 (%)



Sources: VNFS 2006 and VFS 2017 Data

As for the indicator of who makes the final decision on important family matters, the analysis results of the VFS 2017 show that the husband is still the dominant person. In 51.9% of families, the husband makes the final decision, compared to only 13.6% of the families in which the wife makes the final decision (Nguyen Huu Minh and Tran Thi Hong, 2019).

Cultural factors have a significant influence on the ability of men to decide on household chores. The preservation of traditional gender stereotype with the decision-making power mainly belonging to men has been guiding the current behavior of each individual. In addition, groups with low education, poor, living in rural areas and wives with lower status than husbands also have a higher percentage of husband who make important family decisions than counterparts (Nguyen Huu Minh and Tran Thi Hong, 2019).

Domestic violence against the wives is still serious

One of the aspects that clearly show the inequality between men and women in the family is that the husband's violence against his wife is still serious. National survey data on domestic violence against women in Vietnam in 2019 shows that 27.8% of women participating in the survey experienced at least one form of physical, sexual, emotional or behavioral control violence, of which 4.6% experienced physical violence (MOLISA et al., 2020).

In the macro sense, economic losses related to husband's violence against his wife can account to 1.78-1.81% of GDP annually (Duvvry et al., 2012; MOLISA et al., 2020). Meanwhile, most domestic violence cases still take place silently behind family door, the interventions of the State and social organizations are still limited. Habits of alcohol and drug use; the attitude of keeping silence to save family face; community tolerance for violence behaviors; patriarchy; limited awareness, responsibility and skills of in-charge officials handling situations; etc. have jointly exerted an influence to sustain acts of domestic violence (Tran Tuyet Anh et al., 2014; Nguyen Huu Minh, 2019).

III. Difficulties in caring and educating children in the family

The process of industrialization and modernization contributes to increase a number of domestic and international migrants looking for work, thereby increase income for people. Thanks to this income, the material conditions for taking care of children have increased. However, regarding the care and education of children, the family separation has left many undesirable consequences.

The time devoted to the care and education of children has been limited. The fast-paced and busy lives of families have reduced the level of communication among parents and children. Parents today know very little about their children (their difficulties, their thoughts about schooling, their friends, even their stress, etc.). This makes it more difficult to educate children.

The VFS 2017 shows that a number of parents spending very little time with their children or knowing little about their children's activities, especially in the families with low-educated parents, in rural areas or in poor families (Nguyen Huu Minh and Tran Thi Hong, 2018). On average, respondents only spend about 2.33 hours per day on activities of their children under 18 years old (Nguyen Xuan Thang, 2018).

Parents' lack of concern for their children can lead to many negative consequences both in terms of the parent-child relationship and an increased risk of deviant behaviors in life when education from society is not strong enough to take on this replacement.

Parents' teaching methods have gone through certain changes. The percentage of parents who teach their children by imposing and prohibiting methods has decreased significantly, instead the method of reminders and analysis for children to understand what is right and wrong is more common. The educational role of parents has also changed toward more equality. The status of children has gradually increased, the percentage of minors participating in decisions about themselves is quite high (Nguyen Xuan Thang, 2018).

However, the parent-child relationship basically still adheres to the traditional hierarchical order; the parents are still the ones who decide all the work related to their children. This leads to disrespect for children's rights or have behavior that violates their physical freedoms. The rate of violence against children through surveys has decreased, however it is still quite high. The 2014 MICS survey found that 68.4% of children aged 1-14 years were subjected to at least one psychological or corporal punishment by their parents/primary caregivers or other family members within a month before the survey (Nguyen Huu Minh et al., 2021).

The causes of violent punishment against children often stem from conflicts between parents and children, such as children disobeying their parents, not fulfilling their demands, not completing the work assigned by their parents, etc. Parents' expectations about children's moral pattern and development also cause violence against children.

The use of violence against children also varies according to socio-demographic characteristics of parents and children (Nguyen Huu Minh et al., 2021). For example, children in families with low-educated parents or in poor families are significantly more likely to experience violence than children in the counterpart families. In particular, the cultural factor is evident when children are significantly more likely to experience violence in the families where the parents agree that 'Child discipline is needed for children's upbringing'.

III. Challenges in elderly care in the family

The process of industrialization and globalization not only creates difficulties for the care of children, but the unwanted separation of families also has consequences for the care of the elderly. Traditionally, the elderly in Vietnam were often cared for in the family. The social norm of filial piety required that children not only provide for their elderly parents' subsistence but also pay them respect and treat them with love so that they could live happily during their old age. Therefore, the common expectation was that the children should co-reside with their parents or live not far from their parents' home, so that the children could take care of parents.

However, the recent industrialization process along with the rapid population aging in Vietnam shows that maintaining a relationship of cohabitation and care for elderly parents is becoming increasingly more and more difficult.

The percentage of elderly people (60 years old or older) in Vietnam increased from 7.1% in 1979 to about 12% in 2019 (VCPHCSC, 2019). This has created a really big challenge for social planners trying to assure good plans for elderly care in Vietnam. Regarding the health situation of older people, many older people live with illnesses for a long time, leading to increasing difficulties throughout their lives (MOH and HPG, 2018). This shows a very high demand for health care for older adults in Viet Nam today.

The majority of today's elderly Vietnamese people were born and raised in the context of war and reached maturity in the period of subsidized economy. They either did not have any accumulated wealth or their wealth was inadequate for them to lead a decent life and to maintain good health in their old age. Data from the VFS 2017, showed that among 1,068 parents aged sixty or older, 47% rely completely on material support from their children (Nguyen Xuan Thang, 2018). It also means that a significant proportion of older people have no choice but to depend on their children and grandchildren when they cannot continue to care for themselves.

However, the lives of the descendants' families may still be very hard. According to information in 2016, a percentage of the elderly who live in poor households was about 10% (VNCA and UNFPA, 2019), so it is really difficult to care for those elderly parents in the household. For many households, the cost of medical care for the elderly is an economic burden, because the payment for medical services is often much higher than that of the elderly's income. The care of the elderly tends to shift from spiritual and material to more material, from direct care to indirect care. Mental loneliness is a problem that needs more attention for the elderly today (Nguyen Huu Minh, 2018).

Of particular concern is the group of the elderly who are experiencing physical, mental and economic violence at the hands of their descendants. The Domestic Violence Survey 2017

(Dang Thi Hoa, 2018) found that nearly 8% of the elderly in the survey area have experienced domestic violence. The most common form of violence is insolence, insults, and humiliation of the elderly. Victims of the most serious violence against elders are people aged 80 and over. One of the causes of violence towards the elderly is that they have to depend on their children and grandchildren to take care of them more over time. It is the family conflicts that arise and accumulate during the caregiving process that lead to violent behavior (Nguyen Huu Minh, 2015). Generational conflicts, property/inheritance disputes, etc. are also factors leading to violent acts of children and grandchildren towards the elderly. Culturally, the mentality of being responsible for the wrongdoings of their descendants has made many elderly people keeping silence, avoid revealing violent behavior of their descendants to save face of the family and keep peace in the family (Dang Thi Hoa, 2018).

Private care centers or domestic workers who take care of the elderly have existed for nearly two decades and have grown at a rapid pace in recent times thanks to improved living standards and increased demand (VNCA and UNFPA, 2019; GFCD and Oxfam, 2020). However, not many elderly people can access them due to the service costs being relatively high for common people. Also, domestic workers are not well trained in caring for the elderly (MOLISA et al., 2012; Nguyen Huu Minh, 2018; GFCD and Oxfam, 2020).

IV. Some issues needed to be of concern in the coming years

Currently, and for the near future, family is still considered the most important institution for individual development of people in Viet Nam. The above analysis suggests the following issues that need attention from a policy perspective in order to overcome the challenges of family relationships in the coming period.

Spousal relationship

- Raise awareness of gender equality, create conditions for husband and wife to have equal opportunities to participate in economic activities and generate income, to play an equal role in family decisions.
- Issues related to the psycho-emotional relationship of husband and wife also need to be deeply concerned, especially in the new situation of the so-called 'separation of families in peacetime'.
- Domestic violence against women is happening quite seriously, threatening the stability of the family. It is necessary to have more radical measures to change social awareness about domestic violence, increase protection and help victims, etc. Propaganda should focus on groups of families at high risk of domestic violence, such as in poor families, and rural and mountainous families.

Parent-adolescent child relationships

- Having measures to support and equip parents with knowledge and skills in children education in the family to minimize disagreements between generations.
- It is necessary to strengthen the dissemination of non-violent education skills for parents, including knowledge about the consequences of violence against children to help parents give up violent acts in teaching and educating children.
- Special attention is paid to supporting the arrangement and organization of family life of labor migrants in order to ensure the stability and development of children's life.

Elderly care in the family

- There should be policies to help reduce the pressure on the family to continue to provide the care of their elderly. Special attention must be paid to the ability of families with low-incomes and families with health care needs so that these families can well perform the role of main supporter for the older adults in their families.
- At the same time, new forms of community and society support must be created in order to share the burden of caring for aging people with their families. Diverse services to support families to care for older people, such as inter-generational supporting clubs or other forms of personal caregivers in the community may need to be explored and paid attention to in the immediate future.
- Domestic violence against elderly people is usually hidden. This issue should be paid more attention to in the next future, especially to help elderly people overcome cultural barrier of keeping silence of this matter./.

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TRAINING AND USING 1st AND 2nd GOVERNMENTAL TEACHERS IN SOUTHERN VIETNAM (1954 – 1975)

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Abstract: This paper investigated primary materials in Vietnam National Archives II to present the fact of training and using 1st and 2nd cycle teachers of secondary schools in Southern Vietnam in the period 1954–1975. We argue that Southern Vietnam applied a hard, professional program to train pre-service teachers in Pedagogical Universities to create a skillful group of teachers and then treated them well with high payment and additional allowance to serve the aim of transferring Southern Vietnam's education from French model to American model and of modernizing this educational system. However, Saigon regime only focused on governmental teachers and neglected semi-governmental and private ones. As a result, there was a big gap between governmental and private education and teachers in Southern Vietnam (1954-1975).

Keywords: Southern Vietnam's secondary education, 1st cycle teacher, 2nd cycle teacher, educational transformation, training and using policies.

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on presenting the fact of training and exploiting governmental teachers in general secondary education and comprehensive secondary education (nowadays high school) in Southern Vietnam in the period 1954-1975. By showing this fact, the paper tries to evaluate the effectiveness of Southern Vietnam government's education policy; the role and influence of teachers in Republic of Vietnam (RVN)'s educational system as they were a part of RVN's middle class and intelligentsia and a centre of RVN's educational reform. In fact, RVN's education system had both governmental and semi-governmental, private teachers. Who worked in general secondary education were 1st cycle teachers and who taught in comprehensive secondary education were 2nd cycle teachers. However, in this paper, we only focus on official teachers to show how RVN organized governmental education and how Saigon regime treated their teachers in secondary schools.

Previous studies partly present the fact of 1st and 2nd cycle teachers in Southern Vietnam in the period 1954-1975. Some researchers argue that training and treating policies were advantages of RVN's educational system (Cao, 2014; Ngo, 2018; Nguyen, 2021). Another study pays attention to presenting the limitation of RVN's teachers and argue that their low ability affected RVN's educational quality negatively (Nguyen, 2011). She researches on cycle teachers in the period 1963-1975 and argues that RVN's training policy was not effective and 1st and 2nd cycle teachers in secondary schools were complex with low quality and dissimilarity (Nguyen, 2011, pp. 41, 108). However, there is not any full research showing how teachers were trained and

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how the Saigon regime used them in general and comprehensive secondary schools clearly and precisely.

This research is conducted by investigating primary materials in the Vietnam National Archives II together with interviewing historical witnesses directly to mention the RVN's training and using policies towards teachers in secondary schools in Southern Vietnam (1954-1975). Based on previous studies and primary materials, we argue that training and exploiting governmental teachers in RVN have both advantages and limitations. It created teachers in RVN's educational system with professional knowledge, high quality of moral standards. They were main factor to transfer Southern Vietnam's education from French model to American style in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

2. Contents

2.1 Aims and principles of training and exploiting teachers in RVN

Southern Vietnam witnessed a transference and combination of the two modern educational systems with both their conflict and cooperation. In the period 1954-1969, it followed the French model; and from 1969 to 1975 tended to be under the influence of the American model (President of RVN, 1969). That transference together with the second Vietnam war disordered the RVN's education as traditional persons and value conflicted with new educational style. Moreover, teachers in RVN in this period were divided into governmental, semi-governmental and private ones, in which the part of semi-government and private teachers allways took more than 50% of all Southern Vietnam's teachers. For example, in the general secondary education, in the academic year 1957-1958, governmental teachers gained 25.34% and the private ones were 74.66%. In 1973-1974, this ratio was 38 and 62% (Department of Primary-secondary schools, 1975, No. 44). Due to the Vietnam war and limitation in the management capacity, Saigon regime seemed to focus on only system of governmental education and neglected the existence of private schools and teachers. As a result, although its policies covered both the two systems, the government only conducted them in official one.

RVN's educational policies were original from the two main aims. Firstly, they wanted to create 'an human and practical education' to prepare high qualitative labours for Southern Vietnam during their economic development (Mai, 1969; Department of Primary and Secondary schools, 1975, No. 44). In fact, in 20 years of Southern Vietnam, those teachers instructed and affected around 1.6 millions students in both general and comprehensive secondary schools. As a result, from 1964 to 1975, RVN's government conducted 6 education reforms, in which teachers were central in the training system with hard requirement and high treatment (Tran, 1972; Ministry of Culture, Education and Youth/MCEY, 1974, No. 50). Secondly, teachers took a large number of middle-class and intelligentsia in Southern Vietnam and the RVN's government wanted to control and exploit them for developing aims (Department of Primary and Secondary Schools, 1975, No. 44). Those teachers were significant as they created RVN's future labours and political leaders (Interviewing Le Quang Vinh, 2018).

RVN's education followed two main principles. Firstly, it maintained serious and strict training and recruiting manners to secure quality of teachers in order to conduct Southern Vietnam's educational guidelines: Nationalism, Humanism, Liberation and Science. Secondly, RVN's government issued many Decrees to provide legal bases to clarify that teachers had stable profession and their role in classroom and society. The remaining legal documents keeping at Vietnam National Archives II show that recruiting, treating and promoting teachers are important and stable. In some cases, government's decrees expanded teachers' duty and benefits.

2.2 Training and re-training 1st and 2nd cycle teachers in Southern Vietnam (1954-1975)

RVN applied a serious and stringent training process to supply and secure professional teachers for secondary education. All 1st and 2nd cycle teachers were trained in both governmental and private Pedagogical Universities. They included Saigon Pedagogical University (established in 1958), Hue Pedagogical University (1958), Da Lat Pedagogical University (1958), Can Tho Pedagogical University (1966), Thu Duc Technology-Pedagogical College (1962), and Department of Pedagogy in Van Hanh University (1970). From 1970, many Pedagogical Departments in public universities were established to train 1st cycle teachers (MCEY, 1973, No. 663). Placing at different provinces, the above Pedagogical Universities could provide a large number of teachers for all regions of Southern Vietnam with quite high quality as Pedagogical Universities were highly evaluated.

All students had to pass difficult and qualitative examinations to become pre-service teachers in Pedagogical Universities. They included two processes: an exam to be pre-university and another test to become first-year students. In the academic year 1973-74, 2,931 applications took part in the exam to become pre-students for 2nd cycle teachers in Saigon Pedagogical University, but only 7% of this number passed the test. After 1 studying year, only 22% of the rest completed the learning process and were formal pre-service teachers. It means that, only 1.5% of 2,931 applications succeeded in both examinations to be appointed as pre-service teachers in Saigon Pedagogical University for 2nd cycle teachers (Dac Lo Department of Psychology and Vocational Guidance, 1974, pp. 61-62). Other Pedagogical Universities also had similar applying process and it was hard to transform into pre-service teachers. Program to train 1st cycle teachers program was 2 years with all professional and pedagogical knowledge while that for 2nd cycle teachers was 4-training years. Some main subjects in their learning program were History of education in Vietnam and Asia; Educational Psychology; Comparative Education; Classroom Management; Teaching Methodology. They also experimented pedagogy in governmental secondary schools in Saigon, Gia Dinh and Bien Hoa provinces with around 6 hours/week under the instruction and inspection of experimented teachers (Dac Lo, 1974, pp. 45-47). Besides professional knowledge, all pre-service teachers were to educate both English and French to provide them foundation to collect international information, to connect directly with western education, and to study abroad after graduation. It means that all pedagogical students were trained both traditional and modern educations. It was necessary as Southern Vietnam's education was in the modernization. To graduate, pre-service teachers needed to pass writing exam, oral exam, and a teaching experiment. The fact is that, more than 70% students in governmental universities graduated but this ratio in private universities was very low. For example, in Da Lat Pedagogical University, in the period 1958-60, 1965-69, there was no graduation of pedagogical students. In 17 academic years, only 362 graduates of total 2,805 pre-service teachers learning there (Da Lat Pedagogical University, 1973, pp. 9, 31, 49, 75, 103).

That re-training 1st and 2nd cycle teachers was to provide them chances to improve their knowledge and to promote their position regularly. Especially, all teachers were encouraged to study abroad as they became an important step to reform RVN's educational system (MCEY, 1974). They were main factor to transfer from French educational model to American one gradually and successfully in the early 1970s. Especially, American educational experts involved into this re-training process to improve the quality of transference. They were experts from University of South Illinois, University of Ohio, University of Wisconsin, University of Florida, University of Missouri Rolla (Vo, Huynh, Vo, & Pham, 2008, p. 6; Truong, 2020). In 1970, most of 60,000 educational officials were re-trained before teaching (Le, 1970, p. 1). In 1972, 200 teachers were internships to learn and practice in three courses relating to Classroom Management in Saigon; and 112 teachers be appointed as candidates to study abroad (Nguyen,

1972, No. 3730).

However, private teachers were not benefit to re-train as governmental ones. Most teachers in private schools were not educated professionally in Pedagogical Universities and the RVN's government was hard to control their quality (Mai, 1969, No. 01). They seem to be neglected by government of Southern Vietnam (Le, 1970, p. 4). Accordingly, the quality of education in private schools was lower than that in governmental schools (Nguyen, 1969, No. 3562).

2.3 Using 1st and 2nd cycle teachers in RVN's education (1954 – 1975)

In this section, we focus on discussing how governmental teachers were exploited and organized in secondary schools in Southern Vietnam. There were two types of teachers in this system: official teachers and contract ones after passing a long and difficult recruiting process. Contract teachers received similar working conditions and payment as governmental ones except for pension (Le, Tran, Huynh, Pham, & Pham, , pp. 244, 247). Most candidates were graduates with Pedagogical certificate. Especially, all pre-service teachers were advantageous to apply to become governmental teachers. Other graduates needed to have a pedagogical certificate or experience of 2-teaching years in secondary schools before being recruited as governmental teachers (MCEY, 1973, No. 663; President Office, 1968, No. 70).

Governmental teachers received high treatment in Southern Vietnam and they were in the A rank of RVN's officials – the highest level. They were also divided into three types with different levels, role, position, and salary. Educational inspectors had 12 different levels; 1st cycle teachers included 12 levels and 2nd cycle teachers had 15 levels (MCEY. 1973, No. 663; President Office, 1968, No. 70; 1974, No. 71). Most of national budget on education was used for payment of governmental teachers: in 1970, nearly 7 billion Vietnam dong in total 8.15 billion of national budget were salary (Nguyen, 1970, No. 3562). They seemed to receive higher treatment in comparison with soldiers' salary. Educational inspector obtained highest position and salary in this educational system. After 3-working years, the first-rank inspector gained a money of 45.150 Vietnam dong per month, and it was similar with salary of an Brigadier General serving for 18 years (President Office, 1974, No. 71, No. 59). 1st cycle teachers in a period of probation were at the lowest level, but they could receive payment at 14.797 Vietnam dong per month, similar to money of staff sergeant serving 18 years in military (MCEY, 1973, No. 663; President Office, 1974, No. 59). Interestingly, there was a huge gap between salary of first rank and lowest rank teachers. Payment for 1st cycle teachers at first rank was 2.7 higher than money of a new teacher and this distance was similar to a payment-gap between a long-serving Brigadier General and a new Warrant Officer (President Office, 1974, No. 59).

Moreover, they received different kinds of allowance such as expense allowance, pedagogical allowance, teaching-hour allowance, examining allowance (President Office, 1969, No. 30790). In 1974, a family of teacher with three members would receive expense allowance from 8.900 to 9.400 Vietnam dong per month. Pedagogical allowance was 800 Vietnam dong/ moth for 2nd cycle teachers and 500 dong for 1st cycle ones. Teachers working as managers or leaders could receive another type of allowance (President Office, 1975, No. 750). As a result, governmental teachers in secondary schools received good treatment with high position in RVN's society and they had stable payment to maintain a life of a middle-class (Interviewing Bui Van Nam Son, 2018).

Besides payment, teachers in secondary schools were also encouraged to improve their knowledge and promote their position by studying higher and abroad. For example, if teachers gained master or PhD, they would promote one more level (President Office, 1971, No. 9547). They were allowed to settle and involve into association to protect their rights and benefit.

Government had to admit their rights and created advantageous condition for teachers to work and live in those associations (MCEY, 1974).

However, RVN's policy of using secondary teachers had its own limitations. Because the principle to recruit governmental teacher was serious and extremely hard, the number of 1st and 2nd cycle teachers was insufficient. Most governmental schools lacked of teachers while private schools with lower requirement had enough teachers for teaching activities as they obtained more than 50% of all cycle teachers. In the academic year 1957-58, 1st cycle governmental teachers were 696, obtained 25.34% while teachers in semi-government and private schools were 2.747, gained 74.66%. Until 1973-74, 1st cycle governmental teachers increased to 38% while private ones reduced to 62% (Department of Primary and Secondary Education, 1975, No. 44). Accordingly, from 1960 to 1974, average 1 teacher had to teach 60.7 students in a class at governmental schools while in private ones, a teacher only taught 30.5 students (Department of Primary and Secondary Education, 1975, No. 44). Teachers also were under the pressure to improve their knowledge and position to have good payment in the diversified educational system. This system made a huge distance between different teachers and the rich-poor gap was increased (President Office, 1968, No. 70; 1974, No. 59). Principles for teacher were complex and prevented human management in education and this fact required reforms in RVN's education.

3. Conclusion

In brief, RVN's policies of training and recruiting 1st and 2nd cycle teachers were methodical, stringent, and quite egalitarian. As a result, governmental secondary schools in RVN had high quality teachers in both professional, pedagogical knowledge and behaviour. With the role of training future RVN's citizen and human resources and the difficulty to have a pre-service teacher, it is not surprising that teachers in Southern Vietnam in the period 1954-1975 received noticeable treatment. They obtained a high-rank of payment and received respect in RVN's society. However, only governmental teachers could have this treatment. Those worked in private schools received less attention as they had little chance to improve their knowledge, to promote their position and payment. As a result, there was a large gap between governmental and private teachers.

The fact of training and using teachers in Southern Vietnam in the period 1954-1975 provide some historical experience for recent Vietnam's educational development. Firstly, and importantly, the RVN government paid important attention to training and recruiting cycle teachers by investing on Pedagogical Universities. Secondly, that it was difficult to become teachers in the RVN can be seen as an example for recent Vietnamese education to improve teachers' quality. Students needed to pass several tests with both professional and social knowledge to graduate. The quality of those test secured the quality of teachers and then RVN could recruit and pay high salary. Thirdly, securing a good payment and allowance for teacher was a useful method to maintain teachers' quality and role in society. Via the process of training, recruiting and treating teachers well, Southern Vietnam considered and put them in the centre of educational reforms. Teachers were required to have professional knowledge and high quality of language to connect with international information or study abroad. Teachers were the main factor to reform RVN's education as they had professional knowledge, ability to connect with foreign knowledge and to involve into Southern Vietnam's social life to create their influence.

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CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF IMPLEMENTING COMMUNITY BASED PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH (CBPR) WITH UNDERSERVED POPULATIONS IN HO CHI MINH CITY, VIETNAM DURING COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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Abstract: We are conducting a project using a community-based participatory research (CBPR) approach to explore care seeking experiences with underserved groups at risk for viral hepatitis in Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC), Vietnam since January 2020. We formed three groups, including one group with men who have sex with men and transgender people, a second group with people who inject drugs, and finally a third group with those who have limited financial resources. However, due to the outbreak of COVID-19, the CBPR groups that were formed encountered multiple difficulties while trying to implement the research during the lockdown period. From March to August 2021, the groups were no longer able to organize CBPR meetings in the community or conduct CBPR activities at research sites. In this paper, we (1) describe the challenges that three underserved groups encountered while conducting CBPR activities, and (2) discuss the strategies that were deployed by group members to overcome these challenges. The COVID-19 situation in Ho Chi Minh City motivated the groups to find solutions and tailor CBPR activities to adapt to the changing situation, which also revealed the strengths and weaknesses of three underserved groups as well as the method itself.

Keywords: community based participatory research, covid-19 pandemic, methods, underserved populations, Vietnam.

Introduction

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Vietnam is considered to have the second-highest burden of liver disease in the Western Pacific region (WHO, 2020), with more than one million people living with hepatitis C virus (HCV) (Berto et al., 2017). HCV is a serious health issue in Vietnam (Dao et al., 2019) and people living with HCV are often unable to gain access to treatment due to the high costs of care and treatment and many other factors, such as mental health issues (Li *et al.*, 2020, WHO, 2017). The population groups at risk for HCV in Vietnam include people who inject drugs (PWID) (Dunford et al., 2012) and those who have history of unsafe sex practices (Berto et al., 2017). In addition, the number of people living with HIV and HCV is also considerably high in Vietnam (THINH et al., 2020; Nadol et al., 2015; Quan et al., 2009) (World Health Organisation, 2012). Other potential at risk groups for HCV include men who have sex with men (MSM) (Nadol et al., 2016).

The South East Asian Research Collaborative in Hepatitis (SEARCH) launched a cohort study and two clinical trials at the Hospital for Tropical Diseases (HTD) in Ho Chi Minh City (HCMC) to investigate shortened treatment strategies for chronic HCV infection with direct-acting antiviral drugs. In one trial, 'VIETNARMS', we are investigating the efficacy of a variety of treatment strategies (e.g. ultrashort or intermittent therapy) that could be beneficial for underserved groups. If the treatment strategies are effective, it will be crucial to develop innovative ways to engage with underserved groups. However, the trials typically recruit participants who are engaged in care at the HTD, are aware of HCV, and are motivated to initiate HCV treatment. PWID and other underserved groups are under-represented. Therefore, we designed a study using a 'bottom-up' approach to explore barriers to accessing HCV care for underserved communities and to find out what actions must be taken to improve engagement.

Study Design

We used a community-based participatory research (CBPR) approach to engage in community-led dialogues surrounding HCV and other community-prioritized health issues. CBPR allows us to explore the perceptions of viral hepatitis, challenges to accessing healthcare services and health-related information, the available resources, and the social circumstances from an insider's point of view. Community members are empowered to be involved in all stages of research, from identifying the research problems to implementing strategies to overcome the issues identified (Israel et al., 2010). Members take a variety of roles, from advisory positions to taking full ownership of the CBPR implementation processes (Strike et al., 2016). Ultimately, the CBPR process can result in the development and implementation of community-led solutions that build upon the strengths and structures that exist in the community.

The study includes three phases:

- **Situation Analysis:** we conducted desk research and organized meetings with representatives from community-based organizations (CBO) who have experience working with people living with HCV, as well as staff from non-governmental organizations (NGO) who also have a history of supporting underserved populations. In these meeting, we used CBPR methods, such as Venn diagrams, grid charts, and focus group discussions for participnats to provide insight about the underserved communities and build strategies to form the CBPR groups for the study.
- **Implementation of CBPR:** we developed three groups and started the CBPR process with the groups, including PWID, MSMTG, and the group of

people with limited financial resources. The group members included a range of occupations, ages, and come from different areas and are affiliated with different CBOs. The similarity between all groups is that they are at risk of viral hepatitis. Some members were already living with HCV and/or HIV, and have low income. In the original plan, each group was meant to meet for 3-4 CBPR cycles over one year; a cycle typically consists of 3-4 meetings with varying CBPR components deployed in each meeting. Until now, PWID and MSMTG groups have almost finished the first CBPR cycle, while the group with limited resources was still in the early stages of the cycle.

- **Dissemination:** Together with the CBPR participants, we will compile and analyze the findings after the study implementation is completed. We will facilitate feedback on the health-related concerns and solutions through community meetings and a stakeholder dissemination meeting. In the final stakeholder dissemination meeting, we will discuss the findings, methodological strengths, and challenges, and determine how best to continue dialogues with the communities and implement sustainable improvements in local health programs.

Results & Discussion

From June to October 2021, the period of COVID-19 lockdown in Ho Chi Minh city, the three CBPR groups had to stop their offline meetings and decided to try to work online, using virtual platforms, like Zoom, to communicate and continue the CBPR meetings. However, this brought significant challenges to all three groups, as each group faced different problems, depending on the makeup of the group. In the following part, we describe each CBPR group, and discuss the challenges that the groups encountered during the lockdown period in Ho Chi Minh city. We will also elaborate on the changes and adaptations that the groups implemented in order to overcome the challenges and support each other during this time.

Limited financial resources (LFR) group

The LFR group is comprised of members who have low to very low income, often holding unstable and manual-labor jobs, or unemployed. Due to the pandemic, most members lost their jobs and struggled with financial issues. Some members were forced to leave the city and go back to their hometown in the countryside. Until October 2021, about two thirds of group members had been infected with COVID-19, and unfortunately, one member passed away from COVID-19. Before the lockdown, the CBPR meetings of the LFR group were always organized off-line because most members did not have smartphones to access the Internet. To have people join the meetings, the group leaders, or community activitators (CAs), would message members or go directly to members' houses to invite them to the group, as the CAs and most members lived close to each other.

When the lockdown started, the CAs could not visit members at their homes anymore and were left with texting members as the only option for communication. Without Internet connection and even a smartphone, the major challenge of this group was that most members could not attend online meetings, which caused the group to delay all meetings to the end of lockdown period. This was an avoidable problem since members had very limited resources and could not immediately resolve it. Nevertheless, the CAs, in order to cope with this situation, managed to keep in touch with members by regularly calling each member directly one at a time. Members would update the CAs on their situations and the CAs would provide as much support as they could, including contacting the local outpatient clinic (OPC) and charity organizations to access medicine and food. The CAs often delivered these items directly to the group members.

MSMTG group

Comprised by men who have sex with men and transgender members, the MSMTG group, as defined by one of the group members, has a 'distinctive characteristic' compared to other two groups that related to members' 'short span of concentration'. In other words, the majority of group members found it hard to maintain concentration for a long period of time. Plus, they preferred off-line meetings so they could see and interact with each other in-person. One member described the group: 'we are energetic, we love teasing each other, sometimes laughing over non-sense jokes, talking small-talk before the meetings, or during the meeting... and you know, quickly losing our focus.' Despite these characteristics, the MSMTG group was always an active group with natural and smooth collaborations amongst members, and between members and the CAs during CBPR meeting. They quickly proved their understanding toward the study's goals and participated in the CBPR activities with confidence and proactivity. Their generous input and efficient teamwork also showed their understanding toward each other, their community and the ways to make the team work.

When the lockdown in Ho Chi Minh City started, the MSMTG group stumbled into a problem where they were unable to organize off-line meetings. Similar to the two other groups, they could not see each other in person, and as mentioned above, this became a significant letdown because the group's spirit was always nurtured by the in-person interactions. Virtual meetings did not satisfy their need to interact with each other physically and made it even harder for them to maintain concentration online. Sometimes they would turn on the microphone to say something but it was often difficult to hear each other well due to unstable Internet connection. As a result, most members lost their interest in joining the online meetings. The major challenge with this group was that they deliberately chose not to have online meetings as they thought it was not productive due to the lack of in-person interaction.

From June to October 2021, we only had one meeting with this group to discuss about data collection methods, which will be conducted by group members in their local communities. However, before the lockdown we had already planned to do pilot research first in which members would go to the community to collect data with the methods they thought most appropriate. The pilot data then would be brought back to the group for discussion about the methods they used. Therefore, during the lockdown period, some members finished the pilot data collection by using virtual tools, such as online surveys. The group will continue the discussions in the next meetings to share their reflections when there is a chance to see and discuss with each other in-person.

PWID group

Compared with the MSMTG and LFR groups, most members of PWID group not only were living with HCV but also were living with HIV and were enrolled in drug addiction programs. Many of the members had to take methadone and ARV on a daily basis. During the pandemic and especially in the period of full lockdown in Ho Chi Minh city from June to October 2021, the significant challenge of this group was in accessing their medications. During this period, everyone was ordered to stay at home and were only allowed to go out to buy food or for emergency reasons, like going to the hospital. In the early phase of lockdown, there were no clear guidelines for people who had to go out to get their ARV medications and methadone. Therefore, most members of the PWID group reported they could not access methadone, ARVs, or both, even though it was crucial for their treatment routine.

These challenges were relayed during multiple CBPR meetings that the CAs organized with members using online platforms during the lockdown. Being updated on this troublesome situation of the members and wanting to help members to access their medication, the CAs of

the PWID group managed to connect to the OPC, get the permission to leave and secure transportation and the CAs then were able to successfully bring the ARVs to members' houses, especially for those where the entire family was under quarantine and could not go out. For the methadone medication, some members reported a few local OPCs started to pack methadone in bottles and send directly to patients' houses so that patients could take the methadone at home. Before lockdown, patients had to go to take methadone everyday at OPC to guarantee that they took the right dose. These methadone bottles contained the amount of methadone to be taken for one full week. After they were finished, the patients were meant to bring back the bottle to the OPC to refill. This seemed to be an effective solution but it also came with a risk of the patients taking the wrong dose at home or even overdosing. For example, they might forget to take it daily so they would take double the next day. In another instance, a patient might still use street drugs while taking methadone treatment; when the lockdown occurred, they could not buy the drugs so they used methadone as a replacement and risked taking too much of it, caused them to overdose.

These challenges, in sum, were in contrast to the challenges encountered in MSMTG and LFR groups as the issues were not about holding CBPR meeting during lockdown but about medical issues. Indeed, during lockdown period, the PWID group managed to organize more meetings than MSMTG and LFR groups combined. They successfully brought their meetings to virtual platforms including Zoom and Zavi (a Vietnamese app that has the same features as Zoom). Moreover, the CAs of the PWID group became even more proactive to keep in touch with the members and hold meetings for updates and to provide support (when possible). During the latest meeting, the group also discussed mental health issues that members were encountered during the lockdown and the ways in which members adjusted, adapted, and overcame. The CBPR meetings demonstrated its strength as a community-based model of collaboration: letting members to decide by themselves, and for themselves what is important to discuss, and to use this discussion for their benefit in a timely manner. As some members have described, being able to see each other's face during the pandemic, even on a virtual platform like Zavi, was very important for them to know that their friends were safe. Listening to each other sharing about daily hardships due to COVID-19 and discussing about ways to support each other helped them feel reassured and less lonely.

Conclusion

Applying a CBPR approach during the outbreak of COVID-19 when working with underserved populations has revealed both the strengths and weaknesses of three underserved groups as well as the method itself. CBPR often requires members to have high levels of interaction, thus for the MSMTG group it was challenging to do CBPR effectively when there was limited interaction between members during online meetings. However for the PWID group, thanks to the CBPR meetings during lockdown, they have managed to identify members' difficulty of accessing to medications and provided support in a timely manner. For the LFR group, due to the CBPR meetings that were organized before the lockdown, the CAs could acknowledge members' issues and continue to support members by reaching out to individuals to provide food, medicine and mental support when possible. In sum, practicing CBPR allowed the groups to collect data from insider's point of view, which matched with members' needs and stemmed from the current situation. Despite the difficulties brought to both members and CAs due to lockdown, they managed to find specific solutions that worked for their groups, because they had baseline understanding about their members's struggles. Studies using a CBPR approach that are grown and nurtured organically based on the true needs of group members are able to adapt to rapidly changing situations.

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STUDENTS' EXPERIENCES ON SOCIAL WORK FIELD PRACTICUM DURING COVID-19 IN VIETNAM

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Abstract: Until August 2021, Vietnam has been experiencing the fourth and most severe wave of the Covid-19 pandemic. Most university classes transferred to online mode since the first wave in early 2020. However, conducting field practicum courses - the key requirement in the social work curriculum - remains challenging for both students and faculty. This paper aims to describe social work students' experiences during their field practicum under the impact of Covid-19 in Vietnam. A nationwide online survey was distributed to Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) students who had finished field practicum courses from August 2020 to August 2021. The findings revealed students' perspectives regarding field practice barriers, mixed emotions and lessons learned. These results also suggest clues for social work educators regarding students' preparedness for online social work practicum when adapting to an unprecedented crisis.

Keywords: Covid-19, Student's Experiences, Social Work Field Practicum, Vietnam.

Introduction

It has been nearly two years since COVID-19 spread around the world in late December 2019. For the whole of 2020, Vietnam was considered the most successful country to manage low inflected cases of COVID-19 in the world (Pollack *et al.*, 2021). During the first two waves of COVID-19 in 2020 (e.g., starting on 23 January 2020 and on 27 July 2020), the lockdown duration was around 60 to 90 days. However, the recent lockdown, the most severe outburst of COVID-19 in the South of Vietnam occurred in May 2021, lasting more than 120 days (VietnamPlus, 2021).

Responding to COVID-19 mobility restrictions in Vietnam, institutions of social work have transmitted theoretical courses for online learning using diverse video conferencing platforms since the first wave of pandemic in early 2020 (Dinh and Nguyen 2020, p.6). For field education of social work – the important requirement for social work training profession – social work educators have decided to stop these courses and resume later or replace them with alternative online learning activities. However, these solutions might affect students' graduation completion or the quality of students' practical skills, as they face the impact of unpredictable outbursts of COVID-19 in the future (Azman *et al.*, 2020). Therefore, this study aims to describe students' perspectives on their fieldwork experiences during the pandemic.

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The results might help Vietnamese social work educators shed light on how to prepare their students to thrive in the difficult and uncertain time of the pandemic.

Social work field education for natural disasters and pandemic in Vietnam

Social Work has been considered as a very young profession in Vietnam. Until 2004, the Decision No. 35/2004/QĐ-BGDĐT (issued by the Ministry of Education and Training) - the framework of social work programs for college and university level - set a milestone to mark the Social Work profession role for supporting social security issues in Vietnam (Ministry of Education and Training 2004). Fieldwork education includes three direct services at individual, group, and community levels. So far, the fieldwork education program in Vietnam has not yet paid much attention to the social work field during natural disasters or pandemic, even though the crucial role of social work is to respond to emergency circumstances. Only a few social work training institutions in Vietnam have taught any courses on social work in natural disasters, which usually are seen as typhoons and tropical depressions, storms and cyclones, floods, high tides, earthquakes, and landslides (MOLISA - UNICEF Vietnam 2017). However, for the safety of educators and students, even these institutions have not deployed fieldwork directly at the place of existing natural disasters.

COVID-19 is an unprecedented disaster which seemed to be beyond existing social work education experiences in Vietnam. Before COVID-19, there was SARS—severe acute respiratory syndrome—which occurred in 2003. Nevertheless, SARS-infected patients were only isolated in two hospitals in Hanoi (i.e., Vietnam - France Hospital and Tropical Diseases Hospital). The isolation duration lasted under 45 days. In addition, that social work had not yet been recognized as an official profession in Vietnam at that time, meant little attention was focused upon the need for fieldwork education in social work training institutions at that time (Pollack *et al.*, 2021).

Indeed, social work field education in the pandemic context is an entirely new experience for social work educators and students in Vietnam. In particular, to slow down the spread of COVID-19, new public health measures (e.g., social distance, lockdown, mobility restrictions) (Pollack *et al.*, 2021) resulted in disruptions and confusion within social work field education in Vietnam. Therefore, social work educators will need to collect more information, from various perspectives, for better preparation and future decision-making about how field education can respond to crises and indefinite future disasters.

Method

An online survey (via Google Forms) was distributed to Social Work Bachelor students studying at institutions located in four regions of Vietnam (Table 1). Participants were asked to share anonymously their field practicum experiences from August 2020 to August 2021. The data were collected within one week from 9th to 17th October 2021.

The survey utilized multiple choice questions to ask about students' demographic information (e.g., gender, study year, locations of training institutions) and students' field practicum (e.g., type of practice setting, required practicum number of hours and decision made about field practicum). Research on fieldwork during COVID-19 in Vietnam is a new topic, and therefore three open-ended questions were used to explore and generate students' experiences on their field practicum as much as possible.

The quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics. For three open-ended questions, a thematic analysis was performed manually in an Excel file. Two authors read

through the responses and came up with the initial codes. Then each author coded 50% of responses separately before reflecting on these codes collaboratively and developing general themes from repeated response patterns (Greg Guest et al., 2012, p.107).

Results

Sample information

Table 1 shows demographic information about total 162 participants in this study. Most participants are female (n = 111, 68%), represented four regions of social training institutions in Vietnam, especially half of students (n = 95, 58.6%) are studying in northern region. Students of all four studying years participated in the survey, while first year students are the least (n = 14, 8.6%).

Social Work Field Practicum during pandemic in Vietnam (August 2020 to August 2021)

Majority of the sample students (n = 153, 94.4%) continued their field practicum in various placement settings and with different number of hours (see Table 2) from August 2020 to August 2021. During this time, social work institutions made diverse decisions on field practicum based on the Covid-19 mobility restrictions at institution located regions. Table 3 reveals seven types of field practicum decision that social work institutions made. Only 3.7% (n = 6) of participants stopped immediately their practicum without resume, the remains continued the practicum depending on their allowed circumstances.

Students' experiences with online practicum and alternative online projects/activities

Students (n = 75) described their experiences on their online field practicum, as well as alternative online projects or activities. Their descriptions included the following themes: (1) Mix emotions, (2) Ineffective online communication and (3) Gap between learned theory in classroom and online field practicum.

Mixed emotions

Participants expressed mixed emotions surrounding the online field practicum that included awkward, confusion, anxiety, dissatisfaction, frustration, and excitement. One female senior student from the North region said: 'I felt awkward, [and found it] difficult to collect information [from the clients]'. Mean while, a female sophomore student from the North Central region said: 'I felt excited because doing online project is my new experience. It's a good chance for my professional development'. However, most of the responders struggled with negative feelings due to the unexpected, sudden placement requirements which exceeded students' prospects from what learned in class.

Ineffective online communication

Participants described the major barrier of online filed practicum as ineffective online communication with both clients and supervisors. Students found it challenging to read emotions and body language of clients via video conferences. That resulted in being unable to approach clients and establish trusted relationships between students and clients. Given with these difficulties, students were afraid of not gathering enough information to solve clients' problems thoroughly, which created students' dissatisfaction towards online practicum. A female junior student from the North region said: 'Due to the difficulties of COVID-19 [restrictions of direct contact], talking with clients [on phone or Zoom] could not understand clients' emotions, and limit the message [I wanted to talk to my clients]'. Some participants also identified unavailable connection with supervisors to help them when needed. One female senior student from the Southeast and Mekong Delta River region explained: 'I found it difficult

to connect and clarify my concerns with my supervisor because some questions if answered directly might be easy and understandable'.

Gap between learned theory in the classroom and online field practicum

Most participants reported that during the pandemic they were involved in field works which were not close enough to what they had trained for in theoretical courses (e.g., giving online services, keying in data for the agency, being support members at vaccinated sites). Participants expressed that they could not apply theories learned in the classroom on their placement and they learned less about social work practice during the online practicum. A female senior student from the Southeast and Mekong Delta River region said that: 'At that time, I felt quite disappointed because of no practical experiences, no practical learning to understand social work theories in depth'. Another reason creating this gap is the decision of wrapping up the field placement in a few days (n = 13, 21%, see Table 3) when COVID-19 first burst out. Students could not implement their complete intervention plans with their clients in the ways they had learned they should do in theoretical courses.

Lessons learned about online practice

Ten participants out of 75 who reported their online field practicum as positive experiences where they learned new skills. In fact, most of the lessons that participants described were related to working skills, included personal basic skills (n = 17) (e.g., communication skills, emotional management, learning to learn); organizational skills (n = 37) (e.g., team work, flexibility, adaptability, time management, problem-solving, planning and social work ethics). Self-care and safety issues were reported by four participants. Particularly, flexibility and team work were valued by 18 participants. As one female sophomore student from the Southeast and Mekong Delta River region mentioned: 'I drew on some practical experiences during practicum that [the first step was] setting a detailed plan with alternative solutions, then worked on this plan. Having alternatives helped me be flexible in each situation, etc.'

Discussion

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the majority of BSW students experienced disruptions to their field placement. Besides that, social work educators around the world have found alternative ways to help their students continue their field training which is compulsory requirement of social work training, such as remote field placement (Davis and Mirick 2021), alternative online projects (Archer-Kuhn *et al.*, 2020; Azman *et al.*, 2020; Kourgiantakis and Lee 2020), field seminar (Dempsey *et al.*, 2021). The results of students' online field practicum experiences in this study share the same story with a body of study surveyed in different countries which included mix and negative emotions about remote fieldwork (Davis and Mirick 2021; Dempsey *et al.*, 2021; Smoyer *et al.*, 2020). Online field placement according to students had more challenges and was stressful work, there were disadvantages and they were not well-prepared for some social work practice skills (De Jonge *et al.*, 2020; Kourgiantakis and Lee 2020).

However, at present, the COVID-19 pandemic has remained a factor since the first outburst in early 2020. This unexpected, devastating natural crisis challenges social work educators to rethink social work training approaches during an uncertain and unprecedented situation, with implications for continued effects now and in the future. This study reveals that social work students have not yet trained enough in skills to deal with traumatic events, whereas students will need to foster their skills to serve in special conditions.

International social work researchers have suggested several field training approaches which are well-prepared for students to respond to the ongoing pandemic and potential future crises. These are trainings that Vietnamese social work educators could learn from. First, blended learning approaches give social work students chances to learn theoretical frameworks online and apply this knowledge in the classroom or at field social agencies (Kourgiantakis and Lee 2020). Second, fieldwork programs should be self-directed, training students on self-management, self-care and self-organization skills (Archer-Kuhn *et al.*, 2020). Discussion should explore further possibilities.

Conclusion

The impact of COVID-19 has created many obstacles as well as opportunities to promote innovation in social work field education. Through listening to students' feedback about their experiences of the pandemic, social work educators can learn how to change and adapt social work training programs to support their students most. It requires more engagement, adjustment, and creativity from both faculty and students. The social work curriculum should concentrate on cultivating students' working skills, start applying technology on field education and research fieldwork to prepare for unpredicted crises in the future.

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Tables and captions

Table 1. Participant Characteristics

	N	Percentage (%)
Gender		
- Female	111	68.5
- Male	48	29.6
- Prefer not to say	3	1.9
Student year from August 2020 to August 2021		
- 1 st year students	14	8.6
- 2 nd year students	64	39.5
- 3 rd year student	36	22.2
- Final year student	48	29.7
Region of SW training institutions		
- Northern Vietnam	95	58.6
- North Central Vietnam	10	6.2
- South Central Coast and Central Highlands	15	9.3
- Southeast Vietnam and Mekong Delta River	42	25.9

Table 2 Field Practicum Information

	N	Percentage (%)
Field Practicum status during pandemic from August 2020 to August 2021		
- Yes	153	94.4
- No	9	5.6
Field Practicum Setting	153	100
- School	54	35.3
- Hospital	22	14.4
- People's committees (all levels)	52	34.0
- Sociopolitical organizations (all levels)	16	10.5
- Association organizations	6	3.9
- Enterprises	4	2.6
- International organizations, non-governmental organization in Vietnam	5	3.3
- Domestic science and technology organizations (local NGOs)	3	2.0
- Social center for elder	11	7.2
- Social center for children with special circumstances	33	21.6
- Social center for disabilities	9	5.9
- Social center for psychiatric patients and people with psychological disorders (long-term care and rehabilitation)	3	2.0
- General social center for those in need of social assistance	7	4.6
- Social center providing counseling, urgent care or support for people in need of social assistance	8	5.2
- Other	1	0.7
Field practicum hours	153	100
- Below 50 hours	45	29.4
- 50 – 100 hours	38	24.8
- 101 – 150 hours	20	13.1
- 151 – 200 hours	17	11.1
- 201 – 250 hours	8	5.2
- Above 250 hours	25	16.3

Table 3. Decisions on field practicum during the pandemic

	N	Percentage (%)
Continue if allowed	89	54.9
Continue if field agency stays open	37	22.8
Continue by providing online services	24	14.8
Continue by doing alternative online projects/activities	42	25.9
Pause field practicum – will resume	35	21.6
Wrapped up in a few days	21	13
Stop field practicum immediately – will not resume	6	3.7

*Percentages add up to more than 100% due to participants being able to choose multiple responses

FROM REMEMBRANCE TO RECREATION: MEMORY OF EUROPEAN HOUSES IN URBAN LANDSCAPE MANILA (PHILIPPINES) AND SAIGON (VIETNAM) DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

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Abstract: Historically speaking, people are always trying to reconnect their lives back to the places from which they came. The feeling of 'missing home' has created in each individual the great reminiscences which moves them to real actions in new lands, especially in the context of colonial communities. In some cases, the houses of those in new cities may physically manifest the memory of lives beyond the planning purposes or the nature of the region. The colonial cities in Southeast Asia, accordingly, saw buildings became 'mini museums' of European culture and were an important 'Western memory' of the urban landscape. The established new style of houses, despite the difference in a tropical environment and indigenous culture, was the trend of every urban center in Southeast Asia, both in Manila under Spanish rule and in Saigon by the French regime. In this article, I argue that there is a recreation of houses modelled from Europe as cultural healing or a concentration in Western value for people who were far away from their mother place, and this was besides the main aims of control and exploitation of the colonies. The argument is based upon two main cases, Intramuros in Manila city and center zone in Saigon's urban landscape.

Keywords: colonial cities, Manila city, Saigon city, Southeast Asian urban history, urban memory.

Introduction

From the rapid urbanization in the globalized world today, the question of how to understand and approach proficiently the nature of the city is one of the key factors to sustainable development. Understanding this could help us drive away problems in changing the landscape as well as approach the urban dwellers' expectations more effectively. Whereas the approach of memory studies could enhance deeply understanding toward urban culture – a key factor of positive sustainable urban development as well as it is paradigm researching shifted from things to people (James 2015, p.20). This could be fit perfectly since the special characteristic of foundation history in Southeast Asian urbanism.

Historically speaking, Southeast Asian urban development had grown through various stages of history. Before the age of commerce, city just focused on closed areas and limited functions. Then based on Southeast Asian history, the accomplishment of urbanism which closed to its image we have seen this day generally coming from the colonization period.[†] Establishing on the 'alien lands' in a short time, most of the new cities in Southeast Asia were built by European

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[†] In research on Southeast Asian city history, Professor Terry McGee had proved the development of urbanisation could be divided into 5 stages which are: period before 1950s, period from 1950s-1960s, period from 1960s-1970s, period from 1970s-1980s, and period since 1990s. From that, the first period is considered as the first stage of modern urbanism in Southeast with the presence of Western interventionism toward colonial cities, see McGee (1997).

not only for exploitation purposes but also shed civilization light to barbarians. From that, Western powers quickly laid their urban foundation in colonies on the Southeast Asian mainland or even archipelago. The center city now became varied due to the difference in European interventions.

This present study examines the Southeast Asian city 'as a clear representation of the collective identity of a community' (Mitroiu 2014) who are European since the period of colonialization. The nature of the city identity, from this point, was also different toward the distinction between many European powers that had joined in the Southeast Asian region. With the case study, the Manila city from the Hispanic period (1571-1898) and Saigon city (1861-1945) during the French colonial, my research also determine the role of memory in the recreation process as well as to answer the question of What is the identity of Southeast Asian urbanism from history until today.

Theoretical Approach

Memory studies and its approach

The feeling of 'missing home' has created in each individual the great reminiscences in which moved to the real actions in new lands, especially by colonial communities. Houses in cities actually are physically manifest the memory of lives beyond the planning purposes or the nature of the region. So that, remembering is a process of continuous development that allows us to create city culture, or in other words, it 'transfer memory and transmit into meaningful contemporary forms' inheritable (Nora 1989). Because memory is the way, urban memory certainly encompasses the physical landscape and the lifestyle of the people in the city via 'sites to remember'.* An additional theoretical approach related to memory studies is Halbwach's work with the notion of collective memory which allows reconstructing and shows how social structures shape infrastructure toward the memory (Halbwachs 1950). All these perspectives are what I wanted to use in this research by studying the model and culture of Manila and Saigon city throughout the colonial period.

Colonial city in Southeast Asia

The concept of 'colonial city' in Southeast Asia has been highlighted since the 16th century with the implantation ideas of Westerners city model to the East. As a result, most of the colonial cities in early Southeast Asia were 'stereotypical imitations of cities built in the home country'. However, colonial urbanization in this time is defined by the appearance of a small group of Europeans living within an urban space. Thereby, the ruling power of Westerners was confirmed architectural works serving the colonial government included: a system of administrative buildings, private houses, and churches (Stockwell 1998, p.341). On this basis, Western colonial cities carried the following characteristics: being products of the cultural integrations process and a bridge between a 'more developed' society and a traditional one (King 1976, pp.17-18).

* Crinson highlighted the role of urban memory in his research: 'urban memory seems to indicate cities as places where lives have been lived and still felt as physically manifest, shaping what is remembered beyond the discourses of architects, developers, preservationists, and planners. But it is also often strategically mobilized by those professions'. See Crinson M. (2005, p. iv).

Case Study

Manila as an 'Entrepot' of Spanish in the East

In the Philippines, the Spaniards' memory who set the foothold and control over the Manila city for 250 years was imprinted. The interesting phenomenon we could consider here is the position of Manila - a primate city of Spanish power in the Far East. Besides the basic characteristics of a colonial city following the Western model consisting: multi-functional - multi-cultural characteristics, the city of Manila itself has more prominent features in terms of religious-political functions (Reed 1978, p.3). In other words, throughout the creating and planning process, the Spanish emphasized the role of Manila as the center for sending military and clerical forces across the Pacific. Arguably, Manila in the eyes of the rulers was a 'typical blend of cross and sword power' or 'religion placed at the heart of the city as the center of the city and life' (Mc. Gee 1967, p.43).

Urban landscape as the collective memory of Spanish in Manila, the city model in Spain began referred from the Renaissance idea such as Alberti Filarete or Giorgio Martini since the 16th century. Thereby, the city drawings are designed in the form of cubic geometry, especially since 1573 when King Philip II of Spain issued a decree related standard form of urban design for colonial foundations (Reed 1978, p.49). The main city planning is the determination of the church, the central square (plaza mayor), and the surrounding wall system as the solid sphere of Spanish cultural identity (Pinol 2012, p.43). This design also applies intact retain the 'Western space' in a colony. So that after the 1580s, the city of Manila was planned based on centralized planning the main square with cathedral and a road network designed in a checkerboard pattern connected to Spanish city style. Most of those plans were tried to protect the small number of European's physically and mentality.*

Site of memory and the recreation of house architecture, Manila's buildings consisted of three main groups: religious buildings, administration buildings, and private houses. The highlight of each urban center always was religious buildings or, in other words, the cathedral located in the 'heart' of the whole city (Javellana 1997, p.53). At Manila city, Spaniard architects soon successfully deployed the church model following their favorite Baroque and Rococo style depicting the 'mercy' and 'glorious' of God. The municipality buildings included Royal Palace, on other hand trying to depict an image of civilization and power (Reed 1967, p.116). Based on these palatial buildings like Cathedral (1581), St. Augustine Church (1604), Governor palace (1600), Santo Tomas University (1645), Courthouse (1595), Townhall (1506)..., people capable to see the memories and prides behind of Iberian empire. †

Derived from the early time, most of the housing simulated the construction of indigenous. From the 1580s, after the serious destructive fires, an architecture reform took place. Pastor Antonio Sedeno was the first, under the command of the Governor-General, to design Spanish-only homes in Manila from brick, tile, and limestone (Reed 1978, p.49). Manila was another version of the Spanish town in the East with a system of defensive walls and houses built entirely in European architecture. Even though since the 17th century, new hybridization

* Throughout long period of time control Philippines, there were always a small number of Spaniards living in Manila and the whole islands. There were 6% percent of Spaniards in total population in Manila, see: Doeppers (Aug 1972, pp.769-792).

† Travelers who visited this city in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries shared the same opinion about the spirit of piety (through the system of churches and chapels of the Dominican, Franciscan, Jesuit, Agustin orders, Agustin Recollect) and the splendor of the Iberian empire through the investment in functional and civil buildings. See Doeppers (Aug 1972).

between the East-West culture house was created and then expanded to the countryside.* But in the urban center, the Spaniards have always kept the European architectural style as the mainstream - simulating European culture. In other words, with the help of Spanish architecture memory, the style of the house was preserved or even re-created during this time which lead to characteristics of Manila during the Spanish influence.

Saigon as a 'Pearl of Orient'

Unlike Iberia's early presence in Southeast Asia, France came to Indochina from the last decades of the 19th century with a mission of exploitation, civilizing and paving the way to China. The history of French urbanism in Vietnam could be divided into two stages the 'période héroïque' (1873-1888) - set the foothold and renovate the city infrastructure; and (1888-1920), emphasis to build up Saigon as a version of Shanghai or the 'Pearl of the Orient' (Pinol 2012, p.184). This allowed Saigon to become the capital city of France through a series of master plan from 1860 to 1865. But in contrast to Manila city with its religious purpose, Saigon was built to compete with other regional commercial centers such as Singapore or Hong Kong. Besides, France's efforts are reflected in a series of plans and reminiscent architectural works in Saigon.

Urban landscape as the collective memory of French at Saigon, a master plan was applied to Saigon to changes in the urban landscape and implanted the 'French' value into it. The first plan was introduced by Officer Coffyn in 1862 aiming to establish a city for 500.000 to 600.000 citizens which could compare to Paris or London at this period.† Aside from it from the 1860s to the end of the French regime in Vietnam, city population was under the expectation of Coffyns' project, but the infrastructure as well the landscape of the city had changed completely by the hand of the French (Nguyen Thi Hau 2017, p.50). It is true to say that, the whole image of Saigon city was transformed after the last decade of the 19th century.

The inspiration of Saigon's project was inherited from Haussman's vision in Paris (the 1850s-1870s). The main idea from Haussman of the city is demolishing all the 'old' quarters and constructing major roads and street networks, establishing a green tree system. Promptly, the colonial capital of French recreated this view and applied it into their own space (Clark 2013, pp.692-3). In the case of Vietnam, was designed with boulevards, a grid-style streets system, and several French religious and administration buildings. The center of the city, like in Manila, is connected directly to the commercial network. From 1860, France built hospitals and cemeteries, harbor, court, postal, telegraph, printing house, merchant house, bridge, park...as well as distinguish street hierarchy to organize and manage the city.‡

Site of memory and the recreation of house architecture, another Haussman success which was marked into Saigon was the idea of relocating the symbol structure of city create the 'Paris

* The new style house 'bahay-na-bato' quickly developed in many spaces in the city. All houses have mainly 2 floors structure, the ground floor concentrated the model of Spanish house from Andalucia of Spain and the second floor made by wooden frame which decorated by 'Western furniture and cross'. See Reed (1967, p.164).

† However, the planning criteria project was not coming from the real situation if compare to the total population of Southern Vietnam at this time just 1.500.000. Aside from it since the 1860s to the end of the French regime in Vietnam, Saigon and Cholon population was under the expectation of Coffyns' project, see Tran Huu Quang (2016, p.15).

‡ Since 1860, the French repaired roads, filled or opened canals in the Saigon and Cho Lon areas. Main streets which also were renamed after reconstruction such as Bonard, Charner, Somme, Catinat..., see Nguyen Thi Hau (2017, pp. 38-9).

version'. Before that, to consolidate a Western urban background, Admiral Rose decided to demolish most of the traditional wooden houses to build Western-style buildings (Nguyen Thi Hau 2017, p.38). The main roads became the focus of large brick buildings 2 to 3 floors high with the outer walls being whitewashed or yellow washed. The appearance of high-rise houses seems to be the product of traditional European cities, in the space of Saigon, these houses are perfectly 'recreated' and become the face of the city.*

Some of the residential buildings of the Europeans can be mentioned as Governor General's Palace (1873), City Post Office (1891), Court (1885), Hotel de Ville (1908), Theater (1900), Cathedral (1880). . . which were mostly introduced by the hands of French architects. A few large projects with bold French imprints with Gothic or Art deco style and the south of France (Tran Huu Quang 2016, pp.91-113). It can be said that, with only a small number of settlers, buildings serving the specific purposes of the French and bearing the imprint of French culture. These re-enacted memory sites have formed a brilliant Saigon colonial urban image in the late 19th century.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this paper has been to consider a combination of memory studies approach to study the foundation of 'Westernized' city among Southeast Asia through efforts in planning and creating a 'familiar space' by colonizers. Consequently, the reinterpretation of the Spanish and French image was successful through infrastructure and buildings. It can be considered as pieces of evidence of collective memory and site of memory among the colonial cities' environment from history until now. While looking and analyzing the nature of the city by this approach, the information of the evolution of Manila city or Saigon city with such 'European' building could be provided standards knowledge. The interesting phenomenon revealed the role of people's memory in making colonial urban landscapes not only for exploitation missions but also for presenting the Western's value. Further research is needed to clarify the identity of cities in Manila and Saigon in particular and Southeast Asia in general to seek the similarities and differences with the help of a new study approach. More importantly, to paving a way for any effective analysis of the historical development of cities and to planning for their future.

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* According to Tran Huu Quang, Grammont recounted that the buildings built by the Roques brothers in Saigon were a strange house from the eyes of the locals, making them 'extremely surprised', see Tran Huu Quang (2016, p.94)

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THE AUTHENTICATION OF TOURISM IN HOI AN, VIET NAM

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Abstract: Hoi An Ancient Town is considered one of the outstanding heritage destinations in Vietnam which has received research attention from many domestic and foreign scholars focusing on the relationship between heritage tourism and cultural change, cultural heritage management and tourism development (Trinh, Ryan and Bui 2020; Nguyen 2016). However, one of the main research topics in heritage tourism - authentication is still open in the case of Hoi An. In my ethnographic study among the community in the city in 2020-2021, by using participation observation and in-depth interviews with stakeholders, and critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk 2020) of tourists' visual reflections on their trips, interactions of two distinctive processes, e.g. 'cool authentication' and 'hot authentication' (Cohen & Cohen 2012) are documented. 'Cool authentication' took place when the Hoi An ancient town was recognized as a world cultural heritage in 1999 in order to promote and attract tourists to the site while 'hot authentication' was facilitated afterward by visitors themselves using their own photos, comments, and sharing information about Hoi An people's life on their personal social networks available publicly. I argue that the ongoing process of both forms of authentication, especially the latter, play crucial roles in heritage destination construction and promotion.

Keywords: heritage tourism, authentication, anthropology of tourism, Hoi An, Vietnam.

Introduction

The Vietnamese government considers the tourism industry to be a spearhead economic sector based on available potentials. Prominent among the main types of tourism is heritage tourism, in which the Hoi An ancient town with its architectural complex as well as cultural space combined with the simple life, manners, and festivals of the local community create its own beauty that is not duplicated with other heritage sites.

In addition, the Hoi An ancient town get attention about scientific attention from the Hoi An Cultural Heritage Management and Preservation Center to investigate and research on architecture, folk culture, and traditional craft villages, festivals, manners.[†] (Vietnamese interview translated into English by the author), the Ph.D. thesis of Nguyen (2016) on *Quản lý di sản văn hoá và phát triển du lịch ở Đô thị cổ Hội An, tỉnh Quảng Nam* or Trinh, Ryan and Bui (2020) explores the topic of *Heritage, education and processes of change in Vietnamese rural tourism: A case study from Hoi An*. However, one of the main research topics in heritage tourism - authentication is still open in the case of Hoi An. In this article, the author explores two different modes, which are inseparable and which constitute the process of authentication: 'cool authentication' official statement of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) recognizing Hoi An ancient town as a World Cultural Heritage to attract and promote tourism; 'hot authentication' of the process of tourists using images and comments that are repeated continuously about people's lives in the context of tourism in Hoi An city, Quang Nam province, Vietnam. This is the result of the author who

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[†] Truong, in-depth interview date 20.2.2020

has conducted ethnographic fieldwork intermittently 3 times from February 2020 to June 2021 with distinguishing between two aspects of authentication, the author also aims to study their benefits to heritage tourism and the community life in Hoi An.

Why is it necessary to study authenticity in tourism?

One of the critical research areas on the future of tourism focuses on the concept of authenticity, many tourist destinations such as Australia, Canada, and China all pay special attention to authentic experiences (Yeoman et.al., 2007) which are considered as an affirmation of the authenticity in tourism. During the author's observations in Hoi An ancient town, the author found that tourists tend to find cultural products created by Hoi An's people. That shows that the decision to buy or not to buy is based on the level of subjective assessment and visitor experience. When the economy develops, people tend to be authentic. The determination of authenticity gradually becomes an important criterion for future tourism.

Literature review

Tourism: anthropological theme

Tourism anthropology was established from the 1960s to the 1970s, but until the 1980s that it established itself as a separate discipline, starting with the work of Valene Smith (1977) entitled *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* was published. Nash (1981) defines 'tourism as leisure activity requiring travel, exists at all levels of sociocultural complexity', he argues that anthropologists who see tourism as a frivolous field and prefer to avoid tourists, they often identify themselves as ethnographers associated with traditional communities that are different from the modern tourist. Initially, tourism is often associated with negative assumptions, but after the works of Dean MacCannell (1973, 1976) Cohen (1988a) John Urry (1990), with its own journals, most notably the *Annals of Tourism Research*, scientific conferences, majoring in university makes tourism clear the negative aspects and become neutral. The main topics that anthropologists focus on are divided into two parts: the first part is to research the origins of tourism and the rest is the impact of tourism (Stronza 2001). Anthropologists and travelers are both outsiders who attempt to penetrate other people's lives to discover new things in the context of diverse cultures. Therefore, although the study of tourism formed later compared to others, it is an attractive topic for anthropologists, contributing complete theories to the humanities and social sciences.

Heritage tourism

Tourism is a place for the host community to display their culture and express their ethnic identity through inherited heritage. Heritage is part of a community's cultural traditions. Based on this culture (tangible and intangible cultural heritage) local communities have created a competitive, unique and distinct advantage over other communities (George 2010). Research on heritage tourism often focuses on the strengths of traditional values – or the impacts of tourism on host communities. This approach allows more people to see the diversity in heritage tourism and help visitors to have new experiences. According to (Chhabra, Healy and Sills 2003) an important attribute of heritage tourism is authenticity; the quality of heritage tourism is enhanced by this authenticity (Cohen 1988b).

Authenticity in tourism

Heidegger ([1926]1962) is the first who mentions the authenticity in his book *Being and Time*

in which he claims that humans exist in an existential, dynamic, ever-changing, and historical way. At some point, people can only be real or unreal based on what they already have, and they must decide whether to live real or not. They live in the moment, which means they are in the present. When you live in the present moment, you are being true to yourself. People, on the other hand, can only understand the moment they are in, not the moment before. They do so unconsciously as they enter into the world's immediate relationships, which Heidegger refers to as the experience of existential authenticity. Furthermore, MacCannell (1973) believes that when cultural products are involved in tourism, they are commoditized (Greenwood 1977; Cohen 1988a), destroying their original value, but instead a staging appears to be objective authenticity. He claims that modern tourists have a strong desire to visit places with authenticity in order to cure their illiteracy, but tourists will never be able to have authentic experiences because what awaits the visitor is always an artificial background, and this is the 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell 1976). This is the foundational work for an important research direction in tourism anthropology, which is authenticity. Cohen (1988a) contends that, contrary to MacCannell, modern tourists are not necessarily equally corrupt and do not require the same level of honesty, but they do have different levels of judgment about truthfulness. When a cultural practice introduced by locals in tourism is constantly transformed into a commodity, it does not necessarily lose its original meaning, but it does add new values to that culture. And, as a result, the truth, which is dependent on the perception of visitors, of the host, becomes real. Cohen (1988a) refers to it as constructive truth. Furthermore, the study of authenticity in tourism is beset by two issues: tourism experience and objects of interest (Wang 1999). Recent research trends have focused on comprehending the concept of truthfulness (Zhu 2012) and the process of authentication (Cohen & Cohen 2012; Wall & Xie 2005; Xie 2011).

In particular, constructive honesty in the process of authentication case studies in heritage tourism is a new topic that has not been studied much in Vietnam. According to Cohen & Cohen (2012), authenticity is defined as the process by which a product, destination, or object is verified to be unique, genuine and trustworthy. When considering the process of authentication in heritage tourism of Hoi An ancient town, the author will distinguish it into two methods of recognition: 'Cool authentication' and 'Hot authentication'. 'Cool authentication' is the only, official, non-community-participation process issued by UNESCO to recognize Hoi An ancient town as a World Cultural Heritage in 1999 to promote and attract tourists. This is a valid, high-value certificate that recognizes Hoi An ancient town as original and not copied or faked. This is a static, independent statement because it has privileges, an institutional position, and is open to criticism. In contrast, 'Hot authentication' is an informal, continuously developed process with community participation in creating, protecting and reinforcing images of Hoi An ancient town. This is a cumulative, amplified, anonymous process based on trust rather than evidence through sharing on personal social networks with emojis.

Concerning the ancient town of Hoi An, the author believes that the two confirmation modes generate two distinct motivations that mutually support each other in order to help increase the popularity of this old town and play an important role in the construction and promotion of the site to this legacy.

Methodology

The author conducted a discontinuous ethnic field study in three phases from February 2020 to June 2021 to understand the process of authenticity validation in heritage tourism in the study area and to evaluate the impact of two methods of genuine recognition. The author has visited relics in the old town such as Cau Pagoda, Diep Dong Nguyen ancient house, Phuc Kien

assembly hall, Ong pagoda; other popular tourist destinations include Hoai riverbank at night, Hoi An market, and the main streets of Minh An ward walking street to observe tourists. The author conducted 20 in-depth unstructured interviews with staff of the Hoi An Center for Cultural Heritage management and Preservation and tourists.

Simultaneously, the author employs Van Dijk (2020:306) 'Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is discourse-analytical research that preeminently studies how social power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimized, and resisted by text and talks in the social and political context'. When UNESCO created a discourse to recognize Hoi An as a World Cultural Heritage site as a means of exercising power and controlling people's minds, it was indirectly reaffirming UNESCO's dominance and hegemony. Through mass media, education, and science, the government and local leaders control discourse about Hoi An's ancient town. Furthermore, the author selects two well-known personal pages as the main page: Facebook '*Nguoi Hoi An*' which was created by a young man in Hoi An to update the most recent photos and information about Hoi An, and Instagram '*hoiantown*' gathering images of tourists from all over the world and capturing impressive moments for them about Hoi An ancient town, which has been watched thousands of times as a new kind of power, creating a great influence, and expressing the voice of the community to the community. The discourse of the aforementioned social power structures.

Results and discussion

Hoi An City, Quang Nam Province, Vietnam

Hoi An is a city in Quang Nam province, central Vietnam. According to the Hoi An Center for Cultural Heritage management and Preservation, Hoi An city has 9 wards, 3 communes on the mainland and 1 island commune with an area: 6,084 hectares, a population of more than 85,000 people. Hoi An city is determined to develop in the direction of '*ecology - culture and tourism*', taking two factors of ecology and culture as core values for sustainable tourism development.

Cool authentication

With unique historical and cultural values, UNESCO recognized Hoi An as a World Cultural Heritage site on December 4, 1999. With the official discourse from the world's leading elites associated with the United Nations' power structure, UNESCO has become the world's most prestigious authentic certification. Following that, in 2009, the government recognized Hoi An ancient town as a special national monument. As a result, this ancient town has received two legal recognitions for its authenticity both at domestic and foreign. At the same time, efforts by local authorities and experts from UNESCO and Japan to consolidate documents on archaeology, architecture and culture that are printed into books like '*Nghề truyền thống Hội An (Hoi An Traditional Crafts)*', '*Hình ảnh giao lưu văn hoá Việt Nam - Nhật Bản tại Hội An (Images of Exchange: Vietnamese-Japanese Culture in Hoi An)*', '*Tác động (Impact)*' increase the value of Hoi An ancient town. The influence of the context and structure of discourse through this highly prestigious certification demonstrates the accreditation body's authority, without community involvement, but controls the minds of the community with knowledge, activities, attitudes, and ideology. As a result of continuous media discourses about Hoi An ancient town being recognized as a unique and genuine heritage, the community gained new awareness and acceptance. Before visiting Hoi An, travelers always spend time researching about the town through 'television, internet' (Vietnamese interview translated into English by

the author*) and 'travel websites' (Vietnamese interview translated into English by the author†) and equipping themselves with basic knowledge about 'Hoi An is a world cultural heritage site recognized by UNESCO. Hoi An is famed for its beautiful ancient structures' (Vietnamese interview translated into English by the author‡).

Thus, although the Hoi An ancient town has received genuine certification from reputable organizations, the 'cold authentication' is still vague that there is no solid legal basis for any competent authority to be authorized to confirm it. Because the truth at tourist attractions is ambiguous and unregulated, it is easy to manipulate authenticity.



Pic 1: Cầu pagoda Hội An

Source: Duy Hậu – Fanpage 'Người Hội An' – posted 25/08/2021

Hot authentication

In recent years, there has been an explosion in social networks. As a consequence, travelers may effortlessly record and retain photographs in virtual space while traveling. Visitors to Hoi An's ancient town are no exception, 'I take a lot of pictures. I chose the vastness and lovely angles of Hoi An rather than focusing on each location or house' (Vietnamese interview translated into English by the author§). This is a repetitive, anonymous, and informal act of developing and maintaining the picture of Hoi An's ancient town and putting it on a personal social network, 'I took many photos and shared them on social media. I use Facebook to brag to my friends about how beautiful the ancient homes, little streets, and natural scenery are here'

* Huynh, in-depth interview date 15.10.2020

† Quach, in-depth interview date 05.10.2020

‡ Nguyen, in-depth interview date 09.10.2020

§ Giang, in-depth interview date 03.06.2021

(Vietnamese interview translated into English by the author*) as the authentication procedure. Although this process does not obtain recognition from recognized institutions, it does receive high-credibility community engagement represented by viewer emojis. This is made obvious on the 'hoiantown' Instagram page. This page is a collection of photographs taken by domestic and foreign travelers in Hoi An ancient town, capturing beautiful moments for them. Each photo is edited, from the camera angle to the color, such that the author's name and the hashtag Hoi An safeguard the author's copyright while gradually increasing the authenticity. This Instagram profile is constantly creating new digital photos in order to maintain and promote the image of Hoi An. In contrast, the Facebook page 'Người Hội An' was created by a young man from Hoi An. This guy is a regular individual who has risen to prominence as a result of his Facebook profile. Every day he mainly posts pictures, shares the latest information about Hoi An people's life, receives thousands of likes, shares and supportive comments from the online community. All of this generates new power and has an influence on public knowledge, attitudes, and community ideas.

Although 'hot authentication' is individual actions built continuously on trust, it creates a powerful spillover in the community, making a new form of democracy that expresses individual voices that create invisible power and are supported by the community.



Pic 2: Two banks of Hoai river at night

Source: Duy Hậu – Fanpage 'Người Hội An' – posted 25/08/2021

Two methods have become the driving force behind building and promoting Hoi An heritage tourism.

The 'cool authentication' of UNESCO is the most important milestone in bringing the image of Hoi An ancient town to the world. Based on this, tourists know and choose Hoi An as a destination with relics of assembly halls, communal houses, ethnic churches, ancient houses.

* Huynh, in-depth interview date 17.02.2020

Group tourists must buy tickets and have a guide to visit and take photos. Self-sufficient tourists 'just buy entrance tickets and visit everywhere by themselves' (Vietnamese interview translated into English by the author*). The fact that they choose famous experiences, such as sitting at coffee in the old town, walking around, enjoying street food, dropping lights on the river, creates 'hot authentication' by publicly posting pictures and comments based on praise, strengthening trust, highlighting the individual instead of an official statement like 'cool authentication'. 'Hot authentication' makes Hoi An become a 'hot trend' on social media and attracts visitors' curiosity. However, it is impossible to forget that 'cool authentication', the world's first official certification, serves as a foundation for protecting and building heritage into a destination for tourism activities. Therefore, two methods of 'cool and hot authentication' contribute to the fame of Hoi An's ancient town, both with funds to protect the heritage and improve the lives of the host community.

Conclusion

In this article, the author distinguishes between two modes of 'cool authentication' and 'hot authentication' in the process of authentication in Hoi An ancient town heritage tourism. 'Cool authentication' means a static and independent statement that controls the public mind through the discourse of the accreditation body's authority. On the contrary, 'hot authentication' is a spontaneous process of setting up personal images by attracting the community to visit, leave comments and emoticons. Thereby, it creates a new form of democracy that counterbalances traditional media and, at the same time, enhances the attractiveness of the destination.

According to the author, these two authentication techniques complement each other in the process of maintaining, conserving, and promoting heritage values in order to develop tourism and promote the image of the Hoi An people to the world.

However, the article avoids mentioning the issue of preserving intact heritage, such as the 'living museum' of 'cool authentication' that is efforts of local authorities to prohibit structural changes in the main area of the heritage, promulgate a ban on motorbikes in the old town and only light lanterns at night to make the old town look 'traditional' to attract tourists' curiosity.

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THE NEED FOR SOCIAL WORK WITH INTERNAL FEMALE MIGRANTS IN VIET NAM

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Abstract: The tendency of internal migration flows from rural towards urban and industrial areas has been increasing over the last two decades in Viet Nam. The number of migrant women accounts for a large percentage among these migrants. While male and female migrants face common difficulties such as poor living conditions and low access to health and social services, female migrants tend to be more vulnerable in terms of employment opportunities, workload, salary, discrimination, sexual abuse, reproductive health, and child care. Especially, the COVID-19 pandemic recently has made migrant women's well-being worse than ever. Social workers play a critical role in promoting migrants' integration and individual empowerment. However, social work with internal migrants is new in Viet Nam and research on this topic is still minimal. Therefore, this paper aims to explore the vulnerability of female migrants and highlight the need for developing social work with these migrants under the context of growing internal migration in Viet Nam.

Keywords: social work, internal female migrants, Viet Nam.

Introduction

Internal migration refers to 'the movement of people from one place to another within the same country' (Anh, Vu, Bonfoh, & Schelling, 2012, p.2). In Viet Nam, internal migration began to grow rapidly in 1999 during the country's economic transition from its agricultural base toward industry and services. The rapid development of industrialization at some large cities has attracted a huge number of rural-urban migrants (Open Development Vietnam 2021). In 2019, the number of internal migrants was 6.4 million people aged 5 and above, accounting for 7.3% of the total population (General Statistics Office 2020). However, this number did not include unregistered migrants considered 'invisible' to the legal and social system. Short-term and illegally unregistered migrants are especially vulnerable groups who are often omitted from research and national, household surveys. This leads to a lack of necessary information about their needs and access to social services (IOM 2020).

Notably, the proportion of female migrants has risen over time (Anh et al., 2012) and tend to make up the majority of the migrant population in Viet Nam (Anderson et al., 2017). For some women, migration is considered as a means for improving living conditions and seeking development opportunities (ActionAid 2012). However, with a very large difference between 'expectation' and 'reality', 'female migrants are faced with multiple risks and their vulnerabilities are accumulated because their basic rights are not ensured' (ActionAid 2012: 63). While both male and female migrants face common difficulties such as poor living conditions and low access to health and social services, female migrants tend to be more vulnerable in terms of employment opportunities, workload, salary, discrimination, sexual abuse, reproductive health, and child care. Especially, the health and well-being of migrant

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women has become worse during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Social workers play a critical role in promoting migrants' integration and individual empowerment (Viola, Bondo, & Mosso 2018). However, in Viet Nam where social work is an emerging profession, social work with migrants has not been developed. This paper therefore discusses how and why social work with internal female migrants is needed in Viet Nam. The study is significant as it gives a better understanding of the vulnerabilities of migrant women and highlights the importance of social work with migrants in the context of growing internal migrants in Viet Nam.

Vulnerabilities of Internal Female Migrants

Internal migrants consider employment the main reason for migration, followed by family and education-related reasons (UNESCO, UNDP, IOM, & UN-Habitat 2018). Migration is known as an integration process (Kham and Quyet 2015) and female migrants face multiple challenges in being 'migrants', 'female', and likely 'wives' and/or 'mothers' at their destinations. Some types of vulnerability of Vietnamese internal migrant women are described below.

Vulnerability in daily life

Most migrants do find a job at their destination. However, only 30.9% of migrant workers have a formal written labour contract. 21% have verbal agreements and nearly 10% have no labour contract, which exposes migrant workers to a high risk of abuse and exploitation (UNESCO et al., 2018).

Female migrants have lower professional and technical qualifications compared to their male counterparts (Open Development Vietnam 2021). The unemployment rate is higher for female (2.8%) than male migrants (2.2%) (General Statistics Office 2020). Female migrant workers' basic income is also lower than male ones (Oxfam 2015). While most male migrants work in the production and construction sectors or as taxi/motorbike taxi drivers, female migrants dominantly work in the electronics, garment sector, or as domestic workers (Anh et al., 2012; ILO 2018). Most female migrants, especially those working in informal sectors, do not have opportunities to improve their professional skills (ActionAid 2012). Some of the biggest obstacles are the limited remaining time and financial capacity. As a result, the opportunity for attaining a higher level of career for female migrant workers is very limited (ActionAid International Vietnam 2012).

Many formal female workers are shouted at, insulted, and treated unfairly in the workplace (ActionAid 2012; ILO 2020). Especially, informal female workers are more likely to face discriminatory practices such as sexual abuse (ActionAid 2012). Most informal female migrant workers have low education, thus limiting their occupational choices at the destination (Le, 2021). These migrants are more likely to participate in street vending, scrap purchasing, domestic work, online selling, or lottery ticket selling (only in Ho Chi Minh city) (Le 2021). They often face multiple types of risk related to traffic accidents, robber, health problems, and instability due to no labour contracts (Le 2021).

Importantly, female migrants' social isolation makes it difficult for them to make new friends and exposes them to further risk of violence and sexual abuse (Anderson et al., 2017). The separation between female migrants and their families at home makes their lives more stressful and difficult (ActionAid 2012). That is a feeling of homesick and guilt when leaving the spouse with small children at home (ActionAid 2012). Loneliness and social exclusion can drive female migrants, especially younger ones, to sex work (Anderson et al., 2017).

Vulnerability in access to public services

Migrants and their accompanied family members face a number of obstacles in access to social services (including education and health care) due to the current legal restrictions in terms of household registration (Long 2013). Social protection in Vietnam is provided within the framework of active labor market policies and programs to ensure minimum income and poverty reduction, social insurance, social assistance for specific groups (e.g., disabled people, orphan, older people living in social houses), and basic social services. Migrants usually work in the informal sector, and therefore most of them are assigned to voluntary social protection schemes (Long 2013). Informal migrants, however, are uninterested in voluntary social programs for many reasons (Oxfam 2015).

There is a large difference between formal and informal migrant workers in terms of access to social insurance and health insurance with formal workers having much more insurances (ActionAid 2012). One distinctive issue regarding social insurance for female workers is the maternity leave regime (ActionAid 2012). In comparison to social insurance, fewer female migrant workers can access health insurance (ActionAid 2012). This can be seen as an outcome of awareness by female migrant workers on insurance. In fact, many female workers have not recognized the important roles of social insurance and health insurance for their lives (ActionAid 2012). Especially, short-term female migrants who regard their work as a means to supplement income for their families consider joining insurance as a 'cost' which would inevitably reduce their income flows (ActionAid 2012).

Health condition is among the core issues to understand about life of female migrants. Particularly, reproductive health is a variable that reflects the vulnerabilities of migrant women (ActionAid 2012). Female migrants are more likely to face sexual and reproductive health problems but they seldom get access to current reproductive health services (IOM 2020). Research has shown the high needs of female migrants for having sufficient reproductive healthcare services, including health education and annual check-ups (Anh et al., 2018; Ha et al., 2021).

In addition, female migrant workers accompanying children have difficulty in access to education for their children. Without a permanent residence status, migrants have few opportunities to send their children to public educational institutions. As a result, migrants have to leave the children uneducated or send them to private educational institutions with too high costs relative to their average income (ActionAid 2012).

Vulnerability due to the COVID-19 pandemic

With one of the lowest numbers of cases and deaths worldwide, Viet Nam has some success in keeping COVID-19 transmission rates under control. However, as in other countries, movement restrictions and social distancing measures to reduce the spread of COVID-19 heavily affect people's livelihood (Ravelo 2020). It was estimated that by July 2021, the crisis negatively affected the livelihoods of nearly 13 million workers (Phan Hoai 2021).

Especially, the four-month lockdown in Ho Chi Minh City – the nation's largest city – placed migrant families in the most challenging phase in their life. Due to the lockdown, many migrants got stuck in the boarding houses and could not go to work or return to their hometowns. A lot of people lost their jobs and had to rely on savings or relief for their basic necessities. Nevertheless, not all vulnerable people could access the government's social assistance package (UN Viet Nam 2020). Among them are informal workers and workers with no permanent household registration.

Female migrant workers are one of the most vulnerable groups affected by COVID-19 (ILO 2020). The pandemic has caused severe impacts on workers' mental health, especially female migrant workers who have children (ILO 2020). Women also faced domestic and gender-based violence intensified due to the strict 'shelter-in-place' lockdown restrictions. Female migrants and migrant women having children are also usually the target group that is laid off from their jobs during the crisis (ILO 2020).

Social Work with Female Migrants in Viet Nam

Social workers can play various roles in supporting migrants, such as (1) consultants providing necessary information, (2) educators that provide knowledge and skills for migrants through events, training or activities at the destination, (3) resource mobilizers that help migrants expand their internal and external resources to adapt to the new environment, and/or (4) advocates that fight for the rights of migrants and work to increase migrants' access to essential resources (Trang 2017).

Social work with migrants has not been developed in Viet Nam so far. The main types of social work practice with migrants included 'providing information, knowledge and raising awareness', 'building group or club activities', and 'resource connection' (Trang 2017). However, these activities were taken by the local managers and staff from a nonprofit organization, but not by professional social workers (Trang 2017). Some other support activities were provided to help migrants access social security coverage but these had only a very limited effect (Trang 2017). Counselling, psychological and legal support for migrants have not received much attention (Trang 2017).

The local community is a significant resource for internal migrants dealing with difficulties in the new environment. (Kham & Quyet 2015). However, relations between local people and migrants are not always well established. Research indicates that migrants' social networks and social activities are limited to small groups or mainly with other migrants in the same conditions (Kham & Quyet 2015). Local people and government representatives also do not pay attention to migrants and their rights and responsibilities (Kham & Quyet 2015). On the other hand, many locals show discrimination towards migrants (Trang 2017). Therefore, social workers need to pay more attention to migrants' community involvement as raising public awareness of migrant rights and obligations promotes more effective local integration.

Conclusion

This paper clearly shows a need for particular attention to developing social work with female migrants in Viet Nam. Internal migration is considered to become more complex in the coming period, and the lack of household registration could continue to leave many female migrants including their children and families without access to health care, learning opportunities and equitable living conditions (United Nations Viet Nam 2020). In this context, social workers play an important role because they can offer informal and supportive forms of assistance to promote the integration of migrants. It is recommended that Vietnamese social workers build intervention models for migrant women to improve their well-being and help them successfully adapt to the new environment.

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OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND OCCUPATIONAL SATISFACTION AMONG MIDDLE-CLASS GROUPS IN HO CHI MINH CITY

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Abstract: The middle class contributes greatly to economic growth, consumption, and social stability (Easterly William, 2001). In Ho Chi Minh City, the middle class has made important contributions to the economic, cultural and social development of the City. This article applies quantitative and qualitative research methods to describe middle-class employment, their occupational mobility as well as their occupational satisfaction. Research results show that middle-class groups tend to focus more and more on business, manufacturing and service occupations. The middle class has advantages in terms of education level, economic conditions, and large social relationships, so the degree of occupational mobility is high and mainly moves towards the upper-class occupational groups. Middle-class groups are also quite satisfied with their occupational and always strive to study to develop their professional expertise.

Keywords: Ho Chi Minh City, job, middle-class, occupation.

1. Introduction

The middle class assumes the role of a stable class in society by neutralizing the disparity between the rich and the poor in society (Le Kim Sa, 2015). Ho Chi Minh City plays a particularly important role in national economic development. In 2020, the city accounted for nearly 23% of the national GDP, the city's labor productivity reached VND 333.6 million, 2.7 times higher than the national average. The average labor productivity growth rate of the City in the period 2016-2020 was 6.2%/year, higher than the period 2011-2015 at 4.8%/year, and higher than the national average in the period 2016-2019 was 5.85%/year (Nhat Hoa, 2020, p.1). To achieve that outstanding economic achievement, the city's middle class plays a huge role.

Although the middle class has made important contributions to economic development and maintaining social stability, there are still many problems related to this huge force. Firstly, the size, characteristics and development orientation of the middle class have not been properly researched by the city. Second, the city's middle class is forming and developing, but a part of the middle class does not develop by its own capacity, intelligence and creativity, they mainly rely on the laxity of the market economy and loopholes in the law to profit and get rich illegally. Third, the occupation and income of the middle class are still limited due to the low level of education and many impacts from the market economy and risks in society. Fourth, the policy system on management and development of the middle class in Vietnam is still inadequate, inconsistent, and weak in capacity for practical intervention (Nguyen Thi Minh Ngoc, 2016,

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p.4). Therefore, understanding the occupations of middle-class groups, their mobility, and their own job satisfaction will help the state have appropriate policies to build and develop this huge force.

2. Research Methods

Secondary data analysis

This study uses data from a survey conducted in 2015 in the State Project 'Change of Social Structure in Social Development and Governance in the Southern Key Economic Zone towards 2020' (KX.02.20/11-15) funded by the Ministry of Science and Technology, Bui The Cuong is the project leader. The survey sample of the Project is designed to represent the city's population. Based on the overall list of 322 wards, towns and communes of the City in 2009, randomly selected 30 wards, towns and communes. In each selected ward, town, and commune, based on the opinions of local authorities, the project selects three population clusters with three different living standards (poor, average, and well-off). In each cluster, based on the local household list, 12 households were randomly selected. The results show that 36 households in each ward, town and commune were selected. A total of 1.080 households in 30 wards, towns and communes of the whole City entered the survey sample. Data collection in the study area was conducted in September-October 2015. Each household in the interview list has one person the family considers representative of the household (usually the head of the household, but not necessarily).

To find out economic, cultural and social characteristics of middle-class groups in Ho Chi Minh City, from 1.080 households of the dataset, the research team selected 443 households whose representatives are classified as middle class according to occupational criteria. From this data set, the research team conducts processing and analysis to find out the contents of the middle-class occupational identification in Ho Chi Minh City.

Qualitative data analysis

To explore more deeply the occupational characteristics of the middle class in Ho Chi Minh City such as job, income, occupational mobility, advantages, disadvantages, occupational satisfaction... the research team conducted in-depth interviews with 66 individuals who are considered middle class according to the following criteria: education level, age, occupation and income. The structure of the in-depth interview sample is as follows: Gender (27 men, 39 women); Age (25-70 years old); Education level (Middle school: 8; High school: 4; Intermediate, college: 9; Undergraduate and graduate: 44); Occupation (State manager: 10; Profession: 38, including teacher, accountant, engineer, human resource manager, doctor, nurse...; Private owner: 18).

In-depth interviews were conducted in two phases. In the first stage, the research team conducted in-depth interviews with 10 individuals according to selected criteria with the aim of discovering new problems. This in-depth interview helps the research team rebuild the theoretical basis system and add additional information collection contents to suit the research contents.

In the second phase, the research team continued to interview 56 more sample units according to the selected criteria. Different from the first in-depth interview, the second time focused on exploring new issues mentioned in the first in-depth interview. At the same time, this period also pays attention to the differences in economic, social, cultural and lifestyle characteristics of middle-class groups through variables such as age, education level, occupation.

3. Define the Middle Class

The middle class is defined by three occupational groups: (1) State management; (2) Professional; (3) Private owner. In each occupational group, the research team based on one of three criteria of management level, education level, and property to divide into three different middle-class groups. Specifically, for the 'State management' group, the research team is based on the management level; group 'Professional' based on education level; group 'Private owner' based on the property.

Table 1. Classification of the middle class in Ho Chi Minh City

Occupation groups	6 middle-class groups	3 middle classes
State management at a higher level	State management, high-level professionals	Upper
High-level professionals		
High-level non-agricultural private owner	High-level private owner	Middle
Mid-level state management	State management, middle-level professionals	
Middle level professionals		
Mid-level non-agricultural private owner	Mid-level private owner	Lower
Low-level state management	State management, low-level professionals	
Low-level professionals		
Low-level non-agricultural private owner	Low-level private owner	

Source: Research team

4. Occupations Of Middle-Class Groups

Research results on the main occupations of the middle class in Ho Chi Minh City show that, out of 443 respondents, 296 have occupations as 'owners of production, trade and service establishments' (66.8%); in which, 16 people belong to upper-middle class group (5.4%), 55 people belong to middle-middle class group (18.6%), and 225 people belong to lower-middle class group (76%). The occupation group 'technical, service and professional' has 101 people (22.8%) and is mainly concentrated in the middle and lower middle class groups (41.6%, 54.5%). The percentage of people in the upper middle class is very low, only 4%. In addition to the above two groups, the management group has only 46 people, among them, people in the upper-middle class account for the lowest rate of 8.7%; middle-middle group 21.7%; lower-middle class 69.6% (see table 2). On the other hand, the number of upper-class management and upper-class professionals is limited, so the comparison between middle-class groups in many contents is only relative.

Table 2. Main occupation structure of middle class in Ho Chi Minh City, 2015, %

Main occupations of middle-class groups	Frequency	%
State management	46	10.4
Technical, service and professional	101	22.8
Private owner	296	66.8
Total	443	100.0

Source: *Quantitative Survey Dataset Southern Key Economic Region, 2015*

5. Occupational Mobility of Middle-Class Groups in Ho Chi Minh City

In recent years, along with the transformation of the social structure, the economic activities of the middle class in Ho Chi Minh City have changed remarkably. Analysis of the relationship between the first occupation and the main occupation in 2015 of middle-class groups shows that, out of 100% of people whose first occupation is 'manager', only 60% continue to work in this occupation, and the remaining 40% have turned to be 'owners of production, trade and service facilities'. For the group of occupations 'technical, service and professional', only 31.6% still continue to work in the first occupation; the majority (56.8%) switched to 'private ownership' and some moved to 'manager' (11.4%). Compared to the above two groups, the group of 'private owners' who maintain their first occupation accounts for a relatively high proportion of over 75.9%; the rest move up to 'manager' or 'technical, service, professional'. In general, the three groups of upper-class occupations have shifted mainly around the upper-class occupation groups. Particularly for the lower-class occupational groups, the occupational transition is quite typical. Specifically, for the occupation group 'workers, handicraftsmen', no one continued to do the first occupation, but mainly moved to the occupational group 'owners of production, trade and service establishments' (89.4%), 'technical' (5.9%) and 'manager' (4.7%). Similar to the group of 'workers', the group of 'farmers' also had a strong shift towards the upper-class occupation groups. Specifically, only a few people continue to work as 'farmers', the vast majority move to 'private owners' (80.4), 'professionals' (6.5%) and 'manager' (13%). In addition, the group of 'simple non-agricultural workers' has only a few cases still doing this occupation and 85.9% of people move to work as 'private business owners', some the remaining few moved to 'technical' (6.4%) and 'manager' occupations (7.7%) (see Table 3). The above research results show that Ho Chi Minh City is the City of entrepreneurship, the number of people participating in business and service fields is increasing, the most of all occupational groups in society. The study also shows that city workers are very active, hard-working to always move to higher occupational groups. The majority of farmers, workers, and simple non-agricultural workers have worked hard to become owners of production, trade and service establishments and enter the middle class. Many 'technical' people, after a period of accumulating enough experience, capital, customers and business relationships, have boldly opened their own companies and become owners. In the process of making that occupational transition, a few cases have encountered risks in work, in life, even in health, and had to fall to the lower class.

Table 3. Correlation between first occupation and current occupation of middle-class groups in Ho Chi Minh City, 2015, %

Respondent's first occupation code	2015 main occupation code of income generator			Total	
	1. State management	2. Technology, service, professionals	3. Private owner	%	N
1. State management	60	0	40	100	5
2. Technology, service, professionals	11.4	31.6	57	100	79
3. Private owner	10.3	13.8	75.9	100	29
4. Workers, handicraft workers	4.7	5.9	89.4	100	85
5. Farmers	13	6.5	80.4	100	46
6. Simple non-agricultural labor	7.7	6.4	85.9	100	78
7. Armed Forces	35.5	16.1	48.4	100	31
Total	11.9	13.3	74.8	100	353

Source: Quantitative Survey Dataset Southern Key Economic Region, 2015

Considering the occupation relationship between fathers and children, the results of quantitative research show that there is a clear intergenerational mobility between children and fathers. Accordingly, 100% of fathers work as managers, 75% of their children work in the group of 'technological, service, professional' occupations, 25% as 'owners of production, trade and service facilities'. Unlike management, 100% of fathers work as 'private owners', with 76.1% of children continuing to follow their father's profession, 23.9% working as a technician. For the occupation group 'technological, service, professional', 57.1% of children work as fathers and 42.9% work as 'private owners'. A remarkable point is that intergenerational mobility is quite strong in the upward direction in the group of workers, handicrafts, farmers and simple non-agricultural workers. Table 4 shows that, in 100% of children whose father is a worker, handicrafts have moved to become a private owner (66.7%), technician and manager (16.7%). Similarly, up to 50% of children whose fathers are simple non-agricultural workers move to technical occupations; 37.5% are private owners and 12.5% are managers. Research on occupational relationships between mothers and children also has similar results. Occupational mobility of children is affected by many different factors. Firstly, the economy changed from the stage of centralized subsidies to a market economy with the policy of focusing on developing the private economy and the multi-sector economy. The multi-sector economic structure has created many favorable conditions for individuals to develop production and progress towards mastery. Second, the education level of the children is getting higher and higher, the mindset of employees changes to want to own when they have accumulated enough educational and economic conditions. Third, the state mechanism has changed in a positive direction, encouraging and creating all favorable conditions in business licensing procedures as well as loan policy. Fourth, globalization and the development of science and technology have made it easy for businesses to connect with business units in countries in the region...

Table 4. Relationship between father's occupation and son's main occupation that generates income in Ho Chi Minh City, 2015, %

Occupation code of the respondent (father) when starting his current main occupation	2015 main occupation code of income generator			Total	
	1. State management	2. Technology, service, professionals	3. Private owner	%	N
1. State management	0.0	75	25	100	8
2. Technology, service, professionals	0.0	57.1	42.9	100	14
3. Private owner	0.0	23.9	76.1	100	46
4. Workers, handicraft workers	16.7	16.7	66.7	100	6
5. Farmers	7.5	17.5	75	100	40
6. Simple non-agricultural labor	12.5	50	37.5	100	8
7. Armed Forces	0.0	50	50	100	6
8. Retirement	11.5	25.2	63.4	100	131
9. Not working	0.0	0.0	100	100	2
10. Other	0.0	0.0	100	100	1
Total	7.6	27.9	64.5	100	262

Source: *Quantitative Survey Dataset Southern Key Economic Region, 2015*

The occupational mobility of middle-class groups in Ho Chi Minh City also has many similarities with other countries in the region. In 2008, Abhijit V. Banerjee and Esther Duflo, Victor King also described the characteristics of the middle class in developing countries, especially in Southeast Asia. This study states that the middle class has grown rapidly in Southeast Asia since the 1980s. The middle class in these countries has a rich and diverse identity. In terms of employment and occupational status, the researchers found a notable shift in employment patterns from the public to the private sector. The authors found a strong relationship between the occupations of children and their parents. The study also said that many parents want their children to work in the state with socialist ideals because that is the way to secure jobs, social benefits, career development, and have a strong foothold in the system of government. The authors also add that one of the characteristics of the middle class is mobility, with up to 27% of respondents saying they are looking for a new job (Abhijit V. Banerjee and Esther Duflo, Victor King, 2008: 93).

In general, there is intergenerational mobility between the occupations of fathers and the occupations of children belonging to middle-class groups. The highlight here is the tendency of children in middle-class groups to move to upper-class occupation groups.

6. Occupational Satisfaction of Middle Class in Ho Chi Minh City

Occupation plays a very important role in the life of each family, this is the basis for income generation and determines the consumption behavior of middle-class groups. Regression analysis to evaluate the impact of variables (1) Income level (TN); (2) Occupational stability (OD); (3) The ability to advance, progress, develop (TT) to the satisfaction of middle-class groups with general work (HL). The analysis results show that the adjusted R2 value is 0.793 (see Table 5), showing that the independent variable included in the regression affects 79.3%

of the change of the dependent variable, the remaining 20.7% due to out-of-model variables and random error.

Table 5. Summary of the regression model on the level of satisfaction of the middle class in Ho Chi Minh City with occupation

Model Summary^b

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.891 ^a	.795	.793	.294	2.076

a. Predictors: (Constant), Ability to advance, progress, develop (increasing income, promotion opportunities, training, business expansion), Income level, Occupational stability

b. Dependent Variable: Overall satisfaction with current occupation

The Durbin-Watson coefficient is 2.076 in the range of 1.5 to 2.5 so no first-order sequence autocorrelation occurs. F value equals 566.298 with sig. of the F-test equal to 0.000, the research team concludes that the R² of the population is non-zero. Accordingly, the multiple linear regression model is suitable for the data set and can be used, generalized and applied to overall.

According to the results of regression analysis in Table 6 shows the value of Sig. of the t-test of independent variables: (1) Income level; (2) Occupational stability; (3) The ability to advance, progress and develop are all equal to 0.000, less than 0.05, so the independent variables are all significant to explain the dependent variable, none of them are excluded from the model. The VIF coefficients of the independent variables are all less than 10, so there is no multicollinearity.

From the above conditions, based on the size of the standardized regression coefficient (Beta), the order of impact level from strongest to weakest of the independent variables to the dependent variable 'General occupational satisfaction' is shown as follows: (1) Income level (0.360); (2) Occupational stability (0.357); (3) The ability to advance, progress and develop (0.297). Accordingly, the standardized regression equation is summarized as follows:

$$\text{HLCV} = -0,023 + 0,360 \cdot \text{TN} + 0,357 \cdot \text{OD} + 0,297 \cdot \text{TT} + e$$

(General occupational satisfaction = 0.360* Income level + 0.357* Occupational stability + 0.297* The ability to advance, progress and develop)

Analysis in another aspect, the standardized regression coefficients (Beta) are all greater than 0. This means that all the independent variables included in the regression analysis have the same effect on the dependent variable. From there, the research team concluded that the higher the satisfaction level with income level; occupational stability; the ability to advance, progress and develop; the higher the general occupational satisfaction and vice versa.

Table 6. Regression model coefficients on general occupational satisfaction of the middle class

	Unstandardized coefficient		Standardized coefficient	t	Sig.	Multicollinear Statistics	
	B	Standard deviation	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
Income level	.334	.028	.360	12.040	.000	.524	1.909
Occupational stability	.357	.033	.357	10.755	.000	.425	2.350
The ability to advance, progress and develop	.296	.032	.297	9.319	.000	.459	2.177

Source: *Quantitative Survey Dataset Southern Key Economic Region, 2015*

In ascending rating scale of satisfaction from one to three. The results from Table 7 show that the middle-class groups have a fairly high average score of occupational satisfaction (2.32/3 points). The middle-class groups rated occupational stability and income level as relatively high, accounting for 2.36 points and 2.36 points, respectively. In addition, in their careers, middle-class groups have many development opportunities such as: increased income, promotion opportunities, training, business expansion (2.24 points).

Table 7. Middle-class occupational satisfaction, 2015

Occupational satisfaction	Average satisfaction	Standard deviation
Income level	2.26	0.696
Occupational stability	2.36	0.646
The ability to advance, progress and develop (increasing income, promotion opportunities, training, business expansion)	2.24	0.651
General occupational satisfaction	2.32	0.647

Source: *Quantitative Survey Dataset Southern Key Economic Region, 2015*

The results of in-depth interviews show that some middle-class groups in different career positions are not really satisfied with their occupations. Many people who have worked for a long time still feel insecure about their occupational stability due to the impacts of the economy as well as other risks such as epidemics and natural disasters. An office worker said: 'Just go to work like this, but it's not necessarily okay (laughs). You see, the economic crisis, the covid-19 epidemic, many companies go bankrupt, many people lose their jobs because the company stops working. So, living in the city is not simple, stepping out of the house is money, there is nowhere to borrow from. Therefore, I hope my children grow up quickly, graduate from university and I will return to my hometown to live healthy.' (Female, 53 years old, staff)

Even people with high incomes and social status, they still feel great pressure from work and show great interest in the peaceful life in the countryside. One company's human resources director said: 'Each career position has its own pressures. I have worked in human resource management for many years, so I know. Everyone who goes to work wants a high salary, but capitalism, to deserve their salary, you have to work hard, work efficiency must be measured, not working all hours and returning like the state. The pressure is terrible, many people have

been working for many years, but after working for a few months, they can't stand the pressure, so they quit. Those who can stand for 2 years or more are called hopeful.' (Female, 35 years old, staff)

On the other hand, some middle-class groups are not satisfied with the implementation of social policies of enterprises towards employees. For profit, many businesses regularly require employees to work overtime without being paid. With the concept of 'out of work, not out of time', businesses have exhausted employees, making them no longer interested in work. Many cases see going to work for 'bread and butter' and not for the joy of life. Since then, they no longer have creativity, dedication and commitment to work, so their work productivity is not high. In addition, some agencies and enterprises have not properly assessed the contributions of members in the working process. Therefore, the reward (through the results of emulation assessment) for each person is also not commensurate and unfair. This problem, in general, creates conflicts between groups and causes disunity within agencies and businesses.

7. Conclusion

Through the results of analysis on occupational characteristics of middle-class groups in Ho Chi Minh City. The research team found that the City's middle-class groups participate in a variety of occupations such as managers, professionals, technicians, owners, in which the majority is still business, service, and small-scale production. In their work, middle-class groups always have creativity, serious working attitude, curiosity and diligence in work. In addition to participating in the main occupation, middle-class groups also actively participate in part-time activities to increase income, take care of family life, and invest in their own professional development.

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FACTORS AFFECTING THE COMPETITIVENESS OF BINH THUAN MARINE TOURISM

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Abstract: This study examines the factors affecting the competitiveness of marine tourism in Binh Thuan province associated with specific socio-economic conditions, local natural, cultural conditions. From the theory of competitiveness and qualitative research, the article identified internal factors and external factors affecting the competitiveness of Binh Thuan marine tourism, including 1. Marine tourism resources; 2. Quality of tourism products and services; 3. Pricing strategy; 4. The role of local residents; 5. Brand of marine tourism, 6. The demand of tourists, 7. The trend of marine tourism; 8. Location of the tourist destination, 9. Support resources; 10. Policy mechanisms and; 11. Tourism human resources, 12. Marketing capacity; 13. Organizational and management capacity. On that basis, the authors surveyed 300 subjects who are domestic and foreign tourists. The article authors have tested the model as well as the scale for factors affecting the competitiveness of marine tourism in Binh Thuan province, the results are satisfactory and ensure reliability. Each factor affecting the competitiveness of Binh Thuan marine tourism is different, from that, the study proposes some solutions to improve competitiveness and sustainable development for marine tourism in Binh Thuan province soon.

Keywords: Marine tourism, Binh Thuan, competing capability.

Introduction

In Vietnam's tourism development strategy to 2030, it is clearly defined that tourism development becomes a spearhead economic sector, creating a driving force to promote the development of other industries, making an important contribution to forming a modern economic structure; simultaneous development of international tourism and domestic tourism; promote local exports through tourism; strengthen linkages to promote the advantages of natural and cultural resources; Develop a variety of tourism products; expand the market and improve the competitiveness of Vietnam's tourism. To realize these strategic goals, each tourist destination must increase its competitiveness. Binh Thuan is one of the key localities, playing an important role not only in the development of tourism in the South Central Coast region but also in Vietnam's tourism. With the strength of sea tourism, Binh Thuan province has made strong strides in recent years, contributing greatly to the development of national tourism. However, in the current context, Binh Thuan marine tourism does not only has to compete with other localities in the country but also has to compete with many famous sea tourism destinations of countries in the region and the world to attract tourists. Therefore, studying the factors affecting the competitiveness of Binh Thuan marine tourism to determine the factors

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affecting the competitiveness of Binh Thuan marine tourism, based that to propose the solutions to improve the competitiveness of Binh Thuan tourism industry is necessary and meaningful in both theory and practice.

1. Theoretical Foundations

1.1. Concept of tourism competitiveness

Competitiveness is a topic of great importance. The term competitiveness is widely used on a global scale, but so far there is no consensus among scholars and experts on the concept as well as how to measure and analyze competitiveness.

From the perspective of view, marine tourism is a type of tourism with the special attraction of Binh Thuan province, so in this study, the authors approach the competitiveness of Binh Thuan marine tourism in the direction of integrating industry-level competitiveness and destination competitiveness.

Many researchers around the world have developed theoretical and conceptual frameworks to explain what is a competitive tourist destination such as Crouch, 2011; Chon, Weaver, & Kim, 1993; Crouch & Ritchie, 1995, 1999; Dwyer, Forsyth, & Rao, 2000; Dwyer and Kim, 2003; Ritchie and Crouch, 2003. Most of the research on competitiveness generally includes three groups of factors: (1) competitive advantage in price, (2) competitive advantage in strategy and management, (3) competitive advantage in terms of culture, society, and history. For a tourist destination, comparative advantage is the available strengths such as resources, climate, landscape... Meanwhile, competitive advantage refers to factors created in the development process such as tourism infrastructure, festivals, quality of human resources, management.

According to Metin Kozak: 'Destination competitiveness is the ability of a destination to adequately provide tourism products to visitors with the highest satisfaction, more differentiated, with higher quality and better than other destinations and can sustain those results.'

According to Nguyen Anh Tuan: 'Destination competitiveness is the ability of a destination to effectively compete with other destinations in the regional and international tourism market, providing a more satisfying experience for tourists and more sustainable prosperity for indigenous peoples'.

Thus, the destination's competitiveness is created from the potential strength of the destination and also the intrinsic factors of each destination. The competitiveness of a destination is not only calculated by the criteria of resources, culture, services, traffic, ... but also must be associated with the advantages of tourism products that the destination creates for the market for the market share it holds.

1.2. Related studies

Research on 'Competitiveness of Binh Thuan destination' (2014) by Nguyen Thi Tuyet has pointed out the factors affecting the competitiveness of Binh Thuan tourist destination including 1. Economic situation; 2. Politics; 3. Law; 4. Natural environment; 5. Socio-cultural; 6. Science and technology; 7. International; 8. Customers; 9. Competitors; 10. Potential Rivals; 11. Substitute products; 12. Relevant authorities. However, this study has not yet shown the model and impact levels of these factors on the competitive competence of Binh Thuan tourism.

In the article 'Competitive analysis of tourist destinations in Hue city' (2015) by Nguyen Thi Le Huong and Phan Thanh Hoan, the factors constituting the competitiveness of Hue are determined based on the destination competition model of Ritchie and Crouch (2003). Through

the technique of factor analysis and reliability testing of the scale, the research model draws out 26 indicators grouped into 4 main factors constituting the competitiveness of the destination in Hue city which are: destination; Connect ability; Core attractions and resources; Habitat; and tourism infrastructure. However, the research results also show that these four factors have not completely played a decisive role in the competitiveness of Hue city's tourist destination.

The study of authors Nguyen Thanh Sang and Nguyen Phu Son 'Factors determining the competitiveness of Bac Lieu tourist destination' (2018) has identified 5 factors that make up the competitiveness of Bac Lieu tourist destination includes: technical facilities, attractiveness, destination image, tourism services, and destination management. Each factor is composed of many different observable factors that represent the characteristics of that factor. Of all the factors, 'There are many food and beverage services around the destination' in the tourism service factor is the most important influence on the tourism destination competitiveness of Bac Lieu. However, the limitation of this study is that the study only focuses on surveying domestic tourists to visit and travel at several tourist sites in Bac Lieu province, while domestic tourists. International tourism plays a large role in the tourism industry of Bac Lieu province but has not been mentioned, as the authors have not proposed a specific research model.

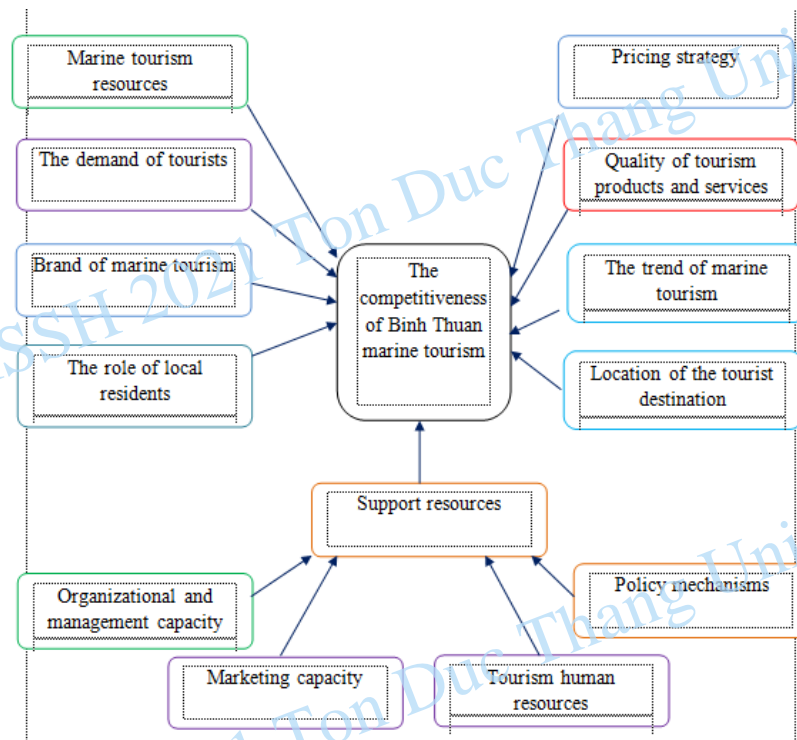
In the article 'Factors affecting the brand and competitiveness of tourist destinations: a case study in Ben Tre province' of Nguyen Thanh Long, Nguyen Thanh Lam, Nguyen Quyet Thang (2018), research results have shown that brand and destination competitiveness is affected by 8 factors, including 1. The technical infrastructure of tourism; 2. Natural environment; 3. Destination responsiveness; 4. Cuisine; 5. Security and safety in tourism; 6. People; 7. Prices of services; 8. Coconut and coconut products; At the same time, competitiveness is affected by destination.

In summary, in the past time, there have been many studies on the factors affecting the competitiveness of tourist destinations, the results of the above studies show that most of the factors affecting the competitiveness of the destination are a locality under many angles such as approach by field of activity, by management capacity, by scale, etc. However, the studies are not systematic and have not gone into a specific type of tourism specific to that destination. We have not found any research studying the factors affecting the competitiveness of marine tourism in a locality as Binh Thuan.

2. Research Model and Hypothesis

2.1. Research models

Summarizing many opinions of experts, the majority of opinions agree with the factors affecting the competitiveness of Binh Thuan marine tourism including, 1. Marine tourism resources; 2. Quality of tourism products and services; 3. Pricing strategy; 4. The role of local residents; 5. Brand of marine tourism, 6. The demand of tourists, 7. The trend of marine tourism; 8. Location of the tourist destination, 9. Support resources; 10. Mechanisms and policies; 11. Tourism human resources, 12. Marketing capacity; 13. Organizational and management capacity. Based on the research results on the competitiveness of tourist destinations in general and marine tourism activities in particular from researches of domestic and foreign authors, combined with qualitative research results, we would like to present The preliminary research model is as follows:



2.2. Research hypotheses

On that basis, there are the following hypotheses: H1: Marine tourism resources; H2: Demand of tourists; H3: Brand of marine tourism; H4: The role of local residents; H5: Pricing strategy; H6: Quality of tourism products and services; H7: Trends of marine tourism; H8: Location of the tourist destination; H9: Support resources; H10: Organizational and managerial capacity; H11: Policy mechanism; H12: Marketing capacity; H13: Tourism human resources have a positive influence on the competitiveness of Binh Thuan marine tourism.

Based on the research model and research hypotheses, the authors complete the scale for the factors in the model.

3. Research Methods and Results

We have surveyed 300 tourists, including 225 domestic tourists and 75 international tourists, the results of which 300 survey sheets are satisfactory.

3.1. Evaluation of scale reliability

Cronbach's Alpha analysis aims to evaluate the convergent value of observed variables on a scale. As mentioned, the scale meets the requirements when Cronbach's Alpha coefficient > 0.7 and the total correlation of observed variables > 0.3 .

The scale of organizational and managerial capacity with the observed variable TCQL3 (The arrangement and replacement of personnel are always good for service activities) has a variable correlation coefficient - total = $0.232 < 0.3$, no qualified. Therefore, this observable variable will be eliminated. Continue to perform Cronbach alpha for the second time.

The results of the Cronbach alpha analysis of the scales of the concepts show that all the measurement concepts have the Cronbach Alpha coefficient of 0.70 or higher. Specifically, the Cronbach Alpha coefficient varies from 0.815 (the scale of the role of local residents) to 0.904

(the scale of marine tourism resources) so it is not necessary to remove the variable to improve the Cronbach Alpha. In addition, all observed variables have a total correlation coefficient of 0.30 or more. Thus, the scale of research concepts reaches the required reliability.

3.2. Exploratory factor analysis (EFA)

Factor analysis for all variables in the model is performed with the factor extraction method 'Principal Axis Factoring' with the rotation method 'Promax'. Some criteria when performing EFA analysis:

First: KMO coefficient (Kaiser – Meyer – Olkin) ≥ 0.5 . The significance level of the Bartlett test was ≤ 0.05 . (Hair et al., 2010).

Second: Factor loading ≥ 0.5 . The difference in the load coefficient of 1 observed variable on the factors must be 0.3 or more to ensure the distinction between the factors. If the observed variable has a factor loading factor of less than 0.5 or the difference of factor loading factor is less than 0.3, it will be eliminated. (Hair et al., 2010)

Third, the scale is accepted when the total variance extracted is $\geq 50\%$. (Hair et al., 2010).

Fourth: The eigenvalue coefficient is ≥ 1 . (Hair et al., 2010).

1st EFA:

KMO test has coefficient KMO = 0.800 (ie > 0.5); Bartlett test has Sig.=0.000 (ie less than the significance level of 0.05), which means that the variables are related to each other. This shows that EFA analysis is suitable.

At the value of Eigenvalues = 1,016 (>1.0), EFA has extracted 14 factors (exactly equal to the number of factors compared to the proposed research model) from 52 observed variables with a total extracted variance of 62.890% ($> 50\%$). Observable variables with factor loading factors less than 0.5 or variables loading up more than one factor with the difference of factor loading factors less than 0.3 must be excluded. Accordingly, the observed variable MAR1 (The ability to meet the needs and tastes of tourists is always guaranteed) is excluded because the factor loading is less than 0.5. Then continue to perform the second EFA.

2nd EFA:

KMO test has coefficient KMO = 0.797 (ie > 0.5); Bartlett test has Sig.=0.000 (ie less than the significance level of 0.05), which means that the variables are related to each other. This shows that EFA analysis is very appropriate.

Table 3.2: KMO and Bartlett test for factors in model research

KMO coefficient (Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin)		.797
Bartlett Accreditation	Chi squared approx	8227.946
	df	1275
	Sig.	0.000

At the value Eigenvalues = 1,015 (>1.0), EFA has extracted 14 factors from 51 observed variables with a total extracted variance of 63.225% ($>50\%$) and no new factors were formed compared with the model originally proposed study. In this EFA, the observed variables have

factor loading coefficients ranging from 0.539 to 0.882 (ie all greater than 0.5). Thus, after the second EFA analysis, these 51 observed variables have met the EFA analysis criteria (satisfactory), so no variables have been excluded at this stage.

3.3. Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA)

3.3.1. Evaluate the overall fit of the model

Unidirectionality test: The scale meets the requirements of unidirectionality if it satisfies the following conditions: (1) Chi-square/df value is less than 3 with a significance level of P-value less than 0.05; (2) Indicators GFI, TLI, and CFI need to have a value greater than 0.9. According to Hair et al. (2010), the GFI, TLI, and CFI values can be less than 0.9, but not too small; (3) The RMSEA index must be less than 0.08.

The CFA results show that the critical model has 1133 degrees of freedom, the chi-square test value = 1550,457 with P-value = 0.000 and chi-square/df = 1.368 meets the requirements < 2 and the indexes indicate the model. The model is in agreement with the market data (CFI = 0.944, GFI = 0.844, TLI = 0.937 satisfactory > 0.9, RMSEA = 0.035 < 0.08). According to Hair et al. (2010), GFI index > 0.8 is still acceptable. Therefore, it can be concluded that the model guarantees a general fit.

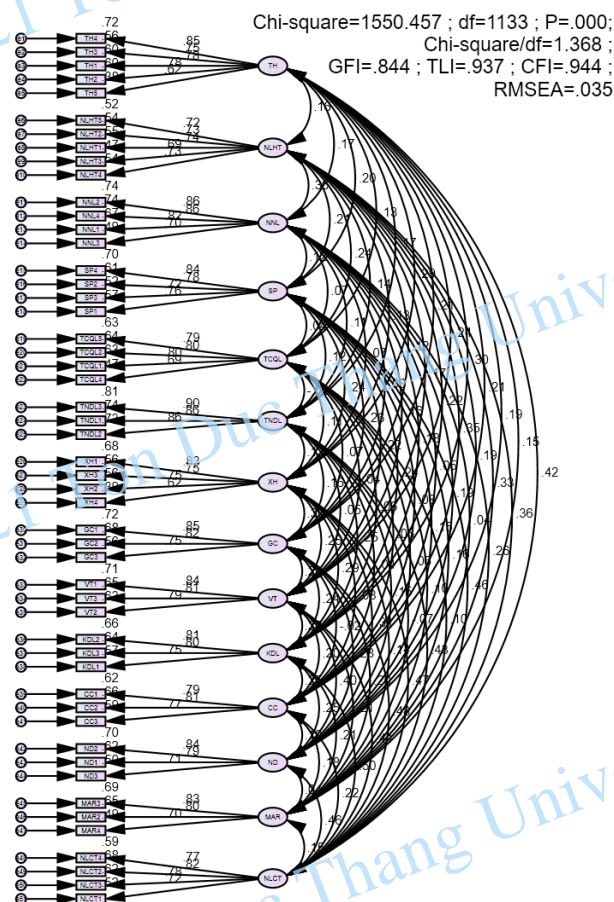


Figure 3.1: Critical CFA model (normalized)

3.3.2. Combined reliability assessment (CR) and extracted variance (AVE)

Testing the reliability of the scales shows that the extracted variance (pvc) and the composite reliability coefficient (ρ_c) of the components are satisfactory. The composite reliability coefficient (ρ_c) ranges from .823 to .905 (satisfying requirements $\geq .70$) and the total variance extracted ranges from 52.2% to 76.1% (satisfying requirements $\geq 50\%$). This shows that the scale is reliable.

3.3.3. Convergence assessment

The average extracted variance is greater than 50% and the combined confidence coefficient is greater than .70 as shown in Section 3.3.2. In addition, the load coefficients of the observed variables on the respective factor ranged from .618 to .898, which is greater than .50. From that, it can be concluded that the scale ensures a good convergence value.

3.3.4. Discrimination Evaluate

The discriminant value indicates the uniqueness or distinctiveness of a structure when compared with other structures in the research model. Fornell and Larcker (1981) recommend that the discriminant value is found when the square root of the AVE for each latent variable is higher than the other correlation values between the other constructs. The values lying on the diagonal are the square root of the AVE of the factor. The values below the diagonal are the correlations between the corresponding constructs in the model. The discriminant value for all structures is obtained when the diagonal value is higher than the values in its row and column. Research results of discriminant validity for all 14 structures in the research model were obtained.

3.4. Test the research model and research hypothesis

3.4.1. Formal theoretical model test

The estimated results of the formal theoretical model are presented in Figure 4.2. There are 14 key concepts in the model: Marine tourism resources, Tourism product, and service quality, Tourism demand, The role of local residents, Tourism human resources, Pricing strategy, Brand of marine tourism, Marine tourism trends, Tourist destination location, Resource support, Organizational and management capacity, Marketing capacity, Policy mechanisms, Competitiveness of Binh Thuan province's marine tourism products.

The results of linear structure analysis with the ML estimation method show that the model has 1145 degrees of freedom. Although the Chi-square value has $p = .000$ (Chi-square = 1561.224), the Chi-square adjusted for degrees of freedom CMIN/df has a value of 1.364 (ensure the requirement is less than 2.00). In addition, all other indicators meet the requirements of CFI = .944; TLI = .938 ; GFI = .843 (all pass $> .90$) and RMSEA = .035 (pass $< .080$). According to Hair et al. (2010), the GFI index > 0.8 is still acceptable. Thus, we can conclude that this model fits the data collected from the market.

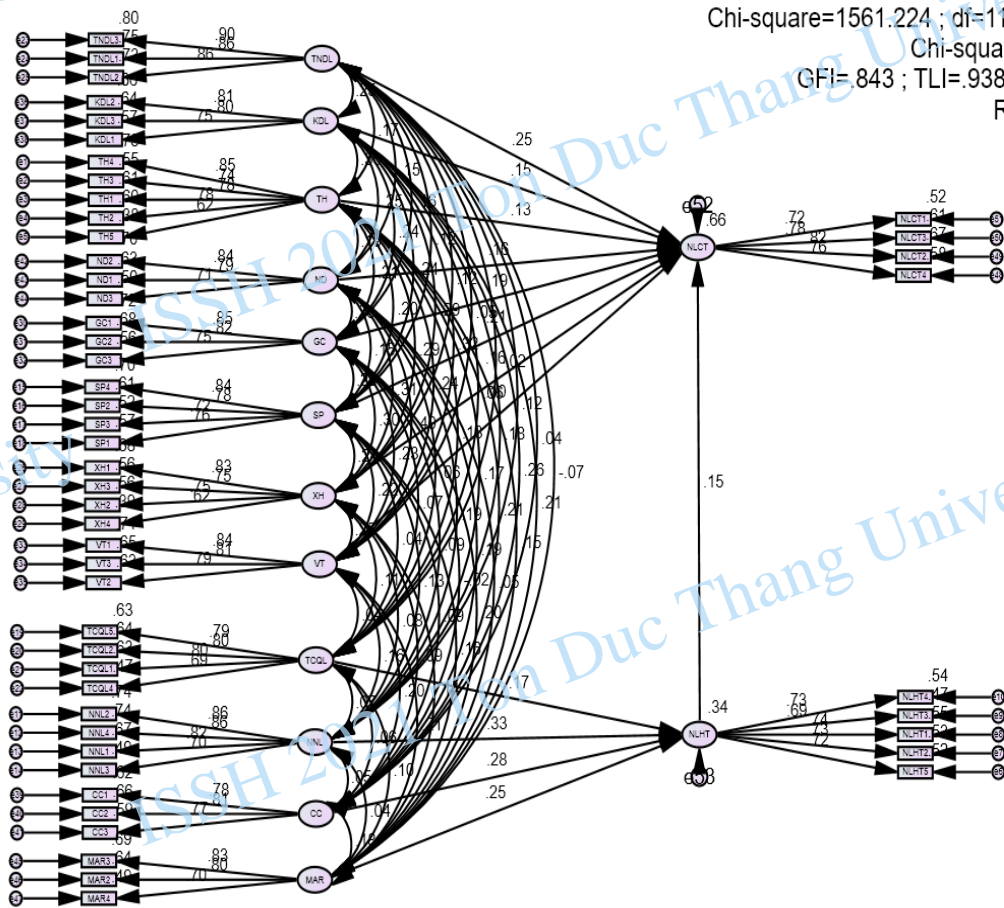


Figure 3.2: Normalized SEM results of the theoretical model

All the hypothesized correlations in the research model are proved by the SEM model test. The weight table of the model shows that the correlation between the location of tourist destinations and competitiveness is not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$). Therefore, the research hypothesis H8 is rejected. The remaining relationships in the model are significant at the 5% level. Therefore, the hypotheses from H1 to H13 are accepted.

Regarding the order of impact of variables on support resources in descending order, including Human resources; Policy mechanisms; Marketing capacity; Organizational and management capacity. The above factors explain 34% of the change in support resources.

The results also show that the order of effects of variables on competitiveness in descending order includes: Marine tourism resources; Quality of tourism products and services; Pricing Strategy; Trend of marine tourism; The role of local residents; Demand of tourists; Support resources; Marine tourism brand. The above factors explain 66.2% of the change in competitiveness.

3.4.2. Check model estimation with Bootstrap

This study uses the bootstrap method with the number of repeated samples $N = 500$. We find that the bias appears but not much and is large (from 0.000 to 0.005) and the critical value $CR \leq 2.0$. Therefore, we can conclude that the estimates in the model can be trusted.

4. Conclusion and Proposed Solutions

4.1. Conclusion

The study clarifies the factors affecting the competitiveness of Binh Thuan marine tourism. Research results show that 12 factors are affecting the competitiveness of Binh Thuan marine tourism. The degree of influence of each factor on the competitiveness of Binh Thuan marine tourism is different, in which, the ranking order is as follows: Marine tourism resources (coefficient 0.255); Quality of tourism products and services (coefficient 0.212); Pricing strategy (coefficient 0.191); Trend of marine tourism (coefficient 0.161); The role of local residents (coefficient 0.157); Demand of tourists (coefficient 0.154); Support resources (coefficient 0.147); Marine tourism brand (coefficient 0.128); especially for the factor of supporting resources, the level of impact of the dependent factors is in the following order: Tourism human resources (coefficient 0.329); Policy mechanisms (coefficient 0.276); Marketing capacity (coefficient 0.252); Organizational and management capacity (coefficient 0.173).

The study has achieved certain results, but some limitations still exist. First of all, because the time of conducting this study was affected by the negative impacts of the Covid-19 epidemic, the number of tourist surveys is not much, especially the number of international tourists surveys is still limited. Secondly, the research mainly focuses on the perspective of tourists but has not been studied and researched by travel businesses and tourism service providers. These limitations are the basis for opening future research directions.

4.2. Suggest some solutions

Firstly, Marine tourism resources are the factor assessed by tourists as having the greatest influence on the competitiveness of Binh Thuan marine tourism, so in the coming time, Binh Thuan province's tourism industry needs to continue to review, research and systematize marine tourism resources (natural landscapes of the coast and sea and islands, marine cultural values, etc.) to exploit effectively and meet demand visitors, while paying attention to conservation and preservation to ensure sustainable development.

Secondly, besides the available attractiveness of marine tourism resources, the quality of tourism products and services is a factor that attracts and stimulates the return of tourists. To develop diversified tourism products and services with high quality based on good exploitation of marine tourism resources, such as sea resort tourism, tourism to visit sea landscapes, tourism to visit relics. cultural history in the space of marine culture, participating in festivals of sea dwellers, marine sports tourism, cruise tourism, focusing on exploiting seafood culture associated with famous specialties of Binh Thuận. Advantages such as a sunny squid, apricot fish salad, thunderstorm, ... How to create a food service that not only meets the quality but also has to show the characteristics of the local cuisine. It is this that will make a difference and enhance the competitiveness of Binh Thuan marine tourism.

Thirdly, Price strategy is the third most important factor affecting the competitiveness of Binh Thuan beach tourism. Therefore, Binh Thuan's tourism industry needs to strictly control price regulations, prices must be consistent with service quality and competition in the market. In addition, it is necessary to encourage businesses to provide tourism products and services to customers at appropriate prices, which is also a necessary solution to attract tourists. Especially, in the low season, it is necessary to increase the quality of existing services in the package tour programs, and at the same time increase the number of services in the tour program to serve more tourists but not increase the price.

Fourthly, Continually study the rapidly changing tastes of tourists. Catching the right circuit of the current tourist flow, anticipating the trend of potential tourists to introduce tour programs

with high benefit value, satisfying the needs of tourists. Upgrading equipment, facilities, and forming international tourism - sports complexes to meet tourists' sea sports and sports activities; Formulate and develop programs to visit and explore Phu Quy island; Develop tourism programs with content in favor of cuisine, culture, rich history, traditional festivals bearing the characteristics of the province's marine culture; Upgrading hotels and conference centers with infrastructure to serve the MICE market such as rooms with requirements for equipment, technical sound, lighting, lights,... to hold conferences, conferences, events. At the same time, organize festivals, cultural events, sports - tourism of national and international scale to attract and expand the visitor market.

Fifthly, Tourists like to meet local people and learn their traditional culture, community participation adds value to tourism programs. In addition, the hospitality and friendliness of the local people will make a special impression in the hearts of tourists, so it is necessary to have policies to encourage the participation of the local community in tourism activities. of the province, local people must be beneficiaries of economic benefits from tourism activities. At the same time, focus on preserving and preserving the values and cultural identities of residents, especially coastal residents of Binh Thuan province. Promote propaganda to raise awareness for the local community, organize short-term classes and training courses to equip local people with more knowledge and skills when participating in tourism activities.

Sixthly, Increase awareness of Binh Thuan marine tourism destination for domestic and foreign tourists through promotional activities; Organize activities to find out, a survey about the needs and preferences of tourists when traveling to Binh Thuan as well as assess the satisfaction level of tourists for Binh Thuan marine tourism. The Department of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Binh Thuan province should establish teams to receive complaints directly from tourists to capture and promptly settle them satisfactorily, contributing to satisfying the needs of tourists.

Seventhly, Planning human resources, developing training plans, and systematically employing staff to improve the quality of human resources to meet the requirements of marine tourism development. There is a plan to evaluate the management and professional qualifications of tourism staff to build training and retraining programs. Expanding professional and soft skills training for the whole team of tourist drivers, taxis, bus station staff, railway stations, ports, sales staff, service staff in hotels, resorts, centers center of entertainment, shopping, sports. At the same time, Building a team of tour guides not only explains the content of the tour purchased by the tourists but also promotes the information of many other tours to stimulate tourists to return to Binh Thuan marine tourism.

Eighthly, Co-operating with provinces and cities throughout the country in market research, tourism promotion, designing high-quality local tour programs to introduce to tourists by contacting tourists. Link tourism spaces based on ensuring basic criteria: diverse and quality tour content.

Finally, Build and promote the Binh Thuan marine tourism brand identity. Periodically inspect and evaluate the quality of tourism service business units and enterprises, the results are publicly announced online, in the press, grant and request establishments to hang the quality rating symbol logo serving the right place to inform visitors. Upgrading and expanding websites to promote Binh Thuan Tourism's image in many languages – such as English, Chinese, Russian.

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TRANSGRESSING THE 'FIELD' NOTES ON THE DIALECTICS OF ENLARGEMENT IN LIVE CINEMATIC EVENTS

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Abstract/ Introduction: This paper returns to the cinematic concept of 'expanded cinema' focusing on current forms of expansion in audio-visual semi-ethnographic semi-fictional representations (i.e., 'Expanded ethnography'). The paper deconstructs the aesthetical dialectics that produce the collective feeling of enlargement of the ethnographic field from a singular stage to a multiplicity of actors and stages ('fields') via staged live interconnections made between intermedia technologies and social/bodily intersubjective relations, beyond the physical limits of the constructed 'reality' of the stage. In doing so, it refers to two recent live cinematic happenings, *Supereverything** (2011-2017) and *Invisible Cities* (2019) in terms of convergences, correspondences, and intermedial staging, all of which dialectically synthesize the expanded 'field', the cityscapes of Kuala Lumpur and Venice, respectively, (re)emerging within the world picture. It argues that the ambiguous feeling of enlargement and transgression of the 'field' is techno/socially manufactured as part of the wider shift to imagination and subjectivity from modes of production to that of consumption, with consequences for ethnographic representation as a market product.

From Expanded Cinema to Expanded Ethnography

The aesthetical expansion of the modes of representation first took place in cinema back in the hippy 1960s. As a by-product of its time, the general idea behind 'expanded cinema' was to open up the 'horizons beyond the point of infinity [...] We must move from oceanic consciousness to cosmic consciousness' (Youngblood 1970, 136). As Marchessault and Lord explain by citing Youngblood's classic text, 'expansion' referred to the increasing use of 'intermedia' as 'an environment whose elements are suffused in *metamorphosis*'. Accordingly, 'To-expand' aesthetically denoted 'an explosion of the frame outward towards immersive, interactive, and interconnected forms of culture' (Marchessault and Lord 2007, 7-8, citing Youngblood). In this aesthetic sense, the term 'expanded cinema', or 'fluid screen' as it is also known, enlarged the field of representation in many sites by opening the distribution of the sensible beyond the separation of objective and subjective realities.

The influential, semi-ethnographic filmmaker Jonas Mekas first coined the term 'expanded' in a 1964 review entitled 'On the Expanding Eye'. As Rees wrote: 'Mekas first saw this trend in the flicker optics and techno-synaesthesia of Brion Gysin and Ian Somerville, and in the rapid eye single-frame films of Gregory Markopoulos and Robert Beer' (Rees 2011, 12).

In one of the essays of the time, a young Susan Sontag reflected, 'Art today is a new kind of instrument, an instrument for modifying consciousness and organizing new modes of sensibility. And the means for practicing art have been radically extended' (1973, 28). Sontag

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referred to 'expansion' in terms of visual and sound experiments of maverick filmmakers and artists of the time, such as Carolee Schneemann, Robert Whitman, and Stan Vanderbeek, among others. During their 'live' performances, they fused video art with film in real time, utilizing looping and/or improvised multiple projections, time-delaying sound techniques, adopted painting techniques, double bodies and double screens, optical and audio *tricks*, all of which emerged *within* the concept of 'synthetic multimedia' (Rees 2011, 1221).

In this highly 'fluid' (i.e., constantly evolving) and idiosyncratic environment, Rees (2011, 13) sketched out three characteristics that loosely unify the variety of experimental films, performances, and installations, under the category of 'expanded'. First is the 'melt down' of all artistic activity and technologies into a multimedia '*live*' event. By 'live', he referred to the open-ended, interactive, and immersive atmosphere or vibe of these performances. The second element is the importance of experimentation with the latest technologies for the creation of new, imaginative spaces via corresponding interactive technologies and virtual spaces such as 'cyberspace' or VR, which accommodate the emergence of both intersubjective relations and self-awareness via exploratory bodily practices ('*kinaesthetic* diversity', Hammer 2021, 554-574). Third, Rees uses Malcolm Le Grice's term '*cinematic*' to describe the crossing between 'media boundaries, recasting the founding notion of kinetics for digital environment' (*Ibid.*, 16).

Furthermore, these happenings are theoretically constructed on three overlapping 'convergences' taking place simultaneously during the live performances (Jenkins 2001, 93). First, as biotechnologically manufactured social/organic convergences, which emerge through Live correspondences between actors and machines. Second, in terms of cultural convergence, by which I refer to the polyphonic and multicultural backgrounds of all those involved (audience and performers), as well as the location of the performance. Third, as 'the result of new modes of production and distribution that are transnational – world cultures [...] and new kinds of co-production and collaboration in the media industries and in trans local hybrid cultures' (Marchessault and Lord 2007, 6, citing Jenkins 2001). These three levels of overlapping convergences (biotechnological relational 'self'/ polyphonic live texts/ and the emergence or enlargement within the world stage) diverge to multiple layers of superimposed new field consisting of the superimposed places shown on the screen, the location and time of the live performance, the intermedial interaction between different technologies and techniques, and the positioning of each member of the performers and audience in *relation* to each other.

Hi-tech Transgressions

The rapid development in virtual and cyber technologies revived this spirit of expansion via the enlargement of the scope of the 'field' by using augmented visual and audio improvised experiments in collaboration with other arts (Schneider 2014 & 2021, Weinel 2019 & 2020). For example, *Supereverything** (2011-2017) was a live cinematic touring event produced by the collaborative group *The Light Surgeons*, media-artist and designer Christopher Thomas Allen and audio-visual artist Tim Cowie, in the synaesthetic form of a musical gig and visual spectacle. During the tour the VJ performers collaborated with different artists, including traditional groups such as Rhythm in Bronze, Hands Percussion, the Heritage Orchestra, and the shadow theatre Wayang Kulit, alongside contemporary experimental composers, such as Ng Chor Guan and Flicker. In this travelling and experiential manner, the VJ performers created each night a different world picture of 'Kuala Lumpur' and 'Malay/Asia' in interaction with the audience, who participated in the event via *Twitter*. Accordingly, *each* performance was an open-ended live event between those involved and the place where the performance took place.

The performance was built upon layers upon layers of music and sound that corresponded to ethnographic images, or 'chunks of life' in Fischer's terms (2018), taken from Kuala Lumpur and Malaysian life. In doing so, Allen and Cowie superimposed closeups of everyday traditional techniques and ritualised habits and/or memories simulated by a series of resending overlapping sounds, against hi-tech visualisations of impersonal long shots showing the rapid industrialization of the countryside via a soundscape of industrial life (i.e. 'psychogeography'). Allen and Cowie interweaved images and sounds by placing them as layers upon layers, sometimes juxtaposing them on double screens, other times superimposing them on top of each other, creating an immersive picture of 'Malay/Asia' in the hyper aesthetic form of a 'cyber-dream' (using Weinel's terms to describe the process of visualizing music in augmenting the perception of 'reality', 2020, 209-227).

The process of enlargement of this dreamy world picture of 'Kuala Lumpur' during the performances of *Supereverything** took place in terms of 'correspondence(s) [...] to these happenings and interventions' (as in Ingold 2013, 105-8, and 2014, 389-390). By distinguishing between ethnography and participant observation in terms of correspondence and representation respectively, Ingold argued that 'correspondence' is a matter of 'living attentionally with others', i.e., a relational ontological matter of being by '*becomings*' in relation to others -rather than simply a matter of interconnection (Ingold 2014, 389). Allan and Cowie orchestrated this collective metamorphosis ('becomings') by technologically enhancing the live correspondence(s) between various voices, focusing on the quest for identity in a multicultural world: '*Because I think if you don't know who you are, if you don't know where you come from, how you know where you are going*' (*Supereverything** Trailer).^{*} In this context, the ethnographic 'field' extends beyond the limits of the stage, and as a metaphor for ethnography, beyond the 'Malinowskian *mise-en-scène*' (Marcus 1995, 95-117) by *becoming* converged into 'mode of ethnographic research self-consciously embedded in a world system' itself (*Ibid.*, 96).

Key to this process of enlargement and becoming is the staging of intermedial technologies. Kattenbelt defined 'intermediality' as 'the staging ... of media, for which theatre as a hypermedium provides pre-eminently a stage', by 'involving a resensibilisation of the perception of experiencers' (Kattenbelt 2010, 29-30). As such, 'the affect of the work of art lies in the experiencer' (*Ibid.*, 31). This process of re-sensibilisation of the senses in a transgressive manner virtually creates '**gateways into the performance**', referring to points of departure to an-Other reality with the use of a variety of enchanting immersive technologies (as in Nibbelink and Merx 2010, 219). Nibbelink and Merx associated the effect of 'disturbance of the senses' with the *shocking* character of avant-garde theatre, or what Burger has referred to as the effect of 'de-familiarization' (1984, 12). The effect of defamiliarization points to an affinity between intermedial performances with ritual performances and/or avant-garde theatre, in terms of active *attentionality* of the 'experiencers' into the happening (as in Dixon 2007, 363-378, and 392-394). In this sense, the immersive environments of intermedial performances share an affinity with, if not a direct historical connection to, the performance of transgressive 'social dramas' in Turner's classic terms: 'public episodes of tensional irruption' of a 'world in *becoming*, not a world in being' (1974, 24, 33). In ritual performance, the '*blurring and merging* of distinctions may characterize *liminality*'. This ambiguity allows to '*play*' with the elements of the familiar and *defamiliarize* them. Novelty *emerges* from unprecedented combinations of familiar elements' (Turner 1982, 26-27, *my emphasis*).

In this context, *Supereverything** gave an aesthetic familiarity to those watching the performances -even if they had never visited Kuala Lumpur for that matter. The aesthetical

^{*} *Supereverything** Trailer, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=24jrR1Ekubs>.

convergence of shapes and technologies into a total *imago Dei* of the City (rather than Kula Lumpur per se) compromised the shocking effect of transgression, i.e., the process of defamiliarization. The ritualistic aesthetic of the performances therefore lacked the experiential effect of rituals because it technologically filtered the experience of the Other via one's own memories and senses. The members of the audience, being part of this *living mise-en-scène*, were commodified by the performance's trickster creators, who were well hidden, by being over-exposed on stage, behind the transparent aesthetic liveness of the happening. The essence of this kind of aesthetic 'entrapment' (as in Alfred Gell's anti-aesthetic terms) and/or deception, is the illusion of transparency of the see-through screen and/or musical text. The production of this enlarged transparent and semi-improvised picture of 'Malay/Asia' therefore enhanced a feeling of world citizenship, i.e., being familiar with an absent place that the viewers may never visit in their lives. *Their* world picture of 'Malay/Asia' included their perspectives, personal memories, and their experiences; *their* world being fused within and emerging out of the emerging multi-layered *mise-en-scène* itself. They became the products of their own consumption, their *wanderlust*.

Transgressing the Field beyond the Stage

In the more recent production of Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities* [1974] at the Manchester International Festival (4-21 July 2019), the Head of Architecture of 59 Productions Jenny Melville also pointed to the three overlapping layers upon which the imagined city of 'Venice' was produced. The starting point was the venue itself situated at the Manchester Depot. The second was the staging and *mise-en-scène* of the performance, in the form of the cross, which divided the audience in four areas allowing them to change their perspective. By allowing different perspectives from different angles, the stage became a kind of living *mise en-scène*, which included the performers and audience as they emerged from 'shapes that are made by the relationships between people.' These were choreographically integrated into the actors' movement that literary *shaped* the cities. On a third level, the aesthetically transparent projections of the imaginary cityscapes aimed to 'take the audience somewhere incredibly far away from that's facing itself.*' The immersive and highly engaging living *mise en-scène* brought in mind the aesthetics of computer games and the hyper-real tricks by which space is augmented via both the manipulation of the senses (augmented overlapping images and sounds) and in terms of connectivity and positioning between the participants (as in Cunningham *et al.*, 2020, 229-247). Participation is necessary in creating the living social space between the participants in terms of their connectivity and means of relation.

In his classic book on the production of social space, Lefebvre developed a linguistic semiotic approach as a means of deconstructing the 'spatial code' of spaces (1991, 16). For Lefebvre, social space does not exist *a priori*, but rather, is by itself a manufactured social product in the Brechtian sense of *mise-en-scène*. In the book, Lefebvre methodologically starts with the materialist perspective of the production of space as a dialectical process that synthesizes an aesthetical naturalization of perception between the illusion of transparency against the illusion of realism. According to the author, central in the processes of producing social space is the political use of knowledge as directly integrated into the forces of production through the mediation of emerging social relations (*Ibid.* 8-9). For 'space is a social product', a 'tool of thought and of action [...] a means of control, and hence domination' (*Ibid.*, 26). He further

* *Behind the Scenes of Invisible Cities* Parts 1 & 2, Manchester International Festival.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UFvITPoeHbY> and
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M1g8ucNeFck>.

contextualized these dialectics of the power of the place with the metaphor of the trap as a process of entrapment producing the illusion of realism in conceptualized (as opposed to grounded material) spaces (*Ibid.* 8-11 and 27-30).

The overlapping layer-upon-layer transgresses the social space as a kind of living 3-D fluid *bricolage* of a hyper-real and transparent augmentation of realities of social spaces, which 'interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another' (Lefebvre, 86). In terms of staging these interpenetrated relations, the first layer is the venue itself, i.e., the place and stage on which each performance takes place. The second layer is the way each member of the audience positioned and participates. The third overlapping level is in terms of the illusion of transparency via VT and Cyber interactive and intermedial technologies, which aimed to expand the audience's perception beyond their everyday reality into the *phantasmagoric* totality of a living world picture of the cities of 'Kuala Lumpur' or 'Venice', respectively -in which they felt they had authored themselves simply by *being* there.

In an ironical postmodern way, the audiences become the product of their own consumption of art. In Brechtian style and method, Lefebvre argues that to break from this transparent illusion of 'reality', the Shadows of Plato's Cave, it is necessary to reverse the continuity of superimposition by realizing the means of its fragmentation (the pieces of the puzzle). The social space of an expanded field is an 'effigy of the effigy' of representation of the 'world' itself -if I may use Artaud's prophetic terms (Artaud 2013, 12). It is a carefully mirrored *mise-en-scène*, whose force claims to offer a transparent looking-glass into an emerging 'reality', one that is spontaneous and emancipative. Yet, the living world pictures of 'Kuala Lumpur' or 'Venice' hide more than they show, carrying crypto-ideological fragments of a wider political system of new emerging sensibilities and modes of being and becoming, specifically associated with the latest 'world' products which via their manufactured relational ontologies offer a deceiving feeling of belonging to the world.

Conclusion

Daydreaming

Jacques Ranciere famously argued that 'the distribution of the sensible' is a matter of 'distribution of places' and 'fantasies' which disrupt 'the clear partition of identities, activities, and spaces.' (2004, 13). Yet, the paradox of this collective metamorphosis of consciousness is that it is set within the wider context of an elliptical 'world picture' (Heidegger 1977) -*one that is only a representation of something (a 'world') that is not materially out there, but only as an idea*. It is a metaphor of 'immensity' in Bachelard's poetic terms of *Daydream* [1958]. It both requires and enhances 'the real product', which is situated 'within our-selves', and manifested as the 'consciousness of enlargement' (Bachelard 1994, 184), one that echoes the 1960s concept of 'expanded' in expanded cinema. Conversely, immensity becomes vital in producing the atmosphere of the performance itself, carrying an emancipating feeling of belonging to the world as a free citizen of the world. Yet, at this point, we are facing a deep methodological contradiction in the creation of this immersive picture of a world society via the convergencies hosted by intermedial technologies. I specifically refer to the double illusion of experiencing on the one hand, and continuity on the other, given to an otherwise manufactured and fragmented, hyper-real soundscapes and illusionary cityscapes.

It could be argued then, that ethnographic representation as an art-form echoes Walter Benjamin's dressing up of capitalist culture as *phantasmagoria*, by which he referred to the commodified, undisrupted series of dream images set within urban spaces (Cohen 2004, 199-220). In his essay 'Looking Back on Surrealism', Benjamin made the point that the subjectivity

invested in the form of *bricolage* 'has become estranged from itself as well as from the world' (Benjamin 1991, 88). Benjamin wrote in respect to Surrealism as a critique of both an alienated modern society and alienation of the *auteur* in the culture industry. He highlighted the loss of the alienating effect of Surrealism of his time when noting: 'But if Surrealism itself now seems obsolete, it is because human beings are now denying themselves the consciousness of denial that was captured in the photographic negative that was Surrealism' (Benjamin 1991, 90). The denial of the conscious of denial in Benjamin's terms is a narcissist recognition upon the mirror of representation, i.e., the effigy of representation replaced the effigy of recognition itself, style over content. The new products address the audiences in the same way adverts relate to consumers: this *is* about *YOU* the consumer -not the real world.

The reversal dialectics in the process of enlargement and convergence and shift from the modes of mass production to modes of personal consumption, i.e., the reversal of technology as supposedly supporting, rather than promoting, a priori personal thoughts and style (idealism, the 'world' label), has radically changed the nature of aesthetics into a 'sensible mode of being specific to artistic products' (as in Ranciere 2004, 22). For Marx, it was the material conditions that predetermined and conditioned ideas and the ideology of an era. But that was back in modern times, when All-that-is-Solid-melted-into-Air. ***Nowadays, the natural law of entropy is set in reverse.*** In the simulated *Dream World*, it is the ideas that condition material History, not the other way around. Today's 'creative economies' and personalized markets buy and sell individualities. The great deception is that the virtual world makes us feel special and unique world citizens, when we are still anonymous parts in mass system co-ordinated by Silicon Valley and other centres of economic control (Jaron Lanier) dully indulged in our hi-tech aesthetic self-narcissism of a world that never was -and possibly, will never be.

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COSMOPOLITANISM: FROM THE MORAL IMPERATIVE TO THE IMPULSE FOR EROS AND HOSPITALITY IN THE CREATIVE CONSTITUTIVE

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Abstract: How do we imagine the world? In this presentation I explore artistic and philosophical investigations on world making that go beyond the recent efforts to expand regional and formal categories. My aim is to re-think the ancient discourse on the cosmos and re-boot the contemporary reflections on creation. I take seriously artist's claims that aesthetic experience is connected to cosmic energy. I also tie these speculations to philosophical discussions on cosmopolitanism. The task of rethinking cosmopolitanism is not just a divorce from the geo-political and normative versions of globalization. It also involves a scrutiny of how aesthetics operates with a different optic. The wider scope of this presentation is to offer an outline of cosmopolitanism that is not just as a moral determination, but also as an embodiment of the creative constitutive.

Introduction

Is the impulse of eros and creation linked to hospitality and cosmopolitanism? Every time I try to answer this question, I immediately run a line through the words I have just put down. I don't know where to begin. The whole of my training has led me to examine hospitality and cosmopolitanism from the opposite direction. Changing direction, starting with the impulse is forcing me to go against the grain of my education in the humanities and social sciences. But I think a change is necessary. I am convinced that if the idea of cosmopolitanism is to find renewal, then we need to discover other forces, a different kind of momentum, and new links.

For a long time I have argued that hospitality cosmopolitanism needs to be addressed from the artist's point of view. I have claimed that the concept of aesthetic cosmopolitanism could provide a valuable supplement to the normative approaches that has so far dominated the framing of cosmopolitanism. I hoped that this heading would be a kind of antidote.

The 21st Century began with a violent awakening that a new world order was not within our reach. It was neither going to be delivered by the force of neo-imperial America might nor through the European model of incremental federation. The philosophers who gleefully relished the former and the others that held faint hopes for the latter were both disappointed. The world was not now, nor has it ever, been conquered or converted by force and reason alone. Other affects and ideologies have gained traction. In this crossfire the prospects for cosmopolitanism now look weak and remote. Kant's promise of a rendez-vous with a cosmopolitan destiny was revised, updated and extended, and still it fell short.

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The Moral Imperative

Kant had the vision that this geo-political transformation of the modern age was just a transitional stage. The highest goal for humanity was the development of cosmopolitan laws and the formation of peaceful federations. Kant prided himself on his ability to bind philosophical thought to political realism. However, his thinking on cosmopolitanism was also entirely threaded with metaphysical claims on the progress of history and it rested on untested assumptions of the 'asocial sociality' of human nature. From his radiant faith in the progress of history and with his grievous claims on the warring nature of humans Kant proceeded to outline a moral framework, as well as set of principles and the institutional structures that would ultimately secure the cosmopolitan destiny for humanity. Kant's patrician worldview, which was formed through the interplay between moral reasoning, civic governance and historical progress, was the foundational source in what I have been referring to as normative cosmopolitanism.

Part of the ruin of cosmopolitanism lay in the inability to dispel persistent stereotypes. In the popular imagination cosmopolitanism was perceived as a luxury item for the elites who floated with unbound mobility and remained oblivious to the militarization of borders and the desperation of the trapped. However, in my view the appeal of cosmopolitanism also suffered from its increasing reduction into a form of instrumental reasoning. The cosmopolitan ideals became cold and detached. Even when cosmopolitan values were incorporated into the institutional frameworks of the EU or UN very few people seemed to really believe in them. Cynicism compounded when values were seen as divorced from the actual distribution of economic resources and expressions of political will. It was hard to see how cosmopolitanism was being normalized within the formal networks of power. On the contrary, it was more and more caricatured by the neo-nationalists as sign of treachery. Even worse it was its adoption in the rhetoric and promotion campaigns of transnational corporations.

In the 1990s the ideals of normative cosmopolitanism dominated scholarly debates. Kant's influence was at an all-time high. While not even the most dedicated followers of Kant would uphold his metaphysical claims about the historical inevitability of cosmopolitanism, there was a sense of optimism that history was leading us towards a cosmopolitan destination. Whether it was from a Marxist materialist (Habermas 1997) or postmodern deconstructionist approach (Derrida 2001), cosmopolitanism was shorn of its metaphysical strains and a leaner normative version was promoted. In political theory the focus was mostly trans-national institution building. The growth in art biennales across the world also provided platforms for artists to develop projects that highlighted the ethical identification with the other. Then, with the turn of the century a seismic shift occurred. The academic mood on cosmopolitanism moved from optimism to pessimism. Among the most vociferous critics of cosmopolitanism there was an insistence that normative frameworks could not be extended onto a global scale. On the contrary, they demanded that political and moral norms must either reflect cultural specificities (Sloterdijk 2017) or uphold liberal democratic procedures (Mouffe 2008). Craig Calhoun (2017) had gone so far as to declare that the cosmopolitical projects that were so promising in the 1990s were now dead because:

- a- The cosmopolitical projects were based on an ideal that was never grounded in reality and was therefore impossible to realize.
- b- The ideal was a denial of the inherent and ineradicable grain of violent competition in human nature.
- c- The ideal bypasses the natural priority that was given to familial and proximate social bonds.

d- In the absence of any institutional mechanism that can define, promote and defend the ideals of cosmopolitanism, it will be impossible to establish a cosmopolitan society.

Since 2001 a new realism torched the scholarly debates on cosmopolitanism. In general, cosmopolitanism was dismissed because it was assumed that the violent tendencies in human nature were incompatible with the irenic demands of cosmopolitanism. There was also a vehement reclamation of the cultural specificity of bonds that tie people together. Social bonds were also seen as being dependent on attachments to place, and it was argued that bonds become meaningless and weak when they were either stretched over vast distances, or expressed through abstract principles. The new realism kept hammering the point that bonds are there to hold friends together and keep enemies in their place: bonds need borders and only fortified borders ensure security. It was *nomos* – the appropriation of land into divisible lots – that was primal in human society (Schmitt 2006). From this perspective being provincial was not registered as a moral failure, or denigrated as a sign of cultural backwardness. On the contrary, for political leaders it became a source of pride, and their popularity spiked whenever they could scapegoat elitist and rootless cosmopolitans. This tendency found its most bald expression in British Prime Minister's expression: 'if you believe you are a citizen of the world, you're a citizen of nowhere'.*

Towards the Creative Constitutive

While cosmopolitanism waned in the political arena it seemed to wax in the field of contemporary art. Many of the most prominent artists, such as Tania Bruguera, Emily Jacir and Francis Alys, could be seen as exemplars of aesthetic cosmopolitanism. In their work we can see new ways of expressing cosmopolitan principles and values; hospitality, empathy, curiosity and solidarity with others. By approaching ancient ideals from the ground of everyday relationships, ordinary transactions and local organizations they sought to resist the dominant political tendencies. Being witness to many such art events has been an uplifting part of my life. It has shown me that artists can sustain hope even when political philosophers decry that the situation is hopeless. The artistic combination of defiance and optimism is truly inspiring! However, I still feel that my previous efforts to address these aesthetic expressions are incomplete. Something is missing.

This nagging, and I have to say unprompted auto-critique is now uncomfortable. I wear it like a stone in my shoe. I am approaching the end of my tenure as an academic and I have the dreadful feeling of having trained my eye to look for cosmopolitanism from the wrong end. All this time I have been an advocate of the artist's perspective, but I have only stopped to understand the expression of cosmopolitanism in social, cultural and political terms. Does an aesthetic cosmopolitanism not also demand its own point of view? Would this require a new optic that is trained towards the sensory impulse for eros and creation?

Approaching cosmopolitanism from the other end also requires a definition of impulse. I do not see impulse in terms of psychological categories such as instinct. It is not simply an inner force that is part of human nature. Impulse is the force that comes from the relation between I

* Eran Schaerf has pointed out that on the lectern from which Teresa May spoke was the slogan 'Global Britain', and that when the speech was reported by the BBC it included the jingle, 'wherever you are, you are with the BBC'. In Schaerf's rendition of this incident there is the accompanying voices of people declaring, 'Citizens of nowhere! You are with the BBC' and reaching a crescendo with, 'Citizens of nowhere! Unite!' I am in debt to Gerald Raunig (2021) for this reference.

and Thou. It arises in the movement towards an externality – objects, peoples, networks, structures and spaces. Impulse does not take us into the inner well that is the source of human drives, but rather it refers to the connective force that is assumed in the relation between I and Thou. Cosmopolitanism is thus emergent from this connective impulse rather than a product of moral reasoning and a construct sustained by institutional regulations. Tracing cosmopolitanism from the point of view of the aesthetic impulse is therefore a means to re-center the role of the imagination and supplement the normative paradigms.

This does not mean that aesthetic approach supersedes or cancels the normative. It is not a competition of zero and sum. These two approaches exist on different planes. There are zones of overlap. Clearly the works of art made by Bruguera, Jacir and Alys have normative effects – they prompt moral questions and political action. However, this does not exhaust the totality of its meaning and does not touch its sources. To catch these other levels, and apprehend another dimension of cosmopolitanism, we need to supplement the normative approach. It is not enough to look at art from the point of the moral imperative. Philosophers, such as Henri Bergson, who are part of a counter history in philosophy, have also argued in favor of a wider perspective.

Bergson claimed that this emancipatory approach had drained the idea of the soul. He was conscious of the impasse in which the modern subject was trapped. The point was to neither resurrect the old hierarchy that separated the divine from the mortals, nor to dwell purely material world. A different form of consciousness of our cosmic connections and social relations beckoned. Bergson was intense in his criticism of Kantian strictures and his work was an inspiration for a new generation of philosophers such Gilles Deleuze, Michel Foucault and Jean Luc-Nancy. I believe that it is from this counter history of the cosmos that a new theory of aesthetic cosmopolitanism will emerge.

Bergson never addressed the concept of cosmopolitanism in a direct manner. He certainly did not propose that cosmopolitanism was the culmination point in moral reasoning. However, the constant pulse in Bergson's writing is the question of relations and creations, and it is through this quest that we see a luminous intimation of a cosmopolitan community. As we have noted the dominant philosophical tradition came to an impasse when it tried to envisage a realistic account of cosmopolitanism. Kant had demonstrated that it would not be delivered by divine fiat and he also doubted that human nature could be the source from which a cosmopolitan world emerged. He assumed that war was primal in human nature and waiting for God was a waste of time. Kant's solution was to close off these dead topics and develop a firm system based on moral reasoning. This would provide a defense against the warring tendencies in human nature and offer a grounded alternative to philosophical and religious idealism.

Bergson considered the antinomies that bound Kant's thought as far too limited. He set out to go beyond the restricted options between realism and idealism, empirical materialism and sensory aestheticism. In particular, he wanted to override the mind and body division and develop a view of human consciousness that was open to the life force of the cosmos. By following Bergson's questions on relations and creation, we can see the doors of cosmopolitanism swinging way beyond Kant's moral imperative and onto the creative constitutive. For Bergson the method that enables the understanding of all creation and every relation is based on intuition. This takes us in a new direction. It rejects the stigmatic view on the sensory body as it frames the self-other relations in terms of sympathy. Bergson's conception of sympathy is not confined to pity for or admiration of the other's predicament. Such a version of sympathy would confine it to an affect that merely establishes a common plane for sharing pain and pleasure. Bergson goes further by claiming that the process of identification with the other can 'seize the self' into a leaping and plunging motion. It is in this

movement that identification can also spur indignation and inspiration, so that sympathy does not rest in a passive state of complicity but is also part of an agitated and uplifting state of resistance. Sympathy is therefore not just a feeling of humility and compassion for the other, but also the means by which the self is open and free for change. Bergson's striated vision of sympathy is the basis of his method of intuition.

For Bergson the method of intuition was a way out of the impasse of realism and idealism that had confounded moral philosophy in the Enlightenment tradition. Intuition was not just an introspective form of contemplation but a projective activity. If philosophy was confined to this inner world Bergson feared that it would be deprived of any critical capacity that comes from the life-affirming energy of connection with others. Bergson was not afraid to embrace mystics and artists. In their practice he saw both an intelligence that could differentiate and an alignment of the multiple into unity that does not collapse into the singular. He not only expressed awe towards the surge of energy that came from creativity, but saw this as a model to overcome the binary between the realism of empirical causation and the idealism of divine metaphysics. Deleuze was not so confident that philosophy could keep up: 'Undoubtedly philosophy can only consider the mystical soul from the outside and from the point of view of its line of probability' (Deleuze 1991: 112). In such a state of detachment philosophy would lose what Bergson called *elan vital*, the vital impulse. Bergson used this principle to understand how creation appears and relations are formed. He claimed that human intelligence was neither an inner resource nor a pre-existing external entity. Humans did not find intelligence by digging deeper into their soul, or by being gifted the light from above. On the contrary, intelligence was formed in the moment that the self leaps towards the other, and through this act of propulsion enters into the heterogeneity of the other. The heterogeneity of the other is the spring from which the act of differentiation proceeds that in turn activates intelligence.

Intuition is equated with life and creation because it enables the self to be positioned with the multiplicity of the creative impulse that coincides with the spirit and matter of absolute becoming. Bergson's development of the idea of intuition and *elan vital* returns us to the ancient belief in *ekpyrosis* – the image of the cosmos as a fiery entity that was in a constantly flowing state of consummation and regeneration. *Elan vital* is a transubstantial life force. However, it is not identical to the Stoic idea of attunement with the cosmos. The Stoics claimed that a fragment of the cosmos resided in our being. Bergson does not see the alignment between being and cosmos as an isomorph. Although the life force in being is comparable it is not an equivalent or a miniature version of the cosmos. This analogy would assume that they are two discrete totalities that are in essence commensurable with each other. For Bergson, the relationship is more open. Deleuze draws out this comparison by underlying the idea of co-existence in a multi-temporal duration: 'The idea of a virtual co-existence of all the levels of the past, of all the levels of tension, is thus extended to the whole of the universe: This idea no longer signifies my relationship with being, but the relationship of all things with being. Everything happens as if the universe were a tremendous Memory' (Deleuze 1991: 71). Hence, the flow of *elan vital* is also in a cyclical orientation. It evolves as it collaborates with matter and spirit. As material force is expended it also releases energy. Bergson saw human consciousness in an *agona* of extension and exhaustion. As the body burnt itself out as it aspired towards greater goals, it also realized qualities associated with the virtue – the sensing of the interplay between macro and the micro, or the apprehension of the rhythmic interlinking between individual relations and cosmic connections. For Bergson the threat to human consciousness was not death, but rather the smug passivity of complacency. *Elan vital* was the vital impulse that refused the fixity of things and kept consciousness in the thrust and nudge of existence. The condition of human nature is neither doomed by the destiny of its warring tendencies, nor awaiting emancipation from the eventual elucidation of moral reasoning. On the contrary, it is constituted in a cyclical

orientation between matter and soul – the former dissolving as it is actualizing the latter. When Zorba yells 'Boss', *what* do you think he is referring to?

I have deployed the concept of aesthetic cosmopolitanism as a supplement to normative cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism can be cultivated by moral pedagogy, mediated by transnational networks, and supported by laws, but I believe that it starts in the sensory experience of wonder, care and companionship. The scope of this sensory experience is as tiny as the point of a particle and as wide as the heavenly horizons. Artists and scientists are the most explicit agents of aesthetic cosmopolitanism. I have sought to demonstrate that the traces of aesthetic cosmopolitanism are neither pious sentiments nor utopian abstractions. My aim is to avoid the conflation of the cosmos in cosmopolitanism with the globe in globalization. Instead of privileging the *nomos*, I have prioritized the idea of a cosmos for the world. From this perspective there is also an opportunity to revisit the colonial legacies, support the emergence of multicultural policies, and address the significance of mobility in contemporary societies. These challenges will neither disappear with the passing of time, nor can they be overcome through an intensification of neo-liberal ideologies. The complexities of our epoch demand more nuanced and broader systems of thought. It is with such challenges that I have returned to the cosmopolitan tradition and re-opened a dialogue between ancient cosmologies and contemporary knowledge. Such a cosmopolitical zone (Stengers 2010), or a spherical mode of thinking, will require a letting go of the derisive view on aesthetics as if it can only lead towards a regression in moral relativism and frivolous decoration. It is therefore with examples of the impulse for *eros* and creation drawn from the ancient Stoics and contemporary artists that I propose that cosmopolitanism can be grasped not just *from* the moral imperative but also *in* the creative constitutive.

Proof of this link is elusive, indirect and incomplete. There are many contemporary artists who declare inspiration from and connection with the cosmos. They insist that their capacity to create is drawn from above as much as it arises from within. There are also many artists who express a direct commitment to building the *cosmo – polis*. It is difficult to find direct and causal links between both of these claims. The foundational texts in art history are replete with references that link creation and the cosmos. Contemporary art historians such as Marsha Meskimmon have presented detailed examinations of the correspondence and renewal of both normative and aesthetic cosmopolitanism. We note the proclamation of the impulse in creation in the early texts, and witness a socially engaged form of tracking of the cosmopolitan imagination in the latter, but there is still a gap between these approaches. How do we more than proclaim the role of the impulse but also track its operation?

The dominant tradition in the philosophy of cosmopolitanism has steered away from this question. The word impulse would immediately assume dubious qualities and be associated with unreliable features. It would be either distanced by being equated with psychological categories for defining human nature, or disowned as a remnant in the irrational discourses of the divine. Against the grain of these affective or supernatural categories modern philosophical has sought to set itself up, and in particular terms pegged out the future of cosmopolitanism, on grounded versions of morality and politics.

Artists have rejected this separation and orientation. They have retained a cosmological belief in art. In this book I provide a long and diverse list of artistic claims that declare the cosmos as both the source of their creativity and the horizon of their belonging. From such propositions we can identify not only aspirations but also a context that aims to situate the impulse and trajectory of their art. The evocation of the micro in the macro, or the world in a grain of sand, is expressive of a cosmic intent. Henri Bergson also referred to this as the luminous interval

between the two abysses of origin and death. Sheldon Pollock claims that the impulse is also evident in the eros of everyday sociality.

The point is that the impulse leaves no trace. It is not on the entrance of buildings, discernible in maps, and at the center of any institution. It does not leave a durable record or find expression in measurable outcomes. To look for and judge the viability of cosmopolitanism in tangible terms would therefore miss the point of the impulse. It is simply not there. It is not something that can be held up for scrutiny. It is like assuming that the atmosphere of the party can be defined by the placement of the furniture. To grasp it we have to look from another angle.

How do we begin to sense cosmopolitanism in terms of effervescence, rather than through the mediating apparatus of language and law? If our gaze is focused on the process of translation will we miss the imperceptible but vital force of impulse? How can we know the difference or significance of an impulse if we are unable to connect virtual intent with material manifestations? Or alternatively, can we turn it around and grasp the integration between a sensory apprehension, a conceptual abstraction and physical construction? How would precepts change our perspective of the world?

The world would look small, ephemeral and slow if we, as Marcus Aurelius suggested, our point of view was elevated to the cosmos. All objects, institutions and Empires would diminish in scale as the spheres of consciousness are ablaze with the awe towards the infinite flow. The cosmic space and modes of connection would explode the regions and metaphors for the politics of cosmopolitanism.

This turn towards the cosmological dimensions of cosmopolitanism has been a feature of the decolonial critique of philosophy and art. It has sought to validate the Indigenous perspectives and practices. Life-worlds that were previously dismissed as primitive are now recovered as sources of profound knowledge. This re-examination of specific cultural worldviews has been cast in opposition to the universal version of cosmopolitanism. In order to recognize the diversity and open space for greater cross-cultural dialogue new pluriversal frameworks have been proposed. These are clearly salutary corrective measures. However, they do not resolve some underlying and overarching problems. The presumed arrogance in a totalitarian version of universalism is not overcome by acknowledging the diversity of counter-claims to universality. It may rupture the hierarchy that glorifies a singular perspective, but it will also open the trap door into the abyss of relativism.

Cosmopolitanism cannot be sustained if it is either directed from an imperious center or fragmented across infinite units. The relationship between cosmopolitanism and universalism is always qualified. There can never be a singular origin or ultimate destination that governs cosmopolitanism. However, the orientation of cosmopolitanism is universal – it includes everyone and everything. Cosmopolitanism can be envisaged in a variety of ways, but it cannot be defined in exclusive terms. There is no cosmopolitanism that is only for 'my people', but a cosmopolitan viewpoint can emerge from a specific place and establish horizons that reach out towards the rest of the world. As these horizons lean out and touch each other they need not collapse into a centrally unified arrangement. The point of cosmopolitanism is neither the organization of the world according to an absolute universalism, nor the fragmentation into a world of autonomous and localized cosmologies. Cosmopolitanism only exists in an open flow not in sealed and singular units.

TRANSFORMING DIGITAL MEDIA MANIFOLD IN INDIA: THE CASE OF SVOD MEDIA

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Abstract: This paper examines digital objects, their function in a re-booted post-2008 crisis neoliberal economy and a peculiar trend that over the past several years has become dominant in the global flows of digital objects – a video stream. It explores the relationship between the infrastructural transformations in India in early 21st century making SVOD media platforms possible, how it transforms the ways we interact with media, and how infrastructural shifts impact the content transformation, which significantly differs from conventional televisual experience in India. The paper, by engaging with the concepts of media manifold and epistemological rupture, attempts to understand the impact of technological development on transforming media ecosystem in India. According to Kittler, the invention of a computer is the most significant rupture in 20th century, which revolutionized our existence. Could the emergence of AI-powered new media be seen as yet another epistemological break? Keeping these theoretical positions in mind, the paper looks at the proliferation of SVOD media and its impact in transforming media experience in India.

Keywords: digital objects, India, SVOD, media manifold, web series.

Introduction

This paper examines digital objects, their function in a re-booted post-2008 crisis neoliberal economy and a peculiar trend that over the past several years has become dominant in the global flows of digital objects – a video stream. Any platform providing a possibility to view a video stream, from TikTok to Netflix, from Disney + Hotstar to Hoichoi is part of a larger network of so-called new media platforms, which function as integral parts of an increasingly complex digital media manifold. This complexity, either globally or locally in India is a rather new phenomenon. Streaming has become one of the key areas of digital culture in a rather short time. It, as means of disseminating digital objects, whether we look at them as technological objects or commodities, has joined the ranks with another device disseminating digital objects, by far a more *directly* material one – a smartphone – as the cultural artifacts defining *existence* in early 21st century. I understand digital objects as objects composed of data, 'objects that take shape on a screen or hide in the back end of a computer program, composed of data and metadata regulated by structures or schemas' (Hui 2016, p. 1). The centrality of such objects in 21st century culture industries can be understood as an outcome of an epistemological break that happened in mid-20th century with the invention of a computer by a British mathematician Alan Turing, as Friedrich Kittler claims (Kittler 1999). I will claim that in early 21st century, at the time of writing, we are undergoing another epistemological break.

It is important to note that apart from being a revolutionary technology, a project elevating neoliberal capitalism and indeed, cultural globalization into a wholly different level, the streaming platforms are not only vehicles for the dissemination of digital objects, like films or

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content resembling television shows. Admittedly, initially it was just means of the content to reach the consumer. But shortly after the inception, the companies like Netflix or Amazon Prime Video have also started creating, producing and commissioning their own content, making them a peculiar hybrid of a high-tech company, a film production company and a television network. This has resulted the emergence of what is termed 'platform capitalism' (Athique 2019b; Srnicek 2017), 'platform society' (Dijck et.al 2018) or even 'platform nihilism' (Lovink 2019). To analyse what platforms actually do to culture and society is as important as dissecting their technological possibilities and economic models. The impact of streaming on audiovisual culture can only be comparable to the impact of social media on the *social* itself. How technology and neoliberal capitalism entangle with audiovisual culture to invent a completely new type of sensibility, new representations and cultural references? I argue that the present transformation is a far more profound shift altering our media experience, and, following Kittler, we can understand this transformation as an emerging epistemological rupture.

Towards a New Epistemological Rupture

In his early work *Discourse Networks*, Kittler proceeds to critique Michel Foucault's understanding of epistemological break, or rupture and discourse (1990). He 'updates' Foucault's notion of discourse by coining a new term - 'discourse network'. It is, according to him, a network of technologies and institutions that allow a given culture to select, store, and produce relevant data. Unlike many other media theorists, Kittler was highly influenced by mathematical theory of information, specifically by the work of an American mathematician Claude Shannon who focused on the best ways to encode the information for transmitting it. Shannon used a term 'entropy' to measure the limit of communicable data that can be transmitted and received and understood by the receiver. The channel through which the data flows and ensuring the low level of entropy therefore is crucial for communication to be possible in the first place.

According to Kittler, Foucault was relying too much on a written word as a data storage ignoring the fundamental inventions of the 19th century – photography, cinematography and phonography – inventions that according to Kittler, profoundly impacted knowledge production, storage and dissemination. He treats the emergence of these inventions as an epistemological rupture – ability to record and store static image, moving image and sound. Another crucial epistemological break for him comes during the World War II with the invention of computer by Alan Turing. Kittler in his landmark book *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (1999) famously stated that media determine our situation. The flow of data, its integrity in the transmission process and readability, by extension, determines us – our culture, our society, values, and so on. In 20th century this data flow and technological quality of it became a part of who we are. Thus media determines how we orient ourselves in the world and how we position ourselves in relation to it. If invention of a computer and possibility to record, store and disseminate data as coded binary numbers is a fundamental epistemological break that revolutionized our existence, then perhaps datafication of media in early 21st century that was made possible by ever-evolving digital technologies and going 'over the top' of conventional discourse networks (television and cable) can be seen as yet another epistemological break? Keeping these theoretical position in mind, I claim that the proliferation of digitality in general and SVOD in particular forms an emergent threshold, a peculiar type of AI-driven epistemological rupture transforming our consumption patterns, changing ways we interact with media and how media interacts with us, and most of all – transforming our existence.

The Logic of Streaming: Mediatization and Media Manifold

In order to understand the ongoing transformation as a significant rupture in knowledge production, we must take into consideration the complex media ecosystem that has been emerging since the invention of a computer. Online streaming is the outcome of a decades-long technological developments involving the emergence of proliferation of this technology and the Internet. It is also a story of mobile devices as the principal tools of streaming and digital object delivery, at least in India. Genealogically video streaming can be regarded as a televisual evolution, and therefore television as form has to be taken into consideration. Second, streaming is an integral part of media globalization spearheaded by multinational corporations that simultaneously work in technology and entertainment industry, like Netflix, Amazon or Disney. The stream delivers us digital objects, or we may just as well call them digital commodities, and we end up consuming even more intensely than cinema or television. Stream as a digital commodity delivery system is far more intense, for more affect-driven and desire-generating than their predecessors. Therefore, the story of streaming is the story of neoliberal capitalism and its penetration in the digital realm in the second decade of 21st century – a time that coincides with the (successful) attempt of neoliberal system to reboot itself after the 2008 meltdown. In order to understand the logic of content and how it transforms as well as how it transforms us, it is necessary to understand the logic of form, its modes of delivery and modes of production.

Mediatization as well as media manifold are two important theoretical premises to consider in understanding what streaming is. Mediatization as a theoretical concept emphasizes the entanglement of media and social world and the saturation of everyday life with media. While mass media used to mediate the relationship between the people and the reality, '*mediatization* considers the long-term structural transformation of media's role in contemporary culture and society' (Hjarvard 2014, p. 125, emphasis in the original). Here the importance is given to new media, which largely bypasses traditional media delivery channels and is far more interactive, and hence more penetrating and socially transformative. The mediatization approach does not apply a simplistic understanding of media's effect on society, but sees media and society locked in a dialectical relationship. Changes in media, whether technological or content-based simultaneously have a ripple effect on society, and at the same time, any transformations in the social domain has an effect on media. In sum, processes occurring in society go through media and are articulated together (Hepp & Couldry 2017, p. 35). As Hjarvard notes, mediation and mediatization may be indistinguishable on the empirical level. But we can observe a complex entanglement emerging once we take into consideration the effect certain types of media have in the social domain. Demonetization in India in 2016 and its ripple effect is a good example. Although the initially the main reason for such move provided by Indian government was battling corruption and terrorism funding, quite fast the rhetoric shifter to the discourse on digitalization. The lack of paper money contributed to the rise of internet-based payments and the emergence of apps like PayTM. Though, obviously, not all people in India shifted to internet-based payments, the above-mentioned app, as well as many others became a common way to pay for goods and services and send money, and furthered to government's programme of Digital India (Athique 2019a). A socio-technological entanglement began to emerge locking society and new media in a mutually constructive relationship. The same can be said about the on-going Covid-19 crisis, which is bringing digitalization in India and globally to wholly new levels. Usage of apps, online banking, shopping, streaming, video conferencing massively challenges and transforms social relationship as well as our relationship and reliance of new media in the functioning of our everyday life. The emergence of SVOD platforms and their importance also began to take shape in 2016, and is transforming our relationship with certain social practices, like watching television, buying DVDs or, currently, watching a film in a

multiplex. At the moment, during the Covid-19 crisis, the multiplex experience has been effectively replaced by SVOD experience. At the time of writing, the web series cultural phenomena is booming, and many films that were supposed to be released in cinemas are being released on SVOD platforms. Such developments can no longer be considered as mediation as they penetrate and change our social behaviour far more intensely than mass media.

How the process unfolds and what kind of effects it produces depends on the social specificities of a place. For example, in India a smart phone accounts for the most of the SVOD content streaming as well as overall internet usage. The reasons relate to cheap Chinese smart phones that dominate the market making this device affordable to large sections of society. According to Hepp, who draws upon Raymond Williams' work on television in his analysis, mediatization works simultaneously in the material and the symbolic spheres, and both have to be taken into consideration while analysing media (Hepp 2020, p. 11). In understanding a highly complex media ecosystem in which we navigate Hepp and Couldry propose a term media manifold – a 'large 'universe' of variously connected digital media through which (in various figurations) we actualize social relations' (2017, p. 34–25). This concept sees media ecosystem as a multi-dimensional space, in which we can draw from many different media sources at the same time. But in reality, on the individual level, we use several types, or one type of media at a given time based on our needs, preferences, accessibility etc. The emergence of SVOD platforms in India does not mean that television is less significant or will go extinct anytime in the near future. Different popular TV news channels, like NDTV or ABP can be watched live on Youtube, through various platforms like Yupp TV or Zee 5, and at the same time – as a regular broadcast through cable networks. One type of media does not negate the other, and users having access to all these viewing possibilities often are switching between them depending on situation. And although SVOD platforms is just a part of a much larger media manifold where the cable television still dominated, with the rapid digital transformations mediatization and the social entanglement with media has gathered an unprecedented pace in India.

AI-Driven Epistemological Rupture

One of the key elements making streaming an epistemological break is the usage of AI technologies in content delivery. All SVOD platforms are using them, and this innovation manifests itself in a form of content suggestion based on previous choices as well as user profile that must be created before using a platform. It may sound as just another technical detail, but this detail has massive sociocultural implications. This technicality gives birth to an altogether different culture – an algorithmic one, where what it means to be human enfolds into the logic of big data (Striphas 2015, 396).

Artificial intelligence, in its essence is a collection of algorithms. A mathematical concept of an algorithm can be understood 'as a recipe <...> a step-by-step guide that prescribes how to obtain a certain goal, given specific parameters' (Bucher 2018, 21). Any computational procedure is logical, based on certain inputs causing a chain reaction, which gives a desired outcome. All computers and indeed, most of technologies work based on algorithms. However, the *intelligence* of the machine is measured according to its ability to produce an output without being pre-programmed based on a clear-cut algorithm. This is the basis of one of the most prominent sub-topics of AI – machine learning. In such situation, a machine is capable of learning how to produce an output based on the availability of data it has access to. The more data, the more accurate is the output. Such machine learning algorithms are the basis of how SVOD platforms operate. But, as different scholars analysing Netflix have argued, the algorithm is very accurate, is able to read us very well and learns to do so very quickly. The stream in this instance can be understood as an act of watching certain content, but at the same time – as a data continuum merging human and machine into a symbiotic relation. A film or

web series that is suggested to me is a digital object born out of human-machine relationship. As Berry explains, '...the user becomes a source of data too, essentially a real-time stream themselves, feeding their own narrative data stream into the cloud, which is itself analyzed, aggregated, and fed back to the user and other users as patterns of data' (2011, 145). This alone signifies an epochal change in knowledge production, or an epistemological break. The problem is that the machine, no matter how intelligent it is, cannot take into consideration simple human spontaneity, unpredictability and a great deal of healthy *irrationality* we demonstrate in our cultural preferences. Maybe, after watching *Sacred Games* and a string of other similar web series in Hindi I wouldn't mind watching a Korean romantic comedy? Or Nigerian family drama? Perhaps even I don't know yet that I would be interested in such films or series. This is something a logical machine can't grasp, and if I don't indicate that I want Korean, Nigerian or French content, the algorithm would never offer it to me. In this way the algorithm locks me into a cultural filter bubble. This is another important aspect how algorithm impacts culture. This, as Gane observes, 'rather than encouraging expression and creativity, for the most part works towards the opposite: to the reduction of thought to the immediate *processing* of information...' (Gane 2003, p. 440–41). This is the most contentious aspect of algorithm usage. In the end this translates into a cultural myopia that we are condemned to dwell in unless we don't follow the suggestions, or, in effect, if we rebel against the algorithm and the system. But, as statistics show, around 75% of Netflix users never venture beyond suggestions and don't utilize their human faculty of spontaneity and curiosity (Hallinan and Striphas 2016, 130). Perhaps this can be one of the explanations why certain genres come to dominate the SVOD landscape and proliferate. This relates to the capitalist logic of cultural production. The question of genre in the algorithmic cultural landscape is important as well. Datafication has produced what Netflix has termed 'altgenres' and 'microtags', and this identification helps the algorithm to match the content with the user. Netflix uses its Cinematch algorithms for this purpose, and these algorithms indicate what different scholars already suggested regarding the dangers of datafication of culture (Tryon 2013; Alexander 2016; Cheney-Lippold 2017; Frey 2019). Alexander terms this as 'mathematization of taste' and the production of 'taste machine' (2016). With such datafication of cultural products and users the cinematic culture itself transforms into a post-cinematic one, where films and series are broken down into data, classified and re-assembled to please the user. In the end the user ends up dwelling in a cultural filter bubble where spontaneity and cultural difference are hard to find; where the machine logic is imposed on a human, and in effect the data stream embodying the human-machine relationship gives rise to a posthuman existence which does resemble near-future dystopian fables of science fiction.

Conclusion

Over a rather short period of time, in India and elsewhere, the media manifold grew in complexity and size. The notion of 'platform economy' has entered our vocabulary and became a part of everyday life experience. SVOD media emerged as technology blending cinematic and televisual experience and, seemingly, allowing far more freedom of choice in terms of content. But the question of choice is deeply contentious in the algorithmic, AI-driven media transformation. What algorithm helps to achieve in constructing such mode of audiovisual culture is the possibility to step-up consumption of content and indulgence in binge watching – something that keeps the numbers of SVOD subscribers growing. Algorithm helps us to consume like an invisible shopping assistant placing commodities into our shopping cart without us even realizing this. This marks the emergence of a new type of epistemological rupture where the social and the technological, the human and the machine converge.

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THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG OF AUTHENTICITY, EXPERIENCE QUALITY, PLACE ATTACHMENT, AND SATISFACTION IN HERITAGE TOURISM

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Abstract: The aim of this study is to investigate relationships among the dimensions of authenticity, experience quality, place attachment and satisfaction in the context of heritage tourism. This study is a pioneer in jointly analyzing the influence of authenticity in dual dimensions, experience quality and place attachment variables on satisfaction in heritage tourism. A questionnaire survey was conducted for 208 visitors, which was analyzed using Multiple Linear Regression. The findings confirmed the direct influence of objective and existential authenticity on place attachment. It is appropriate to focus on both the cognitive and affective dimensions of authenticity to improve tourist satisfaction. No previous research in the literature examined possible relationships between different dimensions of authenticity on experience quality and on place attachment. The findings identify the importance of such variables in generating increased satisfaction of tourists towards the visited destination in heritage tourism.

Keyword: authenticity, place attachment, experience quality, tourist satisfaction, heritage tourism.

1. Introduction

World Heritage sites attract millions of visitors every year and recent studies on the development of tourism, agree that world heritage sites are valuable areas outstanding advantages in their unique natural landscape, culture, architecture and diverse and rich ecosystems – all carefully selected by the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. In Vietnam, Cultural heritage is a tourism resource with strong attraction, a driving force to develop more and more domestic and international tourism in Vietnam. According to UNESCO data, by January, 2020, there are 1,121 heritages recognized as World Heritage, including 869 Cultural Heritage sites, 213 Natural Heritage and 39 Cultural and Natural Heritage sites (often called Mixed Heritage). Vietnam owns about 3,000 National Historical and Cultural Relics stretching across the country, of which there are 8 sites deemed World Heritage, including 4 Cultural Heritage, 3 Natural Heritage and 1 Mixed Heritage.

Heritage tourism (or Cultural Heritage Tourism) is a branch of tourism directed towards the cultural heritage of the place where tourism is taking place. The Heritage Foundation in the United States defines heritage tourism as travel to experience places and activities that faithfully represent the stories and people of the past, and Cultural heritage tourism is defined as travel to experience places and activities that truly represent the stories and people of the past and

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present. The trend of heritage tourism research has shifted from understanding and discovering world heritage destinations to heritage conservation, sustainable development, and tourist behavior.

Tourist satisfaction is one of the important factors that need to be clarified in this study. Currently, there are many different definitions of satisfaction. In the service sector, satisfaction is related to how much a customer likes or a product or service after experiencing it (Woodside 1989), which influences future purchase intention, market share and word of mouth (Woodside 1989; Weber 1996). According to Parasuraman (1994), satisfaction is also defined as the customer's assessment, not only of service quality, but also product features and price. In the field of tourism, satisfaction is the result of a comparison between pre-travel expectations and post-travel experiences (Truong & Foster 2006). When the experience is greater than expected, tourists are satisfied, leaving them with a good impression of the destination (Reisinger & Turner 2003).

Heritage tourism needs to generate a reasonable level of tourist satisfaction and must ensure that an experience is important to them. Furthermore, it also needs to enhance tourists' responsiveness to sustainability issues and validate sustainable tourism practices among them, otherwise its sustainability will be highly questionable (UNEP/ WTO 2004).

In recent studies, many authors have mentioned authenticity and the satisfaction of tourists in heritage tourism destinations. Park S. Y. et al (2018) demonstrated the causal relationships between nostalgia, authenticity, satisfaction, and revisit intention of tourists on Jidong mural alley in Suwon, South Korea. The findings highlight nostalgia and authenticity as important factors for secondary behavioral intentions, including satisfaction and intention to revisit tourists. The findings highlight nostalgia and authenticity as important factors for secondary behavioral intentions, including satisfaction and intention to revisit tourists. A study by Domínguez-Quintero, A. M. et al (2019) on satisfaction in the context of heritage tourism has been cited quite a lot recently. Research subjects address the role of authenticity, quality of experience, emotion and satisfaction in a cultural heritage destination.

In the research of tourist satisfaction in general and with heritage tourism destinations in particular, there are approached from many different directions. Tourist satisfaction with a heritage tourism destination is expressed through factors of authenticity, destination attachment and the moderator of experience quality. From that, the study finds some gaps in the research theory of satisfaction in the context of heritage tourism.

2. Literature review, research model and hypotheses

2.1. Authenticity

Previous studies have identified the importance of authenticity in the formation of satisfaction of cultural heritage tourism or heritage tourism. According to Trilling (1972), authenticity was early used in museum studies, where experts were interested in distinguishing authentic works of art from those with a superficial appearance in truthfulness, especially with regard to economic valuation. The use of this term is extended to tourism, especially cultural tourism, and the valuation of objects associated with this activity. There is no consensus on the definition of the term authenticity. Studies have conducted a comprehensive review of different approaches and interpretations of the concept and determined that most studies have identified two dimensions within this variable: based on objective and existential. Within this research limit, the study proposes to use two aspects of authenticity: objective and existential, to conduct model testing.

Objective authenticity is an inherent characteristic of objects and can be understood as the authenticity of the objects being original or the authenticity projected on the objects by tourists (Barthel 1996; Wang 1999; Chhabra 2008).

Existential authenticity refers to an individual's latent state of connection with destiny motivated by participation in activities (Cohen 1979; Wang 1999; Steiner and Reisinger, 2006).

Kolar and Zabkar (2010) have found that the objective dimension of authenticity positively influences its existential dimension. In the context of heritage tourism, reality shows that it is reasonable to propose a high perception of objective authenticity, especially a positive assessment of architecture, materials, presentation of resources, activities. activities, all positively influence perceptions of existential authenticity, and it can aid in enhancing tourists' feelings of connection and immersion in the local culture. The proposed hypothesis is as follows:

H1: The higher the level of objective authenticity that tourists feel about the heritage, the higher the level of existential authenticity that they experience.

The relationship between authenticity and place attachment is a research direction that has received little attention in research on heritage tourism. Most of the existing literature is interested in the relationship of authenticity to emotion, experience quality (Domínguez-Quintero et al., 2019). In a multidimensional study of authenticity, Latiff, K., et al (2019) demonstrated that objective, existential, and food authenticity are significant factors influencing place attachment in tourism. However, in this study, the study proposes to test two hypotheses to strengthen the relationship between authenticity and place attachment, specifically as follows:

H2: Objective authenticity has a positive effect on place attachment when tourists experience at a heritage destination.

H3: Existential authenticity has a positive effect on place attachment when tourists experience at a heritage destination.

Recent studies have identified the importance of authenticity in forming tourist satisfaction assessments in heritage tourism destinations (Domínguez-Quintero et al., 2019; González-Rodríguez et al., 2019, Su et al., 2020). Mogollón, José et al. (2013) have built a theoretical model: antecedents and behavioral consequences of authenticity. The results of this study demonstrate that perceived and affective image influences perceived authenticity, while this in turn has an impact on global satisfaction and loyalty.

H4: The higher the level of objective authenticity that tourists feel about the heritage, the higher their satisfaction.

H5: The higher the level of existential authenticity that tourists perceive about the heritage, the higher their satisfaction.

2.2. Place attachment

Yuksel (2010) found that previous studies have sought to understand the ability to affect to the level of attachment, what a person to an area, such as motivations, involvement, destination attractiveness, and the influence of attachment on other important variables, such as fee and spending preferences, revisit intention, and pro-environmental behavior. Recently, researchers have begun to integrate place attachment in tourism studies. Based on the review of the relevant literatures, the researchers set out a framework to address the demand for understanding the relationship between place attachment and satisfaction. Researchers have examined the nature

of the relationship between place attachment and satisfaction in entertainment and literature, and determined that place attachment impacts on satisfaction (Hidalgo 2001; Kyle 2004; Halpenny 2010; Yuksel 2010). In the current tourism, the relationship between place attachment and tourist satisfaction is still addressed by relatively little research. In this study, this relationship is incorporated in our framework of study for analysis. Through this, the researchers hope to clarify the relationship between place attachment and tourist satisfaction, and its impact on tourism. Thus, the next hypothesis is proposed:

H6: Place attachment has a significant effect on tourist satisfaction.

2.3. Experience quality

The influence of experience quality on cultural heritage tourist satisfaction has been extensively studied (Chen and Chen 2010). In these studies, it has been shown that the quality of the experience has a positive or direct influence on tourist satisfaction. In addition, experience quality is positively affected by authenticity: objectivity and existential (Domínguez-Quintero, et al., 2019) and place attachment (Man and Wan 2018). Although, there have been no official studies for results on the role of moderator the relationship between objective authenticity - satisfaction; existential authenticity - satisfaction; and place attachment - satisfaction, however, from the above results it is possible to recommend testing. Therefore, the following three hypotheses have been proposed:

H7. Experience quality has a positive effect on the relationship between objective authenticity and satisfaction, indicating that objective authenticity will have a significantly larger influence on tourist satisfaction, compared with tourists have less experience quality.

H8. Experience quality has a positive effect on the relationship between place attachment and satisfaction, indicating that place attachment will have a significantly larger influence on tourist satisfaction, compared with tourists have less experience quality.

H9. Experience quality has a positive effect on the relationship of existential authenticity and satisfaction, indicating that existential authenticity will have a significantly larger influence on tourist satisfaction, compared with tourists have less experience quality.

3. Methodology

The questionnaire is updated from previous studies, including Domínguez-Quintero, A. M. et al (2019); M. Rosario González-Rodríguez et al (2020); Cheng, T., M. et al (2013); Yuksel, A., Yuksel, F., & Bilim, Y. (2010); Park S. Y. et al (2018); Diep, N. S. et al (2020). The questionnaire consists of 30 questions and is divided into 2 parts.

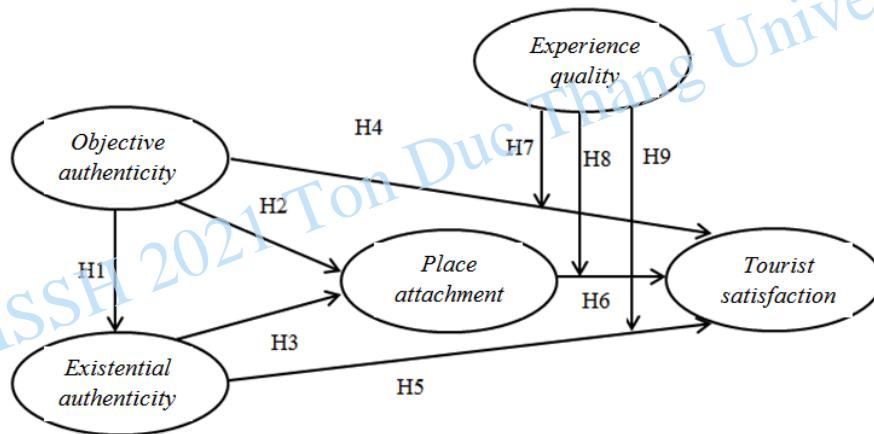


Figure 1. Research model

According to Hair et al. (1998), to be able to do exploratory factor analysis, it is necessary to collect data with a sample size of at least five samples on an observed variable. The research model has 24 observed variables. Therefore, the number of 208 samples obtained met the minimum requirement to provide analytical data.

Due to the impact of the Covid-19 epidemic, the study has built an online questionnaire and sent it to tourists who have had experiences at Vietnam's heritage tourism destinations.

The analytical methods used in this study are: descriptive statistics to have an overall assessment of tourist satisfaction, Cronbach's Alpha coefficient, exploratory factor analysis, Multiple Linear Regression to test the relationship between the factors and testing the moderator of the experience quality with SPSS 20.0 software.

4. Results

4.1. Characteristics of respondents

Sample results in the study with 208 questionnaires answered. The characteristics of tourists at heritage sites are described according to the criteria of age, gender, education, occupation and monthly income, and purpose of the trip. The results show that the majority of respondents are female (63.5%) and relatively young, mainly in the 18-24 age group (62%). Education level was recorded with 79.8% having a bachelor's degree. Occupations of the survey are mainly students (64.9%), office workers (17.3%). Most of the respondents have a household income of between 2.5 million and 5 million VND/month (110 – 220 USD) with the rate of 58.7%. In addition, the purpose of the survey's visit is learning, accounting for 60.1%, and cultural experience (18.3%). The statistical results describe the characteristics of the survey subjects in accordance with the data collection method.

4.2. Measurement result for relevant variable

In the application of an acceptable α level of 0.6 – 0.7, a value approximating 0.8 is considered very good, while a coefficient value above 0.9 indicates that some variables in the group can be omitted, because of these variables. can be quite closely linearly related to other group variables (Hair et al. 1988). Therefore, the Cronbach Alpha coefficient from 0.7 to 0.8 is acceptable.

From the evaluation results, the Cronbach Alpha coefficient of all factors is greater than 0.7, the smallest total correlation coefficient is 0.531, greater than 0.3. Thus, the scale of factors is designed to achieve internal consistency and no observed variables are excluded from the research scale. After factor exploratory analysis, the loading coefficients of all factors are greater than 0.5, the KMO coefficient is greater than 0.5 (the lowest is the factor of tourist satisfaction - 0.743), Barlette's test has p-value = 0.000 less than 0.05, explanatory variance greater than 50% (lowest is the factor of existential authenticity - 57.677%). That proves that, using exploratory factor analysis is consistent with the research data.

4.3. Multiple Regressions

Table 1 shows the regression results on the degree of influence of objective authenticity on existential authenticity. The results show that objective authenticity has a significant influence on existential authenticity ($R^2 = 0.614$, $p < 0.001$). The adjusted R^2 of this model is 0.610, suggesting that 61% of the variation in existential authenticity is explained by objective authenticity. The results show that hypothesis H1 is accepted. Accordingly, the regression equation is as follows:

$$\text{Existential authenticity} = 0.560 \times \text{Objective authenticity.}$$

Table 1. Influence of objectivity authenticity and on existential authenticity

Independent Factor	Dependent Factor Existential authenticity Beta (β)
Objectivity authenticity	0.560***
R^2	0.614
Adj- R^2	0.610
P-value	0.000
Durbin-Watson	1.961
VIF Range	1.000

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

Table 2 shows the regression results on the influence of objective authenticity and existential authenticity on place attachment. The results show that objective authenticity and existential authenticity have a significant influence on place attachment ($R^2 = 0.605$, $p < 0.05$). The adjusted R^2 of this model is 0.605, suggesting that 60.5% of the variation in place attachment is explained by objective authenticity and existential authenticity. In which, the objective authenticity factor has a greater impact with $\beta = 0.077$. The results show that hypothesis H2, H3 are accepted. Accordingly, the regression equation is as follows:

$$\text{Place attachment} = 0.077 \times \text{Objective authenticity} + 0.022 \times \text{Existential authenticity}$$

Table 2. Influence of dimension of authenticity on place attachment

Independent Factor	Dependent Factor Place attachment Beta (β)
Objectivity authenticity	0.077*
Existential authenticity	0.022*
R ²	0.605
Adj-R ²	0.605
P-value	0.000
Durbin-Watson	1.959
VIF Range	1.457

Note: ***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, * p < 0.05

Table 3 shows the regression results on the influence of objective authenticity, existential authenticity, place attachment on tourist satisfaction. The results show that objective authenticity, existential authenticity, place attachment have a significant influence on tourist satisfaction ($R^2 = 0.654$, $p < 0.05$). The adjusted R² of this model is 0.642, showing that 64.2% of the change in tourist satisfaction is explained by objective authenticity, existential authenticity, place attachment. In which, the factor of existential authenticity has a larger impact with $\beta = 0.350$. The results show that hypothesis H4, H5, H6 is accepted. Accordingly, the regression equation is as follows:

$$\text{Tourist satisfaction} = 0.170 \times \text{Objective authenticity} + 0.350 \times \text{Existential authenticity} + 0.116 \times \text{Place attachment}$$

Table 3. Influence of dimension of authenticity, place attachment on tourist satisfaction

Independent Factor	Dependent Factor Revisit intention Beta (β)
Objectivity authenticity	0.170*
Existential authenticity	0.350***
Place attachment	0.116*
R ²	0.654
Adj-R ²	0.642
P-value	0.000
Durbin-Watson	1.810
VIF Range	1.005 – 1.463

Note: ***p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, * p < 0.05

Based on the analysis results of Table 4, the study receives the p-value of both objective

authenticity and existential authenticity with $p < 0.05$, so experience quality really has a moderating influence on the relationship between the relationship between objective authenticity - satisfaction and between existential authenticity - tourist satisfaction. However, the p-value of place attachment has a $p > 0.05$, so experience quality does not play a role in moderating influence on the relationship between place attachment and tourist satisfaction. The coefficients of the factors of objective authenticity and existential authenticity are positive, showing that experience quality moderates the positive relationship from objective authenticity and existential authenticity to tourists satisfaction, that is, when the quality of the experience increases, the impact of objective authenticity on satisfaction and from existential authenticity on satisfaction also increases. The results show that hypothesis H7, H9 are accepted, and hypothesis H8 is rejected.

Table 4. Results of testing the moderator variable of experience quality

Relationship	Moderator	Beta (β)	se	t	P-value	Hypothesis
OA \rightarrow TS	EQ	0.0977	0.0951	1.0272	0.0305*	Accepted
EA \rightarrow TS	EQ	0.1328	0.0778	1.7080	0.0292*	Accepted
PA \rightarrow TS	EQ	0.0778	0.0701	1.1095	0.0685	Rejected

Note: *** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

6. Conclusions and recommendations

6.1. Discussion

This study focuses on examining a structural model that integrates the factors of objective and existential authenticity, place attachment, experience quality and satisfaction in the context of heritage tourism. The results show that the effects of objective authenticity, existential authenticity and place attachment on tourist satisfaction have been demonstrated to a significant extent. In which, authenticity has a great influence on tourist satisfaction. Research shows that tourists with a positive perception of authenticity are more satisfied at a cultural site. This result is consistent with previous studies of Hidalgo (2001), Kyle (2004), Halpenny (2010), Yuksel (2010), Mogollón, José et al (2013), Domínguez-Quintero et al. (2019)), Latiff, K., et al (2019), González-Rodríguez et al (2019), Su et al., (2020).

In addition, the study also proved that experience quality has a positive impact on the relationship from objective authenticity to tourist satisfaction and the relationship from existential authenticity to tourist satisfaction. Experience quality is determined by its moderator role. This is a new contribution to the tourist satisfaction model in the context of heritage tourism.

This study is carried out by the trend of increasing understanding of the role of cognitive-emotional variables, such as the factors of objective authenticity, existential authenticity, place attachment and experience quality to satisfaction. The results lead to a better understanding of how these factors interact within a cultural-heritage destination. From the previous, this study is a pioneer in jointly analyzing the influence of authenticity, place attachment and experience quality on satisfaction in cultural-heritage contexts, especially the moderating role of the experience quality of authenticity factors on tourist satisfaction. The results confirm the

importance of concepts such as authenticity, place attachment and the experience quality at cultural-heritage attractions.

6.2. Recommendations

The results of the study suggest a number of recommendations, specifically as follows:

Firstly, in terms of policy making. State management of tourism need to update and adjust the Law on Tourism and the Law on Heritage Protection based on the experiences of developed countries on heritage tourism. In particular, highlighting issues related to exploitation and preservation of heritage values in service of tourism activities in order to ensure the authenticity of the heritage, contributing to improving tourist satisfaction. .

Second, about planning. State management of tourism need to coordinate with local communities in researching and formulating tourism development policies at heritage tourist sites. Encourage stakeholders to engage in heritage tourism with responsibility.

Third, about tourism products. Managers need to take into account tourists' expectations of objective and existential authenticity at the heritage tourism destination. Architecture and landscape must be faithfully restored, ensuring its authenticity and originality in addition to providing full information about the heritage through a communication network for easy access by tourists.

Fourth, existential authenticity is proven to have a significant influence on tourist satisfaction. Therefore, the local tourism management agency and indigenous people need to have specific guidelines to guide the way in which tourists immerse themselves in experiencing typical indigenous cultural activities, in accordance with the local culture. traditions and customs of the local people.

Fifth, tourism developers and tour operators need to identify the market tourists are targeting. From there, they began to research on the essential elements of the tourist experience and propose options to improve the quality of the experience. This will have a positive impact on the relationship from objective and existential authenticity to their satisfaction.

Finally, heritage tourism development needs to ensure sustainable development, maintain and enhance the interests of the parties involved.

6.3. Limitation

This study has certain limitations that can be overcome in future research. Firstly, due to the impact of the Covid-19 epidemic, the survey of tourists at heritage tourism destinations was not done directly, but through an online survey. This leads to the research results that do not fully describe the reality of tourist satisfaction. Second, in the proven results, the hypothesis that experience quality has a moderating influence on the relationship from place attachment to tourist satisfaction is rejected. Subsequent studies may prove whether or not there is a moderating role for the above relationship of experience quality in the context of heritage tourism. Third, the study uses analytical methods through the support of SPSS 20.0 software, the analysis software still has many limitations in confirming the model or the role of the moderator variable. The following studies can boldly use SEM or PLS-SEM analysis methods to ensure more reliability. Finally, although the sample size meets the research requirements, in the future the authors can expand the sample size, research subjects and adjust and update the content of the survey questionnaire to suit the needs of Vietnam.

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AN INCORPORATION OF SEX AND HEALTH EDUCATION INTO THE SCHOOL AFFECTS CHILD MARRIAGE AMONG ETHNIC MINORITY STUDENTS (A CASE STUDY OF QUANG HOA LOWER SECONDARY SCHOOL, QUANG HOA COMMUNE, DAK GLONG DISTRICT, DAK NONG PROVINCE)

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Abstract: One of the main contributors to child marriage among ethnic minority students is a series of programs designed to educate students about sex and health. Using a quantitative research method (108 students) and a qualitative research method (07 in-depth interviews), the findings indicated that, despite numerous challenges in encouraging married ethnic minority students to return to school, the School continues to place a premium on re-engaging school-leavers. Additionally, the School has been proactive in arranging campaigns and programs on health and sexual education for its students. However, these efforts have been unsuccessful, since the majority of participants in the School's sex and health education programs were not recruited voluntarily. As a result, the percentage of ethnic minority students who have obtained these programs is low.

Keywords: Ethnic minorities, sex education, child marriage.

1. Introduction

Quang Hoa commune is one of the recently formed communes in Dak Nong province (2007), located 120 kilometers from the district center. It covers an area of up to 8.5 hectares and is home to seven villages with a population density of 43 persons per kilometer square. Additionally, Quang Hoa commune is home to 90% of cultural groups such as Mong, M'Nong, Tay, and Nung; nevertheless, many families continue to live in areas of relative and absolute poverty (Hoai An, 2011). Quang Hoa Lower Secondary School is located in a rural location, with the majority of its students coming from villages, communes, and neighboring provinces. The School's facilities are almost complete, including computers and other assistance for their students' learning materials. Due to a shortage of libraries and canteens, the majority of students engaged in leisure activities in the School's expansive tree-lined yard or sedentarily in their own classrooms. Because the School is situated on a hill, it is immune to pollution caused by noise, water, air, or waste, as well as other external elements. Meanwhile, school breaks caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, which lasted from Spring to Summer, coincided with the time when ethnic minorities' traditional customs, festivals, and major holidays were celebrated in Quang Hoa commune, expediting the process of students under the legal marriage age finding partners

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and marrying. One of the primary reasons for child marriage among school-leavers is that the communication on sex and health education provided by Quang Hoa Commune Secondary School in Dak Glong District, Dak Nong Province has not yet reached its full potential. The overwhelming majority of participants in School events are not voluntarily, and they have not achieved their own recognition via the School's sex and health education programs. The article aims to examine how the School's transmission of sex and health education impacts child marriage among ethnic minority students in this article.

2. The School's incorporation of sex and health education into their curricula affects child marriage among ethnic minority students

2.1. Activities regarding sex and health education

When it comes to different kinds of advocacy to encourage dropouts due to early marriage to continue their studies, the School stated that their work was fraught with problems despite the School's close cooperation with local committees, departments, and organizations. The primary obstacle was that campaigners spent much effort reconnecting with married ethnic minority students who attempted to avoid them. Additionally, geographical distance reduced the amount of ethnic minority students engaged, with just one out of more than ten of them listed.

'Extremely encouraging remarks have been made. The school sent specialized groups, form teachers, and representatives from all local departments and committees to knock door by door campaign dropouts, just one of whom attended our meeting. The primary reason was that absentees, after marriage, resettle far away from their family and have already relocated to other communes such as Dak Som, Dak Lak, and others, posing a challenge to the campaigning' (excerpted from Minute No.4 of the In-depth Interview with the School Management Board).

Indeed, the job has been carried out inefficiently as a result of the activists themselves. According to the only student involved, only her form teacher visited her throughout her pregnancy and convinced her to continue her studies, while other instructors and commune officials remained invisible.

In general, the School's efforts targeting ethnic minority students who engaged in early marriage had constraints, resulting in limited efficacy. Granted, the School engages in yearly propagandizing and organizing events related to health and sex education. A commune official, referred to in this work as a coordinator, said the following:

'In recent years, the Party committee, local committees, departments, and associations have conducted many propaganda campaigns to raise public awareness of the Law prohibiting child marriage and consanguine marriage. Additionally, the commune has maintained its cooperation with both the District-level Justice Department and the Provincial Ethnic Minority Committee in order to hold classes and tutorials in conjunction with the propagation of laws against child marriage and consanguine marriage, particularly for Lower Secondary School students' (excerpt from Minute No. 2 of the In-depth Interview with the Committee of Commune Cadres).

Under the direction and guidance of the Commune Committee of Officers, the School has conducted prenatal health care and sex education programs for ethnic minority students. However, after dissemination, the School was obliged to make cautious judgments about the assessment's effectiveness and relevance to students' needs. Additionally, the School realized via discussions with teachers that teachers were not completely aware of how to arrange necessary activities. While teachers have acquired a better knowledge of child marriage, they have fallen short of their important duty in spreading and eliminating early marriage in Quang

Hoa commune.

In terms of quantitative statistics, when asked about how often the School organizes sex education and pregnancy health care activities during flag-raising sessions (on Mondays), the overwhelming majority of students in grades 6 to 9 answered 'normal' to 'regular.' With 18 answers, 'normal' was the most common response among grade-6 and 7 students, although this group also answered most often with 'not very regular' or even 'none.' This was deemed acceptable since 6th and 7th grade students have just begun attending a new school and have not yet obtained much information from the School or participated in different school events. However, the 8th and 9th grade groups felt that the School did not hold any sex education or pregnancy health activities during flag-raising ceremonies. On the contrary, teachers and the School Management Board reported that the program is conducted on a consistent basis and that 100% of children attend with passion and interest. This, however, creates a complete contradiction in the quantitative data.

Concerning the relationship between the effectiveness of the School's activities, particularly those involving sex education and pregnancy health care during flag-saluting sessions, it was stated that the Lower Secondary School's local ethnic minority students expect to continue their studies (60.2 percent) and assist their family with farming or as local freelancer workers (1.9 percent). Additionally, students wishing to continue their studies at Upper Secondary School rated the efficacy of school activities as 'normal' to 'useful,' accounting for the greatest percentages of 59.5 percent and 74.4 percent, respectively. However, some students have not yet received an orientation to their own future; this is typical among 6th and 7th graders who have not yet developed an image of their profession options and future employment.

Table 1. Efficiency of activities regarding pregnancy health care and sex education on flag-saluting sessions and expectations of students who are going to graduate from their Lower Secondary School

		Efficiency of activities regarding pregnancy health care and sex education on flag-saluting sessions												Total	
		Not very useful		Not useful		Normal		Useful		Very useful		Uninterested			
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Expectations of students who are going to graduate from their Lower Secondary School	Continue studying at their Upper Secondary School	5	83.3	1	20.0	25	59.5	29	74.4	4	40.0	1	16.7	65	60.2
	Take up a vocational training, and then go to work	0	.0	0	.0	5	11.9	5	12.8	3	30.0	2	33.3	15	13.9
	Help their family with farming or work as a local freelancer	0	.0	1	20.0	1	2.4	0	.0	0	.0	0	.0	2	1.9
	Unknown (personal reasons)	1	16.7	2	40.0	9	21.4	5	12.8	2	20.0	2	33.3	21	19.4
	Unknown (parental reasons)	0	.0	1	20.0	2	4.8	0	.0	1	10.0	1	16.7	5	4.6
	Total	6	100.0	5	100.0	42	100.0	39	100.0	10	100.0	6	100.0	108	100.0

(Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .058) - (Source: Findings of the Research)

The School's sex education and health care activities impacted ethnic minority students' perceptions of the 2014 Marriage and Family Law. There were discrepancies in the results about the frequency with which school activities are conducted and the level of knowledge of the legislation. Specifically, ethnic minority students who responded 'regular' to 'very regular'

to the frequency of activities held were fully aware of the legal marriage age for 'Males who must be at least 20 years old and females who must be at least 18 years old,' as they chose the correct answer 100% of the time. While the majority of students (82.8 percent) correctly answered to the activities, 17.2 percent incorrectly said that females must be 'at least 16 years old.'

Table 2. Activities regarding sex education and pregnancy health care on flag-saluting sessions and legal marriage age according to the 2014 Law on Marriage and Family

			Legal marriage age according to the 2014 Law on Marriage and Family			
			Both males and females who are at least 16 years old	Males (at least 18 years old), Females (at least 16 years old)	Males (at least 20 years old), Females (at least 18 years old)	Total
Activities regarding sex education and pregnancy health care on flag-saluting sessions	Not very regular	No.	1	0	6	7
		%	14.3	0.0	85.7	100.0
	Not regular	No.	0	0	8	8
		%	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Normal	No.	0	10	48	58
		%	0.0	17.2	82.8	100.0
	Regular	No.	0	0	26	26
		%	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
	Very regular	No.	0	0	3	3
		%	0.0%	0.0	100.0	100.0
	None	No.	0	1	5	6
		%	0.0	16.7	83.3	100.0
	Total	No.	1	11	96	108
		%	0.9	10.2	88.9	100.0

(Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .012) - (Source: Findings of the Research)

2.2. The extent in which ethnic minority students exchange and share their stories of romance with their teachers

Regarding the extent to which ethnic minority students share their romantic stories with their teachers and consult them based on their knowledge of the 2014 Marriage and Family Law, their response to the frequency ranged from 'normal' to 'very regular,' indicating that romance stories are such a sensitive subject for them that they have found it difficult to discuss them with anyone, and thus chose to tell their teachers, who have earned complete trust from sharers and ensured their romantic stories' confidentiality. Thus, students picked alternative choices due to their almost absolute understanding of the marital age; only 11.1 percent (1/9) selected 'regular,' while the remainder selected 'none,' 'not regular,' and 'not very regular.'

However, many students continued to misunderstand the legal marriage age. This indicated that students expressing their ideas and emotions with teachers throughout puberty, as well as

teachers giving guidance and appropriate sex-related information for students, had an effect on their thoughts and actions. Nonetheless, several students were unaware of the Law.

Table 3. The extent in which ethnic minority students exchange and share their stories of romance with their teachers and legal marriage age according to the 2014 Law on Marriage and Family

			Legal marriage age according to the 2014 Law on Marriage and Family				
			Both males and females must be at least 12 years old	Both males and females must be at least 16 years old	Males (at least 18 years old), females (at least 16 years old)	Males (at least 20 years old), females (at least 18 years old) – Article 8 – Clause 1	Total
The extent in which ethnic minority students exchange and share their stories of romance with their teachers	Not very regular	No.	0	0	5	7	12
		%	.0	.0	41.7	58.3	100.0
	Not regular	No.	0	0	0	7	7
		%	.0	.0	.0	100.0	100.0
	Normal	No.	0	0	0	22	22
		%	.0	.0	.0	100.0	100.0
	Regular	No.	0	0	1	8	9
		%	.0	.0	11.1	88.9	100.0
	Very regular	No.	0	0	0	6	6
		%	.0	.0	.0	100.0	100.0
	None	No.	0	1	5	46	52
		%	.0	1.9	9.6	88.5	100.0
	Total	No.	0	1	11	96	108
		%	.0	.9	10.2	88.9	100.0

(Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .053)

(Source: Findings of the Research)

Along with expressing their views on romantic tales, students sought advice from their subject teachers and form teachers about family problems. Students who had strong knowledge and comprehension showed a positive connection with their assertiveness while expressing views, explaining issues, or resolving disputes in their household. Students responded 'normal' and 'regular' when asked about discussing and seeking teachers' views on family problems (93.9 percent and 95.5 percent, respectively).

Table 4. The extent to which students share their family issues with their teachers and marriage age according to the 2014 Law on Marriage and Family

		Marriage age according to the 2014 Law on Marriage and Family				
		Both males and females who must be at least 16 years old	Males must be at least 18 years old while females must be at least 16 years old	Males must be at least 20 years old while females must be at least 18 years old	Total	
The extent to which students share their family issues with their teachers	Not very regular	No.	0	1	4	5
		%	.0	20.0	80.0	100.0
	Not regular	No.	0	2	2	4
		%	.0	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Normal	No.	0	3	46	49
		%	.0	6.1	93.9	100.0
	Regular	No.	0	1	21	22
		%	.0	4.5	95.5	100.0
	Very regular	No.	0	3	10	13
		%	.0	23.1	76.9	100.0
	None	No.	1	1	13	15
		%	6.7	6.7	86.7	100.0
	Total	No.	1	11	96	108
		%	.9	10.2	88.9	100.0

(Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .044)

(Source: Findings of the Research)

Similarly, the authors discovered a significant disparity in the degree to which ethnic minority students discussed family problems with teachers and their awareness of the legal marriage age. Students who answered 'not very regular,' 'not regular,' and 'none' to the degree that they consulted their teachers obtained, respectively, 100 percent, 100 percent, and 83.3 percent accurate answers for the legal marriage age as defined by the Law. Thus, once students have acquired understanding of the Law, they will no longer need consultation or assistance from their teachers. The majority of ethnic minority students who are certain of their legal marriage age replied 'normal,' accounting for 42/96 respondents, and 'regular,' accounting for 40/96 respondents to the degree of discussing and seeking advice from teachers. When ethnic minority students lack understanding of the Law, they are encouraged to engage in many conversations with their teachers rather than sharing on a 'normal' and 'regular' basis. Surprisingly, ethnic minority students who did not know the proper legal marriage age nevertheless shared on a 'normal' to 'regular' or 'very regular' basis, but just one time on a 'none' basis. In general, mostly ethnic minority students, whether or not they are aware of the marriage age, discuss their family problems with their teachers on a regular to very regular basis for assistance.

Table 5. The extent to which students share their family issues with their teachers for supports and marriage age according to the 2014 Law on Marriage and Family

			Marriage age according to the 2014 Law on Marriage and Family			
			Both males and females who must be at least 16 years old	Males must be at least 18 years old while females must be at least 16 years old	Males must be at least 20 years old while females must be at least 18 years old	Total
The extent to which students share their family issues with their teachers for supports	Not very regular	No.	0	0	1	1
		%	.0	.0	100.0	100.0
	Not regular	No.	0	0	4	4
		%	.0	.0	100.0	100.0
	Normal	No.	1	5	42	48
		%	2.1	10.4	87.5	100.0
	Regular	No.	0	1	40	41
		%	.0	2.4	97.6	100.0
	Very regular	No.	0	4	4	8
		%	.0	50.0	50.0	100.0
	None	No.	0	1	5	6
		%	.0	16.7	83.3	100.0
	Total	No.	1	11	96	108
		%	.9	10.2	88.9	100.0

(Asymp. Sig. (2-sided): .044)

(Source: Findings of the Research)

3. Conclusion

The School has created essential but inadequate circumstances for ethnic minority students to have an awareness of and appropriate response to adolescent marriage. Despite many obstacles, the School Management Board and instructors place a high value on mobilizing school-leavers. Simultaneously, the School and specialized groups have taken a proactive role in arranging propaganda and programs on health and sexual education for its students, although the number of campaign participants who completely comprehend the activities is limited. Additionally, form teachers acquired better understanding of students' personal circumstances, status, and aspirations, which is critical when accompanying ethnic minority students. Efforts to improve child marriage among ethnic minority students in the studied area have had their positive effects on the School; nevertheless, it is essential to increase students' awareness of this problem and encourage communication through diverse school and teacher activities.

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THE ETHICS OF THE HOSPITAL SOCIAL WORKERS IN PROFESSIONAL RESPONSIBILITY ASPECT IN HANOI, VIETNAM NOWADAYS

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Abstract: The purpose of this article is to evaluate the current situation about understanding and ethical behavior of the hospital social workers in professional responsibility aspect. The study used a designed scale of professional ethics in professional responsibility aspect to collect data. The study used descriptive data collection methods. The participants of this research were 109 social workers (female = 83, male = 26) who have been working in hospitals in Hanoi, Vietnam. The research results show that: Firstly, 47,7% of social workers were not responsible for their work and still supported clients when they were weak or overload at work. Secondly, the majority of social workers did not comply with information privacy and informed consent principles when providing services to clients. Thirdly, 78,0% of the participants did not regularly study professional documentations to improve their professional capacity. Fourthly, 75,2% of the social workers provided services outside the scope of education and training.

Keywords: Ethical behavior, professional ethics, professional responsibility, social workers in hospital.

1. Introduction

Ethics are a critical component to any profession, especially important to professions rooted in health and human services (Gregory Achen, 2013). Erik Blennberger (2006) argued that ethics is the foundation of the social work profession. Like other professions such as medicine, nursing, law, psychology, counseling, and engineering, social work has developed a comprehensive set of ethical standards. These standards have evolved over time, reflecting significant changes in the broader culture and in social work's mission, methods, and priorities (Reamer, 2013). There have many studies been done on the ethical issues of social workers in practice. Those studies mentioned mainly about general ethical violations of social workers, violations of dural relationships, violations of information security and poor capacity in practice.

In recent years, social work profession in Vietnam has been affirming its role and mission towards equal development and social progress. Currently, the legal corridor of the social work in Vietnam is gradually being completed such as Circular No. 01/2017/TT-BLDTBXH on professional ethical standards for social workers, issued by the Ministry of Labour - Invalids and Social Affairs on February 2nd, 2017. However, up to now, professional ethics is still a

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relatively new concept for a young profession like social work. In Vietnam, there have not many researches been published in the field of professional ethics of social workers.

The purpose of this article is to evaluate the current situation about understanding and ethical behavior of the hospital social workers in professional responsibility aspect in Hanoi, Vietnam. We assumed that the majority of social workers are at a fair level of knowledge and ethical behavior in supporting clients.

2. Literature Review

Around the world, there were many researches related to the ethic of social workers in professional responsibility aspect. According to the ethical principles laid down for social workers, ethical awareness is a fundamental part of professional practice, and hence the ability and commitment to act ethically are crucial aspects of the quality of the services offered by social workers (Maija Mänttari-van der Kuip, 2016: 88). Congress and McAuliffe (2006: 161) pointed out that social workers frequently must revise and update ethical practice standards and codes in accordance with new knowledge and emerging practice issues. When it comes to helping clients, Banks (1995: 89) argued that social workers should follow code ethics depending on different societies and historical contexts because there is no absolute ethic rule.

Since social work has always been a value-based profession, ethical codes have long been essential to social work education and practice round the world. The structure and content of the codes of ethics had a high level of congruence in relation to stated values and principles, but variation in practical guidance. We also found that the Codes of Ethics emphasized the responsibilities, ethical behavior and professional expectations of social workers (AASW, 2010: 15). Social workers should practice within their capacity and choosing to practice beyond their capabilities is an ethical violation, not an ethical dilemma (Allan Edward Barsky, 2010: 6). In addition, social workers should not allow their own personal problems, psychosocial distress, legal problems, substance abuse, or mental health difficulties to interfere with their professional judgment and performance or to jeopardize the best interests of people for whom they have a professional responsibility. Currently, the legal corridor of the social work in Vietnam has gradually been completing, the Ministry of Labour - Invalids and Social Affairs issued Circular No. 01/2017/TT-BLDTBXH on professional ethical standards for social workers on February 2nd, 2017 (Circular 01 for short).

3. Methodology

3.1 Objects

The team sent 109 questionnaires to social workers who had been working in hospitals in Hanoi. Of these, 83 people were female (76,1%) and 26 people were male (23,9%). Age of the target group ranged from 21 to 55 years old, with a mean age of 30 years. Regarding the training level, 2,8% of the objects were at intermediate level, 87,2% of the objects had bachelor level degree, and 10,1% social workers had master or doctor level degree. Regarding work experiences, 11,0% of objects had been working for less than 1 year, 29,4% of objects had been working from 1 to less than 3 years, 17,4% of objects had been working from 3 to less than 5 years, 24,8% of objects had been working from 5 to less than 10 years and 17,4% of objects had been working over 10 years.

3.2 Research tools

Besides the social demographic information described as above, the research used a designed scale to collect data. Based on the analysis of professional code ethics in Vietnam. The authors built 14 ethical situations related to professional responsibility aspect in Vietnam today.

3.3 Data analysis

The statistical analysis was carried out using the program SPSS, v.23.0. In order to find out the current state of knowledge and ethical/unethical behavior of the hospital social workers, we performed Frequency calculator.

In the Reversal clauses, the answers were 'Totally wrong' which demonstrated understanding and ethical behavior (for example: 'I often try to help the client even when I am overloaded with work') are reversed during computation to ensure that the propositions follow one way.

4. Results

Table 1: Proportion of social workers with CORRESPONDING ETHICAL/UNETHICAL ANSWER in each situation

in professional responsibility aspect

Situations	Number of corresponding ethical answers		Number of corresponding unethical answers	
	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage
1. I am a responsible person	57	52.3	52	47.7
2. I informed my client about the purpose of information collection, showed the client their test results.	19	17.4	90	82.6
3. I always have professional supporter and supervisor	15	13.8	94	86.2
4. I often try to help the client even when I am overloaded with work *	35	32.1	74	67.9
5. I tried to support the client even when I was weak*	41	37.6	68	62.4
6. I was full of pity for the client who experienced unfortunate things *	20	18.3	89	81.7
7. I helped a child without parents/guardian's consent *	75	68.8	34	31.2
8. To help clients be more effective, I gathered clients' information from a	46	42.2	63	57.8

various sources without client/guardian's consent *				
9. I told the client about the information which I had gathered from a relative or acquaintance	9	8.3	100	91.7
10. I provided services in the scope of social work education and training.	45	41.3	64	58.7
11. I regularly read the materials of social work profession to improve my skills	24	22.0	85	78.0
12. I have attended an ethics training course on social work	23	22.1	86	78.9
13. I stopped providing services when the client did not need my assistance	43	39.4	66	60.6
14. I refused to provide social work services when the client's problem did not match my narrow specialty	27	24.8	82	75.2

Note: * Reversal situations

Table 1 shows that the percentage of the hospital social workers who have corresponding ethical answers are very different among the indicators. This rate ranges from 8,3% to 68,8%, which implies large difference. In order to facilitate the tracking and analysis, we divided relatively 14 expressions into 4 groups:

Group 1: Balance of profession, emotion, health

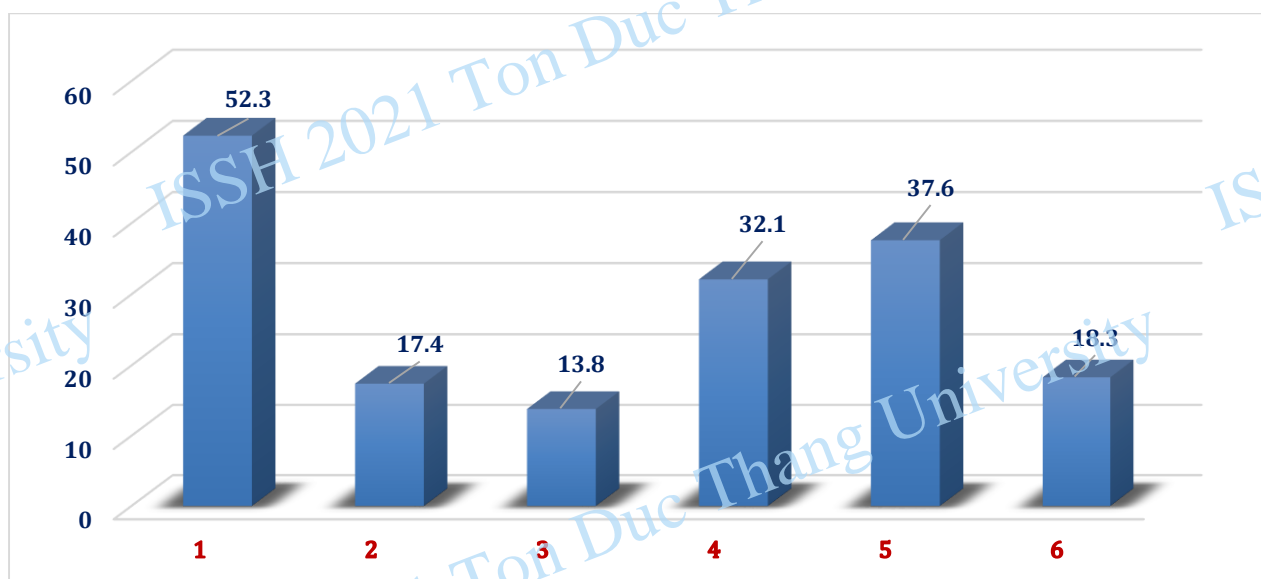


Figure 1: Proportion of social workers with corresponding ethical answer in balance of profession, emotion, health aspect

Notes:

1. *I am a responsible person*
2. *I informed my client about the purpose of information collection, showed the client their test results.*
3. *I always have professional supporter and supervisor*
4. *I often try to help the client even when I am overloaded with work **
5. *I tried to support the client even when I was weak**
6. *I was full of pity for the client who experienced unfortunate things **

Figure 1 shows that the proportion of social workers had corresponding ethical answer in professional responsibility aspect is relatively low. Interestingly, when the question is 'generic' such as *'I am a responsible person'*, up to 52,3% reported themselves like this.

The results also shows that 17,4% had corresponding ethical answer in situation *'I informed my client about the purpose of information collection, showed the client their test results'*. Thus, the remaining 82,6% of social workers did not *'informed the client about the purpose of information collection'*, in other words, they violated the code of ethics.

Besides, only 13,8% of people had corresponding ethical answer in situation *'I always have professional supporter and supervisor'*. In the situation *'I often try to help the client even when I am overloaded with work'*, only 32,1% of interviewees had corresponding ethical answer. This is a reversal situations, people choose the answer 'totally wrong' to show their ethical understanding and behavior. The situation *'I tried to support the client even when I was weak'* is also a reversal, and only 37,6% of social workers had corresponding ethical answer. In addition, only 18,3% of people had ethical responses in the reversal situation *'I was full of pity for the client who experienced unfortunate things'*.

Group 2: Respect for client's information right

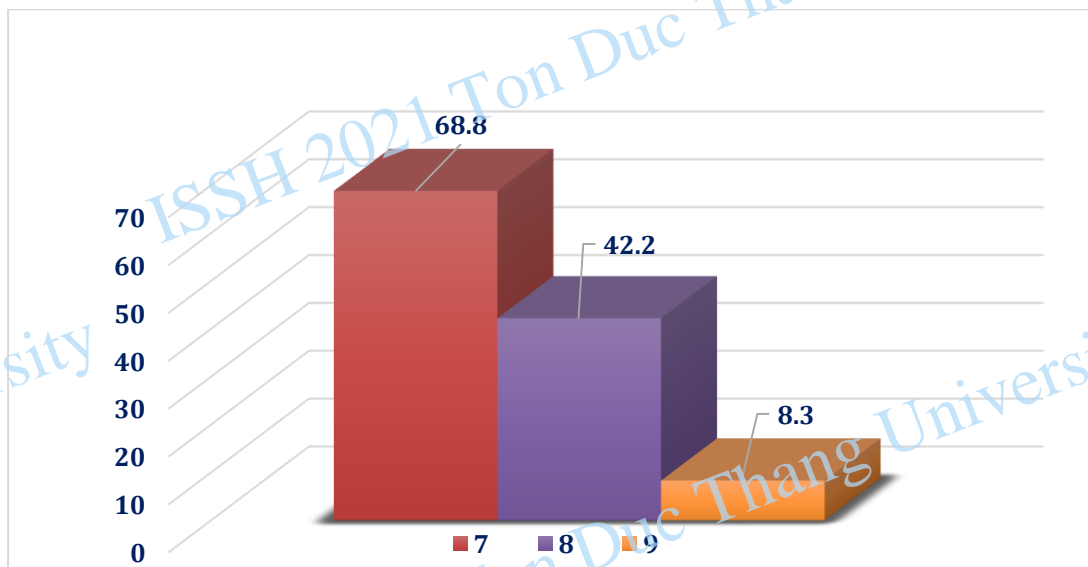


Figure 2: Proportion of social workers with corresponding ethical answer in Respect for client's information right aspect

Notes:

7. *I helped a child without parents/guardian's consent **

8. *To help clients be more effective, I gathered clients' information from a various sources without client/guardian's consent **

9. *I told the client about the information which I had gathered from a relative or acquaintance*

Figure 2 shows that 63,8% of social workers had corresponding ethical answer in the situation 'I helped a child without parents/guardian's consent'. This is a reversal situation, people choose the answer 'totally wrong' to show their ethical understanding and behavior. In the reversal situation 'To help clients be more effective, I gathered clients' information from a various sources without client/guardian's consent', 42,2% of them had corresponding ethical answer. In addition, there are only 8,3% of social workers 'told the client about the information which they had gathered from a relative or acquaintance'.

Group 3: Professional capacity building

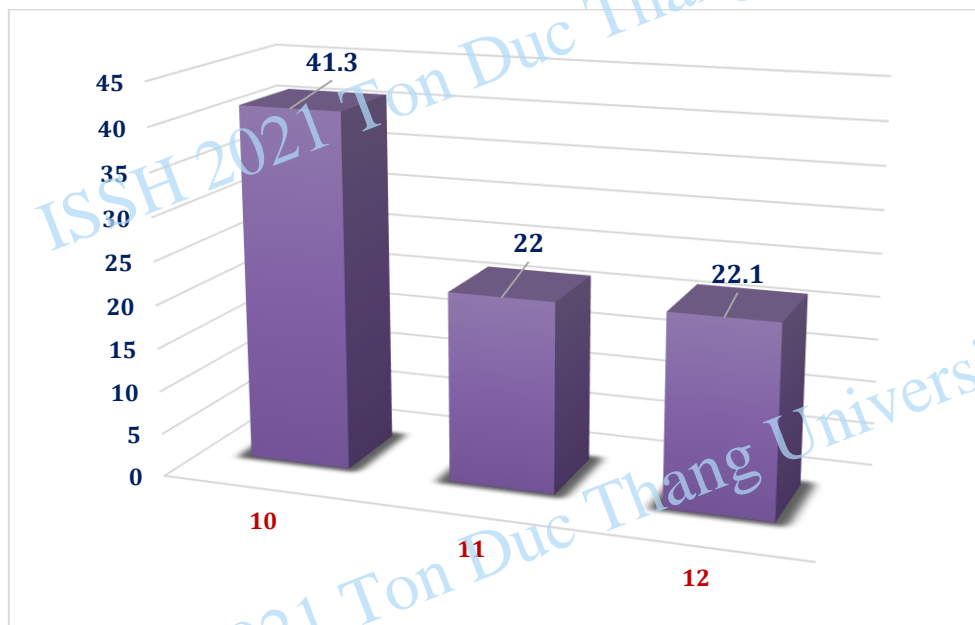


Figure 3: Proportion of social workers with corresponding ethical answer onses in Professional capacity building aspect

Notes:

10. *I provided services in the scope of social work education and training.*

11. *I regularly read the materials of social work profession to improve my skills*

12. *I have attended an ethics training course on social work*

When being asked about 'provided services in the scope of social work education and training', 41,3% of people who had corresponding ethical answer. However, more than a half of the remaining social workers had unethical awareness and behavior because of providing services outside the scope of professional education and training.

Figure 3 also shows that 22,0% of people 'regularly read the materials of social work profession to improve their skills'. Thus, 78,0% of social workers had not followed the ethical

principle. In addition, there are only 22,1% of social workers 'having attended a training course on ethics in social work practice'.

Group 4: Providing appropriate services

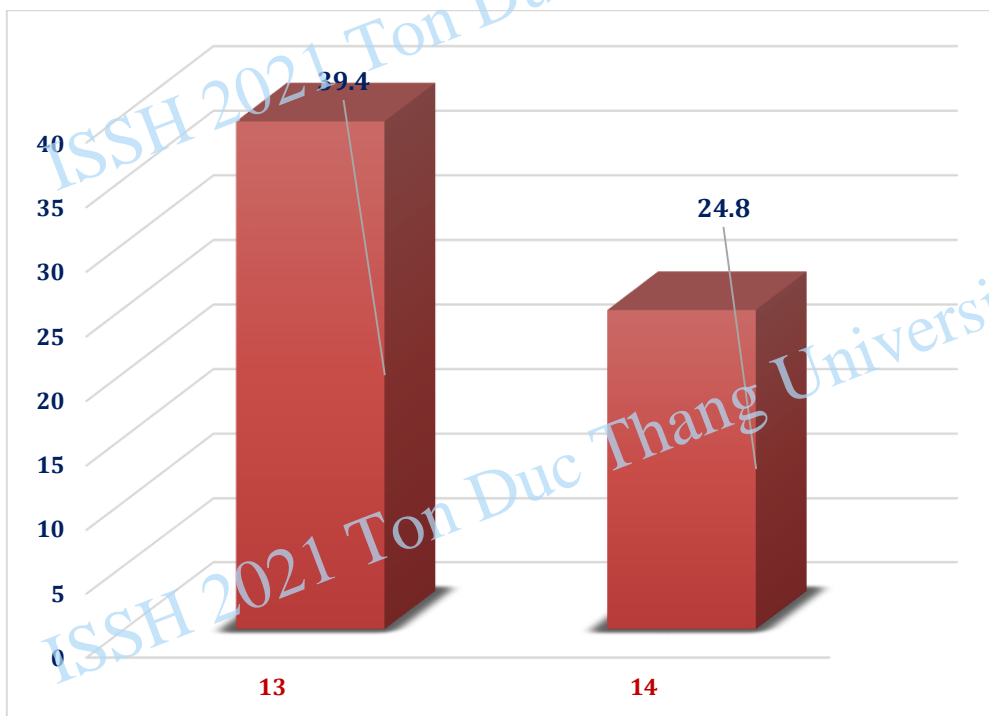


Figure 4: Proportion of social workers with corresponding ethical answer in Providing appropriate services aspect

Notes:

13. I stopped providing services when the client did not need my assistance

14. I refused to provide social work services when the client's problem did not match my narrow specialty

Research result shows that only 39,4% of social workers had corresponding ethical answer in the situation 'I stopped providing services when the client did not need my assistance'. Thus, more than half of the remaining social workers in Vietnam had not followed the ethical principles specified in Article 5.7 of Circular 01. In addition, only 24,8% of them had corresponding ethical answer in the situation 'refused to provide social work services when the client's problem did not match their narrow specialty'.

5. Recommendations

From the research results above, we can come to some of the following discussions: The study has described the reality of understanding, ethical behavior of the hospital social workers in terms of professional responsibility aspect in Hanoi, Vietnam. In general, the social workers had a relatively limited level of knowledge and ethical behavior. As followed:

Firstly, the results of the study indicate that many social workers in hospital were unable to balance their expertise, emotions and health. 47,7% of the respondents admitted that they were not responsible for their work. In fact, the sense of responsibility is one of the fundamental

principles at work. If one person is not responsible at work, it means an ethical violation. The 'responsibility' is a word which repeated many times in the Code of Ethics in the 10 countries (we have studied) and it is also specified in Circular 01 of the Ministry of Labour - Invalids and Social Affairs in Article 3.4, 4.2, 4.5 and 5.10: 'Responsible for professional social work activities, ensuring the clients are provided with appropriate and quality social work services'.

In addition, most social workers did not receive a professional supporter and supervisor in their practice. In fact, in Vietnam, the social work profession has just developed and is gradually moving towards professionalism, and supervision is vital for high quality social work. Moreover, most of the surveyed people are young in terms of age and career, so supervision and professional support are both essential. In the current context of helping professions, there were not many agencies and organizations provide supportive supervision to less-experienced people (Bui Thi Hong Thai, 2016: 295), so many different forms of supervision can be applied to improve quality, such as supervising superiors, counter-monitoring among coworkers, or self-monitoring.

More notably, 67,9% of social workers still helped clients when they were weak or overloaded with work. This is unethical behavior. According to Circular 01 in Article 4.7 pointed out that, social workers should not allow their own personal problems, psychosocial distress, legal problems, substance abuse, or mental health difficulties to interfere with their professional judgment and performance or to jeopardize the best interests of people for whom they have a professional responsibility. Reamer (2013) showed that, in instances where social workers find that their personal difficulties interfere with their professional judgment and performance, they are obligated to seek professional help, make adjustments in their workload, terminate their practice, or take other steps necessary to protect clients and others.

Secondly, the majority of social workers violated principles related to information privacy and informed consent in process of helping clients. They are clearly set in the Circular 01 in Articles 5.2 and 5.3.

Thirdly, 78,0% of participants admitted that they did not regularly study the materials to improve their professional capacity. This means that they did not comply with the principles of social workers in Vietnam, namely in the Circular 01 in Article 5.8 and 5.9. Regarding this matter, Congress and McAuliffe (2006: 161) also recommend that social workers frequently must revise and update ethical practice standards and codes in accordance with new knowledge and emerging practice issues. Social work must, for example, stay abreast of new developments in technology, and acknowledge the complexity of practice issues in the context of cultural and social diversity.

Fourthly, 75,2% of social workers provided unsuitable services for clients. In other words, they had provided social work services outside the scope of professional education and training. This is unethical behavior. Social workers should provide services in substantive areas or use intervention techniques or approaches that are new to them only after engaging in appropriate study, training, consultation, and supervision from people who are competent in those interventions or techniques (Houston-Vega, Nuehring, & Daguio, 1997; Reamer, 2006; NASW, 2017: 9). Other studies have also shown that ultimately social workers themselves bear the responsibility to maintain expertise and uphold the integrity of the profession. They must never practice outside the area of their competence, engage in dishonesty or fraud, or allow conduct in their personal life to interfere with their professional roles and responsibilities (Patricia Hocking-Walker, 2015: 12). Therefore, the lack of professional knowledge, or weak awareness/practice will lead to neglect or deviate the goals of the service models in social work moreover it directly affects the rights of the clients (Le Thi Lam & Trinh Thi Nguyet, 2018).

6. Conclusions

From a career perspective, it is extremely important and necessary to research the current situation of understanding and behavior of the hospital social workers in practice in Hanoi, Vietnam. Among the sample surveyed in this study, the ethical understanding and behavior of the hospital social workers in Hanoi in terms of professional responsibility aspect are generally limited. Respondents were almost evenly split in their knowledge and understanding about professional ethics.

This result has given an alarming level about the lack of capacities and responsibilities of the hospital social workers in practice in Hanoi, Vietnam today. To solve this problem, it is necessary to have more appropriate mechanisms and policies to improve the quality of social work services. Thus, research in the field of the factors that affected professional ethical awareness and behavior of social workers should be extensive.

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SOCIALIZATION OF RESOURCES IN VIETNAM'S COVID -19 PANDEMIC PREVENTION AND COMBAT

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Abstract: The Covid -19 pandemic began to appear in Vietnam on January 23, 2020, with two patients confirmed to be positive for Covid-19 who were Chinese entering Vietnam. From that time until now, though many outbreaks, with the spirit of 'fighting the pandemic is like fighting against the enemy' promoting the strength of the nation, the prevention and control of Covid-19 is no longer the Government's responsibility, or of organizations in the political system, but of the whole people. In Vietnam, the prevention and control of pandemics is clearly stipulated in the Law on Prevention and Control of Infectious Diseases, which refers to mobilizing financial, technical and human contributions of the whole society in disease prevention and control of infectious. This article contributes to clarifying the role of the Government as well as the participation of the social community in the prevention of the pandemic to ensure that the pandemic is soon repelled in Vietnam.

Keywords: Socialization, Government, community, the law, disease prevention and control, Covid-19, political system, Vietnam.

Introduction

Since the Covid-19 pandemic appeared in early 2020, the Communist Party, State, and socio-political organizations of Vietnam have drastically and synchronously implemented many urgent solutions to prevent and control the Covid-19 pandemic. Many official documents and directives of the Party, State, ministries, branches, and localities have been issued to urgently fight the pandemic. specifically:

Directive No. 06/CT-TTg dated January 31, 2020, on strengthening measures to prevent and combat new complicated developments of acute respiratory infections caused by new strains of Coronavirus;

Decision No. 173/QĐ-TTg dated February 1, 2020, on the announcement of an acute respiratory infection caused by a new strain of Coronavirus;

Dispatch No. 156/CD-TTg dated 02/02/2020 On strengthening prevention and control of acute respiratory infections caused by new strains of Coronavirus;

Directive No. 11/CT-TTG dated March 4, 2020, on urgent tasks and solutions to remove difficulties for production and business, ensure social security in response to the Covid-19 pandemic;

Official Dispatch No. 716/VPCP-KGVX dated February 2, 2020, on asking for advice on allowing students to leave school to prevent and control the nCoV

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pandemic;

The Prime Minister issued Decision No. 437/QĐ-TTg dated March 30, 2020, on the principle of targeted support from the central budget to local budgets in the prevention and control of the Covid-19 pandemic;

The Prime Minister issued Directive No. 16/CT-TTg dated March 31, 2020, on the implementation of urgent measures to prevent and control the Covid-19 pandemic (This is the directive showing the most drastic pandemic prevention and control). of Vietnam;

Official Dispatch No. 2601/VPCP-KGVX dated April 3, 2020, on the implementation of Directive No. 16/CT-TTg on Covid-19 pandemic prevention and control.

With the motto 'anti-pandemic like fighting the enemy', in each specific time, there will be anti-pandemic methods in accordance with the principle: Each commune, ward, and town is a fortress; every citizen is a soldier. Fighting the pandemic with the motto '05 principles' (preventing, detecting, isolating, zoning and stamping out the pandemic); and '04 on the spot' (on-site forces, on-site command, on-site vehicles, on-site logistics), 'higher, faster, more drastic, more effective'; preventive, active, proactive, remote, early, grassroots in all levels and all situations of pandemics; at the same time, actively improve the capacity of frontline forces, especially resources, medical facilities, elite human resources, etc. to create a strong 'shield' to protect people's lives and develop socio-economic.

According to the Decision on promulgating the Regulation on working and assigning tasks of members of the National Steering Committee for Covid-19 Prevention and Control of the Prime Minister (2021), the Sub-Committee on Social Mobilization and Advocacy (referred to as Sub-Committee) was established by Mr. Do Van Chien, Secretary of the Party Central Committee, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Fatherland Front as Head of the Sub-Committee. This subcommittee has the task of continuing to direct the organization of mobilization, mobilizing the strength of national unity and social resources of domestic and foreign organizations and individuals for pandemic prevention and control activities Covid-19.

In that context, many localities, many businesses and many organizations, as well as individuals all across the country, have actively responded to the call of the Party and State. Following this direction, agencies, units, and local authorities continue to promote socialization while mobilizing and encouraging the people, businesses, and benefactors to actively support resources and vaccines. Please serve the pandemic prevention and control.

This study shows that, in the current context, the socialization of social resources for the prevention of the Covid-19 pandemic is necessary as the basis for the state and the people to contribute to the fight against the pandemic. Only when the State and the people agree and participate in the fight against the pandemic is it possible to reduce the risk of the disease spreading in the community, affecting the people's health, life, and property; and in turn to restore the country's socio-economic development. On the basis of a proper understanding of the role of the socialization of social resources in the prevention of the Covid-19 pandemic, this study proposes solutions for such activity (activities of socialization of social resources association) so that it is highly effective.

The Purpose and Requirements

Responding to the call of leaders of the Party, State, Government, Central Committee of Vietnam Fatherland Front Committee to promote the precious solidarity of the nation; hundreds of people as one working together, unanimously, contributing people and resources on the front of Covid-19 pandemic prevention and control to victory; determined not to let any people have difficulties in life, not receive assistance and support; timely mobilize frontline forces in the prevention and control of Covid-19 pandemic.

Coordinate and synchronously deploy human and material conditions for pandemic prevention and control of the district and communes and townships according to the '4 on-the-spot' plan to meet all levels of pandemic prevention and control in the locality. district level, especially when there are complicated situations and levels of the pandemic in each population area, businesses, and society as a whole.

Activities of mobilizing socialization of resources for Covid-19 pandemic prevention and control are under the leadership of Party committees at all levels; implemented in accordance with regulations and guidance of the Steering Committee for Disease Prevention and Control at all levels, the participation of the whole political system, organizations, businesses, religious organizations, individuals and benefactor's volunteers and the community. All contributions of human resources and resources of organizations, individuals, and the people are aggregated, publicized, transparent, managed, and used for the right purposes, to the right subjects, to achieve practical efficiency.

Research Results and Discussion

Related Concepts

What is socialization? There are many different conceptions of socialization, specifically:

According to Horton and Hunt (1964, p. 64), 'socialization' is the process whereby one internalizes the norms of his groups so that a distinct 'self emerges, unique to this individual'; Alex Inkeles (1965) defined it as, 'socialization is the process of learning one's culture while growing out of infant and childhood dependency, leads to internalization of society's values and goals'.

Socialization is a process of interaction between one person and another, resulting in an acceptance of patterns of action and adaptation to those patterns of action (Fichter, 1959 p. 151). Socialization is the process in which the individual learns to act in accordance with his or her role (Smelser, 1968).

According to the most common concept, socialization is the process by which an individual acquires a certain system of knowledge, values, and norms that allow him to function as a member of society. It is the process by which people receive culture, the process by which people learn how to play a role in order to participate in society.

What is the socialization of resources?

Socialization of resources is understood as informal rules, norms, and long-term relationships that promote collective action and enable people to carry out cooperative business activities together with profit.

A socialization resource is any entity that is valued and serves to facilitate the acquisition of valued ends within an organization (Saks & Gruman, 2012). Socialization not only influences newcomers' immediate attitudes and behaviors, but it also can have long-lasting effects on

career outcomes and trigger a cycle of success or failure. There are numerous socialization resources including formal orientations, training, or mentoring programs (Saks & Gruman, 2012).

Thus, the socialization of resources is understood as participation in the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic is not only the responsibility of the Government but also the participation of the whole political system, organizations, individuals, etc. join hands to fight the pandemic.

Understanding the Covid-19 pandemic:

In Vietnam, acute respiratory infections caused by a new strain of Coronavirus (nCoV), also known as Covid-19 pandemic, are classified as infectious diseases specified in the Law on Prevention and Control of Infectious Diseases, which states that: 'Infectious disease is a disease that is transmitted directly or indirectly from humans or from animals to humans by the causative agent of an infectious disease' (National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 2007). The law classifies infectious diseases into 3 levels A, B, and C. In which, group A diseases are particularly dangerous infectious diseases capable of spreading quickly and widely, with high mortality rates. In Article 48, the Law on Prevention and Control of Infectious Diseases stipulates that 'Persons with group A pandemic diseases are entitled to free examination and treatment' (National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, 2007). Therefore, acute respiratory infections caused by a new strain of Coronavirus (nCoV), also known as the Covid-19 pandemic, are classified in group A, the Government will pay all medical examination and treatment costs for people including bed, medicine, and related services.

Legal basis: 'The mobilization, management, and use of socialization resources are implemented in accordance with Decree No. 64/2008/ND-CP dated May 14, 2008, of the Government on 'Mobilizing, receiving, distribute and use voluntary contributions to support the People to overcome difficulties caused by natural disasters, fires, serious incidents and patients suffering from serious diseases'.

The policy of Government

When the Covid-19 pandemic began to break out in China, in Vietnam, all activities of Vietnamese people took place very actively to prepare to welcome the traditional Lunar New Year of the nation. Previously, on December 17, 2019, the Prime Minister of Vietnam issued Official Letter No. 1696/Ttg-KGVX on the prevention of winter-spring pandemics. This document only reminds people and State agencies to well prevent diseases that often appear due to weather characteristics in Vietnam.

While Vietnamese people were on holiday for the national traditional New Year, on January 27, 2020, there was a meeting about acute respiratory infections caused by a new strain of Coronavirus (nCoV). The Government had directed ministries, branches, and localities not to be subjective, to ensure the lives and health of people, to prevent the pandemic from spreading, and to minimize deaths. Right from the beginning, with 'fighting the pandemic like fighting the enemy', the Government of Vietnam had in view the need to accept some economic losses to protect people's lives and health.

The worry of the Government and people of Vietnam had finally come on January 23, 2020, when two Chinese patients were confirmed positive for Covid-19. It was a 66-year-old man, on February 1, 2020, traveling from Wuhan to Hanoi to visit his son and then travelling in Nha Trang, who infected the hotel receptionist in Nha Trang city, Khanh Hoa province. This was the first case of community infection in Vietnam and also opened the fight with the new enemy

for the first time. On February 1, 2020, the Prime Minister signed decision No. 173/QĐ - TTg on the announcement of a respiratory infection caused by a new strain of coronavirus and made a decision to tighten the border and limit the markets. According to this announcement, pandemic prevention and control measures were implemented in accordance with the Law on Prevention and Control of Infectious Diseases.

Calm, clear, early intervention, firm and decisive in the face of a global pandemic, Vietnam has not been passive - once again proving to be unstoppable against all enemies - despite this being a devastating pandemic more so than those previously: SARS and MERS-CoV. In particular, from the experience of being the first country to control and repel the SARS pandemic in 2003 Vietnam had good experience making it strong against the Covid-19 enemy.

On March 27, 2020, the Prime Minister issued Directive No. 15/CT-TTg requiring the implementation of social distancing to focus on fighting the pandemic. But on March 31, 2020, the Prime Minister continued to issue Directive No. 16/CT-TTg on urgent measures to prevent and control the Covid-19 pandemic. On April 24, 2020, the Prime Minister continued to issue Directive No. 19 on the implementation of measures to prevent and control the Covid-19 pandemic in the new situation.

It can be seen that the Government of Vietnam has promptly responded to unpredictable changes in the pandemic in order to control the situation and try to bring the number of infections to zero. In which, Directive 16/CT-TTg is considered the toughest measure to control the pandemic and bring people's life back to a state of 'new normal' specifically: Directive 16/CT-TTg was implemented. According to the principle 'family is isolated from family, the village is isolated from village, the commune is isolated from the commune, the district is isolated from the district, the province is isolated from province, workshops and production plants must ensure approximately safely, wear a mask, disinfect and disinfect according to regulations; ask everyone to stay at home, only going out in case of absolute necessity such as buying food, food, medicine, emergency, working at factories, production facilities, business and service establishments. , essential goods are not subject to closures, shutdowns, and other emergencies; strictly implement the minimum distance of 2m when communicating; do not gather more than 2 people outside of offices, schools, hospitals and in public places'. Directive 16 is a higher requirement to deal with the complicated pandemic situation, but it is not a blockade of the country, nor is it a complete ban on people from going out. Directive 16 is a strong measure to limit travel, limit contact with people to avoid the risk of spreading.

The difficulties that Vietnam is facing

As of October 21, 2021, according to statistics from the Ministry of Health, Vietnam had experienced 4 outbreaks of the Covid-19 disease, bringing the total number of infected people to 877,537, including 21,487 deaths (Portal of the Ministry of Health, 2021). The consequences were very heavy, there were thousands of orphans, many families faced difficulties not only because of the pandemic but also lost their jobs, unemployment, many businesses fell into dissolution when implementing the measures. Directives 15, 19 and 16. Specifically, as of the third quarter of 2021, the rate of 'underemployment in the third quarter of 2021 is more than 1.8 million people, an increase of 700.3 thousand people compared to the previous quarter and an increase of 620 people. 0.0 thousand people compared to the same period last year. The underemployment rate of laborers of working age in the third quarter of 2021 was 4.46%, an increase of 1.86 percentage points compared to the previous quarter and an increase of 1.74 percentage points over the same period last year (General Statistics Office of Vietnam, 2021).

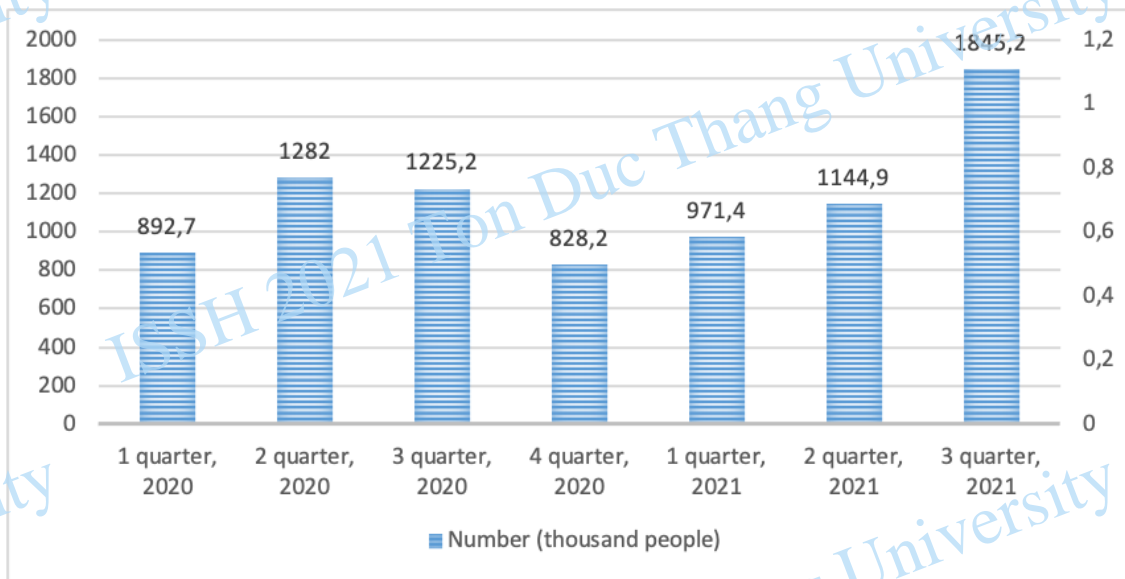
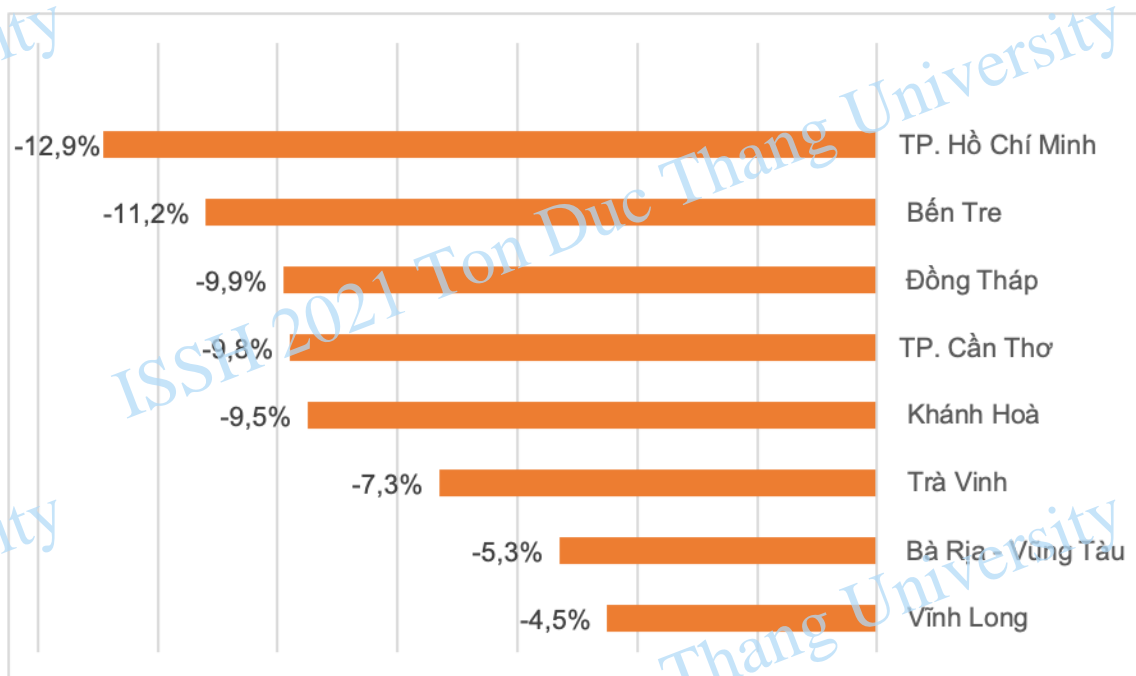


Figure 1. Number of people and underemployment rate in working age, quarters in 2020 and 2021 (Source: General Statistics Office, 2021: Report on the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on the employment situation in the third quarter of 2021).

The production index of 9 months of 2021 compared to the same period last year of some localities decreased sharply due to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, especially in the 4th outbreak in the center of the South such as Ho Chi Minh City down 12.9%; Ben Tre province decreased by 11.2%; Dong Thap province decreased by 9.9%; Can Tho City decreased by 9.8%; Khanh Hoa province decreased by 9.5%; Tra Vinh province decreased by 7.3%; Ba Ria – Vung Tau province decreased by 5.3% and Vinh Long province decreased by 4.5%.



Ba Ria – Vung Tau province decreased by 5.3% and Vinh Long province decreased by 4.5%.

Figure 2. IIP reduction in 9 months of 2021 compared to the same period last year of some provinces and centrally-run cities (Source: General Statistics Office, 2021: Report on socio-economic situation and third quarter) and September 2021).

Coping with the pandemic does not stop at the early intervention or the government's firmness and determination. Coping with the pandemic also depends on whether people agree and respond or not. If the people do not cooperate, not only the anti-pandemic system will fail, but the political system will also fail. Understanding this, Deputy Prime Minister Vu Duc Dam said he has directly directed units of the health sector to work with mobile carriers, press agencies, and information technology companies to provide information, timely and transparently as possible to the people, even on social networks. 'We must be transparent to warn of risks and especially what to do for everyone to participate in the fight against the pandemic. This is not the job of the health sector, border guards, border police, etc. but first and foremost, each citizen must be aware and participate' (Government, 2020).

Contributions from social resources

Not only paying for free of charge medical examination and treatment costs for people including bed, medicine, and related services, the Government of Vietnam also injects free vaccines for people with the absolute policy. are not allowed to collect any costs related to even the voluntary donations of organizations and individuals, the injection units are not allowed to accept. If the Government does not provide free medical examination and treatment, it will be difficult for Vietnamese people to pay for the treatment of this disease, as in the case of a patient treated at Military Hospital 175 who was discharged on the afternoon of October 21, 2021 after 86 days of treatment with an amount of up to 2.3 billion VND. With the current population of Vietnam, to achieve herd immunity against the Covid-19 pandemic, about 75 million people must be vaccinated with an estimated cost of 25.2 trillion VND.

For the Vietnamese people, in times of war or peace, every time the country faces difficulties, millions of people, join hands, stand side by side, and unite with the Government to overcome difficulties. In history, there have been times like 1945 - 1946, when the country was facing the situation of 'thousands of pounds hanging by a hair' 95% of the population was illiterate, the famine in late 1944 and early 1945 killed 2 million people. Along with solidarity, the people of the country participated in the 'Golden Week' and built the 'Independence Fund' launched by the Government. As a result, 'in a short time, the people of the country have raised 20 million VND and 370 kilograms of gold' (Minh, 2002, p. 600); equivalent to about 3 trillion VND now.

On May 26, 2021, the Government issued Resolution 53/NQ-CP approving the establishment of a Covid-19 vaccine fund and Decision 779/QD-TTg establishing a Covid-19 vaccine fund. The Covid-19 vaccine fund is understood as a financial fund outside the state budget operating under the decision of the Prime Minister, in which the fund amount will be used publicly and transparently and has a website address for people to use. jointly supervise the activities of the Covid-19 Vaccine Fund. The establishment of the Vaccine Fund not only helps the Government overcome financial difficulties, but also demonstrates patriotism, the tradition of national unity that has existed since history, and promotes internal strength gained by the people, political, religious organizations and businesses responded, specifically:

Archbishop Vu Van Thien shared, 'We are Catholics and in the past few days, along with the whole country, parishioners have been very actively involved in the prevention of Covid-19 in Vietnam. Today we are honored to contribute directly to the Covid-19 Vaccine Fund to contribute to the fight against the pandemic. I am very moved when I see images of children as well as elderly people contributing their savings to support' (Ministry of Health, 2021);

Le Dang Dung, General Director of Military Industry and Telecommunications Group (Viettel) shared, 'The prevention and control of the Covid pandemic is not only the Government's responsibility but also the responsibility of all people. In which, the role of enterprises is the

pioneer' (Ministry of Health, 2021), only when the pandemic is controlled, that enterprises will return to normal production life;

Thousands of businesses across the country from the central to local levels, despite being severely affected by the pandemic when implementing Directives 15, 19, and 16 of the Government are willing to contribute thousands of billions of dong to support them. anti-pandemic fund. Not only donating cash to the Vaccine Fund, but Vietnamese businesses also participate in negotiations to buy medical equipment and supplies for the State, negotiate to buy 500,000 bottles of Covid-19 treatment drugs licensed by the US FDA. With 500,000 vials of this medicine, it will support the treatment of 80,000 to 100,000 patients with Covid-19 in Vietnam.

The Vietnam Fatherland Front and its organizations such as the Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Veterans' Association, the Farmers' Union, and the Vietnam General Confederation of Labor have demonstrated the spirit of fighting the pandemic by doing specific things. As of September 13, 2021, 'Trade unions at all levels have spent and are implementing procedures to support union members, employees and frontline forces against the pandemic from trade union finance and socialization sources with the total amount of over 4,375,882 billion VND' (Duan, 2021).

In difficulties, Vietnamese people show solidarity, mutual assistance, and help each other with the spirit of sharing 'good leaves cover torn leaves', many voluntary organizations have been established with thousands of creative ways of the people. helping each other overcome the pandemic like rice ATM - is a way to distribute rice charity to the poor. Rice ATM initially had only one point in Ho Chi Minh City, quickly spreading throughout the city and throughout the country. Or the oxygen ATM model - setting up free oxygen tank exchange stations at home for F0 patients; ATM F0 – those who have recovered from the disease will become volunteers to care for other F0s at the hospital. Drug ATM - eligible F0s will be treated at home and given free medicines according to the guideline list of the Ministry of Health and connected with doctors for advice and treatment. These ATMs are not defined as inanimate machines, but rather as forms of charity expressing the Vietnamese tradition of loving and caring for each other, containing human values that have brought opportunities. living for so many people before the ravages of the pandemic.

Not stopping there, responding to the Government's call, thousands of doctors and soldiers have volunteered to enter the pandemic center, the health system, and diseases have been activated from the central to local levels. Departments and mass organizations strengthen timely accurate information to the people, propagandize to raise people's awareness against the pandemic. Many volunteer kitchens everywhere in the pandemic area provide free meals for the anti-pandemic force, for people in difficulty, and support funds of organizations and individuals have been established to help people in need. people, volunteer bus trips to return people to their hometowns. A mobilization of power of the whole country unprecedented in history so that all for one goal is how to control the pandemic and bring the whole country back to a new normal.

Some Recommendations

Firstly, to reduce the budget burden and reduce the burden on the public hospital system, the Government needs to allow private hospitals to participate in the treatment of Covid-19 patients.

Secondly, for the current Covid-19 infectious disease, vaccines are still the key, so the Government should consider socialization in health, especially service vaccination as some

vaccines are currently being deployed. for the citizen. Only in this way will the Government adapt safely, control the pandemic and at the same time ensure the health of the people, while simultaneously realizing the dual goals of fighting the pandemic and developing the economy.

Third, the socialization of resources will give rise to spontaneous charity organizations, mobilizing the people's contributions. Therefore, it is necessary to soon build a legal corridor to guide voluntary organizations to operate both openly and transparently while expressing and promoting the good tradition of the nation, the tradition of 'good leaves protect torn leaves'.

Fourth, now some people take advantage of the pandemic, taking advantage of the State's policy on giving free medicine bags, free vaccinations or support packages for personal gain, embezzlement and corruption; therefore, it is necessary to have a strict control mechanism so as not to cause frustration to the people.

Fifth, the implementation of welfare packages needs to be done in detail, listening to people's opinions to ensure fairness and promote the preeminence of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

Conclusion

In the past two years, Vietnam has been preventing and combating the Covid-19 pandemic in passive condition; almost all equipment, machinery, biological products, vaccines, and medicines must be imported; the economy is still difficult; technological measures are also not guaranteed; The decentralization and decentralization of power still have many shortcomings. However, Vietnam is developing guidelines for safe, flexible adaptation and effective control of the Covid-19 pandemic. With the Government setting out 6 principles that must be thoroughly grasped in the entire social system: Health is the pillar, the center; the economy is the basis, the foundation; scientific and technological data is key; socio-political stability is important and permanent; vaccines, medicines, and people's awareness are prerequisites; safe to produce, production must be safe. There must be a harmonious combination between the general and the specific, the general policies, but the implementing organization must be flexible and suitable for the specifics of each place and time.

In the reality, the state's resources are limited, while the expenditures for the prevention of the Covid-19 pandemic are very large. Therefore, in the past most recent period, the work of socialization and mobilization of resources from the community to join hands in pandemic prevention has been brought into full play.

The thousand-year history of our nation has proven that patriotism and defense, resolutely resisting foreign aggression, defending independence, sovereignty, and reunification are extremely precious traditions of our people. A truth proven through all the historical periods of the nation is that the People's power is enormous, determining the success or failure of the country. For our revolution, the People are also the service center, the subject of patriotic emulation movements, and enjoying the fruits of the construction and defense of the homeland. Therefore, mobilizing people's strength in accordance with reality is always a key strategy of our Party and State. In particular, in the context of the complicated Covid-19 pandemic, with the contribution and joint effort of the whole society, all difficulties will definitely be overcome.

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NEW RUSSIAN POLITICAL MYTHS: HOW THE NARRATIVES ON THE POISONING OF ALEXEI NAVALNY AND HIS RETURN TO RUSSIA CONSTRUCT BINARY OPPOSITIONS, EXPLOIT PUBLIC TRUST, AND DEPLOY ARGUMENTS THROUGH MYTHOLOGIZATION

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Abstract: The public consensus on the current political events in Russia seems to be unrealistic due to enormous contradictions between those who support the regime and those who oppose it. The dialogue between the opposing groups is guided by various prejudices more than by any argued judgements. Eventually, the controversial facts are expressed and presented publicly (in mass-media, in social networks) as at least two incompatible sequences of events (stories, or narratives) slightly corresponding to each other and revealing contradictory worldviews not in terms of having different values, beliefs and opinions, but witnessing different occurrences. In this paper, on the examples of several recent events related to the proclaimed leader of Russian political opposition – Alexei Navalny we seek to highlight how the opposing sides of the debates using communicative strategies and how the narratives about these events construct binary oppositions, exploit public trust and create alternative facts. Engaging the binary opposition of a hero and a villain (interchanging positions in the competing discourses), the opposing groups developed a set of narrative stories, which are close to such archaic cognitive structures as myths or fairytales.

Key words: Russia, Narratives, Political debate, Arguments, Communicative strategies, Binary oppositions.

Introduction

An imbalance between policy and politics is one of the features that could characterize authoritarian political regimes and Russia in particular (Gel'man & Starodubtsev, 2016; Hale, 2010). The executive branch of power does not only control the political process in the country, but also the whole policy-making process cannot be maintained without a 'permission' from the top and public issues cannot be resolved without an understanding that solutions to them are tolerable for the political regime (Noble, 2017). Such an approach creates additional issues – authorities on the local level become afraid of any initiatives and act reactively to existing challenges. This is an incrementalism in its negative disguise. (Levitsky & Way, 2002)

At the same time, Russia cannot be labeled as a purely authoritarian country, policy debates are still going on and sharp socio-political topics are not fully swept under the carpet (Chen et al., 2016; Filatova et al, 2019). One of the topics that has been in focus of public attention for almost a year was the alleged poisoning of one of the most prominent Russian opposition leaders – Alexey Navalny, his emergency extraction from Russian city Omsk to one of the medical clinics in Berlin and then his return to Russia that had ended in trial and prison term for him. These events were surrounded by enormous amounts of speculations, open debates,

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and conspiracies.

Alexei Navalny is a famous Russian opposition leader, lawyer, and anti-corruption activist. Recently, he became well known as a most influential Russian opposition leader and kind of a symbol of those who seek to change the regime in Russia. His political career started in the early 2000s in one of Russian democratic parties – 'Yabloko'. Then he focused his activities on anti-corruption policy, organized his own NGO – The anti-corruption foundation. He was involved in an organization of anti-government demonstrations from 2011 to 2021, participated in 2013's Moscow mayor elections where came in second, with 27% of the vote, and expressed an ambition to become a President of Russia. (Vox.com, 2021)

Since the very moment of the alleged poisoning in August 2020 different narratives were focused on dramatic sides of the story. Several controversies around the poisoning and the return of Navalny to Russia have been interpreted in almost religious manner by one side of the debates and in attempts to ridicule the story by the other. Both pro and anti-Navalny narratives have similarities in regard to trust, rationality, and personal accusations in their statements.

This paper does not set a goal to investigate the nature of the abovementioned events or disclose the actors responsible for them. Instead, the paper will focus on public debates on these issues and analyze the growing ideological dichotomy in the public sphere.

The key events relevant for the posed question took place during the years 2020-2021. Among many similar cases we selected two directly or indirectly associated with the same ideological conflict, which gained a lot of public attention and debates. Our attention was attracted by visible in the public sphere discussions, launched by governmental or opposition mass media, heated by the social networks, i.e. Facebook and Telegram. Key topics were:

- a) alleged poisoning of Alexei Navalny and its context (August-December 2020),
- b) Alexei Navalny's return to Russia, his imprisonment and investigative film about the palace allegedly belonging to Vladimir Putin (January-February 2021).

Theoretical Framework

In the theory of literature, the concept of a narrative is traditionally understood as the chain of events in the fictional world narrated by someone (narrator) not necessarily involved in these events. The substance of the event from a structuralist perspective is crucial for defining the narration and distinguishing it from other verbal forms. By the event we presume the change fitting the requirements of factuality (1) and of performance (2).

The structuralist perception of a narration is based on the evaluation of five essential features:

1. Relevance of the change, i.e. the particular change is substantial for a narrated world.
2. Unpredictability of the change, which corresponds to the paradoxical organization of the text where the expected, standard, routine is opposed by the sudden event taking place indeed.
3. Outcomes of the change for the mind and actions of a character.
4. Irreversibility of the change
5. Being non-repetitive, whilst the repetition of typical changes convert narration into a description, though the border between narration and description is quite vague and contextually determined. (Schmid 2003)

The ever changing and evolving nature of discourses renders their analysis even more challenging. Because produced in a societal context, their role as source of knowledge serves both as a guide to the comprehension of social interactions and as an object of confusion. Various theories, linguistics among others, have attempted to bring their own set of tools with the intention of delineating more comfortably the specific features of discourse they aimed to analyze depending on their research interest.

Following the growing role of language within a society that increasingly relies on discourse as a source of influence and power, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been developed. Whilst our research is not pursuing the goal to reveal the core essence of ideological struggle in Russian public sphere, but rather portraying the strategies of public storytelling in the perspective of shoring up the public trust, we discarded CDA as not working in our case, opting for more versatile and adoptive techniques offered by discourse analysis with focus on structural and semantic features of selected narratives which aim to maintain particular mental models.

Ideologies laying behind any discourse frame mental models, more commonly known as beliefs or metaphors (Wodak, 2009). Those 'cognitive strategies' are deeply rooted in societies and almost impossible to uproot. Discourse is both the source and mean for the foundation of mental models. Proper mental models will naturally emerge in every social class and members when confronted to the same content will have a divergent comprehension.

In the volume *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method* (2002) Jorgensen and Phillips emphasize that the actual process of doing discourse analysis requires us to be creative when designing a discursive approach for a chosen research question. Appreciating this idea, we sought to elaborate on our own set of techniques of the analysis, merging the devices retrieved from linguistics, narratology as presented in literature studies, political science etc.

Current research presumes that notions of discourse and narrative are interrelated; therefore, research techniques applied to the discourse can be applied to the set of narratives retrieved from the particular discourse strand. The definition of a narrative as a chronological and sometimes causal sequence of discontinuous units; unfolding of an action, change, difference (Todorov & Weinstein, 1969) obviously presents it as a substantial part of discursive practices along with descriptive and argumentative speech acts / utterances / texts pursuing alternative goals. We can figure out a set of narratives that emerged on the same occasion / comparable occasions as a discourse strand, then apply slightly amended research techniques used within the practice of discourse analysis. (Fairclough, 1989, 2003)

Communicative Strategies

Since we can't organize the fact-checking process for the case of Navalny's alleged poisoning by 'Novichok', and the consequent events, the set of media-narratives related to these stories might be analyzed as a pure literature, pure fiction, depicting a world full of characters, events, dialogues, letters etc. none of which can be considered reliable enough. Neither can we verify, nor can we refute any of the facts covered by the mass-media, introduced by social networks, published by Navalny's personal site.

Controversial relationship of the story of poisoning with reality is structured only by the physical trajectory of Navalny's journey from Tomsk to Moscow via Omsk and Berlin, then to the colony each transforming point of this path has multiple interpretations. To be more precise, the debate between the pro-governmental side and Navalny supporters is focused not on the contested evaluation of the selected events, but rather on the contestation of these events.

Further on we will focus coherently on the following communicative patterns swamping the public debate about Navalny:

1. Precluding of the dialogue by accessible techniques.
2. Unfounded accusations and invectives.
3. Fictional narratives built on alternative facts.
4. Replacing substantial debates with irresolvable moral conflicts.

The preferable strategy of the authorities to communicate with Alexei Navalny and his supporters is the verbal aggression expressed by various techniques, the most effective being concealment / complete silence on the very existence of the political opponent. Vladimir Putin never mentioned Navalny's name publicly, referring to him as 'this person', 'this citizen', or, lately, 'patient from Berlin'. Putin's press-secretary Dmitry Peskov follows the same manner of communication, even answering questions regarding Navalny personally. Not mentioning the political opponent presumes that the speaker doesn't recognize another member of this implicit discussion as a valid opponent if this expression is possible here. This strategy allegedly allows not to plunge into the debates on any policy issues, whilst one of the parties of dialogue has no direct voice just because it doesn't exist.

*«...this means that **this patient of the Berlin clinic** enjoys the support of the US special services. Then, of course, the secret services should keep an eye on him. But this does not mean that it is necessary to poison him. Who needs it? If they wanted to, they would have brought it to the end».* (Vladimir Putin, press-conference, 17.12.2020)

*«...**that citizen**, of course, is atypical due to his worldview, which is contrary to me, but he is a citizen of the Russian Federation, he is responsible for his actions according to the law»* (Dmitry Peskov, interview Arguments and Facts, 30.03.2021)

The impersonal way of speaking about Navalny doesn't presume the possibility of the direct answer, instead, the communication is developing through political measures like: to arrest the closest cohorts, to detain individual supporters organizing pickets, to disperse rallies in support of Navalny deemed as illegal actions, to ban all the headquarters of Navalny's party claiming them extremist organizations, eventually to imprison Navalny himself. The whole set of governmental measures is aimed to stave off the very possibility of public dialogue, since the opposing party is bereft of the access to public discourse. Moreover, even when they still were present in the public sphere, the communication was not equivalent.

While the official authorities are not inclined to keep the communication at the neutral and equivalent level, current competition of mutual accusations which can't be proven publicly is serving the purpose of the ideological struggle, but there is no argued public discussion of policies / decisions / measures, engaging both members of this binary opposition. Opposing parties elaborate the arguments constructed according to the same manipulative model and apparently pursue the goal to educate the society to their benefit.

When the parties do not find it necessary to open the essential debate, they substitute arguments with the offensive and insulting utterances, pursuing the goal of public humiliation of the opponent. This is a kind of historically conditioned rhetorical technique dating back to the times of Ivan the Terrible and his exchange of offensive letters with the prince Kurbsky, survived many turbulent times without substantial changes, reinvented at the early Soviet times and widely used after the collapse of the Soviet Union under a different ideological paradigm pertaining to the same rhetorical models of depreciation and humiliation. The aggression (on

all levels) in the society is proliferating in turbulent times of social, political, economic anxiety.

«*Navalny is a shameless scoundrel. Putin saved his life. If what happened to him was orchestrated by the secret services of Western states, then his statement fits into this logic. He was sincerely saved by everyone - from pilots and doctors to the president*» (Vyacheslav Volodin, comment to the press-office of the State Duma, 01.10.2020)

The Speaker of the State Duma can pronounce Navalny's name, unlike Vladimir Putin and his press secretary, but this utterance containing the personal address is offensive and not supporting any dialogue. Appealing to public emotions, turning upside down the story of the attack on Alexei Navalny, converting it from the alleged poisoning by Putin's order to the alleged rescue by Putin, stressing the concept of sincerity, Volodin is persuading the public, thus he imposes the story narrated by the official authorities. His main argument is the emotional concept of shame (being shameless in Russian culture presumes being ungrateful), underpinned by an expressive statement about the crucial role of Putin, which sounds as describing some tangible action of the president, along with the efforts of pilots and doctors.

Navalny himself has no doubts that the operation to poison him was directed by Russian President Vladimir Putin: '*We see here **an operation that lasts almost 4 years**, in which dozens of people are involved, including several Federal security service generals ... FSB Director Alexander Bortnikov would never have done this without **Putin's order**, because this is a real **terrorist act***' (Alexei Navalny, RTVI, December 2020)

The representatives of the two opposing value systems aim to highlight the immorality of their opponents. While Volodin appeals to the concept of shame only, Navalny engages in both shame and illegality.

The most impressive way to comprehend the political divisions is the fictional narrative, which can be retrieved from the abundant public explanations and versions of the story. Lay citizens, doctors, officials are telling coherent stories publicly to convey the ideological message, thus imparting the discourse strand with all properties of fiction. Narrators addressing to the discussed chain of events impose their own ideological frame, prompting them to see alternative facts.

By alternative facts we presume not the alternative vision of the same cases or events through the alternative ideological lenses. By alternative facts we presume an alternative sequence of alternative events stemming from the alternative reality.

The same event within opposing perspectives differs not by minor details, not by the attitude and the evaluations expressed by the parties, while relying on the same framework of reality. The pivotal question is 'Is it true or false?'; 'Whom you trust, Putin or Navalny?' Do we find this fact fitting to our reality? Eventually, the trust is substituted with an attitude close to the religious faith in personal merits of the opponents. Obviously, this discursive composition encompasses at least two sets of alternative facts, which are incompatible in any third value system, where basic laws of logic would be violated to cross parallel lines and merge contradictory statements.

«*I claim that Putin is behind what happened, and **I have no other versions** of what happened. I say this not to flatter myself, but from the **facts**. The **main fact** is that it is a '**Novichok**'. The order to use or produce it can be given only by two people: the head of the FSB or the SVR*» (Alexei Navalny interview 01.10.2020)

Thus, Navalny affirms his story (his narrative) and the facts he believes to be real. Repeating the word 'fact', insisting on it, refuting other versions he is emotionally affecting his audience

who would probably share his confidence.

Answering direct questions about Navalny, Vladimir Putin again doesn't articulate his name and tries to diminish the importance of the case, in the expression 'nearly died' emphasizing the word 'nearly', meaning that nothing happened:

«If a person **nearly died**, it does not mean that you need to open a criminal case **on any occasion**» (Vladimir Putin, answers to Nikolai Svanidze, member of a Council on human rights, 10.12.2020)

To sum up the points of controversies, we'll figure out and list several dubious facts:

- Navalny was poisoned / Navalny's disease was the result of his weight-losing diet and stress
- Navalny was poisoned with 'Novichok' in Russia / Traces of 'Novichok' in Navalny's blood appeared only in Germany
- Doctors in Omsk where the plane landed saved his life by urgent measures / Doctors in Omsk were lying about his health condition and did not want to let him to the German clinic to stave off his recovery
- Putin didn't give a permission to depart to Germany / Putin assured there was no political obstacles to transportation

The case of the so-called Putin's palace near Gelendzhik, which cost 100 billion rubles, is described in a film issued by Navalny's team, which reveals various details of Putin's life before his presidency, figures out multiple corrupt relations in Putin's closest circle involving people who are tied with the president by common past and by alleged current property. During the film, Navalny is constantly drawing moral conclusions:

«It was in Dresden that Putin's main **life principles** were defined. On them, he will build his entire future career, and then put them in the foundation of the state. Always say one thing and do another. **Lies** and **hypocrisy** are the most effective mechanisms of work. **Corruption** is the foundation of trust. The most reliable friends are those who have been **stealing** and **cheating** with you for many years. And most importantly, **there can't be too much money**». (Navalny.palace.com)

This is how Navalny portrays Putin, using tools of fiction, imposing the framework for depicting an immoral villain and somehow speaking on behalf of his character. Not like an investigator, but as the author of a novel depicting the so-called inner world of a hero.

When Putin was asked about this film, he answered that he had no time to see the whole artifact, but from the episodes he had managed to watch it is a fake, a product of montage, and «...**they decided to brainwash** our citizens with these materials». (Vladimir Putin, interview, 25.01.2021) Hinting by these words at unspecified enemies in the full correspondence with his personal rhetorical style keeping much of the Soviet bureaucratic legacy. Further, he denied that he possesses anything mentioned in this film, omitting the fact he was not accused in direct possession of property, thus he answered not on the accusation, which was formulated. It is again a rhetorical device not to answer the question, frequently used by politicians of different countries and cultural traditions. In the context of our argument, it is an evidence of impossibility to verify or refute the accusations rationally, launching a substantial dialogue, which is substituted by competition of beliefs.

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EXPLORING THE INTERFACE OF DIGITAL NEWSCASTING AND CAPE OF DEMOCRACY: AN INDIAN OVERVIEW

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Abstract: Amidst the mayhem, the newscast has repeatedly been challenged, humored, and ridiculed. Several Indian bulletin networks demonstrated questionable decay of democratic sanctity. Simultaneously, there is an emerging expanse of relatively new Indian digital deliverables. The study sought to explore a few digital ventures instrumental in conveying beyond televised methods; marking the dawn of alternative reportage. Furthermore, not limited to the plethora of technical aids, operational correspondence is currently a budding reality. Segue from dramatic utterances to performative unearthing is fascinating. The mediatized socio-political debates on Corona, parliamentary elections, breaking news, disaster coverage, captured lengths of televised news in elaborate format, with blurring objectivity. On the contrary, digital agencies have been touring alternative realms. The demonstration of factual information deftly blended with satirical wit is captivating. Notably, that includes a host of regional and bi-lingual independent digital media enterprises efficaciously functional post-2014. Moreover, the study illustrates embracing satire as a tool highlighting varied rhetoric. Digital reportage and ethnography are relevant academic discussions for forthcoming research. The gradual departure of blaring newscasting and the launch of persuasive reportage is a compelling phenomenon. A qualitative rendering of such may enable reconsiderations of dated information. Consequently, situating telecasted political cognition and civic redressal.

Keywords: Digital reportage, Indian mosaic democracy, Mediatized conflict, Socio-political satire, Visual ethnography.

The extant complexities of communications and public representative elaboration in India will be summarized in the current discussion. Television news is a densely concentrated correspondence medium bridging government and public manifestations (Chaffee & Kanihan, 2010). The relevance of News is embedded in positioning contending interests, issues and identities (Cottle & Rai, 2006). In a diverse and plural polity, news is particularly significant for exploring such reflections. The recent influx of mediatized political communication has interfered with India's democratic ethos. As a countermeasure to such a phenomenon, diversified news repertoires are being introduced in television and digital outlets. Few are sensitized to deliberative democracy, while others embrace rhetorical deliverances. To map the expansive challenges posed by contemporary television news and alternative digital communication agents, qualitative probing is conducted.

Textured 'News' It Is

News characterized to be unambiguous, factually accurate and terse. Ought to be limited and mostly focus on the information at its disposal (Unz et al., 2008). Doris Graber remarked rather than being mere tidings, news updates should be sensational and familiar (Graber, 2004).

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Indian television news ranges from terrestrial and state funded networks to privatized and franchised 24/7 network news channels (Cottle & Rai: 2008, 79). Nationwide nearly more than hundreds of such channels may be catalogued marking the multi-linguistic diversity. With the exception of a few, shades of 'news' in India have changed dramatically. A considerable bulk of demography relies on Hindi vernacular. News channels submitted in this discussion shall encompass few Hindi and English television news channels. Certainly, study may be discredited to said unreliable sampling; nonetheless the objective relies on the broadcasting of news that has departed from being populist representative to partisan. Seemingly, at the juncture of news assemblage and deliverance, the newscaster is the intermediary. Deliberation, countenance and vocal cues mark their preconceptions and dispositions. In the recent years a significant portion of the Indian populace consumed 'news' sheathed in a series of narration, discussion layout blended with newscaster's disarrayed performance.

Apart from the aforementioned detailing, conventional news operations do tender to crude summary of occurrences. Over-manifestation by bouquet of news channels as breaking news is arcane. Media does not influence how to think; rather shape perspectives. Their agenda sets the tone for what people will think (McCombs & Shaw 2017). Nonetheless, major discrepancy may be observed and discussed regarding news consumption in India. With the advent of the 24/7 news circuit, bulletins either emphasize trivial events or downplay major public affairs and simplify complex issues. It is as if the news industry struggles to find stable niches within this complex habitat. Thereby, regimes create factions by duly informing issues, outlook suiting their succession of connected reasoning. The deteriorating peculiarities in India may be explored through the phase of extreme disillusionment with its political institutions for impairing representation and empowerment of the weakest members of society. Despite the fact, it is a multiparty democracy that theoretically urges for equal representation and accountability, counterbalancing is withdrawing miserably. Essentially, these thriving reforms are impelled by the media. News publishing agendas of distinct political considerations insinuates such refractions from democratic governance.

Necessarily, the media bridges public discourse and institutions. Their conclusive exigency relies on the outreach in society and politics. Thus, any abrupt undertakings might weigh the civic submission to their discernment (Hjarvard 2013). Extensive as an apparatus of mediation, a framework of mediatisation narrates their current operative arch. Jesper Stromback's neat classification of phases of mediatisation is fundamental to grasp the oddity in concurrent Indian news broadcasts. Initially in the first phase, media interconnects populace, governmental agencies and political actors, and delivers civil order. While shaping perceptions, it also generates opinions and apprehensions. With political convictions as an integral operant, the media narrates political rhetoric (Stromback 2008). Second phase functions on internal reforms of media enterprises. Even though political agents have an edge, hereupon, they are yet to entirely steer the media to further their interests. Subsequently, the awaited third phase emphasizes gradual fortifying of media and presiding as an enclave. Hereafter, to situate in a public network, media becomes the sole recourse. Operatives and opposition to governance have to adapt to them. Anchoring as mutually interdependent composites calibrates the representative regime. Once political troupes discern the media's circumstantial advantage, they are likely to direct and redirect to avoid reprimands. In due process, handcrafting perceived reality by the media shall blur. Finally, docking fourth phase demonstrates mediated reality being more relevant than objective reality and further than perceived reality. Thereby, besides utilizing media for campaigning it is employed during governing and other processes. During this phase political and social actors more than adapt, adopt and interiorize media into their governing processes. Despite the media gaining independence of political limitations expecting complete autonomy is impractical.

The premise of mediatisation is earmarked to examine the junctures of perceived reality by Indian media. With the Indian Right-wing government refusing to advertise with newspapers that do not support its initiative was a lucrative opportunity grabbed by news media to endorse governmental policies. Further enabling unbalanced reportage and configurations marking bias and thus, affecting political reception. A cohort is apparent with several media outlets symbiotically coordinating with the government thus nabbing funding and prominence. Espousing statistics of Covid-19 death tolls was a significant violation of citizen right to information. Earlier coverage of plights of the migrant workers suffering from sudden lockdown is a named reality. Alongside to others these crackdowns implied absence of reporting thus evading condemnation of government's response to the pandemic. In India, while scrutinizing the 'news' autonomy of the media is indeed pending. The aforesaid disunion of media and political agencies may be envisioned with the dawn of other news forms. Thereby, the forthcoming media reforms may be envisaged through examining the digital news era. Nearly for a decade, features of contemporary issues are not contained to television or newspapers. It is illustrated in dynamic digital media landscape translating enterprising mechanisms. Unrealistic for the legacy news media disappearing, their dominance is being challenged by new categories of content production and distribution embracing audience participation and typically superseding traditional journalism in thematic creation.

Regular course in Indian television is disembowelment of particular news that renders counterproductive for viewers, but an efficient mechanism for the media enterprises. The news channels regenerate as canneries. The unceasing reportage in different television networks marks the Intermedia agenda setting (Vliegenthart and Walgrave 2008). It proposes that associated media companies get labored by new issue coverage of one corporate media. As media outlets have scanty contact with their viewers, they are dependent on further sources to ascertain the most pressing concerns. Successive duplication validates the former's verdict of novelty, marking the news as fascinating. Expressive dramatic disclosures may drive them as a prime news breaker, echoing perks of competitive benefit. Seemingly, they are tailgating to the first and second phase of mediatisation. Rather than attempting to be autonomous they are precariously fixated on the fabricating realities to sinew public and political counterparts.

Simultaneous intermeshing of agenda setting, mediatisation and inter-media agenda setting has been operative in affecting the breadth of public information, thus compromising the quintessential democratic sincerity. Media corporations competing to secure governmental, public, and commercial admiration, facts and evidence are gradually reducing, enshrouded, derailed or eliminated to preserve the neo-liberal commitments. Subsequently, in the era of changing and marred newscasting, alternative quarters emerged through digital exposure. The televised mediated reality is dissented by alternative newscasting. Provisional global culture has conveniently maneuvered through engaging socio-political discourses with newfangled techniques of furnishing information (Kumar 2012). In this changing ecosystem, the dais of such digital media broadcasters is YouTube. It is a greenhouse for overseas and Indian multifarious individual/corporate communicators to rally with socio-political narratives and coverage. The dedicated deliveries probe political actors and conventional press coverage. Particularly political satire is engaged as an apparatus of resistance against social and political rupture. The strategic usage of satire, parody, caricatures to articulate the irony of manufactured and mediated politics is substantial. Interestingly, many such performers have made viewers laugh as well as build something on their own.

Situating Re-Configured Territories

Significant to the discussion is 'The Week that wasn't' an Indian satirical late night television slot hosted by Cyrus Broacha broadcasted in CNN-IBN. Hoisted since 2006, late night television shows featuring socio-political weekly proceedings. Unyielding and bearing their impression on topical discussions. Adjacently, 'Gustakhi Maaf' (Pardon the Indulgence) is a Hindi puppet show aired on NDTV India broadcasting since 2003. Initially hosted by Brij Bhushan Shukla, later reassigned the mantle. The former is loosely inspired from American news parody *The Daily Show*, while the latter is depicted from French puppet show *Les Guignols de' info*. The format of both Indian renderings ranges from video montages, news footages, and fake reporters with fake policy makers to puppetry declaiming on news of days/week. Way back in 2001, 'Ji Mantriji' (Yes Minister) was an Indian adaptation of British satire *Yes Minister*. Telecasted on Star Plus for thirty-eight episodes, Farooq Sheikh as Surya Prakash Singh was the Minister of Administrative Affairs. Each episode commenced with an illustration of R. K Laxman, a renowned Indian political cartoonist, recognized for his series, 'The Common Man'. Additionally, 'Great Indian Tamasha' (The Great Indian Circus) a show on NDTV India inspired by British television puppet shows *Spitting Image* from early 2000's. However, in the age of limited attention of viewers several renditions perished. The named few are comparatively famed. Adjacently, digital enterprises adapted new habits and revamped newscasting in divergent formats — not just text, but more invested on interactive and visual configurations. Naming few is Newslaundry, an alternative satirical informant furnishing media critiques and reportage. Traced since 2012, is an earliest subscription- driven website, followed by The Wire, The Print, The Quint, Scroll. in, Scoopwoop. Snippets or episodic features are periodically linked to YouTube.

At the unique juncture of uncertain commitment of the mainstream press for its defections had distinguished them publicly accountable for their content. The aforementioned are the few named attempts undertaken by individual/corporate agencies not only addressing the aberrations of present governance; episodes are dedicated to investigating diverse civic affairs. Initially, they were websites catering as Indian viral content creators, gradually processed into digital agencies. These independent media collaborations are significantly gaining traction and contributing to burgeoning literature.

Simultaneously, they are appointing succinct compositions with candid captions. These distinctive channels edge on intersectionality. The host/anchor, subscribers/viewers are acknowledging and addressing social, political and economic ethos rarity much apparent from corners of the country. At the convergence of media creation, social networking and entertainment, digital editions ingeniously engage legacy enterprises. The latter essentially summons specific ideological agenda, thereby intensifying cultural hegemony. The deafening media echo chamber of clashing images and slogans drowns alternative deliberations and reflections. Contrastingly, digital space access to navigation across multiple contexts facilitates the participation of subscribers and viewers in the feedback section; thereby assisting them in inadvertently producing media content. This explosion is a pressing need to counter-response the conventional media. YouTube as a social networking platform allows access to alternative media exposure with limited restrictions. Since 2012, cellular application with affordable internet accessibility explores further the nuanced prospects of identifiable locales and voices. The viewership and subscribers are the best indicators of recognition and reputation, since there is no standardized measurement for assessing a correspondent's receptivity. Likewise, the recommendation interface facilitates further exposure.

Gradual expansions of independent digital agencies lodge them in a competitive yard perusing to gauge the merits of their services. An extensive and compelling study on reputation

perception of political channels on YouTube, surmise distinctive categories for interpreting the validity of YouTube channels. These dimensions markers are credibility, communication and quality management (Ryoo, Yu & Han 2021). The former is coherence to integrity, honesty and trustworthiness. The communication entails content development attempts in parlance to netizen's pressing priority. The latter quality management emphasizes on functional competence of the host and the crew. Measuring independent agencies' ascendancy is through the subscriber tally and viewership metrics. Credence and correspondence of videos on YouTube may be compared to shared statistics. The study further mentioned the political ideology as conveyed by the enterprise warrants further observations. Thus, with these dimensions the digital deliverance may prosper unlike mainstream media.

Political coherence of flagged digital channels is certainly not manifested. As mentioned earlier, 'The Week that wasn't' was operational for nearly fifteen years. Newslaundry, looming nearly for nine years, although others launched later does not spot their complete hostility for governance rather evaluates and examines. However, in the span of nearly eight years carping episodes have been linked and vigilant participation of viewers may be examined as affirmative to democratic framework of the country. Nevertheless, the non-disclosure may be a ruse seizing viewership and subscription tally. The present discussion is more invested on exploring the veering of newscasting. The confined space of news recitals since 1982 till recent times by Doordarshan got refined and redefined through newsroom direct broadcasting on television news. Previously, opinions and commentary were restrained to editorials and periodicals. Further now, the digital feedback pathway bears engaging with recipients and such thawing thus re-channelize the discontent. The ushering of privatized news brands proposed go-to destinations for live news. Hereafter, in digital orbit the news depictions are mostly invested from locales. The breaking news alerts are advancing to quaint limning.

The distinct merit of 'The Week that wasn't' than other named agencies is embedded in their creative narrative. Meshing satire and parody is a dissident engagement. The study is not to appraise parodical communicators, rather to recognize the semblance of articulation between satire and news - the artifice of political information exchanges. Parody encapsulates a search for truth and meaning in a time when populations have grown increasingly suspicious that traditional discourses no longer suffice" (Baym & Jones 2012, 12). As a resident of the democratic nation it is worth mentioning these diversified and judicious deliberations.

Seemingly, in the current televised news landscape consultants customize blended deals for political actors and their policies. Suave periodic appearances on television by policy actors with faint possible strategy outcomes and sustained compliance of media certainly incensed a considerable populace. One such instance is the excruciating defeat of healthcare facilities further testified through loss of lives marked counterfeited public and medical policies. In due course political actors made national televised appearances with vague remedies. Contrastingly, alternative digital attempts are not to dissuade but to discern the oppressive dominance through parody. Hariman (2008) asserts democracy as a free and open debate that strengthens and sustains through parody. The arch of political comprehension and latent humor evokes participation. Carr (2011) remarked, humor as a corrective to a broken democratic system. The blend of political conversation and humor is a deliberate undertaking to urge the viewers to contemplate the content of their news and how they are receiving it (Holm, 2017). The absurdity is not embedded in the comedy, but the reality that it mocks (Bishop, 2015, 553). Thus, pervasive usage of political comedy is a cogent combination. 'Political comedy has power,' said (Peifer 2012, 267). It may be noted as a kaleidoscope reflecting vivid symmetry of satire, politics and media. Moreover, satire through irony elaborates, problematizes the apparent approach and challenges them abruptly (Colletta 2009, 872). The finesse of satire is

the ulterior spur of tolerance for unconventional outlook. Hence, satire and humor re-mediate the link between alternative news paradigms and civic participation.

YouTube serves as a portable digital archive with a rich catalogue of emergent and traditional forms of visual culture and public culture. Digital visual ethnography moderately supports the discussion while touring alternative media exposures. Relatively recent situated videos and potentially sorted for diverse comprehensions have been employed in current conversation. Acknowledging Denzin's admittance of 'a passive lurking observer' (Murthy, 2008, 840) the study interlaces composites of deliverables with interactivity, temporal structure, social cues, storage, replicability, reach and mobility (Baym 2010, 6-7). Additionally, Indian socio-economic divide contributes to furthering digital divide. The qualitative inclusion of visual cognates from YouTube raises its own challenges. The contingent personal experiences, memories and aspirations are inevitable (Pink 2013, 143). The discussion outlines the reflexive approach to classify, mine and render of visual materials. It is an endeavor to examine the provisional content and context. The descriptive and predictive categories permit to capture the complex imbrications of communication complexity and public sphere.

The digital content, creative extrapolations, subscription and dissemination hinges with the kernel of democracy. Much of digital enterprises thrive on public culture by forging satire, parody, and irony in political briefing. The dissent is translated through entertainment. Parliamentary elections, Corona, disaster coverage captured lengths of both prime-time and satirical newscasting. Indian digital deliverables not merely asserts on civil affairs, but attempts to address unfamiliar realities. Nevertheless, discussion remains sketchy without bestowing a few digital captions. Randomly mentioning few are – 'The vague Worry of virus variants', 'Bengal campaign kicked off by BJP', 'Bengal Elections 2021 - Vote Do Jaan Bhi' (Give both vote and life),* 'Gangs of Barrackpore: How BJP snatched seats and candidates from TMC',† With 'COVID Surge & Low Testing', 'Deadly August: A Month of Natural Disasters, Negligence & Disease', 'Is it really sabka (everybody's) budget?', 'Is this not a massacre?', 'Women in mosque', 'Inside a graveyard', 'Hit with a rod by Mob while reporting a protest', 'What is the Modi government doing about climate change?', 'Sab Changa Si (everything is fine) according to India Today', 'They Raped, Murdered, Cheated: The Not So 'Holy' Godmen Behind Bars', 'Amid COVID Chaos, Look at India's High Courts Fighting for Our Right To Life', 'Why Indian Celebrities Are Silent on COVID Crisis?'

The deemed years held back by Covid-19, Indian digital exposure got broadened with notable coverage locating the spot of bother. The extensive span of newscasting is essentially animated with anchorage. Most videos in the digital news spectrum narrate investigative reportage. The subjective interpretation and creative freedom are courageously demonstrated. At disposal, a mobile device is sufficient for putting forth opinions and representations. Another mention is practical, 'Lallantop'. Specific to the considerable bulk of Hindi speaking populace in India, the portal distinctly captures non-English non-metropolitan masses. Claiming to progressive and aggressive about gender, caste and social justice, it does cater to a long enlistment of

* The West Bengal Assembly elections had an extraordinary significance in 2021. Trinamool Congress (TMC), a regional Bengal political party with Supremo Mamata Banerjee is the second largest opposition party in Parliament. Defeating TMC and Banerjee in Bengal would be a big leap for Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) towards the goal of 'one country, one party, and one leader.'

† Barrackpore situated in North 24 Parganas of West Bengal periodically witnessed the highlighting danger of communal polarization. Violence upholds the nature of politics. In the 2021 Assembly election, a major political crossfire took place. The reference is from Hindi film 'Gangs of Wasseypur' (2012) centered on the coal mafia of Dhanbad (a city in Jharkhand, India). The underlying power, politics, struggle and vengeance was directed by Anuraj Kashyap.

information videos. Spurring debates often posted from the interiors of Indian villages. A very interesting specialty is its news segment *Paki-Talkie* (The talk from Pakistan). Additionally, noteworthy is the 'Mojo Story'. A remarkable step in the glaring gendered news correspondence is launched by Barkha Dutt's (renowned former journalist of NDTV). Spot investigations posed captivating depictions. Beyond the parameters of aforementioned digital endeavors, Dutt forged her presence in discerning the despair of Covid from different parts of the country. She made significant unearthing coverage from cremation grounds to chronicle the ravaging overstretched health system in India.

Mooring to conclusion, recognized commitment of the media to affirm the equitable socio-economic and political climate of the nation is indefinite. The present deliberation thus highlights their dictated mechanism as a cape. The knotted explanations are of a cloak or a headland. The edifice of news utilizes democracy as a garb for arbitrary testaments. Incidentally, this exercise is narrowing the stretch of democratic ethos. Nonetheless, the remnants might endure with the newscasting expanding beyond legacy media. Namely if the selection, formatting, sourcing and documentation are reconfigured and reconstituted, required representation is awaited. Despite discussions, subsequent comparisons with mainstream media, alternative newscasting has yet to gain public credibility. List of intriguing titles laden with popular culture references is insufficient to capture attentiveness of the viewers (Xenos & Becker, 2009). Meanwhile, there is a gap limited to recognition, identification and consumption routines. Engaging in interpersonal communication and stirring political efficacy, are restricted to literate bourgeois demography. Alternative news deliverables as an agent of participatory culture is yet to mask their particularity. English aided recounts might restrict them within an insular niche. The urbane humor and irony effectively budge a fraction of the Indian populace. Their intrinsic political efficacy is significantly swayed by expounding opportunities. Seeking for further means of recourse is a metropolitan indulgence. To grasp the dynamic interplay of alternative digital news genres, simultaneous contradictions are posed in the inquiry, to comprehend the paradoxes. Within the scope of digital networking, India's socio-political imbalances are glaring. Alas, cultural products that resonate as an alternative to the mainstream are often of particular origin. This cautionary prodding is to eschew the pitfalls of seeing cultural intermixing as benign. Their inherent superiority is embedded in their framework and docking of facts and opinions.

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CITIZEN'S ALTERITY: THE DYNAMICS OF VIOLENCE, TEMPORALITY, AND SOVEREIGNTY ON ROHINGYA LIVES

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Abstract: By mooting the 1982 Citizenship Law, the Myanmar government displaced the Rohingya Muslims and made them officially 'stateless'. Since 1982, the Rohingya have been fleeing Myanmar and seeking refuge in neighbouring countries in South and Southeast Asia – Thailand, India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, and Bangladesh. This paper engages with the kinds of violence that spin an intricate web of terror, engulfing the 'bare lives' of the Rohingya and making them precarious and liminal. The paper also tries to understand how violence is related to sovereignty and temporality and how these relationships shape the individual and collective life courses of the Rohingya and their mobility and choices. On the one hand, the Rohingya face violence that is corporeal, structural, and largely individualised. The modality, and type, of the violence differs by organisation (such as bureaucracy, police, civil society and organisations) and actor (state and non-state). The effects of the violence, and the 'lived experiences', vary by gender, age, class, religion, and other 'intersectional' factors also. On the other hand, the Rohingya are subjected to orchestrated, 'biopolitical' violence at the level of a collective (population).

Keywords: Rohingya Refugee, Bangladesh, Myanmar, Biopolitics, Geopolitics

Introduction

In contingencies and crises, structural violence meets corporeal violence in controlling the mobility of a population; regulating their marriage, procreation, and growth; using them as forced labour; and wasting their lives, opportunities, and capabilities (Roy Chowdhury 2020).

Thus, violence has become an integral part of the Rohingya life, I argue, and it has profoundly affected their subjectivity and consciousness, particularly because it ruptures the link between refugee lives and 'temporality' as well as sovereign 'spatiality' can be termed as 'biopolitical violence'. This kind of violence occurs during 'biopolitical contingencies' when the state biopolitics is in crisis.

This study is the result of my ethnographic involvement with the Rohingya in Bangladesh, Thailand, and India. In-depth interviews of the Rohingya inform this analysis.

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'Biopolitical contingency' – usual 'state affairs' in crisis

Burma won independence in 1948. After 1950, state repression of the Muslim Rohingya, a religious minority, supported by religious groups and civil society, turned the existence of the Rohingya identity into a battle for rights (Leider 2018). Military rule in independent Myanmar since the 1960s, and the rise of Buddhist nationalism, led the state to institute policies that discriminate against the Rohingya, perform repressive actions, and derecognize them by stripping them of citizenship (in 1982) and making them 'stateless'. Buddhist nationalism has been growing in power, and the persecution of the Rohingya has resulted in ethno-religious divisions (Alam 2018). The state persecutes them through the means of land grabbing, destroying religious places, extra-judicial killings, and forced labour, eviction from settlements, restriction on freedom, torture, rape, sexual violence, and arbitrary taxation. Since 1978, a million Rohingya have been forced to flee to Thailand, India, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, and Bangladesh (Parnini 2013). They have been fleeing to Bangladesh since 1977-78, and then in 1991-92, 2012, 2015, 2016-17, and 2018 onwards (Roy Chowdhury 2019).

Bangladesh – a poor country that won independence as recently as 1971 – does not recognise refugees; it did not accede to the 1952 Convention relating to the Status of the Refugees or its 1967 Protocol. The Refugee Relief and Repatriation Commissioner (RRRC), the nodal refugee management agency, was formed under the Ministry of Disaster Management and Relief in 1992 (though it started functioning actively only in 2015); between 1978 and 1992, all its refugee management practices were ad hoc (Ibid).

As the refugees arrived in phases, the government sought the assistance of national and international civil society organisations (CSO) in managing refugee affairs. Slowly, with the help of UNCHR, IOM, and other CSOs, an informal, but stable, refugee management system developed and attained a level of equilibrium. The refugees used to arrive in phases; in 2012 (and onward), however, the political exigency in Myanmar forced many Rohingya to seek refuge in Bangladesh. Somewhat accidentally, thus, regional geopolitics interfered with 'domestic' biopolitics (Foucault 1978), and Bangladesh experienced a phase of 'biopolitical contingency', in which the usual affairs of the Bangladesh government with that of its citizens was disrupted. Meanwhile, the parent countries of national and international CSOs became involved, blurring the boundary between domestic politics and geopolitics.

Other, internal developments contribute to the biopolitical contingency. Under its Awami League government, Bangladesh has been on a neoliberal regulation and growth trajectory since the 1990s. But the orthodox Islamic Bangladesh National Party (BNP), the opposition, radicalises society and blames the government for its preferential treatment of refugees. This feeling is shared by poor citizens, including those in Cox's Bazar. All these conflicts have created a radical uncertainty in politics. Desperate to manage this 'chaotic' phase – the crisis in biopolitical governance; the Bangladesh government has made a 'structural turn' and turned autocratic.

'Biopolitical violence' – An excess/acceleration of Biopolitics

Biopolitical control and governance is exerted in excess during biopolitical contingencies, usually in the name of doing 'good' to a certain category of the population, or 'benevolence'. This kind of governance – 'needed' to control an emergency/exceptional situation and civilise and regulate a certain category of people – is the notion of 'biopolitical violence' I proffer here. The processes adopted – through laws, institutions, and organisations – to

manage crises are usually hasty. Not enough time is spent on planning, discussion, debate, or building a consensus; the decisions are usually passed through a unilateral order/decreed in the name of managing an emergency. A coercive state apparatus (police, military, and secret services) is deployed and given the task (and unwritten power) to control these processes. Thus, the state legitimises coercion, and violence becomes permissible (and uncontrollable), and the biopolitical decision-making power of the state becomes unquestionable in crises.

In the case of biopolitical violence, the state often carries forth all the 'usual' biopolitical activities of shaping citizen subjectivity by the sovereign powers – now extended over non-citizens/non-members of the state (Zheveleva 2017) that is, in the case of refugees in Bangladesh – but in 'unusual' and restrictive ways. Now everything happens at a much accelerated rate, and biopolitical violence is backed by power, coercion, and the threat of violence. Subjected at the level of a community now, biopolitical violence contains (and surpasses) all the forms and elements of violence that can be talked about – direct and corporeal, structural (Galtung 1969), slow violence (Nixon 2013), epistemic violence (Chakravorty Spivak 1988), and more. Biopolitical violence is the result of 'temporally accelerated subjectivation/subjectification', or subject formation by a state through enforced and accelerated biopolitical practices. That is a kind of *civilisational mission* on non-citizens to make the 'unruly' and dangerous, poor, uneducated Rohingya somewhat equivalent to the citizens. This mission is carried out by putting the Rohingya refugees in camps; prohibiting them from marrying locals and from procreating; forcing them to perform certain economic activities and refrain from performing others; and teaching them certain behaviours, attitudes, activities, and knowledge in a certain kind of school. All this happens at an accelerated pace – in a compressed space-time, at the camps – in the name of doing good either for the citizens or for the refugees or both. The irony is that even after doing all this the refugees (non-citizens) are not given 'citizenship' in Bangladesh: they have restrictions and duties but no rights. They are coerced to learn certain norms and behaviours that lose value when they are forcibly deported to Myanmar or distant islands for the 'good' of the citizens and the Rohingya (Roy Chowdhury 2021).

The Rohingya refugees are non-citizen 'subjects' in both Myanmar, the state that made them stateless, and Bangladesh, the state that hosts them. As the Rohingya are forcibly pushed out of Myanmar, they are severed from the national temporality, space, and development trajectory. As they come to the host country, they face a temporally accelerated trajectory of 'subjectivation' as non-citizens without any rights. Both the sovereign powers mete out violence in some form, by omission and commission, and they have severed the link of refugee lives with both 'temporality' and national 'spatiality'.

Facing an excess of biopolitics through biopolitical violence, the Rohingya refugees try to adjust to this spatio-temporal dislocation and norms that are pushed onto them. They are excluded from the 'national-temporality' of linear progress and development. Their forced mobility leads them to start living at new locations and spaces – only to be displaced, again and again – and relegates their lives to a 'circular timeframe' that moves between degrees of freedom and un-freedom, temporary stability and liminality, and a duality of 'life-time and death-time'. The citizen and their alterity exist in different space-times, even when located in contiguous places. Disowned by all the sovereign powers, they vacillate constantly between hope and hopelessness in an accelerated and compressed time and space that creates a sense of anomie and alienation in them.

The mobility of the refugees who live in camps is restricted; if they need to leave the camp to seek medical care, or to meet their fellows at another camp, they need a travel pass

authorised by the Camp-in-Charge; it should be free, but sometimes the refugees need to pay.

Few of the Rohingya who live outside camps receive any aid. They seek informal employment; unscrupulous employers pay them less than the usual wage, threatening to inform the authorities on them. The local discourse represents the Rohingya as uneducated, aggressive, and radicalised, or as drug peddlers who pose a security threat, or as sexual predators that procreate endlessly; and locals skirmish frequently with the Rohingya over issues of resource-sharing. They are in constant fear of being, arrested, detained, deported, robbed, attacked, and raped, and they are vulnerable to intimidation by criminal networks (Azad, 2016).

Government officials say that many Rohingya marry Bangladeshis only to become citizens. The government introduced a special law in 2014 banning so-called 'mixed marriages' between Bangladeshi citizens and the Rohingya – even with full consent. Rohingya married to Bangladeshis or attempting to marry them can face up to seven years of imprisonment. Thus, the law creates and enforces a clear boundary between citizens and 'stateless' non-citizen (Roy Chowdhury 2021).

Historically, Bangladesh has recognised the principle of *jus soli* citizenship in a very limited manner. Even on the *jus sanguinis* principle, which it followed until 2008, only children born to a Bangladeshi father – amended in 2009 to include father and mother – can be considered an ipso facto citizen irrespective of place of birth and 'legitimacy'. Statelessness is considered inheritable; refugee children comprise 59 percent of the camp population, and half of them, born in Bangladesh as of 2011, can never be citizens and are 'residents of Myanmar' (Azad 2016).

The government does not allow Rohingya children to acquire formal education or learn the Bengali language, but it allows UNICEF to deliver non-formal education using a Myanmar curriculum in the camps in a pilot project basis from 2020. The government clearly does not want to integrate the refugees socially or facilitate their access to the labour market; in fact, it made several attempts in 2018 and 2019 to 'repatriate' (read 'deport') the Rohingya.

The host community in Cox's Bazar resents the refugees because the government mobilises resources for the Rohingya but not for them. Discontent is rising, and it is being politicised by the opposition parties (Habib 2021); there is a risk that the government will lose control over the situation. To pre-empt that event, the government has been planning a resettlement project called Ashrayan-3 – at Bhasan Char, an island in the Sandwip *upazilla* of Chittagong district, 37 miles off the coast in the Bay of Bengal. But Bhasan Char is cyclone-prone and often submerged under high tide; and Rohingya leaders and NGOs severely oppose resettlement because the island is 'uninhabitable' (Roy Chowdhury 2021).

Resilience-resistance against 'biopolitical violence'

The violence does not go uncontested, however; refugees perennially perform and contest all forms of violence by deploying 'active and passive repertoires' embedded in their everyday resilient and mundane practices – hiding, running, marrying, and procreating – as well as, when required, spectacular activities – protesting against and defying repression.

Soon after the second attempt to deportation failed, a protest rally was held at Ukhiya on 25 August 2019 to commemorate the second anniversary of the 'Rohingya Genocide Day' and also to put pressure on the government and the international community to accept their

demands. More than 20,000 Rohingya participated in the rally. The rally was peaceful, and Mohibullah, a Rohingya leader, urged the local and international media in a video message to refrain from portraying their peaceful rally negatively. 'We are ready to return [to Myanmar] given our dignity, safety and rights are guaranteed,' he said. The RRRC could not stop the rally and, in effect, the politicisation of Rohingya memory and aspirations.

In retaliation, the government immediately transferred RRRC commissioner Mohammad Abdul Kalam and seven top officials. The foreign ministry issued an order on 31 August 2019 to bring in 'transparency and accountability'. The government banned mobile phone services and SIM cards at the refugee camps (Prasse-Freeman 2020). The NGO affairs bureau banned 41 NGOs from conducting any project in aid of the Rohingya, supposedly because these NGOs were encouraging the Rohingya not to return to Myanmar (Kamaruzzaman 2019). The military has been building barbed-wire fences around the camps and watchtowers with surveillance cameras, another act of biopolitical violence.

Clearly, therefore, the method of deploying biopolitical violence in contingencies has its limitations. But the government often does not understand that, and it raises the level and pace of repression, although it does not yield the expected results. The government has stopped NGOs from working on Rohingya issues. Funding is restricted now. The Rohingya has several factions, which are in conflict with each other. The recent assassination of Rohingya leader Mohibullah, allegedly by the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (HRW 2021), has made the chaotic situation worse and even more biopolitically restrictive for both citizens and refugees and debilitating for state politics. Bangladesh's refugee management system has to be expanded.

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ANTHROPOLOGY OF MEDIA: AN INVITATION FOR DISCIPLINARY BOUNDARY CROSSING IN SOUTH ASIA

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Abstract: Anthropology of media as a research approach within the broader sub-discipline popularly called 'media anthropology' gained much popularity in Western scholarship. Academicians working across the globe and interested particularly in engaging with interactive dynamics between media, society and culture in the global South conveniently and enthusiastically opted for a lens of the anthropology of media. Looking at the contemporary disciplinary practices in humanities and social sciences in the South Asian academic world, as well as its trajectory, it is not far-fetched to argue that scholarly traditions and practices in this part of the world continue to suffer from an anxiety in bridging between media and anthropology. Due to such discomfort, the broader field of media, communication and cultural studies in South Asia could not attain an interdisciplinary rigor with theory and practice. This essay suggests accommodating and strengthening the anthropology of media can open new terrains in the research and innovation for both the streams of socio-cultural anthropology and media communication studies. Such approaches can enable a larger scope of investigation in the 'media saturated world' with alternative viewpoints, thick descriptions and possibilities of bringing the sociocultural aspects of media.

Keywords: Anthropology, Interdisciplinary, Media and Communication Studies, Media Anthropology, Social Anthropology, South Asia.

Introduction

Systematic active practices of interdisciplinary research and education practice can be traced in the early years of 20th century. In particular, the academic atmosphere in the United States during the WWI and WWII enabled a ground for cross-disciplinary research and collaborative projects (Klein 1990; Moran 2010; Jacobs and Frickel 2009). Imperative to note that the emergence of interdisciplinarity owes to the trajectory of disciplinarity evolved as a dominant form of modern academic structure during the 19th century (Klein 1990). In the liberal arts and social sciences, classic disciplines were heavily structured and motivated towards specialization. Scholars got interested in promoting integration across disciplines to overcome the exclusivity and concentrated view towards the subject matters. Beginning with the scholars at the University of Chicago in the early 20th century a passionate boundary crossing, cross-fertilization of ideas, interactionalist approach towards scholarly practices and integrative knowledge production continued (Klein 1990; 2010). However, there has been skepticism, anxiety and wider confusion regarding interdisciplinary tradition (Lyne 2015). Absence of wider consensus at the epistemic level, failure of effective collaboration on conceptual and empirical grounds between disciplines and lack of substantial theoretical and methodological grounds for interdisciplinary strands remain crucial concerns for the social sciences in academia worldwide.

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In South Asia, academic developments and scholarly knowledge production are exemplified with colonial, post-colonial, oriental, nationalist, modernity and neoliberal discourses (Breckenridge and van der Veer 1993). Much of the disciplinary restructuring has amounted to the aspirations for globalized education. According to Singh (1973), emergence and development of social sciences in India were highly influenced by the Western or international 'reference model' wherein the building blocks of the theoretical and methodological orientations were derived from the same sources. He stressed, 'Hence, one might think that the Western 'reference model' continues to flourish in the Indian social sciences today as much as under the colonial regime. Indian social scientists did enter into periodical sessions of self-appraisal of their role and some thoughtful discussions have followed, but with very few exceptions most social scientists remain prisoners of the academic habits formed by their Westward orientation in matters of conceptualization, selection of problems and selling the products of their research' (Singh 1973: 25-6).

The above background serves as a point of departure for this discussion where I highlight the potential in boundary crossing for knowledge exchange and interactional atmosphere for innovation. Anthropology of media is the central point of interest and case in consideration that will be elaborated with the propositions.

Precisely we are talking about two disciplines here, anthropology/social anthropology which in the context of South Asia, was interchangeably called sociology or media and communication studies. Sociology or social anthropology has been considered as a classic discipline while the programs and courses of communication, media and cultural studies are often considered within the ambit of interdisciplinary stream. In the disciplinary practices of social anthropology in South Asia, media and communication research never gained much attention until recently. Within the scope of social scientific research and higher education in South Asia, media and communication studies have gained much popularity in the post-90s with growth of technology, industry and dominant role of media in social lives. Even though the departments like mass communication, media studies, journalism and new media, film and television, art and aesthetics, and cultural studies, evolved with an interdisciplinary principle, there has been an evident reticence in boundary crossing for epistemological insight and intellectual collaboration.

Media and Anthropology: Interrelation, Potential and Practices

As a field of investigation, media and communication studies evolved with the aspirations of understanding the history of media, socio-historical background and role of various media forms, interactions between technology, communication and culture, and media as cultural forms (Blumler 1977; Fiske 2010). Media and communication studies evolved with multi-disciplinary principles. The intellectual, historical and theoretical approaches to media and communication studies have close linkages with social and cultural knowledge. In Fiske's (2010) view, it is necessary to have a number of disciplinary approaches to be able to study communication because of its very nature of social significance, role in social interaction and forming the cultural world. Anthropology, as discipline to understand the human society and culture in a holistic manner has always incorporated various technologies and media forms. Media served not only as tools for anthropological research and representation, but also as an object of study (Pardo et al. 2012). The shared interest in social relations, forms of culture and changing everyday life indicates a proximate ground between social anthropology and media and communication studies. Needless to say, in the social sciences academic domain of South Asia, this proximity has not been enhanced and encouraged to explore the potential in boundary crossing for knowledge production and innovation in studying media, culture and society.

Anthropologists had a long-standing negligence to media and communication research (Postill and Peterson 2009; Spitulnik 1993). Still, the kind of media anthropology we can identify, have contributed significantly to understand the socio-cultural changes, formation and transformation of human world via a via the media worlds. Anthropologists took interest in media practices to understand communities as well as studying the distant society and culture with the aid of media forms. They have dealt with visuals, extensively engaged with image and films in exploring culture and producing anthropological knowledge. Film and photography served as prime medium of anthropological communication (Banks and Ruby 2011). Various media forms have often been used as a tool or one of the several ways to explore, capture and represent the socio-cultural lifeworld by anthropological researchers. There is a long standing relation between anthropology and images. The early anthropologists employed, both, still and moving images to capture the life and culture of communities they studied.

Other than considering media and communication as tools for the anthropological research, there are some powerful contributions made by the anthropologists to consider media as prime subject matter to study culture. As an example we can refer to Gregory Bateson's (1942) work on examining national characters and cultural values through mass-media texts or Bateson analyzing a Nazi film from anthropological viewpoint. Ruth Benedict (1946) uses popular media to analyze and outline the patterns of Japanese culture. Lynd and Lynd (1957) examined film as a leisure activity in studying the socio-economic changes in a small town of Indiana and understand the American culture. Powdermaker's (1950) contribution to doing an ethnography in Hollywood remained exemplary. Anthropologists have taken interest in analyzing the semiotic and symbolic aspects of communicative behaviors, communicative practices at the interface between society and technology keeping mass media culture at the center of investigation (Spitulnik 1993; Sapir 1985).

In recent years, conscious attempts of establishing a subfield called media anthropology can be traced by looking at the new departments and courses opening at various universities worldwide. In addition, the publications such as *The Anthropology of Media* (Askew and Wilk 2000); *Anthropology and Mass Communication* (Peterson 2003); *Media Anthropology* (Rothenbuhler and Coman 2005) explicitly outlined the potential of shared knowledge production between media, communication and anthropology. Elizabeth Bird's book on anthropology of news and journalism opened new fronts for scholars both from journalism studies and anthropology students to rethink about the research frameworks to engage with news and journalism practices. Not always anthropologists have explicitly spoken about the sub-field of media anthropology but offered a range of conceptual and methodological outlines to capture the mediated social and cultural changes. In studying television, James Lull, David Morley, Roger Silverstone, Ien Ang, Lila Abu Lughod advocated ethnographic approach to study media. Abu Lughod's ethnography in studying women's television viewing practice in Egypt remained crucial for many media ethnographers across the world. Underlining the importance of ethnographic approach to study television and related practices she highlighted the need of exploring various other approaches within anthropology to engage with media (Abu Lughod 2005). Anthropologist Sherry Ortner (1998) examined popular culture and mediated culture in her work on Generation X, and argued that anthropology is not all about ethnography and therefore anthropologists dealing with media should not only focus on doing media ethnography.

Taking the above discussion into consideration, I propose to advance the field of study called anthropology of media in South Asia towards building innovative frameworks and epistemic development in the social sciences tradition. This approach should be endorsed by scholars from multiple disciplinary backgrounds while not essentially inspire them to create a new sub-discipline. Media and communication studies by nature an interdisciplinary field of

investigation and knowledge production. There are various ruptures and challenges in the development of this interdisciplinary field. Even though media studies evolving from the academic field of communication, in the 20th century question of communication was not central to the media studies (Scannell 2020). According to Jay Blumler (1997), communication studies can enable a common meeting ground of several disciplines for intellectual collaboration, but there were various obstacles. Eventually, journalism studies also evolved as a sub-discipline with the primary objectives of exploring ownership, objectivity and publicness while conceptually it aimed at understanding the politics, economy and philosophy of journalism as social institution and as profession (Calcutt and Hammond 2011; Mark Hampton & Martin Conboy 2014). Neoliberal turn in higher education made an immediate effect to journalism and mass communication, media and culture, and communication studies disciplines to become more market-oriented and develop professional courses. Most of the developing nations in South Asia served as most fertile ground for such experiments as one can see mushrooming of diploma courses, certificate courses and professional degrees been offered on journalism, mass communication and media studies. As a consequence, the curricula are often dominated by skill sets and techniques of media making, using media technologies, and various forms of journalism, photography or filmmaking. In this wake, one can see a tension within the larger ambit of media and communication studies in South Asian academic arena whether to critically engage with media forms and practices or to promote the departments turning into vocational training centers and manpower supply centers to the industry. Social Anthropology or sociology in various academic centres and universities in South Asia are not comfortable to offer a central place to media related researches. Therefore, it is a high time to promote anthropology of media as a research approach to encourage interdisciplinarity in research and knowledge production.

Call for an Anthropology of Media: Aims and Agenda

Anthropologists so far engaged with media and communication research have admitted the fact that anthropology as a discipline was late to pay serious attention to the mass media forms. Part of the reason is closely linked to the paradigmatic shifts of anthropology and the trends of changing interest areas of the disciplines. As Lila Abu Lughod noted, 'The anthropology of media, rejecting the tradition/modernity dichotomy and the disciplinary division of labor that oriented anthropological work, has risen from the ashes of these critiques and on the wings of these new possibilities—based on a recognition that we all are "modern" and that mediascapes, to use Arjun Appadurai's confection, lie within the purview of this discipline that claims contemporary humanity as its object' (Abu Lughod 2005: 25). Further, Ginsburg et al (2002) highlighted the need of reconingzing media within critical anthropological project. Anthropologists have to undertake this project in relation with the key concepts of culture, meaning-making and pay much attention to in-depth and intensive methodologies for media research.

The framework of anthropology of media may enable the exploratory and explanatory trends in communication research in South Asia. To put it differently, study of media would not suffer from the lack of theoretical and methodological orientations once find a home within anthropology (Eiselein and Topper 1976). For anthropological research, understanding meaning-making, everyday culture and construction of social (mediated) realities, it is essential to engage with media related subject matters.

For the innovation in social sciences, it is essential encourage disciplinary boundary crossing that could enable the researchers producing socio-culturally meaningful research on media and communication. In order to promoting anthropology of media as an emerging research stream

in South Asia, following set of agendas should be taken into consideration:

- a. Situating media in everyday social actions that would enable one to understand the mediated social relations.
- b. Outlining the socio-historical context of media forms and platforms that would enable one to see the transformation of communicative processes and practices.
- c. Critically examine the interfaces between media, culture and communication within the purview of local and global, colonial and postcolonial, traditional and modern, national and transnational, public and private, state and market inter alia.
- d. and finally, encourage cross-border communicative research and comparative media and cultural studies in South Asia.

In order to put the above objectives into action, long engaged empirical research and theoretically sound research frameworks are essential. Scholars from both streams, media and communication studies as well as from anthropology should delve deeper in understanding media's meaning making process. They must pay attention to social relevance, needs and implications of media technologies and changing dynamics of communication practices and processes. It is imperative for the scholars interested in anthropology of media to understand the significance of communication as culture (Carey 1989).

Conclusion: Boundary Crossing without Creating Another Territory

We began this discussion outlining the anxiety in interdisciplinarity and tensions in boundary crossing. In the context of South Asia, particularly in the social sciences disciplines, the practice of shared knowledge production and collaborative research are almost absent. Tendency of opening a new department or center for attaining an autonomous space with administrative power can be pointed as one of the reasons for such void. Also, the funded projects scholars administer within the academic locations made them more conscious about their disciplinary specialization resulting to developing a sense of insecurity and superiority instead of collaborative atmosphere. Therefore, to put forth an idea of a new stream of research field such as anthropology of media and communication comes with the risk of provoking to a new sub-disciplinary jurisdiction.

To join in this call for an innovation in social sciences tradition and practice in South Asia by advancing the anthropology of media, the interested researchers can be located at their home disciplines or any of the interdisciplinary domains and be motivated to cross the boundaries when needed. Therefore, one must not feel homeless to adopt a framework of anthropology of media. Indeed, it is imperative to resonate with Dominic Boyer (2012), who see the liquidity or openness of anthropology of media productive than the danger of solidifying or getting specialized. He notes,

perhaps watering down the communicational focus of media anthropology would also enhance its epistemic 'liquidity' and allow its work to flow more effectively into the groundwater of 'mainstream' anthropological research and theory. 'Anthropology of anything' is, after all, another way of saying 'anthropology' and I think producing anthropologically meaningful research is a much more important goal for media anthropology than the defence of a subdisciplinary jurisdiction or identity....In the end, sealing ourselves into a subdisciplinary discourse

network, however lively and expanding, seems to me a greater risk than dissolving a sense of unitary subdisciplinary identity and purpose that was never terribly unitary to begin with. (Boyer 2012: 389)

In the disciplinary world of media related anthropological knowledge production, media anthropology already gained a space and to some extent recognition as a sub-discipline. It might be productive for the scholars in social sciences at large in South Asia to advance the idea of anthropology of media and communication as a broader research stream to encourage innovative knowledge practice.

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TOWARDS INSTITUTING NEW PUBLIC PRACTICES THE CASE OF CULTURAL INFRASTRUCTURES IN THE 2010s' ISTANBUL

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Abstract: Most of the literature in urban studies about cultural infrastructures has its primary concern with practices of informality, appropriation of and temporary interventions in urban spaces. I argue in this paper that more attention should be paid to questions of organization and strategy that open new ways for instituting public practices. I focus in this paper on SALT and DEPO, two cultural organisations from Istanbul operating with the absence of public funding, and I argue they institute new public practices by blurring boundaries between public and private. Through the case study methodology, I combined several qualitative methods of data collection to draw the relevant observations and conclusions. Analysing empirical data on selected organisations, my findings indicate that selected cultural organisations blur the boundaries between public and private in two ways: 1) establishing certain distance from private funders; and 2) building trans-local networks.

Keywords: cultural infrastructures, Istanbul, private funding, public practices.

Is another form of establishing public practices possible?

With regard to the search for the ways of initiating new public practices, most of the empirical and theoretical insights in urban studies indicate informal and temporary ways of imagining forms of publicness; albeit hinting at their contradictions. Accordingly, noting that the scope of literature in urban studies remains narrow and limited, I propose to go beyond this limitation by questioning whether we could foresee the ways of establishing new public practices.

This is where I suggest a partial return to the 'public sphere' concept of Jürgen Habermas, which allows us to pursue new forms of institutionality. I would like to underline two aspects of this concept that enable us to reflect on the ways of establishing new public practices. First, it refers to a distinct sphere rather than the state and the market economy. Second and also harmonizing well with the first, it enables us to deal with cultural spaces. Therefore, I attach importance to this concept of the public sphere, as it can aid the search for another institutionality in the cracks of the institutionalized domain of systems and allowing us to capture the ways of instituting new public practices that create alternatives to the mainstream institutionalized domain of culture.

Özbek (2004, 40) interprets the Habermasian public sphere as a spatial concept where ideas, expressions and experiences are produced, shared and negotiated in social life, which in turn consists of processes, infrastructures, cultures, institutions, relationship practices, rules and ways of interacting, as well as spaces and times and their transformations. Moreover, Eley believes that the usefulness of this concept is 'about opening up a space ... to talk about politics without it being subsumed in the conventional institutional understanding of how politics occur ... as located in the political process narrowly understood—parties, legislatures, government

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(Eley 2002, 232). Tracing these 'other social spaces', I now suggest orienting our conceptual interest towards the disciplines of sociology of arts where the problematizing of institutionality over arts is the focal point. These debates draw on institutional critique of the arts, in which a contested concept of new institutionalism has recently emerged.

The term 'new institutionalism' was first introduced by Jonas Ekeberg (2003) when he edited the book, titled *New Institutionalism*. According to Ekeberg, a typical feature of new institutionalism is the intention to deconstruct the institution from within. In doing so, critical reflections on the institution are important not only as it is 'just being part of the international art scene but also to question that art scene, both in the way it was functioning and in the way it related to the city' (Ekeberg 2013, 21). Responding to the use of this new concept, Ekeberg clarifies that his elaboration on new institutionalism does not refer to the neoliberal path, and highlights that 'this construction of alternative and mini-institutions should rather be seen in continuity with alternative and grassroots methods' (Ekeberg 2013, 22).

My aim here is not to engage in detail with this particular strand of theoretical debate, as this would lead too far from my main concerns. However, I should highlight how this strongly processual and emergent view of institutions (through its focus on practices, institutional critique* and reflexivity, and the construction of new institutions) directs analytical attention to the contested and often precarious ways in which cultural actors institute new public practices. In this direction, it is important to take a closer look at the historical development of the private institutionalisation of the culture in the Turkish context where my case study is situated.

Historical overview of the private institutionalisation of culture in Turkey

When the case of Turkey is considered, cultural infrastructures were the key the construction of 'modern' Turkish Republic in 1920s by serving to larger project of educating Turkish people and westernizing Turkish society (Bozdoğan and Kasaba 1997). Subsequently, the 'period of political fragmentation' that started in the 1950s and consolidated after the 1980s has tended to emphasize Islam as an integral part of national identity. The 1980s also mark the beginning of a new period of institutionalization of privately funded cultural infrastructures in Istanbul that aim popularizing Western art and supporting the project of modernization. Private initiatives in publishing, art galleries and establishing art collections emerged from the 1960s onwards but were upscaled and further institutionalized through various sponsorship strategies in the 1980s (Aysun 2010).

This same period, however, also sees the emergence of a much more fluid and fragmented 'postmodern' understanding of the arts, supported by more diverse networks of actors than in the previous decades. In the period following the military coup of 12 September 1980 and despite the anti-democratic constitution, the art scene embraced concept and minimal art, mixed media installations and interdisciplinary production methods (Madra 2008). The 1990s were a crucial period with regard to the development of 'civic' cultural infrastructures. Non-governmental organisations focusing on a specific cultural issue such as gender, the environment or ethnicity were founded during this period (Ince 2010). These cultural

* According to Steyerl 'If the first wave of institutional critique criticism produced integration into the institution, in the second one only integration into representation was achieved. But now in the third phase there seems to be only integration into precarity. It is on the one hand being adapted to the needs of ever more precarious living conditions. On the other, the need seems never to have been greater for institutions that could cater to the new needs and desires that this constituency will create.' (Steyerl 2009, 19)

infrastructures differ from the privately funded cultural infrastructures described above. The most significant point of differentiation is a shift in their institutional definition and mission. They did not define their mission as contributing to the westernization of Turkey and educating the masses. Instead, they were concerned with creating visibility for minorities and thus contributing to an understanding of Turkey and especially its cities as characterised by cultural diversity. According to Ince (2010), these cultural infrastructures made visible alternative voices and organized themselves as associations, foundations or artist initiatives and collectives. EU funding schemes played a supportive role for many of these initiatives by enabling the production of 'projects motivating inter-cultural dialogue between local marginal groups and NGO's, or between the artists and art experts of neighbouring countries' (Madra 2008, 108). This search for an alternative stance underlie dynamics of the cultural landscape of Istanbul in the 21st century.

Arts and culture in Istanbul from 2000 onwards

As Aksoy and Enlil (2011) have revealed in 2000s the withdrawal of the public authorities in supporting visual art centres opened up space for a much stronger involvement of private funders. This can be seen as a continuation of developments that really started in the 1980s, with the exception being that the 2000s see a further expansion of privately funded initiatives.

Organisations such as Akbank Art, Garanti Platform and Arter have been notable examples of privately funded actors in Istanbul's cultural scene since the first decade of the 21st century and share a general concern with raising public issues through the modalities of the arts. Although they have different forms of institutionalization and curatorial approaches, they share the common aspect of being funded by private sector entities. For most companies, the rationale of investment in culture revolves around social prestige and concern for gaining tax deductions (Dervişoğlu, 2009). More broadly and perhaps positively, other researchers point to how privately funded cultural institutions aim 'to render art and culture service to the public' through exhibitions, forums, events and public education programs, most of which are free of charge (Madra 2008, 108).

Artist initiatives are also important actors in the cultural landscape of Istanbul and their concerns only partially overlap with those of the corporation-funded entities just mentioned. Common features of these initiatives include the retaining of ownership over the distribution of their work, having the ability to move outside of the art market, enabling the production of experimental and conceptual work that is non-commercial, and create visibility for young and emerging artists (Aysun 2010). The proliferation of artist-led initiatives in the 2000s thus brought on the level of public debate new forms institutionalization in the contemporary arts scene of Istanbul. As Aksoy and Enlil point out, this proliferation also involved a dynamic of transcending the visual arts sector as well as strong internationalization:

while the focus of initiatives was concentrated on the visual arts in the early 2000s, the current times witness and interdisciplinary diversification where the aim is to emphasize the significance of public space, the young artists often make up the target group and where international links are being developed. (2010, 32).

Aysun (2010) therefore positions corporate-funded institutions and artist initiatives as two opposing poles of the contemporary arts scene in Istanbul. I am not in the position to judge if this interpretation for the first decade of the 21st century is correct or overly dichotomous, but for the 2010s I observe a trend that blurs these different institutional modes. Instead, I see the emergence of cultural infrastructures that question established divides between public and

private as well as that heavily build on international networks. Hence, these infrastructures will be the core concern of my case studies in this paper.

Researching cultural infrastructures

SALT, a non-profit cultural organization founded in 2011 by Garanti Bank, opened with the initiative of prominent Turkish curator Vasif Kortun. The mission of SALT is described as exploring critical and timely issues in visual and material culture and cultivates innovative programs for research and experimental thinking. DEPO is a relatively small cultural centre founded in 2009, which defines itself as a space for culture, arts and critical debate. It locates at the Tophane neighbourhood of Istanbul and aims to meet the needs of Istanbul's culture and art scene for non-commercial, independent spaces open to voices that offer critical critique over the historical and current issues regarding Turkey and neighbouring countries.

The research on SALT and DEPO was conducted over a two-year period between March 2015 and March 2017. Through the case study methodology, the main empirical data was gathered in 2015 and 2016, and contact with some informants was maintained during 2017. A first round of in-depth interviews was conducted with 38 people from various cultural organizations, including people associated with SALT and DEPO in the period from March to September 2015, enabling me to gain a deeper insight into the contemporary art scene. Following this first round of interviews, which facilitated my analysis of organizational dynamics (i.e details of the foundation, founding members, funding tactics) and characteristics of the cultural and spatial infrastructures, a second round of interviews was conducted with ten people from SALT and DEPO in January 2016. These interviews focused on substantive reflections on the social relations between actors in their networks.

Therefore, in my interviews, one of my primary intentions was to understand the relationships among those actors. This is why, during my preliminary fieldwork, I started to ask which organizations they collaborate with or have the support of. In turn, I analysed all the documents that I took into the scope of my research (websites, policy documents, social media) in order to better understand the organizations that they collaborate with for an event. In this way, I adopted an 'event-based approach' to defining the boundaries of the network, and looked for organizations that collaborate or that support key events. I have not aimed to focus on quantifying the proportion of translocal or local actors constituting the networks of cultural organizations. Instead, I intended to elaborate on the role of network relations in creating new public practices.

Blurring institutionalized modes of public and private

Keeping a distance from private funders

The first expression of the emergence of blurring institutionalized modes between the public and private is to stay at a distance from private funders. Although both organizations were founded and are being funded by private entities, they also explicitly emphasize their intention to stay at a distance from the very private sector that funds them. This distance is mentioned by an interviewee from DEPO:

It would be very difficult if Anadolu Kültür did not exist and our operational expenditure was not covered by them. We have no other financial resources. Our financial relationship is real, but I don't know how many people are aware

of this because maybe we stand apart; our logo is different, our space is different.*

The stance of SALT is certainly one of the most interesting examples, as its patron is one of the largest banks in Turkey. However, keeping the distance is still a critical issue. The person responsible for public relations at SALT mentioned in an interview that they do not advertise the fact that they were founded by Garanti Bank. At this point, it is important to direct our attention to the working practices of Vasif Kortun and highlight his attempt to keep the distance from SALT's private funding:

Salt is an autonomous institution. Look around and where do you see Garanti Bank? The founder is Garanti Bank. That is it. We established this institution with the idea of maintaining a separate identity from them, and we emphasize the importance of this separation. This is not the art space of Yapı Kredi Bank or Eczacıbaşı Holding. It was separate from the beginning although it benefits from philanthropy ... If I did anything, I founded this autonomous system from private sector groups. That was my role in this history.†

However, this organizational strategy is closely connected to the temporariness already mentioned, it also bears similarity to the underlying motivations behind the term 'project institution', another concept used by the European Institute for Progressive Cultural Policies (EIPCP). Raunig and Ray hint at the temporary ways of instituting public practices through this paradoxical term and link it with the aspect of autonomy: 'For if the concept of "institution" implies a desire for long-term duration, continuity and security, the concept of "project" by contrast implies limited duration and the negative effects, such as precarization and insecurity, associated with it' (Raunig and Ray 2009, xvi).

This is also recognized by Vasif Kortun when pointing to the fragility of this organizational strategy:

However, even if we care about protecting our distance from the Bank, if we fuck up one day, yes it will be counted in the bank's ledger, and as this is not the main business of the bank there will be a crucial sanction on Salt. It can be done. We are always aware that it is possible...‡

Networked entities

In the absence of public funds and the presence of private funding, the analyses for both SALT and DEPO reveal the presence of translocal actors addressing public institutions from abroad and with a clear European orientation (see Figure 1).

* Interview with the project coordinator of DEPO, 4 August 2016.

† Interview with Vasif Kortun, the director of SALT, 3 July 2015.

‡ Interview with Vasif Kortun, the director of SALT, 3 July 2015.

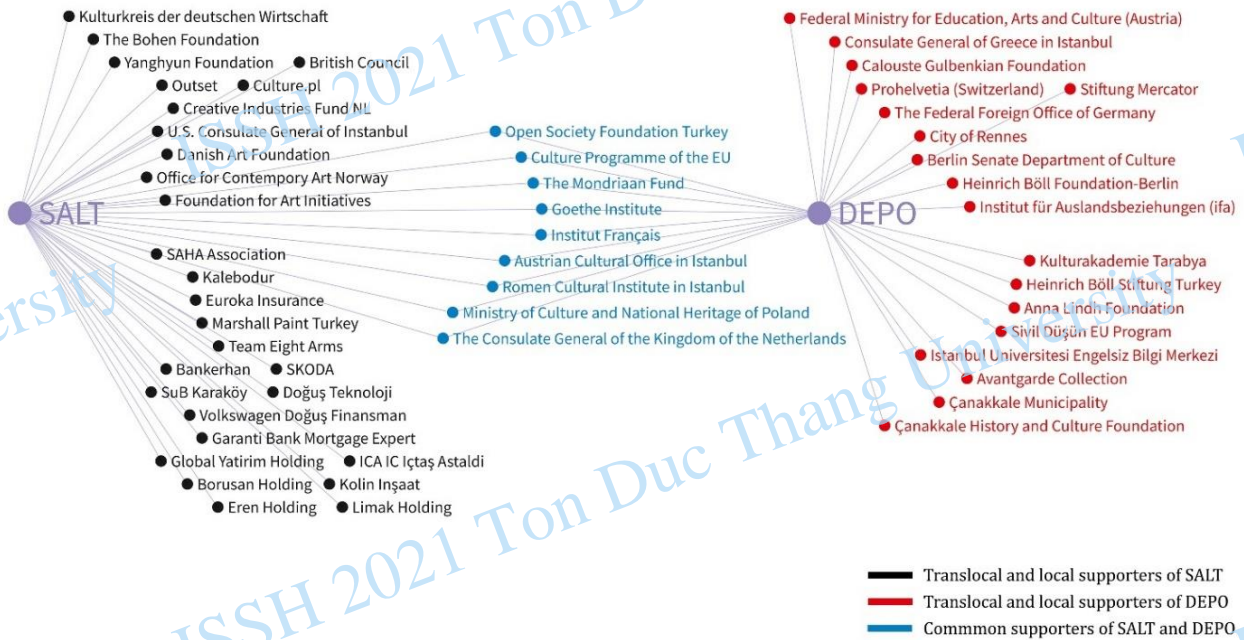


Figure 1: Network map of SALT and DEPO

Accordingly, I argue the contribution of these translocal actors has resulted in the sustained presence of SALT and DEPO in Istanbul. We should note here that this orientation can be linked with the early periods of AKP government (2002–2011), during which contact with the EU was developed. This enabled Turkey to benefit from EU funds such as Creative Europe. Vasıf Kortun, during his talk with Özge Ersoy at the Asia Art Archive, pointed out the role of EU funds in creating a different institutionality, in which networks have a significant role:

This started with the 2011 project L'Internationale, Post-War Avant-Gardes Between 1957 and 1986. SALT joined L'Internationale in 2014, when the confederation was being created. None of this would have been possible without European Union support, which is quite telling because it underscores the value of a post-bilateral society ... There is a consensus that we are facing similar conditions to those in the late 1930s, but we have already lived through that, and the 'never again' institutions put in place to avert another disaster have not been effective. This is a new situation, and in the new culture wars we need new kinds of internationalisms. We need to take care of each other.

The weight of the translocal actors is not the same for SALT, DEPO as the size of their private funders varies. However, the aim of my research was not to compare them according to these differences. What is significant is to uncover how the commonality of these translocal networks provides a networked way of instituting new public practices. The findings indicate the critical role of networks in this regard; an idea highlighted by the 'critical institution' concept of Möntmann:

This conceivable critical institution could, for example, take on the form of an internationally operating 'organized network', which strengthens various smaller, independent institutions and activities – be they alternative, artist-run, or research based – and could also set up temporary platforms within bigger institutions ... In the art field this new institution of organized collaborations could serve then as an information pool, a hub for various transdisciplinary forms of collaboration, in legal matters as a union, and as an entry for audiences to participate locally and exchange internationally (Möntmann 2007, 159).

Conclusion

Whereas most of the urban studies literature remains primarily concerned with the analysis of temporary interventions (protests, DIY urbanism, public performance) in specific urban locations, I move beyond this limited focus and direct attention to the networked and at least partially institutionalized infrastructure 'behind', as it were, the cultural events most immediately visible on the surface of urban life. In addition, the specific focus on Turkish and Istanbul case has enabled me to direct attention to the multi-layered and sometimes more contradictory dynamics at work with privately funded cultural infrastructures playing a key role in promoting public practices and contributing to the realization of instituting new public practices.

Findings indicate the distance of cultural infrastructures from private funders and a networked structure with like-minded translocal actors, and allow me to argue that SALT and DEPO blur the institutionalized modes of public and private. I consider this to be a key contribution to the ongoing debate on arts in the city and the capacity of the arts to experiment with new public practices, ultimately contributing to new forms of institutionality. Directing future research to these dynamics of instituting public practices is key in my view and constitutes a necessary broadening of urban studies beyond its current focus on temporary appropriations of urban space by informal actors and practices that attempt to create alternatives within neoliberal cities. Can we identify new forms of institutionality that can carry and sustain solidary modes of publicness within the landscape of neoliberalizing and neoconservative cities?

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CHILDHOOD AND YOUTH IN THE VIETNAMESE DIASPORA OF GERMANY

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Abstract: The paper offers an overview of the research on young people in Germany with own or family migration experiences from Vietnam. Four interdisciplinary fields can be identified: 1) *Migration studies*, which have shown the variety of Vietnamese-German migration, 2) *Empirical Education research* focusing on the educational participation of migrant groups. A core result from this field is, that students of Vietnamese origin are extraordinarily successful in the German educational system in comparison to both other migrants and non-migrants. Closely connected to it is research from 3) *Family studies*, which offer insights into characteristics of these families (parenting style, social status, educational aspirations etc.). And 4) an emerging field that could be called *German Asian Diaspora Studies*, where 'Viet-German' identity formation, experience and life worlds are studied in qualitative, often ethnographic research. Core results from those research fields will be discussed from a childhood- and youth sociological perspective and research gaps will be identified. The paper thus inspires future research and offers insights on the young generation of the Vietnamese diaspora in Germany, valuable for educational and social work practitioners working with Vietnamese as well as other Asian minorities in Germany and beyond.

Keywords: Education, Identity, Migrant Self-Organisations, Model Minority, Peers, Viet-Germany.

Vietnamese migrants and Germans of Vietnamese origin are the second largest Southeast-Asian minority in Germany‡ which is characterised by a high diversity, in terms of both migration reasons and conditions of arrival in both East- and West-Germany. From the reunion of the Northern and Southern republics in 1975 until the late 1980ies, mostly (but not only) Southern Vietnamese people migrated to the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) as so-called 'Boat people' (Beuchling, 2003) for a multitude of reasons such as political persecution, ongoing military conflicts with neighboring countries and socio-economic repression (Su & Sanko, 2017). Migration of young Vietnamese to the German Democratic Republic (GDR) started in the late 1970ies for vocational training and University studies but expanded during the 1980ies after a bi-lateral agreement on the posting of Vietnamese contract-workers in

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‡ According to federal statistics, Vietnamese migrants in Germany make 183.000 people, 117.000 of whom have own migration experience (DeStatis, 2020). It can be assumed that this group will continue to grow - in view of active efforts by employers' associations to recruit skilled workers (within the framework of the Skilled Workers Immigration Act, which came into force in March 2020), but also due to forced migration from Vietnam to Germany (Mai & Scheidecker, 2020). Vietnamese citizens also make a large group of educational migrants in Germany, most of whom are involved in vocational training (BAMF, 2020: 6, 15).

German factories had entered into force (Zwengel, 2011; Weiss & Dennis, 2005; Ngo, 2021). While Vietnamese migrants have met comparatively favorable conditions of support and integration infrastructure in Western Germany, those in the GDR were rather isolated from the German population and were controlled by authorities of both the regimes of the GDR and Vietnam (Dennis, 2017). The latter also faced a precarious situation after the reunification of Germany in 1989, as the legal status and with it the residence perspective of the former contract workers remained unclear until as late as 1997 after an amendment to the Foreign Law (Schaland & Schmiz, 2015, 10).

Against the background of the diversity of the causes of migration as well as the conditions of arrival in both parts of Germany, one finding is astonishing: Regardless of whether one looks at the Vietnamese migrants in the Eastern or Western part of Germany, their children stand out due to their pronounced academic success and have been cause for public as well as scientific attention (Hoang, 2020; Trần, 2017). Quantitative studies show that the success of students of Vietnamese origin is quite stable across different parts of Germany. Longitudinal analysis reveal, that the percentage of Vietnamese migrant children in the highest secondary school in Germany (the Gymnasium), which provides university access, has stabilised on a high average level of around 58% in 2015 (varying between the federal states from 42,6% in Berlin to 73,9% in Thüringen) and is more than one third higher than for Germans without migration background (El-Mafaalani & Kemper, 2017, 220).

One branch of research on young Vietnamese circles around this educational success 'against all odds' (Nauck & Schnoor, 2015), as a number of parameters apply to Vietnamese migrant families, which are usually considered 'risk factors' making educational success less likely: The social position of Vietnamese families is – with regard to cultural, economic and social capital – quite low (Nauck & Schnoor, 2015). Parents often obtain only scarce knowledge of German language (Walter, 2011), they participate in school activities rarely, build up contacts primarily within the Vietnamese community and apply an authoritarian educational style (Nauck & Schnoor, 2015; Nauck, Schnoor & Lotter et al., 2017). However, even after controlling for the families' economic background, parents' investments and socialisation strategies, there remains an 'ethnic residual' (ibid.: 286), that has not yet been resolved. Possible explanations are sought within the cultural norms and values of the home country, where the child's success is a central part of generational obligations and of the 'filial duties' which are expected to be fulfilled by children. High (educational) aspirations by parents and by the children themselves can be related to normative educational and generational ideas in Vietnam (Röttger-Rössler & Lam, 2018). Findings like this are fueling positive stereotyping on the 'Vietnamese wonder' (Spiewak, 2009), matching discourses on Vietnamese, or more generally: Asian model-minorities (Hoang, 2020) which are also present in other (Western) contexts such as the USA (Zhou & Bankston, 1998) and Europe, for example the Czech Republic (Novaková & Lopatková, 2020) or UK (Parker, 2000). However, in some contexts a rather 'polarizing' picture is prevalent, categorizing Vietnamese youths as either model migrants or deviants with an alleged tendency to join criminal gangs (c.f. Barber, 2015, 26ff.).

In addition to this research on education and upbringing, a number of studies provide a more detailed insight into generational relations and the diverse lifeworlds. This field of research can be described as German-Vietnamese diaspora studies, in which Vietnamese identity formation, experiences and lifeworlds are investigated in qualitative, often (auto-)ethnographic or biographic research (e.g. contributions in anthologies by VLab, 2020; Kocatürk-Schuster et al., 2017; Ha, 2012; Beth & Tuckermann, 2008). Studies from this field take critical and reflexive perspectives on hegemonic attributions and discourses which, in addition to positive stereotyping as 'model migrants', also contain racist devaluation and violence. Another focus is laid on the deconstruction of categories such as 'Asian' or 'Vietnamese' and on young Viet-

Germans' processes of developing hybrid identities. Here, the diversity of young Viet-German experience in different parts of Germany and depending on the own age of migration, migration circumstances and along various intersections (e.g. urban or rural residency, gender, sexual orientation) has been depicted. The question on young people's educational success is mostly not a central focus of those studies. Nevertheless, the topic arises in the accounts of young Viet-Germans, suggesting that both the public discourse carrying the positive stereotype of the 'successful Asian' and high innerfamilial pressure to succeed are perceived as impositions and reductions (Nguyễn et al., 2021; Hoang, 2020; Trần, 2017). With regard to the familial space, young people speak about their parents pressurizing them to study hard, to bring home only the best marks and to strive for successful academic careers. Having to do twice as good than non-migrants to achieve success is part of parents' lived (migration) experience which they pass on to their children (Bình-An, 2020, 81). Little is known about the strategies, young Viet-Germans apply to deal with such high pressure. Biographical accounts suggest, that some internalise the high expectations and share notions of wanting to become 'the best' and that striving for success is the highest goal in life (Beth & Tuckermann, 2008), while others voice their dissent and claim their wish to 'unlearn' some of the strategies they have inherited from their parents (Nguyễn et al., 2021, 99f.).

Despite the growing body of literature, there are two contexts that have been largely neglected in research on young Viet-Germans so far, but which may be relevant for the explanation of their educational success: that of the peer group and of the 'community' in the form, for example, of migrant self-organisations. Regarding the latter, findings from a previously cited study by Nauck, Schnoor and Lotter (2017) support the interpretation, that Vietnamese families are 'community oriented', rather than 'family oriented', maintaining strong ties within their ethnic community but only rarely beyond it, which is similar to a finding of the Vietnamese diaspora in North America (Zhou & Bankston 1998, cited in Nauck, Schnoor & Lotter, 2017, 285). Reports from members of the Vietnamese community in larger German cities point to the importance of the community, which offers support but also exerts forms of social control (Beth & Tuckermann, 2008). A process that contributes to the process of 'segmented assimilation' (originally formulated by Portes & Zhou, 1993), stating that the ethnic community /diaspora is an important point of reference for migrants' integration strategies and can lead to diverse outcomes for members of the second generation. An expertise by Schaland and Schmiz (2015) on Vietnamese migrant self-organisations (MSO) shows that there are different types of MSOs, and that the activities and objectives have changed over time. For example, the ones who used in their beginning of 80ies to promote Vietnamese cultural and religious activities, shifted their focus to support for children's learning and school success, for example by organizing tutoring. This finding suggests that also on this rather formalised level of diaspora structures, the school success of children has played (and may still play) an important role. However, most organisations founded by members of the 1st generation struggle to find successors, as the younger generation is less involved in the work of (Vietnamese) MSOs (Schaland & Schmiz, 2015, 23). In recent years there have been emerging 'New German Organizations' (Ataman et al., 2017) as one network calls itself. They are often founded by members of the 2nd or 3rd generation of migrants and follow (at least partly) a different agenda than those of the first generation. While they often do not position themselves along national categories but rather display post-migrant /hybrid or diverse identities, some nevertheless identify as 'Asian-German' or 'Viet-German'. In line with the above-mentioned research on hybrid identity formation, New German Organisations and pursue the concern of giving voice to the own (heterogenous) group and plea for the acceptance of post-migrant reality in German society, engaging in respective social and political interventions and projects (Ataman et al., 2017; Bota, Khuê & Topçu, 2014). Up to now, no systematic analysis exists on the work and outlook of New (Asian-)German organisations and their possible continuities and breakages

with more 'traditional' MSOs, including the way they address young people and the meaning of their educational success or respective expectations from the parents or community respectively. As young people belonging to the 2nd or 3rd migrant-generation tend to accumulate social capital, they may – other than their parents – not regard (formal) educational success as the sole strategy to ameliorate their social status. Empirical analysis could answer the question, in what way the younger generation(s) of Viet-Germans use this likewise young generation of migrant self-organisations to find new ways of drawing advantage and value from hybrid identity and multiple belonging and manage to redefine their family migration history as a form of social and cultural capital.

While this research gap exists for old and new migrant self-organisations, the same can be said for (informal) individual networks of Viet-Germans' peers and friends. One finding from peer research has shown that migrant children usually have a very heterogenous, that is, ethnically diverse circle of friends. That is on the one hand due to opportunity structures, e.g. visiting schools with high rates of migrant students and residence in ethnically diverse neighborhoods, but also tendencies to befriend persons perceived as 'similar' in regard to various aspects (gender, age, ethnic/migration background etc.) and with shared experience, such as the own migration biography (Hoare, 2019). Both tendencies may be involved in the formation of young migrants' peer- and friendship networks. However, in an own study on friendship processes of children who have recently migrated to Germany, their high interest in making friends with local (ethnic German) peers whom they consider helpful regarding school attainments, was a central finding. Peer research has repeatedly confirmed the finding, that peers play an important role for children's and young people's educational attainment in both positive and negative regard (Laursen, 2018; Shin & Ryan, 2014), but that for minority youth, peers belonging to the majority group are generally assumed to support school success and foster overall integration processes (Windzio, 2015). However, this assumption may hold true for the more 'common' constellation of underachieving migrant children in comparison to their more successful age-mates from the majority group. The picture may be a different one for migrant groups who outperform the majority/non-migrant group.

Hardly anything is known about the peer- and friendship networks of young Viet-Germans and the role they play in regard to questions of school and educational pathways, for example by negotiating their own and significant others' expectations and hopes for success. It mirrors a general critique towards educational science, which often doesn't consider young people as actors within the field and therefore fails to make their (individual and collective) contributions visible (Türkyilmaz, 2020). In the afore mentioned Viet-German diaspora studies, peers appear in different positions or functions. Sometimes as confidants with whom young Viet-Germans share their worries, sometimes as a social world outside the family, which is kept (strictly) separate from the private space of the family due to conflictual situations within the family home. Some publications suggest, that young people have an ethnically diverse peer group, but tend to keep their German and Vietnamese/Viet-German circles of friends separate, because of different interests, activities and types of humor (e.g. Beth & Tuckermann, 2008, 76).

In order to contribute to a more elaborate understanding of the Vietnamese diaspora in Germany, its resources and success, but also the (hidden) costs that may be carried especially by its young generation, we suggest that future research activities focus more on formal and informal peer-contexts, such as the new generation of migrant self-organisations on the one hand, and private peer- and friendships relations on the other hand. Research on those contexts promises a more in-depth reconstruction of the ways by which young people individually and collectively handle the challenges faced by migrant minorities and thereby contribute to the functioning of a post-migrant society (Foroutan, 2019).

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SOCIOLOGY: GUIDE TO ANALYSIS OR TO ACTION IN THE GLOBAL CLIMATE CHANGE CRISIS?

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Abstract: The question of climate change is becoming of interest to a growing number of people around the world. It literally threatens the lives and well-being of millions of people around the planet. Yet Sociology—along with other academic disciplines—is still caught in the historic debate between Marx and Weber as to whether the purpose of the social sciences is to use our knowledge to change the world through direct involvement (Marx), or whether providing sophisticated, historically-based analyses of social relations to others is sufficient (Weber). It should be stated that the later position, that advanced by Weber, has dominated the social sciences for more than one hundred years.

The Debate

Ken Morrison, in his excellent *Marx, Durkheim, Weber: Formations of Modern Social Thought* (2006) discusses 'Weber's Difference from Marx,' setting out their differences clearly:

To begin with, Weber rejected Marx's assertion that the central task of social theory was to change society. Marx believed that it was the historical obligation of all thought to change society and history rather than to simply observe it. As a result, he took the view that the sole purpose of theoretical work was to promote change and eliminate inequalities and hardship in society. Weber, by contrast, disagreed with this in several ways. First, *he thought that the ultimate task of social theory was to search for historical truths and to gather historical facts about society and social development.* Because of this, he believed that social theory itself was in principle a search for historical patterns and relationships in which knowledge of society and history could only be discovered by a comparison of different historical periods (emphasis added) (Morrison, 2006: 276).

To condense this debate, what was the purpose of social research: action or analysis?

While this may initially appear as a nice little academic 'debate,' it is argued here that it is of much greater significance today than ever before.

The problem facing humanity today[†]

Despite many popular claims otherwise, scientific evidence overwhelmingly shows that we face an actual crisis in the well-being of humans, animals, and most plants on this planet. The long and short of the situation is that—by current scientific knowledge and research—*unless there are rapid and substantial changes in how human beings interact with and effect our*

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[†] Much of this section was first published in Scipes (2017).

*environment by the year 2030, we shall see the beginning of extinction of the human race, animals, and most plants by the end of this (21st) century.**

There is a massive amount of research that has been conducted to support such a claim—see, among others, Harper, 2008; Foster, Clark and York, 2010; Mann, 2014; Klein, 2014; Angus, 2016; Romm, 2016; Cox, 2020; for a succinct but powerful account, see Jensen, 2016—and this is not being discussed or debated here: the evidence is compelling, it has been rigorously reviewed, and it is so severe that geologists and climate scientists are overwhelmingly accepting that we are now in a new epoch in geological history, which has been given the name of 'The Anthropocene.' In other words, scientists are now recognizing that *human behavior is having a greater impact on the planet than are natural processes* (Angus, 2016).[†]

The primary actors are both modern corporations and nation-state leaders. These life-threatening actions are a product of our global capitalist economic system in its contemporary incarnations; militaristic nation-states' actions, commonly known as 'imperialism', and domestic actors that support the production of fossil fuels and their derivatives to grow domestic economies.[‡] Again, these are not being discussed here, but has been generally well argued by Angus (2016), Clark, 2019; Foster, Clark and York (2010), McKibben (2012), Rasmus (2016), and Scipes (2016b: 28-36; 2017), among others.

However, for the sake of this article, we must return to environmental 'basics.'

Environmental basics

While the temperature of the Earth has gone through a number of warming and cooling periods over many millennia, we know that for over 800,000 years, the carbon dioxide component of the atmosphere has never exceeded 300 parts per million (ppm). We know that at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, circa 1750, it was about 280 ppm. With a massive jump beginning right after World War II (circa 1948-1953)—known as the 'Great Acceleration' (see Angus, 2016)—the carbon dioxide component of the Earth's atmosphere exceeded 400 ppm for the entire year of 2016 (Jones, 2017). As of this date—writing in late 2021—the carbon dioxide

* With all science being done based on contemporary analysis, the caveat is that things could possibly change with future, unknown and unforeseen advances and developments, and this claim may not be proven correct over time. We have no indication today that this will or will not happen. However, this claim is based on what we know now, and there is nothing on the horizon that can convincingly show that this will not take place. Accordingly, until something develops, we must go on what scientists know today or what they can extrapolate from data gathered up to present time.

For one explicit analysis by a highly regarded climate scientist, see Mann, 2014.

[†] In addition to that published in books, more recent articles about the current environmental situation (from both popular sources and scientific journals) include Brasher, 2016; Editor, 2017; Fountain and Schwartz, 2016; Gerten, Rockstrom, Heinke, Steffen, Richardson, and Cornell, 2015; Gillis, 2017; Goode, 2017; Goodell, 2015, 2017; Immerwahr, 2015; Jamail, 2016a, 2016b, 2017; Jaramillo and Destouni, 2015; Knight, 2016; McCauley, 2016; Melton, 2016a, 2016b; Rintoul, Silvano, Pena-Molino, Van Wijk, Rosenberg, Greenbaum and Blankenship, 2016; Samenow, 2017; and Steffen, et. al., 2015.

[‡] These processes are not necessarily separate—especially in the case of the US and many of the other imperial countries—but are delineated to help focus attention on all aspects of the problem; the issue of imperialism, for example, is rarely mentioned in environmental analyses, and this author believes it essential to not only include in analyses, but to draw attention to it. For arguably the best contemporary analysis of imperialism, see Scipes, 2016a: 31-36, based on the work of Jan Nederveen Pieterse, 1989.

component of the Earth's atmosphere was 417 ppm.*

Why is this important? It means the atmosphere's protection of the Earth from the Sun's rays is deteriorating and, accordingly, its ability to protect the Earth is weakening. This can be simply explicated.

The atmosphere that surrounds Earth is really just a collection of chemicals—approximately 78 percent Nitrogen and 21 percent Oxygen—held in orbit by the Earth's gravity. This chemical composition has generally held steady for the past 11,700 years or so, and has provided the conditions that have enabled human beings to create civilizations around the planet.

These chemicals that make up the atmosphere protect the Earth and, like a flat rock on a placid lake, divert into space much of the solar energy emanating from the Sun and traveling toward Earth. At the same time, however, the atmosphere allows some of this energy (which we know as 'heat') to enter inside of the atmosphere to reach the Earth. Some of this solar energy that enters the atmosphere is also reflected back into space by ice that covers the planet, at various times and in certain regions. It has been this combination—keeping much of the solar energy outside of the atmosphere, and then reflecting back into space some of the energy that strikes the Earth—that has kept the Earth at a generally congenial temperature that has allowed human beings to flourish.

However, since the end of World War II, we humans have been emitting so many 'greenhouse gases'—notably carbon dioxide (CO₂), nitrous oxide (N₂O), and methane (CH₄), along with water vapor—into the atmosphere that they have attacked the established chemical protection and weakened it: this has allowed more solar power from the Sun into the atmosphere, heating the planet. At the same time, it has also contained more of the solar heat that enters the atmosphere, keeping it within the atmosphere. This warming has caused massive ice melting—especially in the Arctic, but also glaciers and the Antarctic as well—which, in turn, has reduced the ice coverage of the planet. This means that while even more of the solar energy has gotten through the atmosphere, more of that has remained here, as there's been less and less ice to reflect it out into space (Angus, 2016; see also Scipes, 2016c). In short, creating a positive feedback loop that is exacerbating problems.

It is these processes—the weakening of the atmospheric protection, a warming planet, and a reduction of ice coverage—that are leading to other problems. These include rising ocean waters, stronger hurricanes, climate disruption and change which is affecting agricultural production, a reduction of clean water, deforestation, more wildfires, increased extinction of other species, less biodiversity, reduced animal populations, etc. These each can often add to a warming planet, worsening our problems.

This additional heat is also affecting our oceans. The oceans act as an environmental 'sink,' capturing some of this heat, keeping the planet from warming even more. This, generally speaking, is a good thing. However, the oceans have now absorbed so much of this heat that they are warming—and are close to being unable to absorb any more; when this happens, the oceans will, then, be contributing to the further warming of the planet. This warming, along with pollution, is making the oceans more and more acidic. This, in turn, is affecting fish and ocean flora, such as plankton, which is the bottom of the aquatic food chain that about one-third of the world is dependent upon. It is also attacking coral reefs, which are homes for many small ocean animals that eat the plankton. This is all bad.

* For visual evidence of this 800,000+ years of CO₂ and the atmosphere, look at the top chart at <https://climate.nasa.gov/evidence/>. (Accessed on November 25, 2021.)

The world's forests also act as environmental sinks, similarly to the oceans. They capture (inhale) CO₂ and then, through the process known as photosynthesis, exhale oxygen (O₂). Thus, they contribute directly to everyone's well-being. However, when the climate changes and they don't get the snow or rain that they are used to, forests dry out. Among other things, bugs that would normally get killed by cold temperatures no longer die, so they can further damage trees. When fire strikes, the trees are more vulnerable to it than in the past, and when a tree is burned, it releases all of the CO₂ that it has stored; again, contributing to additional planetary warming.*

The point being made is that by producing greenhouse gases and releasing them into the atmosphere, we are causing other problems as well, and each threatening the well-being of humans, animals, and most plants.

Scientists have long argued that this global warming must be stopped before the Earth's temperature raises above 1.5 degree Celsius (as compared to 1750, when the Industrial Revolution began), or irreparable and possibly fatal harm could be done to humans across the planet. Let's consider what this might mean.

In 2000, the 3rd Assessment of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Control [representing about 2,000 climatologists from 70 nations] reported that 'the earth's mean temperature is very likely to increase 1.4-5.8 degrees C (2.5-10.5 degrees F) between 2000 and 2100. The report defined 'very likely' as a chance between 90 to 99 percent probability....' (Harper, 2008: 91-92). In other words, **climatologists were predicting that earth's median temperature has a 90-99% chance of increasing between 1.4-5.8 degrees Centigrade**, which is between 2.5-10.4 degrees Fahrenheit, between 2000-2100.

What does that mean?

A 1.5 degree warming would take us to a climate not experienced since the beginning of agricultural civilization some 6,000 years ago;

Between 3-5 degrees increase would take us to a climate not experienced by humans since arriving on the earth some 2 million years ago; and

More than 5 degrees increase would mean a climate not experienced since 40 million years ago, before the evolution of birds, flowering plants, and mammals, and when there were no glaciers in the Antarctic, Iceland, and Greenland (Harper, 2008: 93).

And Harper argues,

It's not just the temperature changes that threaten us, regardless of the causes, but how rapidly they occur. Past temperature changes often took place over 1000 to 100,000 years. The problem we face is a fairly sharp projected increase of the temperature of the troposphere in this century (Harper, 2008: 93).

To give some idea of where things currently stand, as of October 2021, the Earth's temperature was reported by NASA to have risen 1.18 degrees Celsius (2.12 degrees Fahrenheit) since 1880, which is (obviously) much more recent than 1750, but when accurate records began being recorded.† This is not good.

* These additional issues, mentioned above, are also addressed further down the page at the web site given immediately above.

† Again, see the NASA website referenced above; this is listed in the section titled 'Global Temperature Rise.'

What must also be kept in mind, however, is that there is not just 'one thing' that is threatening the well-being of people of the planet; climate change is not the only problem. There is actually a combination of things, as suggested above.

To help try to prevent these predictions from becoming true, scientists have established nine 'planetary boundaries' that 'are crucial to maintaining an earth-system environment in which humanity can exist safely':

Climate change is only one of these, and the others are ocean acidification, stratospheric ozone depletion, the nitrogen and phosphorous cycles, global freshwater use, change in land use, biodiversity loss, atmospheric aerosol loading, and chemical pollution. For the last two, atmospheric aerosol loading and chemical pollution, there are not yet adequate physical measures, but for the other seven processes, clear boundaries have been designated. Three of the boundaries—those for climate change, ocean acidification, and stratospheric ozone depletion—can be regarded as [at] tipping points, which at a certain level lead to vast qualitative changes in the earth system that would threaten to destabilize the planet, causing it to depart from the 'boundaries for a healthy planet'. The boundaries for the other four processes—the nitrogen and phosphorous cycles, freshwater use, change in land use, and biodiversity loss—are better viewed as signifying the onset of irreversible environmental degradation.

Three processes have already crossed their planetary boundaries: climate change, the nitrogen cycle, and biodiversity loss (Foster, Clark, and York, 2010: 14).*

It is clear, and incontrovertible, that the environment on this planet is under attack, and that the ramifications threaten the very existence of humans, animals, and most plants. It is also clear that this crisis has largely been ignored by governmental and corporate 'leaders'—and that the corporate media has enabled this to happen.

What now for Sociology?

After considering the data presented above, it seems obvious that the time for sophisticated analysis alone is over; it clearly is not sufficient for meeting the burgeoning climate crisis. That does not mean, however, that there is no need for sophisticated analysis; it just means that it is not enough to only do sophisticated analysis (and perhaps limit its dissemination to academic journals that are rarely read beyond a few specialists). In terms of this paper, it means we sociologists need to place Weber on the shelf, and embrace Marx' call to change the world.

It is truly a call for global mobilization, and this mobilization must be based on accurate data and sophisticated understandings. But it must be based on the public involvement of social

* Steffen, et. al., updated the initial research on planetary boundaries (PBs) in February 2015. In the structured abstract, they report that 'two of the planetary boundaries—climate change and biosphere integrity—are recognized as core PBs based on their fundamental importance for the ES [Earth System]. The climate change is a manifestation of the amount, distribution, and net balance of energy at Earth's surface; the biosphere regulates material and energy flows in the ES and increases its resilience to abrupt and gradual change. Anthropogenic perturbation levels of four of the ES processes (climate change, biosphere integrity, biogeochemical flows, and land-system change) exceed the proposed PB.... (Steffen, et. al., 2016). Note that 'biosphere integrity' was not one of the initial nine planetary boundaries.

scientists, especially sociologists.

One thing that sociologists bring into the discussion is an inclusion of the interactive effects of humans and the natural environment; to put it another way, the interactive effects of social and natural environments (for one example, see Scipes, 2017). Environmentalists have long detailed the effects humans have had on the environment, but until fairly recently, they have tended not to reflect on how environmental changes have affected humans. The interactive effects go both ways, and both need to be kept in the analysis.

Conclusion

This paper has looked at Sociology's historical privileging Weber's view of 'analysis' over Marx' view of 'action' and, in light of the issues of climate change, has argued it is time to put Weber on the historical shelf and to develop following Marx' approach. This does not necessarily mean that we have to endorse and accept all of Marx' claims and conclusions, but that his understanding of the need for social engagement not only remains salient, but necessary.

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TOURISM, ARMY AND ETHNIC-CONFLICT IN POST-WAR SRI LANKA

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Abstract: The tourism industry is one of the major contributors in the Sri Lankan economy. Thousands of foreign tourists flock the 'idyllic island' every year to enjoy their vacations. The industry has grown further many folds in recent years with the inclusion of Northern areas/Tamil dominated areas, which were earlier controlled by the Tamil Tigers. The substantive defeat of the Tigers by the Sri Lankan army in 2009 has meant winning over of these areas, which in turn, also opened it up for the tourism industry. But this expansion has initiated a new form of tourism along with their new 'managers'. This new form of tourism alternatively known as 'war tourism' or 'thanatourism' — means visiting sites centring war, violence and death. A visit elicits strong emotions for the visitors as their 'gaze' contents them with a sense of valour, sacrifice and victory. Moreover, the new 'managers' are directly part of the Sri Lankan army which has by now become the biggest organisation in tourism industry, with them operating multitudes of hotels and resorts. It is against this background, that I wish to unravel this new phenomenon as a venture of necro-capitalism.

Keywords: Army, Sri Lanka, War Tourism, Ethnic-Conflict, Necro-Capitalism.

Introduction

Sri Lanka is a small island nation sharing maritime borders with India and Maldives. It is known as the pearl of Indian ocean for its splendid natural beauty, pristine golden beaches, idyllic landscape, tropical rainforest, lush tea-gardens etc. For quite some time, the island has been attracting tourists from across the globe. It is particularly known for its lazy charm and has been touted many a time as the 'Switzerland/ Singapore' of the South Asia, cementing its place as one of the more popular destinations in the region. It is partly due to the reason that, after gaining its independence in the 50's, it did remarkably better than the other nations on various socio-economic indexes. It was also one of the pioneers in opening up the economy and giving way to global capital in 1970's while its geographically bigger counterparts such as India were following the model of a relatively closed economy.

However, the trajectory of the small island nation was not to be only defined by the image of a socio-economically secure rosy picturesque destination. It had to witness one of the most violent histories, with the two insurrections taking place: first the Janata Vimukti Perunama (JVP) revolt which rocked the nation in the South in Sinhala dominated areas, and thereafter the Tamil Tigers rebellion for separate Tamil Elam since the 1980's. The Tamil rebellion was particularly more destructive as it was built upon the fissures of ethnic divide that was festering as well as burgeoning since independence. The conflict took the lives of thousands and its end was equally brutal with the Sri

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Lankan army controversially making a final triumph in an unrestrained military aggression, raising countless human rights violation allegations.

But, with the closure of the Sinhala-Tamil ethnic conflict in 2009, which wrecked the nation for a long time, and the Sri Lankan forces winning a comprehensive victory, an unprecedented boom in tourism industry overtook the nation. '... from 2008 to 2018, with tourist arrivals growing at a CAGR of 18% during the period and foreign exchange earnings increasing at a CAGR of 34.4%.' The tourism sector has steadily improved its ranking from the third-largest foreign exchange earner in 2010 to the third-largest source by 2018 (Lamba,2021).

The post-war tourism exercise also provided the opportunity for the army to take a more upfront role in development activities/ civil activities — manifesting in a wide array of activities. For example, the army started playing a significant role in policing such as disciplining university students, or aiding in the eviction of people for infrastructure building. The overall militarization of society is of a quite visible nature and therefore has opened up debates regarding the same. However, the debate on militarization as a whole is beyond the purview of this paper and we shall limit ourselves only with the question of the army's role in the north in managing tourism exercise.

Another important feature that has emerged over the course of discussion is the nature of tourism in the North. The reunification of the Northern territories, which had been formerly under the formidable control of Tigers, meant that the Southerners were provided with the opportunity to visit that part of their country which had until then been beyond the scope of visit. The activity of pilgrimage is quite strong in Buddhism and therefore the numerically large flocking of Southerners in the North has raised questions about the 'gaze' (Samarathunga et al.,2020) and the nature of this tourist activity. Moreover, the closure of the war does not naturally indicate reconciliation. Selective remembrance of the past through large-scale Sinhalisation of signs, symbols and memorials in the North, while portraying the LTTE as mere 'terrorists', suggest majoritarian triumphalism in the offing (Hyndman, Amarasingam,2014).

It is important to note that it is difficult for foreign tourists to visit the North as there are many restrictions that are at place, so the primary source of tourist mobility in the North comes from the mass of domestic travellers. This makes the discourse complicated and yet necessary considering the 'affect' it holds for the future of ethnic relations.

It is in this background, the questions of the role of army in the tourism business in North, and the nature of tourist visit itself shall be the focus of this paper. The paper will also try to link it up with the overall paradigm of neoliberalism, and therefore attempt to understand the very nature of capitalist penetration keeping in mind the thematic of the overall discussion.

Method

The nature and scope of this study is qualitative. It follows discourse analysis as the primary tool of engagement. To tap sources, it draws upon the various relevant sources such as ethnographic studies, travelogues, online articles, reports to capture a comprehensive view of the topic. Finally, it is also a result of interrogations with relevant academic literature.

Ethnic-Conflict & Thanotourism

The ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka is deeply embedded in the fault lines of majoritarian

democracy. The independence of the nation saw the Sinhalese assert repeatedly their superior claims to nationhood while simultaneously marginalising the other ethnic groups: the Muslims, Burgher and Tamil minorities. The war was rooted in the contest between Sinhala Buddhist ethnocratic domination and Tamil Homeland Nationalism (Pieris, 2014). The Sinhala Only Language Act of 1956, and University Standardisation of the 1970's, clipped the possibilities of any mobility for the Tamils. The final nail in the coffin was put by the anti-Tamil pogroms of 1980's and the burning of Jaffna Library in which: 97,000 books, rare palm leaf manuscripts, and local historical materials were put to flames by Sinhalese rioters (DeVotta, 2009). This was enough to unleash the three-decade war between LTTE and the SLAF. Jaffna Library burning is particularly an emotive issue for the Tamils as many of them see it as an attempt of 'cultural genocide' (Tamil Guardian, 2021). The post-war efforts have seen the rebuilding of the library as a measure of reconciliation. But the memory of loss of cultural heritage continually remains in them very vividly.

The reunification of the country and the final triumph over LTTE has initiated diverse processes. On the one hand, masses of common Sinhalese began to travel to the North with motives of visiting Buddhist sites, leisure activities or with the intention of discovering the unknown territory which was until a few years very hostile to their imagination. But, underneath the apparently innocuous developments, the regime and the armed forces were also very prompt to raise war memorials, or to display the exploits of war, therefore asserting their firm grip over the land. The most notable of these is the memorial built commemorating Sinhalese Corporal Gamini Kularathne, who in an individual act of heroism stopped an advancing LTTE armoured vehicle at the Elephant Pass Army camp, by detonating two grenades while being subject to the adversary's fire. The memorial dedicated to him is a highly popular location which attracts thousands of visitors. A visit to the memorial, is accompanied by a site guide from the military, who sincerely relays the heroism and sacrifices of Kularathne and SLAF soldiers during the days of war. The valour of Corporal Kularathne who also happened to be a Buddhist monk disrobing himself to join the army in order to fight the LTTE, made him a source of Buddhist-Sinhala pride, and is widely regarded as the embodiment of Buddhist-Sinhala Nationalism (Samarathunga et al., 2020).

Many of the other places also include war related spots which are either markers of victory or possessions of war, enthralling the traveller with emotions of triumph and euphoria. The itinerary consists of the display of weapons and armoury confirming the sophistication of LTTE, and thereby evoking in the visitor that the victory was rather hard fought and not easily claimed. In addition to this, the bunker of the LTTE chief Prabhakaran, his ancestral home generated great interest amongst the visitors, some of whom in their fit of frenzy went into looting items present there. Since both the places were subject to vandalism, it was consequently demolished. But the act of demolition has been viewed as 'de-humanizing' the macabre, by eliminating anything human in the act of remembrance (Hyndman, Amarasingam, 2014)

It is in this light, that important questions are raised about the nature of the visit and the 'gaze'. It is quite clear from the available literature that the visitors are enthused to see both sites of grief and sacrifice, which instils in them a sense of communion with their nation's past marred by conflict and violence. The concept thanatourism is particularly relevant in this context. It is defined by Seaton as a 'travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death, which may, to a varying degree be activated by the person-specific features of those whose deaths are its focal objects.'

(Seaton,1996). The concept of 'dark tourism' is also used alternatively, and, in fact has gained more popular in common parlance. But it is not well-placed in this context. Its proponents initially argued this to be a condition of western post-modernity, (thereafter revising it) but its construction still remains nebulous and clouded with Euro-centrism. In contrast to some of the claims of the thanatourism also being an exclusively western concept, Cohen has shown by comprehensively studying the examples of Cambodia, Vietnam and Japan; that in Asian countries thanatourist destinations are very much present and its usage equally relevant (Cohen, 2018).

However, the framework of thanatourism does not completely resolve the concerns in terms of the relation induced in such expeditions amongst the visitor and the local. The locals have not been quite content with the Sinhala visitors who are perceived as acting with brashness. The argument of domination is quite strong in this case as there are multiple incidents where the visitors have not taken the local sentiment into account. For example: during the August Kovil festival at Nallur Kandaswamy Kovil, Sinhalese Southerners swelled the festivities and transformed the space into a consumptive touristic spot much to the repulsion of locals. Actions such as non-removal of footwear, non-performance of ablutions, raucous conduct became a source of disappointment and distress for the Tamil Hindus. The administration did little to contain such behaviour even after requests from the temple authorities (Pieris,2014).

Consequently, the fact that while memorial, statues and sites are erected to commemorate the valour and the lives lost of Sinhala people, there have been practically little done to equally remember the Tamil sacrifices. Rather, LTTE war memorials, statues, martyrs' cemetery which were in place were razed to ground without exceptions. It raises concerns about the very nature of reconciliation itself and thereby points in the direction of a continuation of ethnic domination by the majority community. (Hyndman, Amarasingam,2014). In addition to this, the fact that the act of de-emplacement of Tamil memories have been substituted by attempted inscriptions of an imagined Buddhist past, in order to historicize the territorial possession in favour of Sinhala domination makes it more dominating (Pieris,2014). One might contemplate that it construes to the logic of war or reinvigorates the causes that unleashed it in the first place.

Army on the Beach

The continued condition of domination is best illustrated by the Sri Lankan army's overwhelming role in managing the tourism exercise of the North where it controls over 31 luxury hotels and resorts. To understand this phenomenon, Sri Lankan army has been instrumentalised by the subsequent regimes to protect themselves from insurrections, especially in the context of Tigers assaults which assassinated some of the top office-holders from the ruling elite. Simultaneous deterioration of state institutions such as civil administration, judiciary, criminal justice system, educational institutions etc paved the way for army to have greater socio-political significance (Kadirgamar 2013). It won't be an overestimation if one argues that the war with Tigers had brought the existence of the 'state' into question. Therefore, the army has clearly been the principal cause of overdetermination in securing the power matrix in favour of the state and its apparatuses. Since the days of victory, the army has enjoyed a symbolic power and acceptance among the common Sinhala masses. For Tamils after the conclusion of the war, it has been absolute submission in the face of coercive power. The military has constantly kept a staggering 120,000-150,000 troops which means two-thirds of its resources are deployed in the North (Sri Lanka Campaign for Peace & Justice). It is in this light that one should

place the activities of the army when it has over the years found a more increasing share of political stake.

The regime in a stroke of cunningness utilised this situation to further execute its neoliberal agenda under the garb of 'securitization'. By bypassing the civic bodies such as Tourism Authorities and Local bodies, it rolled the way for the army to grab land and use it for tourism/ developmental purposes. Many of the land acquisition took place initially on the grounds of 'security purposes': Kankesanhturai is one of the salient examples where forceful land occupation by the military has taken place after the war under the pretext of establishing High Security Zone (HSZ). 5000 acres of land was occupied by the army for military purposes in which a controversial recreation hotel known as *Thalsevana* resort was also created. In another case, Kuchchaveli was occupied by the Navy at the end of the war. As a result, the residents had to leave, however, the land was not returned to the locals and 51 blocks of were allocated for resort development. (Ratnayake and Hapugoda,2016).

The most controversial of them is the building of the hotel 'Lagoon's Ledge'. The hotel overlooks the water where the Tigers made their last stand and the hotel is marketed as such to attract Sinhalese 'war tourists'. They go there with the intention of basking at the valiant triumph. Ironically, the lagoon and the land abutting it was also the space where thousands of Tamil civilians were compelled to flee as they were shelled and shot by the SLAF. The UN reports that over 40 thousand civilians died in the last few weeks, many of who died there which the luxurious resort glances at. The military fashions this resort to 'war tourists' as a stand-out spot representative of the victory of virtuous over evil (Brady, 2013).

The activities of the army must be understood within the context of neo-liberalism. The marriage between neo-liberalism and security took place in the 1970's and further strengthened during decades of civil war. The present stature of the army raises similarities with the Suharto regime in Indonesia where the military had corporate representation in the government (Senanayake,2011). Rajapaksha regime is closely tied to the furtherance of neoliberalism and is working in tandem with the intention of providing, aiding and enhancing the plunge of global capital in the island nation.

A Necrocapitalist Zone?

Sri Lanka has the second-highest number of enforced disappearances in the world: 60000-100,000 people missing since 1980's, most of whom are Tamils (Pathamathan 2021). This has continued even in the post-war era. The failure of the subsequent regimes to deliver any justice has made the UN to come in the fray. The marriage between securitization and neoliberalism is not new in Sri Lanka rather the birth of authoritarian capitalism precedes the army's recent entry into civil domain. And the ethnic war which was later remodelled as the 'war on terror' was pursued with the consent of global finance capital. One can look further back and argue that the very relation between capitalism and death/dispossession predates the advent of neoliberalism. Marx argued in Capital Vol I 'If money comes into the world with a congenital blood stain on one cheek, then capital comes dripping from head to toe, from every pore, with blood and dirt' (Marx, 1867).

In the modern age, after the disappearance of colonies the post-colonial states have in many occasions extended the logic of coloniality at the behest of imperialism. Therefore, the local states become the actors wielding colonial power. Death worlds are created in

the former colonies where juridical framework can be suspended and the norm of the state can be evaded. Necrocapitalism can be said to be functioning where the unholy collusion between military power and corporate interest, reducing human subjects to their 'bare life', and making death as much a possibility as life. The fundamental feature of necrocapitalism is accumulation by dispossession and the creation of death worlds in colonial contexts (Banerjee,2008).

It is in this background, that one has to pose the inevitable question of whether the case of tourism in the North, as a part of accumulation in the North reflective of necrocapitalist venture. However, the limits of this study can't provide a definitive answer. But the processes of instituting and proliferating tourism, with the logic of domination, and having the army as the key driver, points to a certain direction where asking this question becomes necessary and indispensable.

Conclusion

To conclude, the tourism exercise in the North is one of the classic modern-day examples of thanatourism. It is also the selective resurrections organized spatially by state agencies. Secondly, the tourism practice reflects the deep ethnic divide as still holding forth the small island nation into its tight clutches. One can derive from this study that graded citizenship is reproduced and normalized in the relation between the visitor and the local via tourism. Lastly, the question of necrocapitalism as the form of accumulation in the North is strongly suggestive in the present study, however it would require further investigation and deliberations.

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BREADLINE: ACTION RESEARCH IN THE HUMANITIES – FOOD WASTE, RESCUE AND SECURITY

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Abstract: Food rescue's overwhelmingly positive representation of contributing to both environmental protection and poverty alleviation obscures the question of why and how food becomes loss and waste in our industrial food system. Waste and excess are often represented as the side effects of unoptimized processes in dominant discourses, which drive solutions that are geared towards improving synchronisation through increasing techniques of control. Presenting *Breadline*, a web-application developed by the author for food rescue in Hong Kong, the article demonstrates how the platform tackles waste and excess. By tapping into externalities of the practice, *Breadline* successfully overcomes the logistical challenges of food rescue, offering an applied action research for discussion.

Keywords: food rescue, waste, Breadline, action-research.

Introduction - food waste general

Food waste is a problem on the global and local agenda. Every year, 1.3 billion tonnes of food goes to waste, amounting to approximately one third of all food produced for human consumption (FAO 2013). In sustainability discourses, this is represented as a squandering of resources—a waste of land, water and energy as well as the human labour and capital that went into the production of food. As an environmental issue, food waste is seen as a pollutant, the world's third largest source of carbon emissions and greenhouse gases that contribute directly to global warming and climate change (FAO 2013). Alongside environmental and sustainability issues, food waste is also a major topic in food security. In this arena, food waste is represented as a missed opportunity, as there are 821 million people suffering from malnutrition and other hunger-related diseases (FAO et al. 2018).

Juxtaposed alongside these staggering figures is the framing of world population growth and rapid urbanisation. The UN world population prospect predicts that by 2050, there will be 9.7 billion people on the planet, two thirds of whom will be living in urban environments. In these discourses, affluent places are presented as resource-intensive sites; rich countries consume double the food of developing economies, and cities account for 75 per cent of global natural resource consumption (UNEP 2013). The rapid urban population growth is preceded by an even faster rate of waste production: while waste increased tenfold in the last hundred years, the figure is expected to double by 2025 and over half of that is organic food waste (Hoornweg and Bhada-Tata 2012).

These figures are commonly quoted in studies relating to food waste: from climate and environmental sciences; agriculture and nutrition; food policy and security to planning and governance. Within each discipline, how food waste is conceptualised—i.e. how, when and why food becomes waste—is understood differently, mobilising registers of different scales and measures (carbon emissions, calories, blue water footprint etc.). But across the board, food

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waste reduction is unanimously understood as an all rounded solution with targets set to halve per capita global food waste at the retail and consumer level, and 'reduce food losses along production and supply chains by 2030' (SDG 2020).

Food rescue

Food security, defined by the FAO, refers to a state when 'all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life' (FAO 1996). In this context, food rescue - understood as the practice of recuperating surplus food and distributing it to those who are in need has been hailed as a win-win-win solution. These forms of redistribution are consistently represented by the media and governments as a meaningful way to assist those less fortunate, alleviating poverty by fulfilling their 'right to food'. In addition, it is also perceived as a key sustainable strategy of environmental protection - food waste prevention avoids organic waste in landfill and reduces methane emissions and leachates (Lang and Barling 2012; Shaw 2007; Ericksen 2008; Sonnino 2009).

Food rescue's overwhelmingly positive representation in dominant discourse obscures the question of how and why food becomes waste in our commercial food system. In such framing, waste is seen as the residual effect of unoptimised processes, a system where parts are not quite in sync with each other. Food losses for example, are understood to result from suboptimal operations due to lack of infrastructure, technology or techniques that connect between production, post-harvest and processing stages in the food supply chain. Whereas food waste results from a mismatch of supply and demand - from the distributor level right down to the individual household. The solution therefore is to improve coordination through better control techniques. However, as scholars have pointed out, waste is not just 'matter out of place', its built-in obsolescence is a necessary by-product of value creation (Douglas, 2003; Loiboiron, 2019) and profligacy is an inherent part of industrial food production (Gille, 2012; Amelincks, 2018; Cubitt, 2015). Despite increasingly sophisticated info-industrial technologies, leakages are a constant reminder that control is always just beyond reach (Hoyng, 2019).

Breadline

Hong Kong exemplifies much of the food waste problem faced globally. As a fully urbanised, high-income city, Hong Kong spends 5.26 per cent of its GDP on importing food from all across the world. Food waste is a pressing issue; it is the single-largest category of municipal solid waste, estimated at 3600 tonnes a day (the weight of 250 double decker buses), and it is pressuring the city's near-saturated landfill sites (HK Environment Bureau 2014). At the same time, as a developed economy with one of the highest GINI coefficients, 1.3 million of the wealthy city's population is poor: amongst the twenty per cent of the population who live on the poverty line (HK Census and Statistics 2017), one in three elderly and one in four children face food insecurity, without adequate nutrition to sustain an active and healthy life (FAO 1996). Similar to global narratives that surround food rescue, forms of food redistribution are highlighted as key strategies for environment protection as well as poverty alleviation.

Attending to the specificities of the 'leftover' nature of surplus food, food rescue offers an interesting logistical challenge. Food rescue has been described as a 'random' process (Nair, Rashidi and Dixit 2017) whose functioning depends on variables of quantity, time and place. It is often difficult to predict when and where food becomes available, and even with regular donations from certain outlets, the volume can never be guaranteed. Surpluses also have a limited time window before they go to waste; 'rescue' is indeed the temporal challenge of

getting to the food in time. The uncertainty of what is available also presents a challenge for organisations to plan for the equitable distribution of recovered food, as they must operate with little information prior to collection. A forecasting model that could be used for operational decisions has yet to be seen

Here I will present Breadline, developed as part of my action research on urban food systems. While it only offers a limited view on the operating challenges of food rescue on the urban consumer level, it nevertheless demonstrates a solution whose system design is based on principles of a cacophonous system - attending to the externalities of the practice, intercepting flows and facilitating circulation.

Breadline is Hong Kong's first and the only public digital platform for food rescue to date. Collaborating with a local charity partner and major bakery chains, the web application takes on the bread donation programme where volunteers are recruited to collect surpluses from bakeries for community partners which service the homeless, low income families and the elderly poor. The operational challenges of food rescue are many - first, there are hundreds of bakeries located across the city, all closing within a two hour window. Second, the volume of leftovers fluctuates and it is often difficult to predict where food becomes available. Third, donations can only be collected at closing but before staff leaves, 'rescue' is indeed the temporal and geographical challenge of being in the right place at the right time. Fourth, volunteer recruitment is labour-intensive but the return rate is less than 1% and finally, for every evening of collection, 20-50% of the shops sell-out, meaning that volunteers are quite likely to end up with empty runs.

Coming at the logistical problem of food rescue as the temporally contingent and localized practice of 'moving food along', the design of the platform Breadline functions to intercept relations in order to facilitate circulation of resources - of food and otherwise. Elsewhere I have argued that systems of enclosure produce waste - hoarding either through storing or proprietorship facilitates obsolescence that lead to degradation and decomposition. This is the case for food, but also for data. 'Closed source' systems lead to data and code degradation, and eventual digital rot. In this analogy both food and data are perishable, meaning they only have a limited time to be serviceable. To keep food as well as data from expiring, both have to be kept in circulation (see Tam et al, 2016).

Just as waste is matter out of place, noise is information out of time. Breadline's platform design attends to the temporal vulnerability of both data and food by making grounded information available to volunteers in real-time. The key intel here is stock availability - how much bread is there towards the end of the business day? This crucial information is locked within the shops' internal point-of-sales system, Breadline bypasses the need to integrate with the proprietary system by tapping into the tacit knowledge of attending staff and making it legible and shareable. It does so by asking shop staff to estimate the amount of leftovers and to enter the approximation an hour before closing. This information then appears to volunteers as different coloured pins on the map interface, marking out the volume and location of surplus bread. Breadline thus functions as an interceptor, by 'leaking' crucial information to volunteers ahead of time, volunteers are able to respond agilely avoiding empty runs and adjusting their routes to adapt to the availability.

Volunteer mobility is also a key externality that Breadline sought to tap into. In previous operation models, volunteers were assigned specific branches irrespective of where they were located, this was necessary in order for the charity to cover all locations, but also to avoid double booking a shop. This labour intensive process is replaced by a three step sign-on in Breadline - after login, volunteers will see the available shops on their selected date appearing as geolocated pins on the map interface. Clicking on the pins would allow them to claim the

runs and simultaneously take it off the map for other runners, thus avoiding overlaps. In lieu of more control and tracking, Breadline privileges self-organisation which allows volunteers to tap into their own movements around the city, and choose routes that are most optimized to their mobility and preferences. Route optimisation was therefore a conscious elimination from the design feature of the platform.

Over the course of running Breadline in the last 10 months, volunteers have been observed to change strategies as they adapt their responses based on their knowledge and the real-time information of the particular night. Some would continue to pre-book their runs, but change their routes depending on where there are higher volumes of leftover. Others have completely evolved to running a just-in-time operation, picking up leftover routes that are unclaimed on a particular evening, or tuning into the notifications of bread availability. Either way, this model of food rescue demonstrates the affective force of the information. Notifications interrupt, but they also introduce a potential for change, a process that induces change, volunteers are able to intervene on last minute opportunities, responding effectively to the fluctuating spatial distribution of surplus bread. The decentralised design of the platform has enabled a more agile response, critical in the face of uncertainties and allows better use of the volunteers' time and resources.

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SOCIAL IMPACTS OF COVID-19 ON AVIATION EMPLOYEES: THE CASE OF VIETNAM AIRLINES FLIGHT ATTENDANTS IN HO CHI MINH CITY

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Abstract: The Covid-19 pandemic, which began in February 2020 in Wuhan (China), has had a profound impact on businesses globally. Airlines are frequently the hardest hit. Social distance has resulted in a significant reduction in passenger traffic and, as a result, flight volume, essentially stopping airline operations. The lives of airline personnel have gotten increasingly tough as a result of business interruptions. Income loss, unemployment, and difficulties in locating alternative jobs are all regular challenges for flight attendants who formerly led luxurious lives. While these effects are self-evident, little is known about factors that contribute to their manifestation in a variety of settings. To address this knowledge vacuum, the study investigates the impact of Covid-19 on the lives of Vietnam Airlines flight attendants in Ho Chi Minh City. The research findings, obtained by questionnaire surveys and in-depth interviews, present a complicated picture with various degrees of Covid-19 impacts on the lives of these individuals. These levels appear to be influenced by both current social labeling on flight attendants and their social capital. The research findings assist authorities in determining the best course of action to support aviation personnel as the epidemic continues to spread.

Keywords: airline employees, Covid-19, flight attendants, social impacts, social labelling Vietnam.

Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic started in February 2020, causing a dramatic effect on companies around the world. Among them, airlines tend to be the most severely impacted (Melas & Melasová 2020). The adoption of social distancing has effectively halted airline operations (Maneenop & Kotcharin 2020). A series of countries stopped all cross-border transport activities, the market value of aviation enterprises has plummeted, causing not only the activities and profit of airlines to be reduced, but the life of aviation workers is also directly affected. While these effects are self-evident, little is known about factors that contribute to their manifestation in a variety of settings.

To close this information gap, the study analyzes the influence of Covid-19 on the life of Vietnam Airlines flight attendants in Ho Chi Minh City. Since February 2020, Vietnam has gone through four Covid-19 outbreaks. Under social distancing restrictions, Vietnamese aviation companies suffered a serious decline in revenue (ICAO 2020). In 2020, Vietnam Airlines' revenue decreased by more than half compared to 2019 and the consolidated loss will

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range from 14,000 to 15,000 billion dong (ICAO 2020), significantly impacting the lives of its employees.

In this analysis, we paid attention to the changes in respondents' material and social life during the pandemic and how their social capital helps them or causes difficulty in coping with the pandemic. Since flight attendants are viewed as having a high professional position in society, which helps them lead a relatively luxurious life, we also investigated how this labelling interferes or not with the effect of Covid 19 on their lives.

The paper has 5 sections. After the introduction, we present theoretical perspectives on social capital and social labeling, which are relevant to the case. Section 3 details the research method. Section 4 elaborates research findings and discussion. The last section is for conclusions.

Concepts

Social capital

Social capital is simply defined as the confidence and trust that exists in social relationships and which may be used to organize an effort. The multitude of meanings for social capital highlight what aspects the definitions focus on (Robison et al. 2002), and whether their focus is largely on the connection that actor has with other players, on the structure of the relations among actors within a collective, or on both. When there is a focus on connecting people within collectivities, such as organizations, it is known as 'bridging' social capital, whereas when connecting people between collectivities, such as organizations, it is known as 'bonding' social capital (Adler & Kwon 2002; Wallis et al. 2004). Among a variety of measurement factors for social capital, reliability, exchange, and cooperation are often emphasized (Cooke & Wills 1999; Moran 2005).

Social labeling

Labeling is the process of encapsulating a perceived quality or attribute of a person or group in a single word or phrase (Rotenberg 1974). The label used to define or classify individuals can impact or determine their self-identity and behavior (Mead & Becker 2011). Social labeling theory postulates that people identify with and act in accordance with the way others refer to them (Crossman 2020). Labeling, which is either positive or negative (Farrell 2014; Rotenberg 1974), is used to increase the predictability of social life through the addition of contextual information (Raybeck 1988). Labelling could be based on observation or report, and it could be correct or erroneous, just or unjust. Group labelling may be made on the basis of nationality, religion, culture, or gender (Farrell 2014).

In this paper, theories of social capital and social labelling will be used to examine factors influencing the material and social life of flight attendants under the Covid 19 pandemic.

Research Methods

The research combined both qualitative and quantitative methods. In terms of material life, we paid attention to employment status, income, expenditure in the daily life of flight attendants affected by the Covid-19 outbreak. In terms of social life, we examine flight attendants' recreational activities and their social relationships with colleagues, family, and friends, as well as neighbors under the impact of the Covid-19 outbreak. Table 1 presents the analytical framework.

Table 1. Analytical Framework

Variables	Sub-variables	Criteria
- Material life	- Employment	- Permanent and part-time jobs
	- Income	- Salary, other incomes
	- Expenditure	- On food, children education, entertainment, housing
- Social life	- Social relationship	- Friends, colleagues
	- Entertainment activities	- Tourism - Other types

To assess the impact of the Covid-19 epidemic on the spiritual and material life of employees at the Cabin Crew of the Vietnam Airlines (VNA) in Ho Chi Minh City, we first collected secondary information from previous studies and reports of the aviation industry in Vietnam; minutes, meeting recordings and documents on the official website. A questionnaire survey by convenience sampling then was conducted on 115 respondents together with 15 in-depth interviews and non-participatory observing technique on the impact of the Covid-19 epidemic on employees' life and work. Quantitative data from the questionnaires was entered and processed through SPSS software. The in-depth interviews were transcribed, coded and analyzed by topic. Secondary data is also coded and analyzed by thematic analysis.

Results

Sample characteristics

The majority of samples (66.1%) are female, owing to the fact that many vocations and activities associated with aviation companies are more suited to women. The sample included 4.3% international pilots, 8.7% Vietnamese pilots, and 43.5% official and seasonal flight attendant samples. More than a quarter of the respondents (27.8%) were between the ages of 36-40, while 13.9% was the age group of 31 to 35 and 26.1% were between the ages of 20 and 25.

Survey participants with more than 10 years of experience made up 47.8% of the group. Those with 5 to 10 years of experience made up 27.0%. Of 50.4% of the population has completed high school, and 43% have a bachelor. When it comes to marital status, 50.4% of those surveyed were single.

In sum, these workers were in good physical and mental health with appropriate age, have a lot of experience, and have a level of education that is in line with the features of the aviation business, which does not demand high academic qualifications.

The material life of flight attendants under Covid -19 social distancing

As presented in the analytical framework, we examine the material life of flight attendants through 3 criteria: employment, income and expenditure.

Employment

Social distancing restrictions during the Covid-19 outbreaks had a significant impact on VNA flight attendants. Among 3,200 flight attendants of VNA, a full 50% are not working due to quarantine or leave. The company allowed workers to take leave on a rotational basis to cope with reduced flights (IATA, 2020).

The survey and in-depth interviews revealed that 27% of respondents, mainly pilots and flight attendants, had to quit their job and 37% saw their flight cut significantly (Figure 1). According to an official chief flight attendant with more than ten years of experience:

The epidemic resulted in reduced number of flights so the company lost money, affecting everyone especially the crew because they had to take a lot of unpaid leave (Interview transcript 19)

Not only the crew side, but the ground workers were also greatly affected according to a comment from a seasonal flight attendant:

During the peak of the epidemic there were only a few flights a day; Ground crews and flight attendants both have to take alternate leave, some even take a few months off, severely affecting their income (Interview transcript 2)

Due to the reduced staff, the ones still working had to perform multiple tasks. For example, some chiefs of flight attendants complained that they had to work with a low title and low payment concurrently holding different duties during the flights.

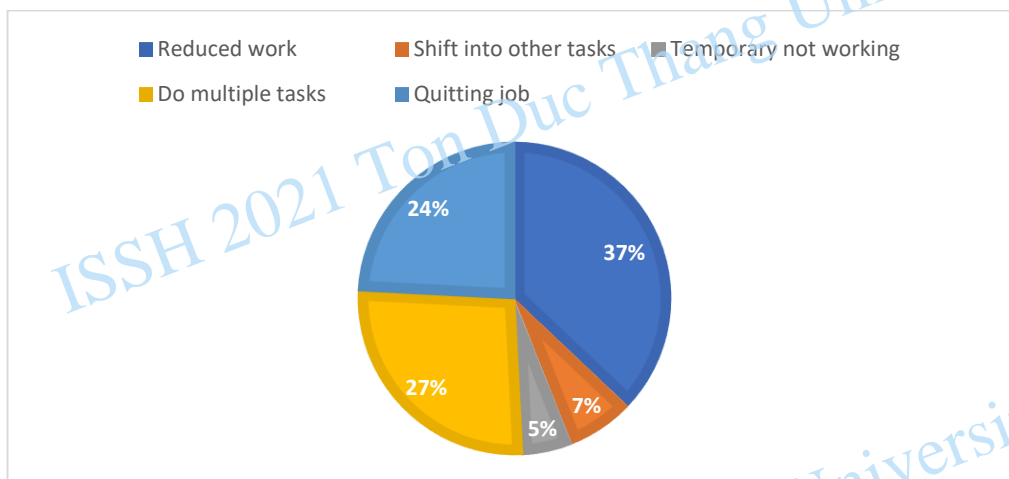


Figure 1. Employment during the outbreak

Due to the flight cut, 32.5% said that they were doing a part-time job while nearly 70% could not find another job because it was very difficult to find another job not relating to the aviation industry during the social distancing. Among the cabin crew, economy-class casual flight attendants had a greater shift in work because this group had a better chance of changing jobs. On the ground side, due to the rotational break, each squadron only had 1 or 2 people to go to work while the workload increased with more complicated procedures to prevent the virus

spreading. Whenever there were positive passengers on the flight, they had to mobilize manpower, cut off the flight, isolate the crew, and rebuild the flight route.

Income

With the significantly decreased number of flights, aviation workers in all positions saw a sharp reduction in their salary, which was calculated according to flight hours. 72.6% of survey respondents said their income decreased significantly. Before social distancing, 75.8% had their monthly income over 30M (\$1,318*). During the pandemic, 79.6% saw their salary reduced more than 50% (less than 21M VND (\$922.4). For the whole family, only 2.5 % had >30M, most had between 21-30M (Table 2).

Table 2. Changes in income and salary due to the impact of Covid-19

Average monthly income (million dong)	Individual (%)		Family (%)	
	Before the outbreaks	After the outbreaks	Before the outbreaks	After the outbreaks
5-10	1.9	17.8	1.9	5.1
10-15	7.0	24.8	2.5	7.6
16-20	5.1	54.8	12.1	22.3
21-25	10.2	1.3	10.2	26.1
25-30	46.5	0.6	15.9	36.3
>30	29.3	0.6	57.3	2.5

The Trade Union has supported the flight attendants with 1,000,000 VND/month to each flight and the company also has a policy to reward flight attendants who travel on rescue flights and flights with Covid-19 positive passengers. For the ones had months of not flying, they got around 1.8M from the state. However, only 12.1% of the respondents were appreciated these supports.

Only 57.3% of respondents said they can still maintain the family income over 30 million. Most respondents with an average income of 30-40 million before Covid 19 saw their salary reduced to around 15 million. Families with many members working in the same airline company saw more severe impacts on their income. Reduced income was also a reason that led many flight attendants to quit their jobs.

* 1USD=22766VND

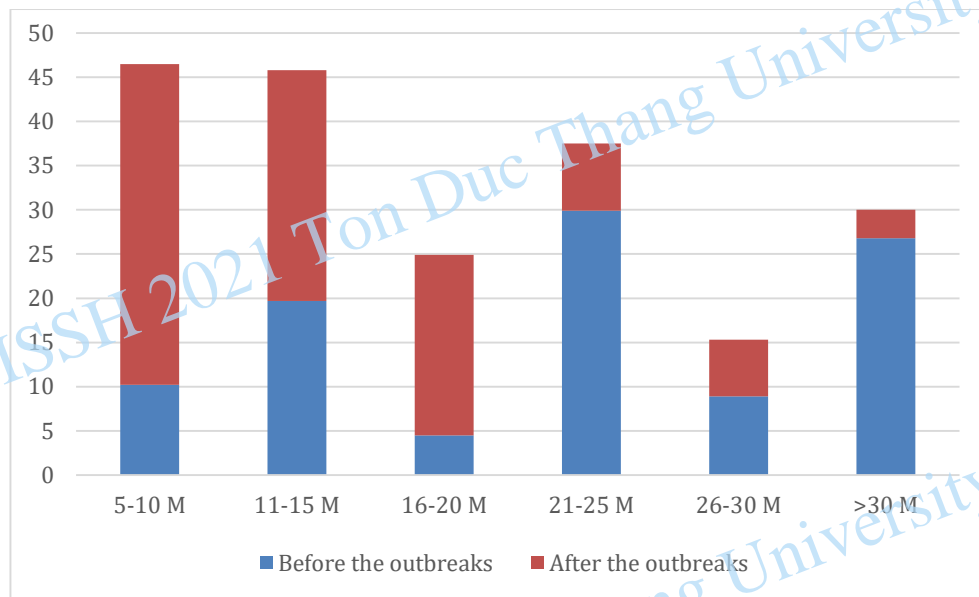


Figure 2. Respondents' incomes before and during social distancing

In addition to income from part-time jobs, 70% of respondents received additional support from parents and relatives, 15% get support from spouses and children, 12% lived on their savings, stocks and only 2% from the company. This shows that family support plays an important role for workers' lives as they are affected by the epidemic.

Expenditures

During the Covid-19 outbreak, respondents had to reduce their spending significantly. Nevertheless, living expenses (food, water and electricity bills, health care products and medical protection products, such as masks, antibacterial sprays, hand sanitizers, gloves ...) which previously accounted for 40-45% of their family costs increased to about 55%-61% because they spend more time at home and they had to buy anti-epidemic and health care items for themselves and their families. During the outbreaks, the respondents' family costs for entertainment were cut almost completely and that had previously consumed about 10% of their income. Some other spending, such as gifts for relatives (5%) and personal expenses also decreased from 10% to 4-5%. Most workers focused upon ensuring essential needs. Although expenses were reduced to the maximum, tuition fees for children remain unchanged at 30%. This reduction of expenditure seemed harder for flight attendants because they were dubbed as the 'aviation people' (*Dân hàng không*), who got high salary and enjoyed decent work and lifestyles. A seasonal chief hostess, 27 years old, said *'In the past, I could comfortably spend money on eating out, shopping, and supporting my loved ones. Now I can only spend for the basic things such as food and other essential things. No more shopping, or watching movies at the theatre'* (Interview transcript 2).

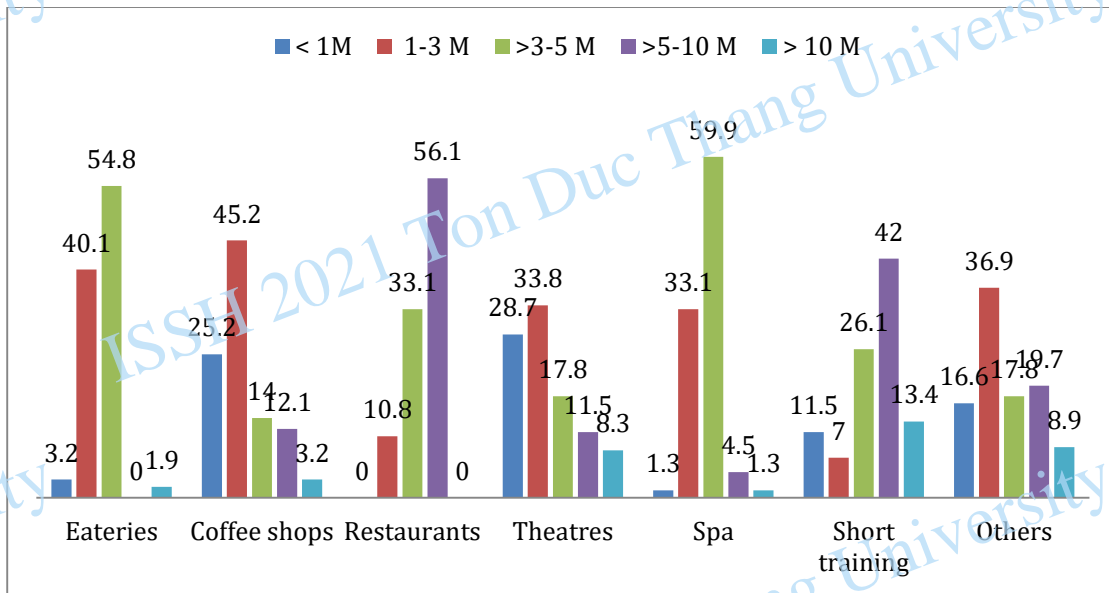


Figure 3. Expenditure before the Covid-19 outbreak

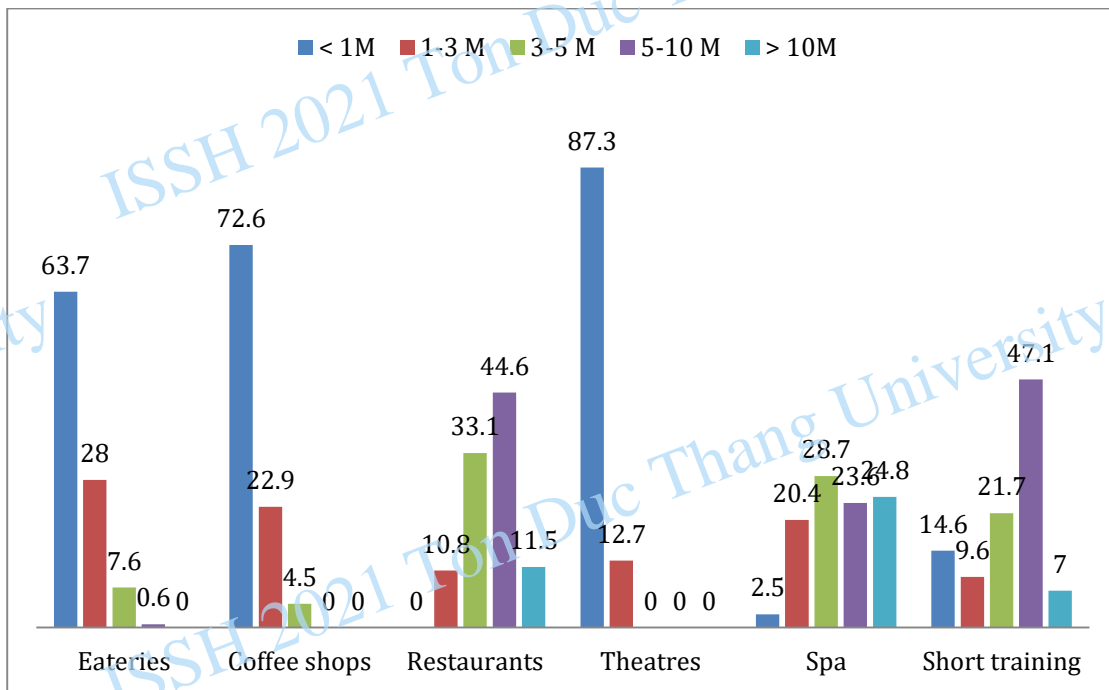


Figure 4. Expenditure after the outbreaks

Social life

Social relationships

For the co-worker relationship, 64.9% found that they did not easily communicate and support each other at work as before. Although information exchange is extremely necessary, especially for the team leaders and chief flight attendants, this mattered for those who supervise the implementation of the safety regulations during flights. Also, 56.7% found they had limited contact and communication with passengers because the risk of infection is high when they have to travel often between epidemic areas.

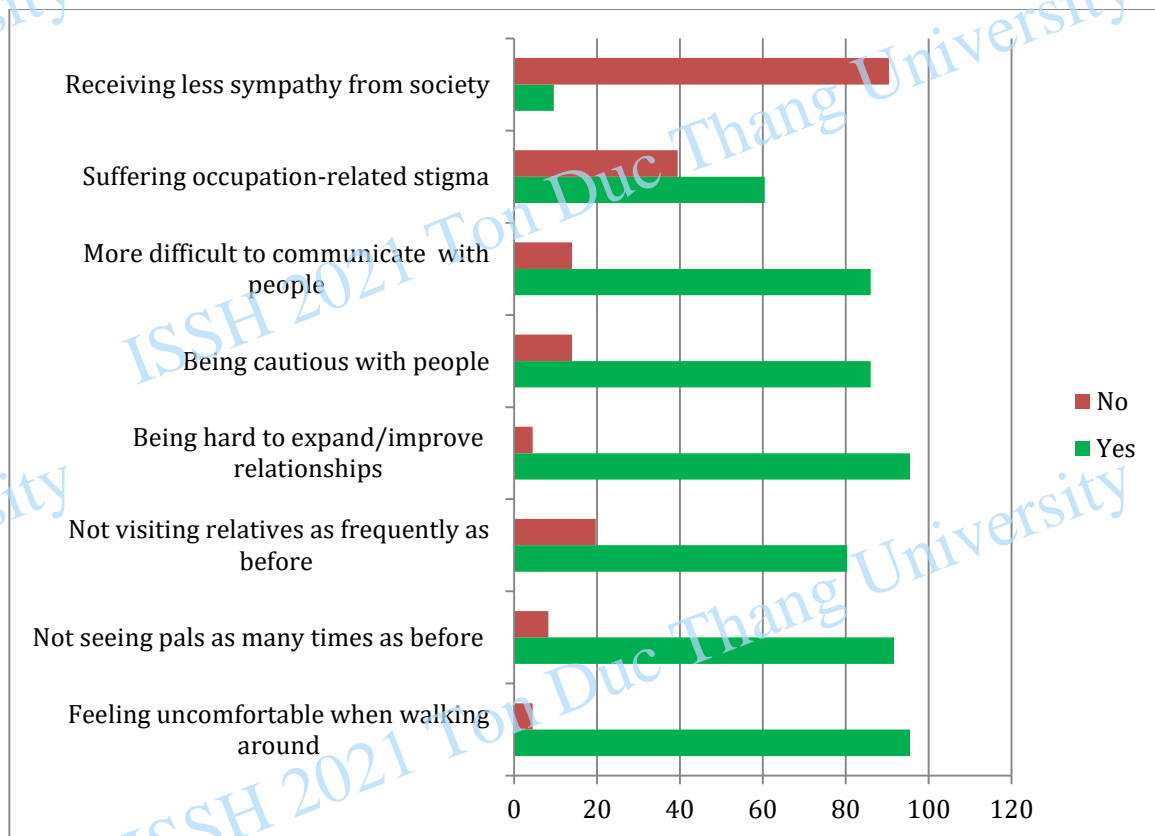


Figure 7. Impact of Covid-19 outbreak to other social relationships

Of respondents, 95.5% stated that being unable to walk around as effortlessly as before had impacted their surrounding relationships. 91.7% agreed they did not see their friends as frequently as they used to, and 80.3% agreed they did not see their loved ones as frequently as they used to. Particularly, 100% of respondents expressed dread of 'always needing to be cautious around everyone' 60.5% claimed stigmatization of society as a result of sensitive occupations, and 90.4% felt that it was difficult to get sympathy from society.

By June 2020, a total of 566 flight attendants have been quarantined at medical facilities and concentrations of isolation. While there were posts of compassion and sorrow on social media, numerous nasty comments directed against the flight attendant community could also be seen. Discrimination was not limited to social media platforms. On March 17, 2021, after completing his necessary seclusion and testing negative for Covid-19, a flight attendant returned home to encounter harassment from his neighbors. For aviation workers who rent houses or lived in apartments, landlords and neighbors were extremely cautious, making attendants fearful of interacting with others in order to prevent conflict.

People claim that I brought the disease to them as a result of my profession. Occasionally, people become ill in other locations, believing it is my fault (Interview transcript 9).

Entertainment

The research findings demonstrate a significant shift in respondents' entertainment and relaxation following the outbreaks. The bulk of recreational activities of the 'aviation people' have been restricted as a result of budgetary constraints, health concerns, and social distance limitations. Not only did employees alter their personal tastes, but they also reduced their own

entertainment requirements. Prior to the epidemics, respondents with an average monthly income of \$25-30 million could comfortably spend their vacation on high-end services, demonstrating their class and prestige. A first-class official flight attendant, shared that *'In terms of entertainment, in the past, I used to travel, eat at high-class restaurants, and when I went to work, I experienced many good things: enjoying 5-star hotel, eating delicious food. But since the epidemic, almost no more'* (Interview transcript 4). Another business-class hostess said, *'When eating, I always dressed well and went to luxury places. When shopping, I paid much attention to the brand. Everything is changed now'* (Interview transcript 5). Meeting up with friends to share their leisure time was once highly popular, but as a result of the Covid-19 outbreak, airline workers have almost abandoned all hobbies and forms of amusement.

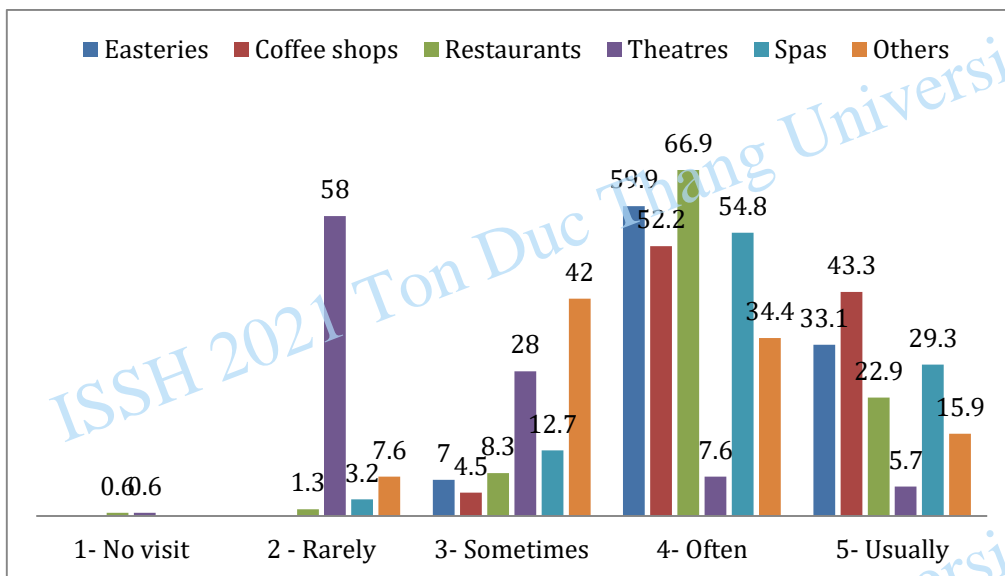


Figure 5. Respondents' entertainment locations before the outbreaks

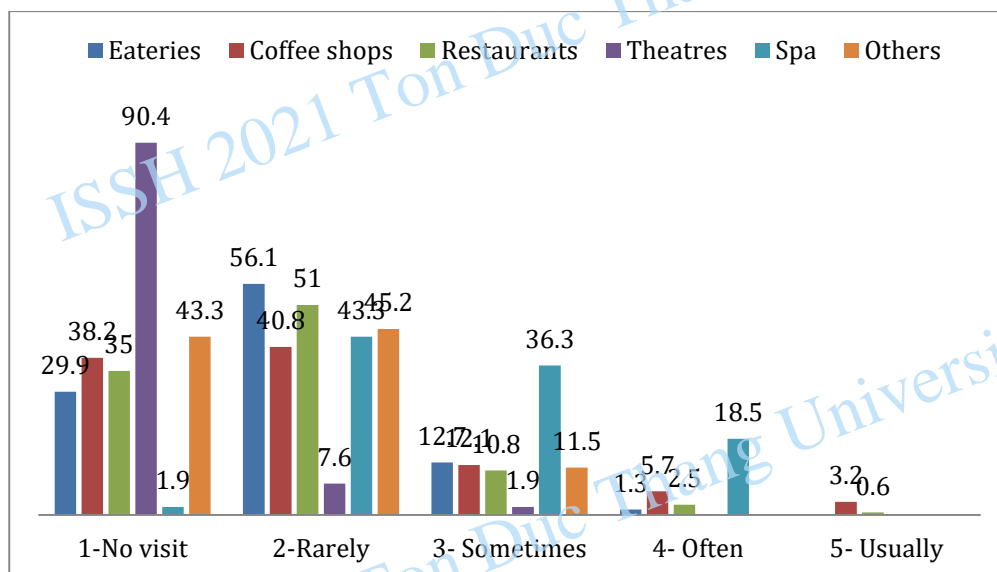


Figure 6. Respondents' entertainment following the Covid-19 outbreaks

Discussion

Social distancing affects people from many walks of life, but flight attendants appear to be particularly hard hit. This is not simply because their job is related to travel, which has been severely restricted due to social distancing. Social capital and labeling appeared to be two major factors worsened the effect of social distancing on aviation employees. To begin, because the aviation industry's nature requires workers to be dependent on the equipment of production (in this case, airplanes), skills and knowledge can be used only in a highly specialized setting. The majority of respondents stated that they lacked basic document processing skills, which were essential for many part-time occupations. Additionally, aviation professionals' social capital tends to contract inward as a result of their specialized employment, resulting in difficulty adapting to and changing careers. The majority of respondents admitted that they lacked a broad network of contacts beyond their circle of aviation professionals through whom they could obtain information about employment openings.

The difficulty in obtaining a part-time work is also related to the labeling issue. Given that society views pilots and flight attendants as professions linked with a rich lifestyle, respondents confessed that they had to behave in ways that reflect how others see them. They were unwilling to work as shippers, sellers, or in other odd tasks deemed unworthy of their position as 'aviation people'. Simultaneously, they faced greater stigma and pressure in social relationships, with colleagues, friends, and neighbors. Public attitudes towards social distancing violators, who are flight attendants, are more serious than people of other careers. Labeling also makes flight attendants receive less compassion from social media because they were deemed to be wealthier and more prosperous than other vocations, and many were perplexed as to why they continued to complain about their reduced salary. While Raybeck (1991) observed candidates for labeling often work diligently to avoid the label and/or to reduce the stigma as much as possible, in this case the candidates tried to behave to match the label. The study also shows that group labelling may not only be made on the basis of nationality, religion, culture, or gender (Farrell, 2014) but also by professions.

Conclusion

Airlines companies were badly effected due to the social distancing applied during the Covid-19 outbreaks. The nearly bankruptcy of VNA company had significant impact upon their flight attendants. The findings of this study reveal that unemployment, income loss and reduction of social relationships are all frequent difficulties for flight attendants, who previously enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle prior to the epidemic. The level of change they experienced is shaped by their social capital and social labelling. The loss of social status and quality of life has had a profound impact on the material and spiritual life of aviation workers in. Due to these reasons, policy for supporting flight attendants should improve their social capital and overcome negative social labelling.

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MOBILITIES, SOCIAL STATUS NEGOTIATIONS AND SELF-EMPOWERMENT IN CLASSICAL MUSIC PERFORMANCE IN HO CHI MINH CITY

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Abstract: Western classical music is often labeled as 'aristocratic' and/or 'sophisticated' in the media, and in Ho Chi Minh City associated with two official institutions; e.g., the Conservatory, and the Ballet Symphony Orchestra and Opera. However, in reality, classical music life in the city is quite vibrant and diverse with multiple activities of 'spontaneous' and/or 'self-organizing' groups of young artists. Albeit appearing recently and operating 'underground', these artists have created a social community that expands from virtual networks to real life organizations. This study uses qualitative research methods in which the author makes active participatory observation as an insider since 2002, and conducts face-to-face and online in-depth interviews with 25 artists in both groups. Furthermore, the paper utilizes a critical discourse analysis approach (Dijk, 2020) to analyze narratives, video clips and images of their performances available online. Apparently, there are mobility variations in terms of orientation and performative rights between the groups which are inherent to their social status and power. We argue that these mobilities are the results of constant social status negotiations, by means of which artists possibly break away from the conventional norms in classical music world, and self-empower themselves to express their own agency.

Keywords: mobility, self-empowerment, agency, Western classical music, ethnomusicology, Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam.

Introduction

The National Congress of the Vietnam Composers Association, term X (2020 - 2025) identified classical - academic music as one of the three main music genres to develop in Vietnam, stating that 'the originality, the orthodoxy of a nation is the ethnic, scholarly genres', in current context where 'orthodox, scholarly classics' are becoming 'forgotten, or unknown' to the younger population (Central propaganda and training commissions 2020). For the academia in Vietnam, classical music is often focused on analyzing history, approaching musicology (musical form, harmonization e.g.) or the national identity expressed through musical works (Nguyen 2001; Tran 2014; Vu 2019). These views inadvertently overlook music genres as parts of the holistic socio-cultural life of the urban population, fail to address the dynamics of music genres and artists, the interactions between themselves as well as between them and the audience.

Through active participation in the classical music life of Ho Chi Minh City as an insider from 2002 up to present, personal observations show that this music community is undergoing immense transformations and diversifications in terms of performing organizations, artists as well as audiences. In addition to the official performance dimensions that are authoritative and adhered to the state, new performance dimensions emerge where artists that are agents constantly moving between the two dimensions, spontaneously self-empowering, renegotiating their statuses, and revealing their agencies throughout their mobility processes.

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Literature Review

The study of music has long been transformed from an aspect of culture to a separate field of study with different approaches that observe human behaviors and their relationships in the social and cultural context (Merriam 1964; Nettl & Bonlman 1991; Koskoff 2014). For Vietnamese music, studies have presented many aspects, notably the history and musical characteristics of different musical genres (e.g. Pham 1972; Thuy 1993; Nguyen 2001 etc.). Some studies analyze music with correlations to socio-political changes in Vietnam (Briani 2018a; Gibbs 2019); analyzing the authenticity of traditional music, the emergence of neotraditional music, as well as the reinterpretation of religious music in the context of modernization, urbanization and tourism (Miranda 1999; Norton 2009; Truong 2018). Several studies show how ethnic minorities create identities through music (Briani 2018b), gender power and gender performativity (Norton 2006; Tran 2016), the process of Vietnamization of musical genres such as pop, rock, bolero (Olsen 2008; Gibbs 2019).

In these studies, classical music is often mentioned with the arrival of French colonization in the early twentieth century (Gibbs 2019) or associated with the revolution and the state after 1954 (Nguyen 2001), or with a visualization of the past and the classics (Olsen 2008). Music genres are often analyzed as a unified music genre, rarely approached from the perspective where musical communities are seen as societies with multiple structural layers and action subjects.

When analyzing social stratification, Sorokin suggested that the different layers are 'an unequal distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values and privations, social power and influences' (1959, p.11). Furthermore, there is always mobilities between social strata through 'social elevators' (1959, p.171). Fiol (2017)'s studies in music and social mobilities in India have shown that mobilities are actually not the displacements of low-caste specialists, but rather a myth of a modern India. It can be observed that social mobilities are not passive processes that are always accompanied by agency. Through constant reflexivity process of themselves, of what they do and why they do it in the social context, agents constantly come up with rational explanations for what they do (Giddens 1986). Through actions in daily life, agents can generate power. Actions depend on the 'capability of the individual to 'make a difference' to a pre-existing state of affairs or course of events' (Giddens 1986, p.14). Agents are governed by the structure, while simultaneously creating and transforming the structure (Nguyen, 2017).

In this article, we believe that the current classical music community is no longer unitary and exclusively associated with the state, but has split into groups with their own characteristics. Artists are not merely individuals 'framed' into a 'label' or a fixed group; are not merely passive individuals, but are agents that constantly conducting reflexivity on themselves, self-interpreting and explaining their actions, and are capable of making a difference.

Field Site and Methodology

Located in the South of Vietnam, with a population of more than nine million (Ho Chi Minh City Statistical Office 2020) and contributing over 22% of the country's economy* Ho Chi Minh City is considered as one of the key major cities. Not only is it an economic center, with early exposure to Western music at the beginning of the 20th century with many different genres of music (Gibbs 2019), Ho Chi Minh City is also a center of music and distinctive artistic

¹Summarized report on the draft of political report of the 10th City Party Committee at the opening session of the Congress on October 15, 2020, data for the period 2016-2020, p.24.

culture. If rock and bolero were popular in the late 20th century, then pop, ballad, and more recently, rap are becoming the mainstream music genres, alongside traditional genres or other music waves from overseas. Among those music genres, classical music has a small community but quite diverse in terms of age, profession, and social class.

This article is built upon qualitative in-depth interviews of eighteen male and seven female artists living in Ho Chi Minh City. All of them are classical artists, playing different instruments, including strings (10 people), piano (9 people), vocals (2 people), and other instruments (4 people). Artists vary in terms of qualifications, from professional (majority), to semi-professional and amateur, however, most have had some or more experience in professional and spontaneous stages in Ho Chi Minh City. Due to being conducted amidst the Covid-19 outbreak, most of the interviews took place online via the Google Meet application.

As a native anthropologist, I have studied violin in a professional classical environment since 2002 and have performed at spontaneous stages since 2015. The exchanges, observations and interactions with other artists has been a continuous process spanning over a relatively long period of time. As such, the online exchanges were carried out casually, with some artists continued to have further exchanges via Messenger afterwards.

This article uses critical discourse analysis (van Dijk 2020; Mayr 2015) to analyze the stories, images, and video clips of artists, showing the disparity in power and authority between the official and spontaneous groups.

Findings

Groups in the Classical music community in Ho Chi Minh City

Classical Music Centers in the City

Classical music in the city is often associated with two institutions: the Ho Chi Minh City Conservatory, and the Ho Chi Minh Ballet Symphony Orchestra and Opera (HBSO). The Conservatory was established in 1956, training, performing and researching 'Western and National music' (HCM City Conservatory 2021). HBSO was founded in 1993, with the goal of 'building and organizing the performance programs for academic music' (HBSO 2021). Located in the heart of the city, the two institutions have performed numerous of immense and professional classical performances.

Performances are scheduled a year in advance by the executive committee, the main genre being classical music, and rarely featuring soundtracks or jazz. The venues are concert halls with capacities of 450-500 seats, the sound is relatively classical standards. Artists must graduate from a music university, working under the state payroll, receiving a state salary or otherwise be invited to perform and paid by programs, with only a few exceptional students are invited to collaborate. Programs are usually orchestral works, in which collectivism is emphasized, performers adhere to orchestral principles. Audiences buy tickets from price range between 150,000 - 900,000 VND. It can be said that the Conservatory and HBSO have a high reputation within the classical community, having the privilege and rights to perform this type of music, as such, their artists tend to focus on the two institutions.

'Spontaneous' group: organizations of classical music performance

In recent years, 'spontaneous' organizations are emerging within the classical music community, starting with the proliferation of the internet in 2005 and Facebook in 2008 in Vietnam. The 'spontaneous' organizations in the city include Saigon Classical (2005), Germer Team (2014), Imagine Philharmonic (2019) and Arietta (2021). Their common goals are

'bringing classical chamber music closer to the community'.

Performance venues are usually small-scale stages with 50-350 seats, not up to classical standards and unfixed. The managing bodies of these organizations are quite diverse: some are people outside the music industry but are enthusiasts in classical music, while others are individuals and/or groups of classical artists. Some organizations do not sell tickets, only accepting donations, whereas others sell tickets priced from 100,000 - 1,000,000 VND. Music pieces are chosen by the performers themselves; genres are diverse: primarily classical music but sometimes new age - pop (chamber re-composed), soundtracks, jazz etc... The artists are also the ones deciding the scale of the performances (orchestra, chamber or solo). So as to reach the public, not only do they play music but also organize talk shows about classical music, unitours. Artists are mostly young, diverse in skill levels, with a majority having few opportunities to perform in a scholastic, orthodox environment, and tend to seek out all possible classical theatres.

Social mobility variations between the 'official' and 'spontaneous' groups

With different characteristics, operating criteria, especially in rights and trends (concentrated or outward), the two groups of 'official' and 'spontaneous' are two social layers within the same music genre. Aside from certain relatively permanent artists, some artists move between the two groups. Mobilities are not only geographical movements, but are also social mobility between the 'official' and 'spontaneous' groups. In general, there are two types of mobility: horizontal mobility and vertical mobility.

Horizontal mobility

Artists moving horizontally are defined as those who do not lose the right to perform (which is associated with the title and authority they have gained from the official group) during the mobility process. This means that they are artists who have been accepted into the official group, already possess the authority and status within the classical music community. Quite a few artists have experienced the vertical ascending mobility process from a low social, economic status and have performed in 'spontaneous' organizations during the process. Despite having the privileges and wide performance rights, they still often move to spontaneous stages (to varying degrees) because of the 'open', variable nature of these places, thereby changing the trend from concentrated to distributed.

Vertical mobility

One key feature that defines the vertical social mobility is the change in performance rights of these artists when they leave their former group and enter the new one.

Artists in the upward direction are usually young artists on the way to completing their education or transitioning from other professions to music. Their final destination is to be recognized in the official group. Their starting points are different: from suburban, or economically underdeveloped areas, or from a different profession with no relationships to the music profession.

Artists in the downward direction have all been recognized in the official group, but they leave this group and give up their privileges. They moved completely to 'spontaneous' organizations, even establishing new organizations or organizing their own programs. 'Deviating' from the 'official' group remove their existing performance rights, but this is not necessarily associated with a complete 'devaluation' of these artists or a decline in income, especially in the context of the state payroll policy for the official institutions (see Fig. 1)

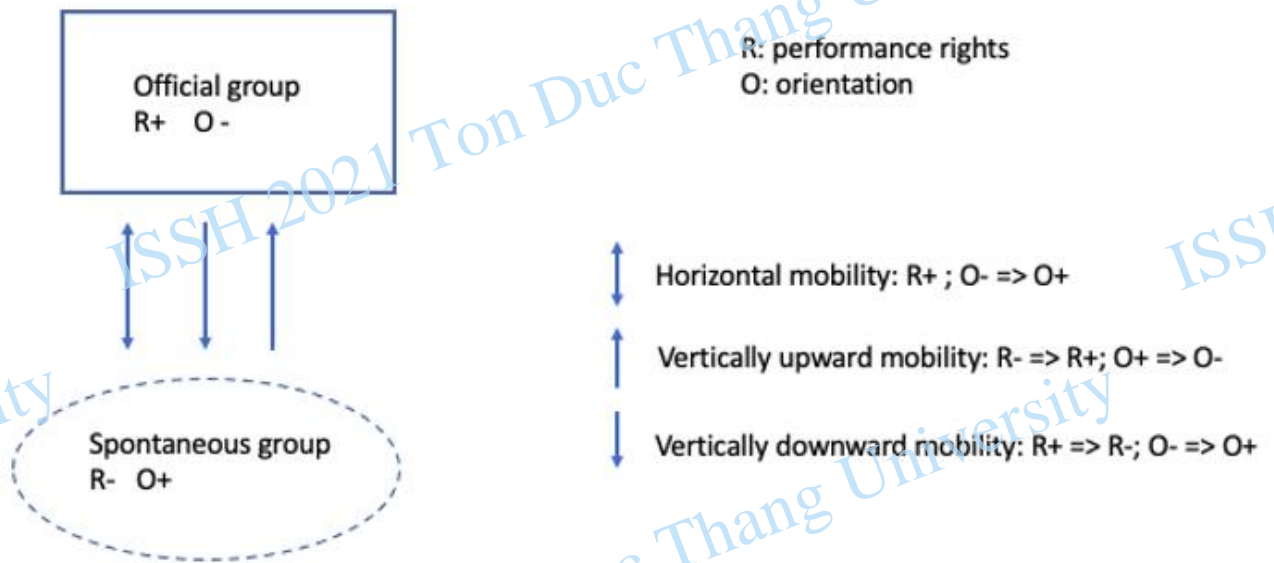


Fig 1. Mobility dynamics in HCMC's classical music community.

Discussion

Mobilities and Social status negotiation

When analyzing certain discourses of the media and of the official institutions themselves, a distinctive message can be observed regarding classical music - '*academic*' - a genre of music that requires knowledge to listen and understand. Gibbs (2019, p.72) argues that 'the appearance of the Western classical music *education*' (emphasis by author) played its role in 'forever changing the position of music in the Vietnamese's life', which were 'ill-famed' in the context of the Confucian society in Vietnam before the 20th century (p. 99). Predominantly associated with the state since their establishments, the official institutions can be seen as musical-educational institutions. In the discourses of these institutions and artists, the mission of 'universalizing music' (HBSO 2021; Công An Nhân Dân Online 2018) is frequently emphasized. The term 'universal' generally composed of two objects: the universalizing objects and the universalized objects. With the determination to represent the 'exceptional' art (HBSO 2021) and professionalism, the official group has always been in the position of the universalists with the authorities of knowledge and performance.

In the 'spontaneous' group, their discourses are often targeted towards a 'mass audience' and describe performing as a process. Their stories even include 'psychologically affected artists, broken instruments' and 'unrelenting spirit' thanks to 'the encouragements from the audience' (Saigon Classical 2016) - i.e., an image that is flawed and 'unexceptional'. Projecting a 'cozy, interactive and intimate' image (Saigon Classical 2015). Their photos also show the colorful, youthful attires of the artists, as well as the backstage logistics and the faces of the organizers. An artist shared with us that their goal is to 'create a community*', which means bringing

*A.N. 1991, male, interviewed 04/09/2021.

classical music to daily life, making the sounds meaningful and 'lively' in a community, and not just merely imparting knowledge.

During the process of moving as well as completing their mobilities, artists clearly distinguish the two dimensions of 'official' and 'spontaneous'. Their discourses represent an official group that is multidimensional yet overall professional, formal, reputable and standardized. In contrast, spontaneous organizations are associated with the personal, intimate, proactive experiences, albeit certain uncertainties remain regarding the professionalism criterion for this particular group (see Tab. 1)

Features	Official group's discourses	Spontaneous group's discourses
Group properties	"bureaucratic", "administrative", "public employment", "pressure", "responsibility", "framework", "boring", "repetition",	"comfortable", "experience", "fun", "independent", "quality", "self-managed programs"
State of mind during performances	"prideful", "reputation", "cool", "boastful", "big", "prestigious", "beautiful", "skipping the archer" ¹⁰ , "to fill the seats"	"grateful to the audience at the first steps", "personal", "self-improvement"
Audience	"intimate", "in the field", "meticulous"	"amateurs", "well-qualified", "diversified"
Performance venues	"standardized", "accommodative", "expensive", "central"	"conference auditorium", "small stage", "confining", "[tickets] sell cheaply"
Stage Design	"far from [audience]", "deep enough", "must have a well-quality piano to play", "backstage - stage"	"closer", "family style sitting", "crash sound", "unprofessional", "audience can see the whole process"
Organizing methods	"regulatory", "state", "strict selection", "following pre-arrangements by others"	"may not be well-specialized", "flexible", "comfortable", "cozy", "arbitrary"

¹⁰Positioning the archer in accordance with the orchestra but do not actually play the notes or skip certain notes to avoid revealing mistakes. (Writer's note)

Tab 1. Artists' discourses about official group and spontaneous group

During the process of mobility, artists must constantly negotiate their statuses, as they are not adhered to a fixed position. These negotiations are personal, as each agent must constantly conduct reflexivity upon their own personal contexts and abilities. Sometimes they do not know

how to call themselves^{*}, 'if someone asked me what I do [...] I would say I am a freelancer [...], I am also *unable to explain*, I don't even know how to explain it.'[†] they are still *searching* [...], always *asking questions* for myself[‡], 'I *don't know* how to define [myself][§] (emphasis by author). Problems also come from the external environment, especially for groups moving downward: 'people *respect those with titles* from the Conservatory or the Opera more, so somewhere there are still *disapprovals* [by] the show hosts, the fellow performers as well, but for now, I do not mind it'^{**} (emphasis by author). They attributed the answers to the audience's side, 'the audience will have the most obvious answer'^{††} or having the dual identities of 'artist - another profession' and they are 'proud of it, not everyone managed to do it like I do'^{‡‡}.

Self-empowerment and Agency

When it comes to their mobilities, artists use very different discourses (see Tab. 2). Albeit they are the same mobilities between the two groups, distinctive meanings are attached to each type of mobility.

Horizontally moving artists focus on empowering themselves to leave the formal environment, upholding their own needs in performing. They perceive risks, purposes when moving. Since the official group could not satisfy these needs, they themselves are looking for an environment where 'interactions' with the audience are better emphasized, and strengthen their social relationships as well as diversity in performing.

In the vertically upward mobility, discourses regarding their destinations are usually glamorous. During the mobility process, they faced many economic difficulties, investment time (from 8-13 years), the ambiguity in the possibility of success, the lack of family supports due to the Vietnamese social perceptions. They are moving and using the 'spontaneous' stage as a leverage to build their own confidence, experience, and relationships.

In the vertically downward direction, perceptions of their former institutions are often problematic. Mobility causes come from personal, working environment, educational, or social contexts. Their agency properties are expressed through creating new paths, empowering themselves to create a 'community' that were unavailable by connecting individuals listening to the same genre of music.

All three types of mobility are not passive, continuous and certain processes, as they present the artists with possibilities, risks and uncertainties. Artists are agents, constantly conducting reflexivity upon themselves, their surrounding contexts, giving meanings to their actions, and empowering themselves for mobility.

* All the interviews were conducted in Vietnamese and translated into English by Tran Ngoc Vu Anh.

†G.N. 1994, female, interviewed 16/09/2021.

‡N.D. 1997, male, interviewed 10/09/2021.

§N.B. 1993, female, interviewed 30/08/2021.

**T.P. 1991, female, interviewed 02/09/2021.

††N.D. 1997, male, interviewed 10/09/2021.

‡‡N.B. 1993, female, interviewed 30/08/2021.

Mobility types	Conception	Discourses
Horizontal mobility	Purpose	"wanting to make [classical music] more lively outside the theater", "competing against myself", "self-improvement", "needs"
	Process	"risky", "warmup run", "selective"
	Results	"exchange", "closer to the Vietnamese audience", "relationship", "flexibility", "freedom"
Vertical mobility +	Official classical stage (expectation result)	"aristocratic profession", "civilized", "desire"
	Process	"hard training", "efforts", "struggles", "pressures", "out of reach", "[family] does not support", "economic"
	Purpose	"testing", "training", "relationship"
Vertical mobility -	Reasons	"bread and butter", "job", "limited life expectancy", "not as expected", "not at the same level, unworthy [for marriage]"
	Process	"fish against the current", "opinions", "intense", "arguments", "broken", "a little sad"
	Results - spontaneous group	"unavailable", "self-created", "enhanced self-worth", "sense of responsibility", "creating a community"

Tab 2. Artists' discourses about their mobility.

Conclusion

Classical music emerged with the French colonialism in Vietnam in the early 20th century, after which was formalized by the state with the establishment and recognition of the two major institutions in Ho Chi Minh City that are the Conservatory and the HBSO. By the 21st century, this music genre has gradually break out from the official activities of the state to gradually penetrate into the daily lives of the urban population through the emergence of a series of spontaneous organizations. Through analyzing the vertical and horizontal mobility of artists between the two groups of 'official' and 'spontaneous', which possess distinctive stratifications and differences in rights and authority, we argue that artists are agents, conducting reflexivity to themselves, their social context, while constantly negotiating their statuses. The result of this mobility is the self-empowerment to create a new soundscape in classical music, in addition to the existing environment associated with state institutions throughout history. Contrary to these

academic yet regimented, 'bureaucratic', 'repetitive' values of the official environment that often conforms to the norms and expectations of society, they are building a new 'community' that prioritize the mass audience rather than the standardized and perfected sounds. This building process is still ongoing with the constant emergences of new organizations, the interactions between the official team vis-à-vis the spontaneous group. Artists attribute meanings to their mobilities, as well as the new soundscapes in which they participate, and thereby contribute to the reinterpretation of classical music, bringing it out of the 'ivory tower' and creating the 'polyphonic' characteristic through this reinterpretation.

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HIGH-STRAIN JOB, LOW-STRAIN JOB, ACTIVE JOB, PASSIVE JOB AND BURNOUT: A CROSS-SECTIONAL STUDY AMONG PHYSICIANS

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Abstract: The aims of this study are to assess the prevalence of four job types according to the Job Demand and Resource model, and to further explore their associations with three burnout's dimensions including emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal accomplishment. This cross-sectional study was carried out on 374 Vietnamese physicians working in different hospitals. Data on job characteristics, burnout and demographic characteristics were obtained by questionnaire and analyzed by using binary logistic regression. Results showed that 17.1% of all participants reported doing high-strain job, 28.3% doing low-strain job, 27.3% doing active job, and 27.3% doing passive job. In addition, high-strain job was associated with higher risks in all three burnout's dimensions, whereas low-strain job was associated with lower risks. Passive job was associated with lower emotional exhaustion, but higher risks of reduced personal accomplishment. In addition, no association was found between active job and burnout's dimensions. The study contributes to understanding how each job type might influence burnout among physicians. Lastly, limitations and implications of the study are discussed.

Key words: burnout, job characteristics, physicians.

Introduction

Physicians are considered one of the occupations with high risks of mental health problems, including burnout (e.g., Romani and Ashkar, 2014, Lemaire and Wallace, 2017). Burnout is defined as 'a syndrome of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and reduced personal achievement that can occur among individuals who do 'people work' in some capacity' (Maslach et al., 1996). For physicians, emotional exhaustion can be referred to as feelings of being emotionally overextended and exhausted by work and contact with patients. Depersonalization refers to an unfeeling and impersonal response towards the patients. Reduced personal accomplishment refers to a decline in physician's feeling of competence and successful achievement in work.

There are many factors assessed to be related to the burnout status of healthcare workers, ranging from socio-demographic characteristics. Among theories that explain the psychological factors at work that affect the situation of burnout, job demand-control model

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(Karasek, 1979, Karasek and Theorell, 1990) is considered one of the most notable theories.

Job demand-control model and burnout

By combining the two main components: psychological demands and decision latitude (also known as control), the authors identified four job types (as shown in Figure 1) including:

- High-strain job: characterized by high level of job demand (e.g. high demand, high pressure, high work intensity, large number of tasks) but low level of job control (e.g. lack of decision-making ability, lack of career opportunities),
- Low-strain job: characterized by the opposite characteristics, which means low level of job demand but high level of job control,
- Active job: characterized by high level of both job demand and job control
- Passive job: on the contrary, it is characterized by low level of both job demand and job control.

According to Karasek and Theorell (1990), in addition to high-strain jobs representing the highest levels of work-related stress and low-strain jobs representing the lowest levels of work-related stress, active and passive jobs represent an average level of work-related stress.

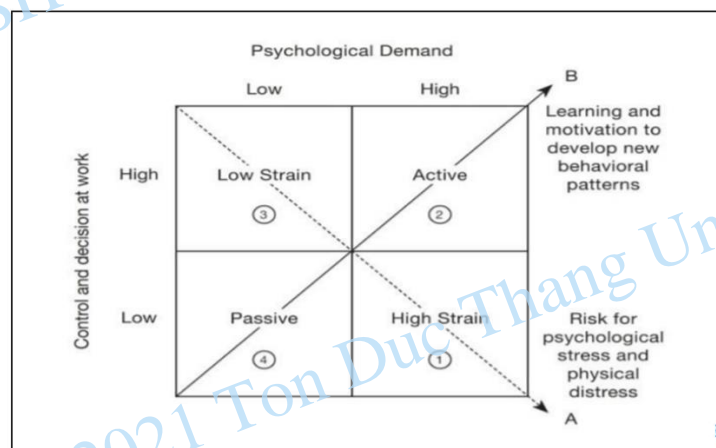


Figure 1. The job demand-control model (source: Karasek, 1979)

Some research evidence has shown a relationship between high-strain job and burnout in the general workers (e.g., Lourel et al., 2008, Portoghese et al., 2020) and in healthcare workers, as well as physicians in particular (e.g., Le Blanc et al., 2001, Pisanti et al., 2016). Although the job demand-control model is quite commonly used in research on labor issues around the world, in Vietnam, to our knowledge, this model has not been applied much in research. Based on this theoretical foundation, the current study has two objectives: to identify job types in physicians and to examine the impact of each of those job types on job burnout in physicians. Most of previous studies that employed the job demand-control model often focused mainly on the effects of high-strain jobs on work outcomes such as risk of sickness absence (Wang et al., 2014), or health work (de Sousa et al., 2019). In the current study, we look at the overall impact of all 4 job types including high-strain job, low-strain job, active job, and passive job on job burnout.

Methodology

Participants

The study was conducted on 372 physicians, 60.2% of whom were men and 39.8% were women aged between 25 and 70 years old; the mean age was 33.18 years old (SD = 8.17). In terms of training level, 39.2% of the subjects have a university degree, 55.5% have a master's degree and 5.3% have a doctor's degree. At the time of conducting the study, there were 10.8% of the surveyed physicians working in private hospitals, 27.6% of physicians working in public hospitals without financial autonomy and 61.6% of physicians working in public hospitals with financial autonomy. The working years of the target group ranged from 1 year to 46 years, with an average of 7.62 years (SD = 8.24).

Measurement

The job demand - control - support scale includes 17 items (Chungkham et al., 2013). The scale includes three dimensions: Psychological demands (5 items, e.g., 'Does your job require you to work very hard'), decision latitude (6 items, e.g., 'Do you have the opportunity to learn new things in your job?'), and social support at work (6 items, e.g., 'There is a quiet and pleasant atmosphere in my place of work'). Subjects were asked to rate the frequency of manifestations on a 4-level Likert scale, from 1- Never to 4- Always. Accordingly, the higher the score, the more support they receive, the higher their skill development, decision-making power and psychological pressure at work, and vice versa. The scale has been adapted to a wide range of population groups in Sweden (Chungkham et al., 2013), or Switzerland and the United States (Mauss et al., 2018), noting structural stability of the three dimensions mentioned above and the reliability of the subscales. In Vietnam, the 22-item version of the same scale has been adapted on nurses (Skaalvik, 2020). The 22-item version is a shortened version of the 49-item scale proposed by Karasek et al. (1998). Meanwhile, the 17-item version is another shortened version. The difference between the 22-item and 17-item lies in the number of items of the social support aspect (9 compared to 6 items in each version, respectively) and of the psychological demands aspect (8 compared to 6 items). In our study, the exploratory factor analysis with Varimax rotation method also recorded 3 factors, explaining 60.3% of the variation of the data. The factors include: a/ social support at work (6 items), b/ decision latitude (6 items) and c/ psychological demands (5 items). The reliability of the factors is 0.87; 0.80 and 0.78 respectively, which reach acceptable values (R.F., 2017).

The Maslach Burnout Inventory - Human Services Survey for Medical Personnel (MBI-HSS-MP). This tool aims to discover how various health care professionals view their job and the patients with whom they work closely. It consists of 22 items with three subscales: Emotional exhaustion (EE) 9 items, Depersonalization (DP) 5 items, and low sense of personal accomplishment (PA) 8 items. Each item is scored using a 7-point Likert scale, from 0 - never, 1 - a few times a year, 2 - once a month, 3 - a few times a month, 4 - once a week, 5 - a few times a week, and 6 - daily. This is the first time that the MBI-HSS scale has been applied to Vietnamese subjects, so the study used confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) to test the structure of the scale. The results record the original 3-factor structure (CFI = 0.96, TLI = 0.95, RMSEA = 0.05 [90%CI: 0.05-0.06], and SRMR = 0.06). Reliability values were 0.91, 0.77, and 0.88 for Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalization, and Personal Accomplishment, respectively.

Data analysis

According to the analytic strategy proposed by Karasek et al. (1998), four categories of psychosocial work environment were realized by combining the decision latitude and psychosocial demands variables. On each variable, the sample was divided into two categories:

the categories representing the median value or lower versus ones representing higher value than the median value. Therefore, four job types were established, including active jobs (characterized by high demands and high decision latitude), high-strain jobs (combination of high demands and low decision latitude), passive jobs (combination of low demands and low decision latitude) and low-strain jobs (combination of low demands and high decision latitude).

Burnout levels in each aspect were scored according to our recommendations and divided into two groups: a group with high burnout level versus a group with no burnout in each aspect (Dyrbye et al., 2009), with a cut-off score of:

- High emotional exhaustion: ≥ 27
- High depersonalization: ≥ 13
- High reduced personal achievement: ≤ 31

The maths used in the study included percentage calculation to determine the percentage of subjects classified by 4 job types and the percentage of subjects with burnout in each aspect. Next, in order to describe more specifically the physician's profile by job types, crosstabs were used to calculate the cross-correlation between demographic characteristics and job types. Finally, logistic regression was performed to determine the extent of the impact of job types on aspects of burnout.

Ethical considerations

The study protocol was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board, Vietnam National University, Hanoi School of Medicine and Pharmacy (approval no. 06/2020/CN-HDDD). All nurses and physicians participated in this study on a volunteer basis and their participation was kept anonymous. All participants fully understood the research and signed an informed consent form before joining this study, and were ensured that they could leave the study any time they wanted without any harm. They were given a small gift to the value of 50000 VND (about 2 USD) in recognition of their time to contribute to the study.

Results

Figure 2 presents the distribution of the study population based on job types and burnout status. The results show that, out of 374 subjects participating in the study, 17.10% described their work as high-strain job (high psychological pressure but low decision-making power), 28.30% saw their work as low-strain job (low psychological pressure and low decision-making power), 27.30% reported their work as active job (high psychological demands and high decision-making power), and 27.30% reported their job as passive job (low psychological demands and low decision-making power). Regarding the percentage of physicians with burnout, the results recorded that 24.10% of physicians had the score of high emotional exhaustion, 46.00% of physicians had scores in the range of high reduced personal accomplishments, and 23% of physicians had the score of high depersonalization.

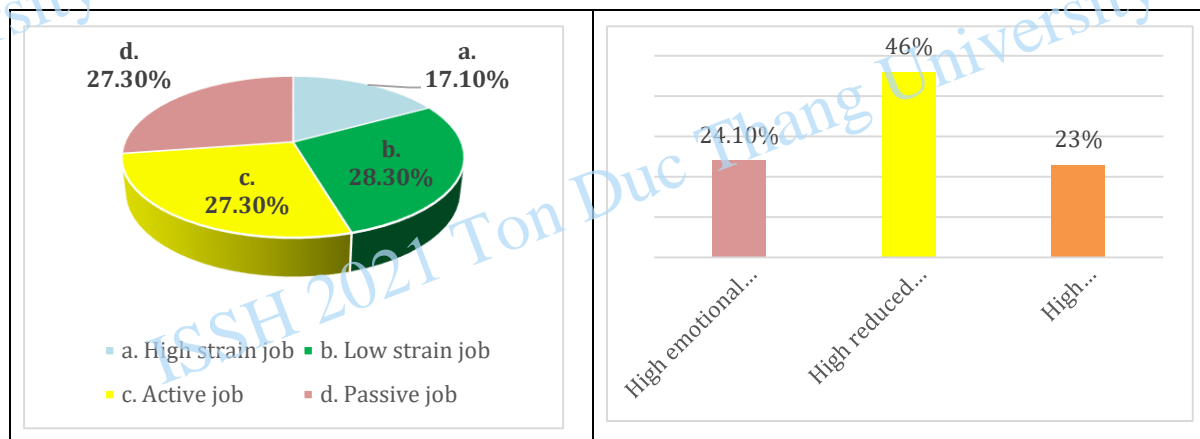


Figure 2. Percentage of physicians by job types and high burnout

The results of logistic regression analysis on the potential impact of each job type on the risk of burnout in physicians are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Job types and burnout - results from regression logistic analysis

Independent variables	Emotional exhaustion	Reduced personal accomplishment	Depersonalization
	OR [95% CI]	OR [95% CI]	OR [95% CI]
High-strain job	5.60*** [3.16-9.91]	2.63** [1.51-4.64]	2.85*** [1.61-5.06]
Low-strain job	-0.31*** [0.16-0.60]	-0.27*** [0.16-0.45]	0.77, ns
Active job	1.69* [1.01-2.81]	1.32, ns	1.21, ns
Passive job	-0.30*** [0.15-0.58]	-1.32, ns	-0.40** [0.21-0.76]

OR-odd ratio, 95%CI-interval related to the odd ratio, each job types (1=yes, 0=no), * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$, ns-nonsignificant

The results show that, in the 4 job types, high-strain job had an impact on all 3 aspects of burnout, specifically:

- Physicians who reported having a high-strain job had a 5.6 times, 2.63 times and 2.85 times higher risk of burnout than physicians not in this group, respectively. This was demonstrated through the aspects of emotional exhaustion, reduced personal accomplishment, and depersonalization, respectively.

- Physicians who reported having low-strain jobs were 0.31 times more likely to have a reduced risk of burnout in terms of emotional exhaustion and 0.27 times more likely to have a reduced risk in reduced personal achievement than physicians not in this group. There is no relationship between low-strain job and depersonalization dimension.

- Physicians in the active job group were 1.69 times more likely to experience burnout in terms of emotional exhaustion than physicians not in this group. There was no relationship between

active job and reduced personal accomplishment, as well as depersonalization.

- Physicians who reported having passive work had a 0.30 times lower risk of burnout in terms of emotional exhaustion and by 0.40 times lower risk of depersonalization compared to the group of physicians who didn't report having passive jobs.

In summary, the above results show that, of the four job types, it emerges that the impact of high-strain job on burnout is the strongest. Physicians in this group consistently had a significantly higher risk of burnout in all three dimensions than their peers who did not report high-strain job status, especially in terms of emotional exhaustion. Those in the active job group were at higher risk of burnout than their counterparts in terms of emotional exhaustion solely. Meanwhile, the effects of passive jobs and low-strain jobs can be considered negligible. Collectively, the emerging results about the risk of burnout in the high-strain job group were the most striking.

Discussion

This study aimed to identify job types in physicians and determine the effect of each job type on job burnout. The results recorded in the study suggest some of the discussion below.

Regarding the percentage of physicians distributed by job types, the study results showed that 17.1% of all participants reported doing high-strain job (high psychological pressure and low decision-making power), 28.3% doing low-strain job (low psychological pressure and high decision-making power), 27.3% doing active job (high psychological demands and high decision-making power), and 27.3% doing passive job (low psychological pressure and low decision-making power). This result shows that the distribution of the subjects was quite even in 3 categories: low-strain job, active job, and passive job; while the percentage of physicians who identified their work as a high-strain job was somewhat lower than in other types. This result can be explained by the fact that the target group is not homogeneous in terms of age, working seniority, job position and specialty. This can have more or less impact on how they feel about their psychological pressures and decision-making power. Despite having the same professional title as physician, young physicians who are new to the profession have limited professional capacity as well as direct responsibilities, and their decision-making power with patients and with their job is not so high compared to senior physicians who have worked for a long time. Therefore, their perception of the nature of work is very different.

In fact, job stress for physicians is not a new topic. However, the proportion of physicians who reported high work stress varied widely between studies and there is inconsistency in the use of the assessment toolkit due to the diversity of assessment toolset. When comparing the results in this study with a small number of studies in Vietnam using the same job stress assessment tool from the job demand-control model theory, we found that there is a significant difference in the distribution ratio of healthcare workers for each group of job types. Specifically, the study of Nguyen Ngoc et al. (2020) on 171 healthcare workers showed that only 6.4% reported doing high-strain job (compared to 17.1% in this study), only 1.8% reported doing passive work (compared to 27.3% in the study), 60.2% reported doing active work (compared to 27.3% in our study), and 31.6% reported low-strain work (slightly higher than the 28.3% rate in our study). This result can be explained in two ways. Firstly, the subjects in the study of Nguyen Ngoc et al. (2020) included both physicians and nurses, of which only 26.9% were physicians, while our study included 100% physicians. Differences in the nature of work, professional responsibilities, and responsibilities for the patients between physicians and nurses could create differences in reporting results as mentioned above. Secondly, the study of (Nguyen Ngoc et al., 2020) was taken place in 2018 - when the Covid-19 epidemic had not broken out, while the

current study examined stress in physicians' work from September to December 2020 - when the Covid-19 epidemic was causing stress globally, including Vietnam. It is possible that the context of this epidemic also affected the perception of physicians about their job characteristics.

Regarding the impact of job types on burnout, the results noted that physicians in the high-strain job group had a significantly higher risk of burnout than physicians not in this group, in all three respects: emotional exhaustion, reduced personal achievement, and depersonalization. As stated in the theoretical part, a high-strain job represents an imbalance between job demands and job control, and that imbalance leans towards job demands, which shows that workers regularly experience high demands from work, but they themselves do not feel they have control in their work, nor do they have career opportunities. This leads to work burnout in terms of emotions, behaviors, and feelings about personal capacities. This result is similar to previous studies (Vassos et al., 2019, Demerouti et al., 2001) and suggests that in the four groups of healthcare workers divided by job types according to the job demand-control model, people in the high-strain job group need more support in their work. Another noticeable finding was that the self-reported active job group also had a higher risk of emotional exhaustion, and showed higher levels of emotional exhaustion than other groups. In Karasek's theory, active job groups are seen as those with a balance between job demand and job control, and they score high in both aspects. Even so, this balance does not save them from the undesirable effects of high level of job demand. With a high level of job control, they can experience a sense of freedom in making work-related decisions, which prevents them from having low self-efficacy at work or experiencing depersonalization in interactions with patients or other people. However, a high level of job demand can motivate them to constantly strive to meet the demands of the job, thus putting them at risk of emotional exhaustion. We consider this to be a noteworthy result because emotional exhaustion is considered the core dimension of burnout (Maslach et al., 1996). In other words, while an active job only affects one aspect - emotional exhaustion, it can lead to a risk of diminishing job satisfaction (Baeriswyl et al., 2016, Skaalvik, 2020) or lower job performance (Halbesleben and Bowler, 2007). Therefore, the physicians who reported doing active work are actually the ones that need more support to prevent undesirable outcomes at work and in life due to high level of job demand. In summary, the results of the impact of job types on burnout show that whether perceived work is balanced or unbalanced between job demand and job control, the physicians who report experiencing high levels of work demand are those who need assistance to reduce or avoid the risk of burnout.

Conclusion

The study shows the distribution of the group of physicians by job types and shows that the physicians in the high-strain job group are at risk of burnout in all three aspects: emotional exhaustion, reduced personal achievement and depersonalization. In addition, physicians in active jobs are at risk of emotional exhaustion. As for the theoretical contributions, these results emphasize the importance of understanding the effects of perceived imbalance and balance between job demand and job control on aspects of workers' work and lives. Regarding the target group of physicians - people who are highly intellectual and do a job that has high social prestige, we believe that a perception of having a passive job (with low psychological pressure and low decision-making power) is not necessarily good for self-esteem and self-efficacy. Future studies may explore these aspects. In terms of practical contributions, the research results show that managers, labor psychologists and organizations need strategies to support high-strain job and active job groups in each aspect of burnout.

In addition to the above contributions, the study cannot avoid some limitations. The study

sample was a convenience sample, and the sample size was small, so the results in this study are not representative of all physicians. In addition, the diversity of demographic characteristics such as age, working seniority, and working units can more or less affect the way physicians evaluate the nature of their work. A homogenous sample group can be expected in future studies.

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APPLYING MATRIX MODEL IN SUPPORTING METHADONE CLIENTS: SOME EVIDENCES FROM ATS USERS

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Abstract: This research applies randomized controlled trial to test if matrix model can help increase the effectiveness of methadone treatment on ATS users. 60 ATS users negative to Methamphetamine and scored medium to high on ASSIST scale in Ho Chi Minh city were invited to a 6-month methadone treatment program. Participants were randomly assigned to two methadone treatment groups, one with the supplement of Matrix model (n=30) and one without Matrix (n=30). The two groups did not differ significantly on the measures of demographic factors, previous ATS abuse, HIV, and motivation to participate in methadone treatment program. Results showed that after 6 months of intervention, those who joined Matrix group reduced the use of ATS, engaged more in safe sex behaviors, and increased compliance to methadone treatment better than their non-Matrix counterparts. Moreover, those who joined Matrix group scored higher on quality-of-life scale and lower on ASSIST scale. All differences between the two groups are statistically significant. The study also provides some recommendations for practitioners in applying Matrix model in supporting ATS users who are participating in methadone treatment.

Keywords: Matrix model, methadone treatment, ATS users, randomized controlled trial.

1. Introduction

ATS in general and Methamphetamine (Meth) in particular are synthetic addictive stimulants which may cause lethal damage to the functioning of brain and other body's systems, and up to date there is no FDA's approved medication to treat ATS addiction (UNODC, 2009). However, research documented that behavior therapy, especially cognitive and behavioral therapy and motivational incentives, may be effective to help ATS-addicted individuals kept up with their treatment (Alammeirjerdi et al., 2016). Matrix model is an intensive outpatient treatment (IOT) program which was first used to treat addiction to Meth and cocaine, and lately found effective in treating other types of addictions such as alcoholic addiction. Developed in 1980s, this highly structured model integrates quite many theoretical frameworks such as CBT, 12 Step model and motivational approach into a single program, and deploys quite many evidence-based techniques for intervention. Therefore, this model is suitable for clients who need comprehensive care (NIDA 2019).

Besides being heavily based on evidence, there are several benefits and strengths that this therapy model brings about to the intervention process. As an IOT, Matrix model allows Methadone (MET) patients to live in their community during treatment, which makes it more

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financially accessible for MET patients and ensures their social connection. In addition, the authors of Matrix model have developed manuals for both therapists and clients. Manual for therapists provides guidelines and techniques to work closely with clients and teach them and their family information and strategies to support the clients during their detoxification, recovery and prevent relapse. Manual for MET patients include handouts which provide a simple exercise for each session and relevant scientific information written in a friendly and easy-to-understand-and-remember manner. As Rawson et al. (1995) remarked, this model is both sophisticated enough by integrating different theoretical approach and at the same time simple enough so that it can be easily used and monitored in different clinical situations. Last but not least, this model also engages patient's family by teaching them about addition, recovery and relapse so that they can understand and effectively support the patient.

Up to now there are some variations of this model. In this study, we applied the most updated 16-week structure. It combines group therapy (2 times a week) and individual counselling. The program is structured into two periods. In the first period, treatment specialist uses positive behavior management techniques. Urine test was conducted two times per week and a reward was provided if the test shows that patients had lived an ATS-free week. After the first period, if urine test of ATS use was negative, automatic text message (SMS) will be sent to patients, asking them to regularly update their Meth use, family and work situation. For those who did not respond to CM intervention in the first wave, they will be continuously treated with Matrix.

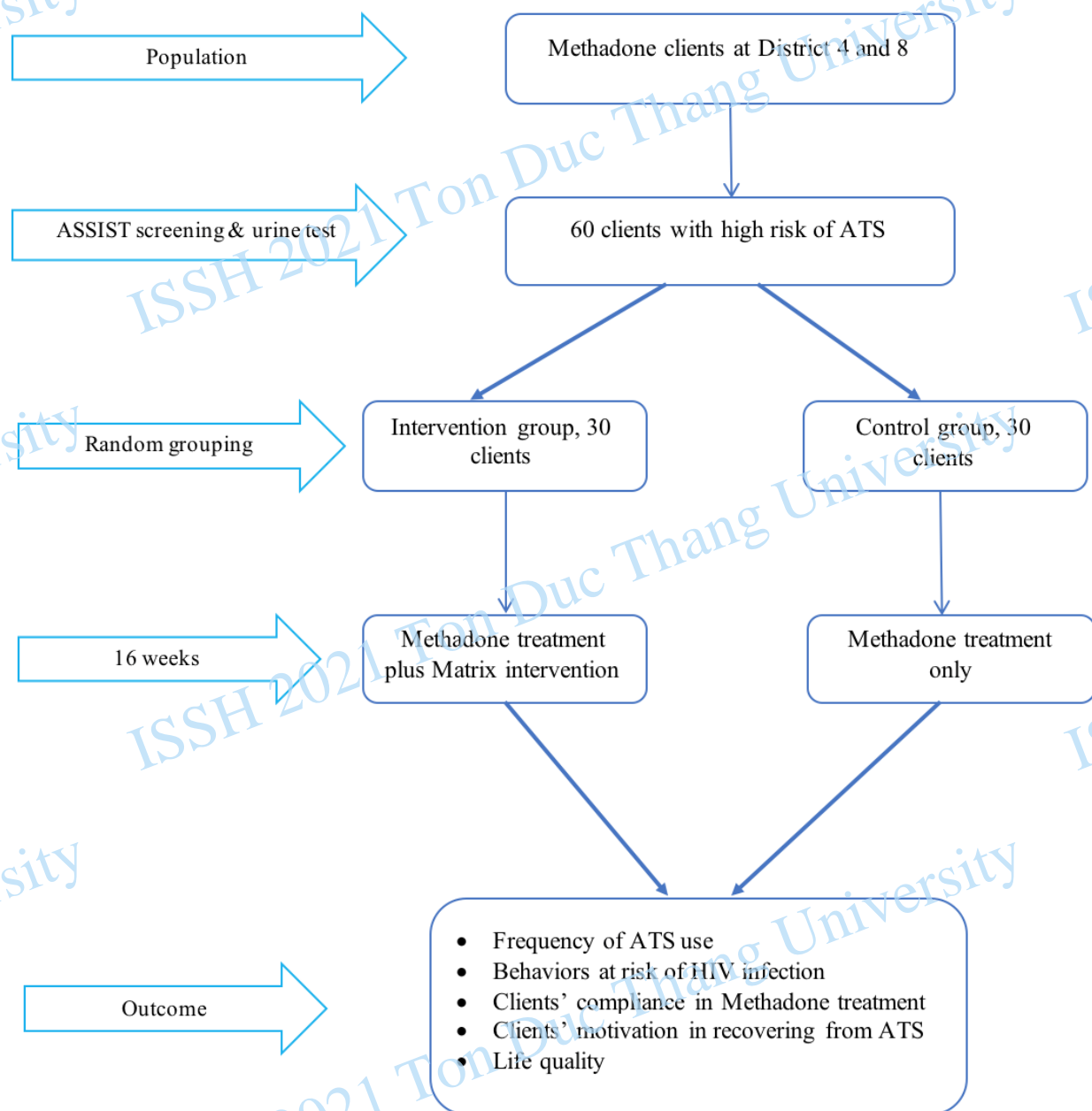
2. Method

The research applied randomized controlled trial to test if Matrix model is effective in supporting ATS clients using methadone to recover. First, methadone clients at District 4 and 8 of Ho Chi Minh city were invited for screening for ATS (using ASSIST instrument) and HIV. Those 18-year-old and over has high risk or positive to ATS were invited to participate in the study. The clients' participation was based on informed consent and voluntary basis.

The study used following instruments for screening:

- ASSIST (Alcohol, Smoking, and Substance Involvement Screening test): a brief screening instrument developed by WHO specialists to identify clients using one or more dangerous and addictive stimulants. This instrument classifies substance users into three categories: low risk or no use of substance, high risk of substance abuse, and substance addiction.
- Quality-of-life scale (EQ-5D-5L): a short instrument composed of 5 items rated on 5-point Likert scale. This instrument was first translated into Vietnamese by Tran et al. (2012) and then popularly used on Methadone clients and HIV-infected people in Vietnam.
- DASS-21: the shortened 21-item version of Depression, Anxiety and Stress Scale which originally consists of 42 items to screen for the three common mental health issues.
- SOCRATES-8D (the Stages of Change readiness and Treatment Eagerness Scale): to screen the motivation of Methadone clients on three aspects: awareness, attitude and behavior.

From the whole population of Methadone clients at two Methadone treatment centers in district 4 and district 8 in Ho Chi Minh city, the study selected 60 clients and randomly divided into two groups, each has 30 participants. The selection process is as follows:



When the 16-week Matrix intervention ended, the study kept observing all participants for one more month, and did urine test for ATS 3 months after the intervention.

We use paired sample t-test to examine the difference between intervention group and control group before intervention, when the intervention ended, and 1-month and 3-month follow-up. The comparison was conducted on four aspects: (1) Behaviors at risk of HIV infection (substance injection, having unprotected sex); (2) Methadone treatment compliance; (3) mental health (using DASS-21 inventory); and (4) satisfactory relationship with family; other social relations, and staff at Methadone treatment centers (quality of life questionnaire).

3. Findings

3.1. Comparison between intervention and control group before intervention

Paired sample t-test shows that the intervention and control group are no difference in age, gender, marital status, employment, ATS usage, ARV treatment, behaviors at risk of HIV infection. In addition, participants of both groups show no difference in their awareness of the harmful effect of using ATS, attitude towards treatment and actions taken to recover from ATS addiction.

3.2. Pre-treatment and post-treatment comparison

Every week participants of both groups were asked to take urine test for substance abuse. The test was conducted randomly without forewarning, using 4-panel drug test. At the beginning of intervention, 100% participants were positive for Meth. The proportion of intervention group positive for Morphine was 36.7%, MDMA 20%, Marijuana 30%; whereas the proportion of control group positive for Morphine was 43.3%, MDMA 20%, Marijuana 30%. After 16-week of Methadone treatment, both groups decreased remarkably in substance abuse. However, the intervention group showed a much lower rate of positive result for substances abuse than the control group, especially for Meth. If 95.8% of control group was positive for Meth, this rate was only 11.1% for intervention group. The following figure shows how the rate of both groups' participants positive for Meth during the 16 weeks of Methadone treatment.

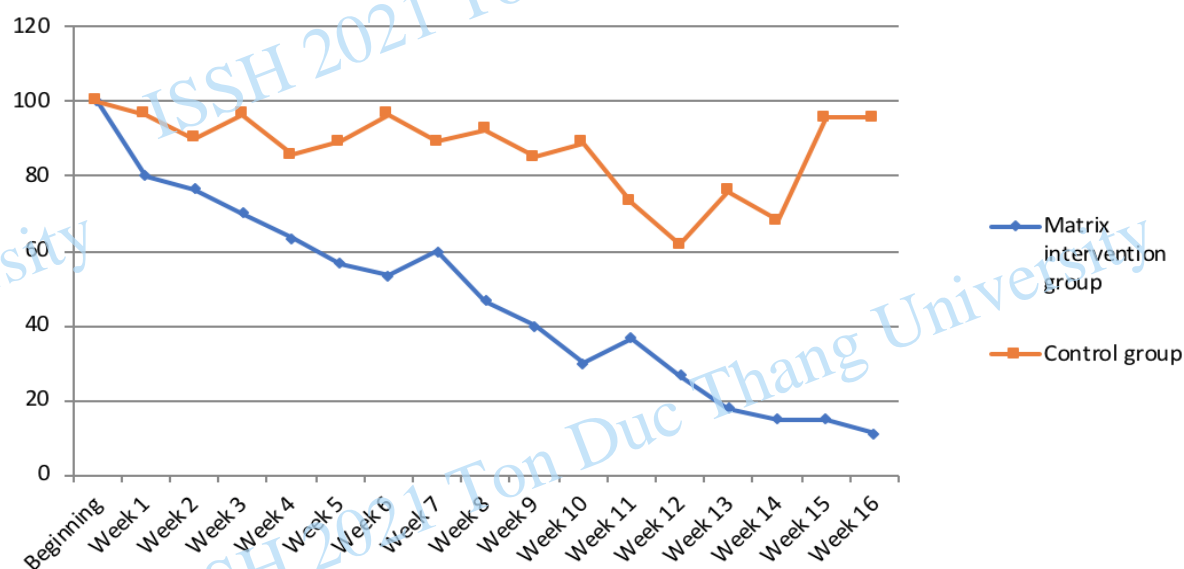


Fig. 1 The rate of clients positive for Meth by week during treatment

In addition, paired sample t-test shows that clients having Matrix intervention increase safe sex behaviors after 16-week intervention, as shown in Figure 2, and the difference before and after intervention is statistically significant ($p=0.025$), whereas no difference was found among control group ($p=0.147$).

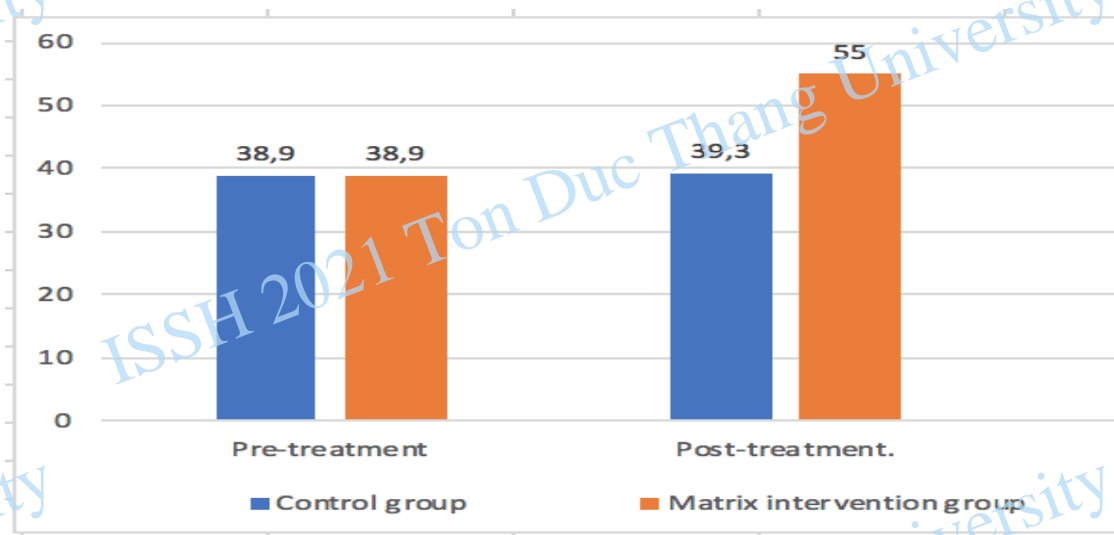


Fig. 2 Rate of clients having safe sex behavior

Assessment also showed that both groups experienced better life quality. However, the difference in life quality scores of intervention group ($p=0.037$) is more remarkable than that of control group ($p=0.263$) after 16-week of Methadone treatment, as presented in Figure 3.

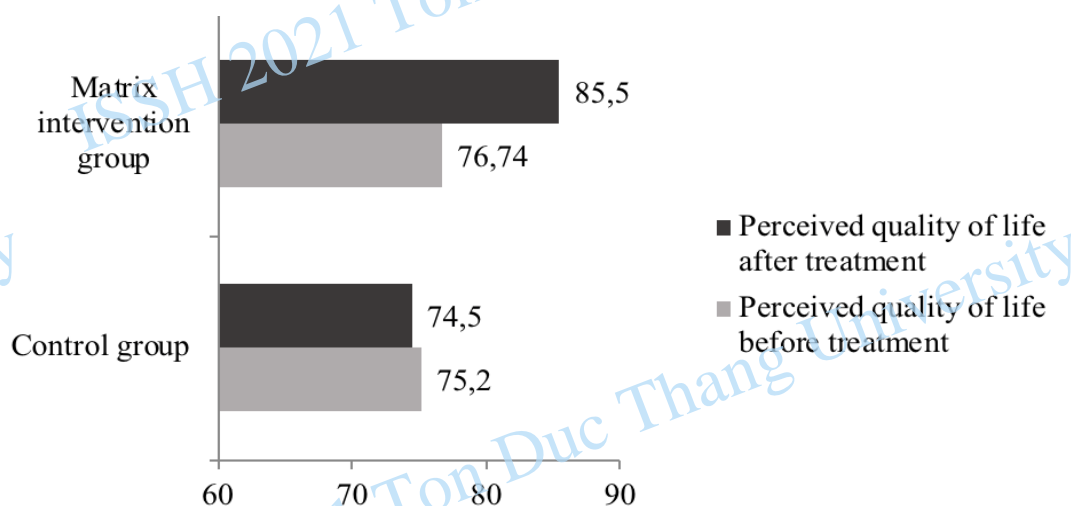


Fig. 3 The life quality scores after 16-week Methadone treatment

Assessment using DASS-21 instrument also shows that depression, anxiety and stress scores of Matrix intervention group significantly decreased (depression score: 43.3 vs 18.5; anxiety score: 30 vs. 11.1; stress score: 76.7 vs. 29.6).

Importantly, this study documents that Matrix intervention did increase Methadone clients' motivation to treatment in all aspects namely awareness, action and attitude, and the change in intervention group is much greater than control group. The difference was found most obvious in action index. Whereas 100% of Matrix intervention group reported they had started some actions towards recovery from substance abuse, and urine test showed that 96.3% of them stopped use Meth, whereas that rates among control group were 70.8% and 33.3%.

Treatment compliance was documented as being impressively increased among Matrix intervention group during 16 weeks of intervention, and the pre-treatment and post-treatment change is much greater than among control group.

3.3. Follow-up comparison

Follow-up assessment one month later after the end of 16-week intervention showed that 88.9% of Matrix intervention clients were negative of Meth, whereas this rate among control group was 4.2. After 3 months, this rate decreased among intervention group while slightly increased among control group. However, the rate of clients negative of Meth among intervention was still higher than among control group (63.0% and 12.5%, respectively). This happens similarly with other types of ATS use. Test showed that the rate of clients positive for heroin increased in both groups (intervention group increased from 11.1% to 22.2%, control group increased from 37.5% to 45.8%). Rate of clients positive of Marijuana also increased (intervention group increased from 7.4% to 18.5%, control group increased from 37.5% to 45.8%). The differences between two groups were statistically significant in both week 20 and week 28.

4. Discussion

This study shows that combining Matrix intervention with Methadone treatment increases the possibility of recovery from ATS, especially Meth. Methadone clients who received Matrix intervention showed an impressively positive change in their behavior, mental health and social life. The rate of clients negative of ATS strongly decreased after 16 weeks of intervention, while a high rate showed significant improvement in mental health and quality of life. The improvement that intervention group experienced was much higher than control group, and the difference was statistically significant.

Besides, treatment compliance among Matrix intervention group was found much better than among control group. In addition, the rate of clients completed the program among intervention group was 100% whereas it was only 80% among control group. This suggests that Matrix model is very powerful in keeping Methadone clients engaged with treatment program.

In the context that there is no FDA-approved medication for ATS addiction and Meth in particular, and clinical observations document that Meth abuse is exceptionally dangerous and may result in lethal damage of brain and the functioning of other body's systems (UNODC 2009), this finding contributively asserts the significance of Matrix model in ATS addiction treatment.

The model was developed by integrating different theoretical frameworks and evidence-based techniques such as cognitive-behavioral therapy and motivational interview. However, we argue that the core principle that makes this model exceptionally successful is that it addresses the 'social' part of human beings. The program was constructed with a close work between therapist and clients, the peer reciprocal support, and the involvement of family. This model creates change in not only Methadone clients but also their family. It provides scientific information for both clients and their family so they can understand the process of detoxification, cravings, relapse and so on. Hence, the family can be more empathetic with clients' response during treatment and able to provide suitable support for them to overcome cravings. Besides, the model also help improve social skills for MET patients so that they can maintain employment and family life, which strengthens not only the perceived self-esteem of MET patients but also their social integration.

It should be noted that this is not the first nor the only one confirms the effectiveness of Matrix model in addiction treatment. Studies of Matrix intervention in different countries also proved its preeminence (NIDA., 2019, Gouse et al., 2015, Rawson et al., 1995). In addition, we believe that this model is especially suitable for Vietnam because it is less costly for clients than existing intensive inpatient programs but at least equally effective. Besides, in a society highly value family like Vietnam, this approach is likely to promote sustainable recovery thanks to

the engagement of clients' family. With understanding and care, family can provide necessary support for them in their daily life, increase their perceived of the quality of life and hence motivate them during the recovery process.

The study also suggests the need for standardizing and editing Matrix manuals so that they are more compatible with Vietnamese cultural context, so this model can be widely applied in the near future. Besides, Rehabilitation centers may consider recruiting social workers or psychologists and train them to use Matrix for treating addiction. Substance addiction and Matrix intervention may also be taught in undergraduate programs for social work, psychology and sociology students to improve the workforce able to use Matrix to support addiction treatment.

5. Limitation and Recommendation for Future Research

A notable limitation of our study is that we were able to conduct only short-term follow-up assessments, which was one-month and three-month reassessment after the end of program. Therefore, this study is unable to assess the sustainability of clients' recovery from ATS. Besides, whereas the design of this study, which is randomized controlled trial, is powerful to assess the impact of Matrix intervention on Methadone clients, the design did not allow an insightful discovery of the mechanism based on which Matrix become such effective. We suggest that future research may conduct a longitudinal study to observe how sustainable the recovery of Methadone clients may be thanks to Matrix.

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STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION OF COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM MODEL ON SON ISLET, CAN THO, VIETNAM

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Abstract: Community-based tourism (CBT) is considered as a sustainable tourism development model which supposedly helps diversify local livelihoods, improve the local economic situation, preserve traditional cultural values and protect the environment. However, in this study, the author points out the fact that CBT is unlikely to be an ideal sustainable model for the community on Son Islet (Can Tho, Vietnam). In reality, there is a constant process of restructuring the CBT model expressed in the coexistence of different local tourism organizations. Ethnographic fieldwork from 2017 to 2020 records the transformation of CBT at the village from time to time whose driving forces are the absence of group agreements and commitments. The author argues that to ensure the success of CBT, it is essential to establish a social contract (John Locke) among stakeholders and their representative organization which is autonomous, accountable, and transparent.

Keywords: CBT, rural tourism, Son Islet, structural transformation, Vietnam.

Introduction

Since CBT appeared in the mid-1990s (Kwangseh 2014, p.25), it has become a topic of interest to researchers from the fields of anthropology, sociology, tourism, economics... CBT is not the only way to help residents reduce poverty, but it is an effective alternative to improve the rural economy (Murphy 1988; Beeton 2006; Hamzah & Khalifah, 2008; Zapata et al., 2011; Sutresna et al., 2019). Besides the works that positively see CBT, several works have also found possible failures when implementing this type of tourism. Firstly, CBT creates conflicts of interest in the community and between the community and investors (Jigang and Jiuxia, 2007; Weaver 2010). CBT increases distrust among members, leading to a gradual loosening of collective commitments (Bulilan 2014, p.33). Second, CBT leads to community restructuring due to a lack of empowerment of people and heavy dependence on administration and stakeholders outside the community (Tosun 2000; Goodwin & Santilli 2009; Stone 2015; Blackstock 2005).

The previous works mainly use functional theory to analyze the value, role, and impact of CBT on the community. The limitation of the above works is still seeing the community as an identical block and as a passive object. However, in this study, we found that the community is flexible, they are divided into many small groups linked together based on the similarity of needs and benefits.

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Social Contract

In *The Second Treatise of Government* (1689), Locke revolves around three focuses, the three main factors influencing the formation and existence of a civil government. Those are ownership, agreement, and trust.

For Locke, labor creates ownership which is one of the premises for people to choose to give up freedom in nature to form a community together. Specifically, the way people use and consume items creates the intention of opening extensive possession (Locke 1689, sec. 49). Therefore, civil society was born to preserve the property of all members of society (Locke 1689, sec.88). The content of Locke's ownership can be summarized in Fig.1.

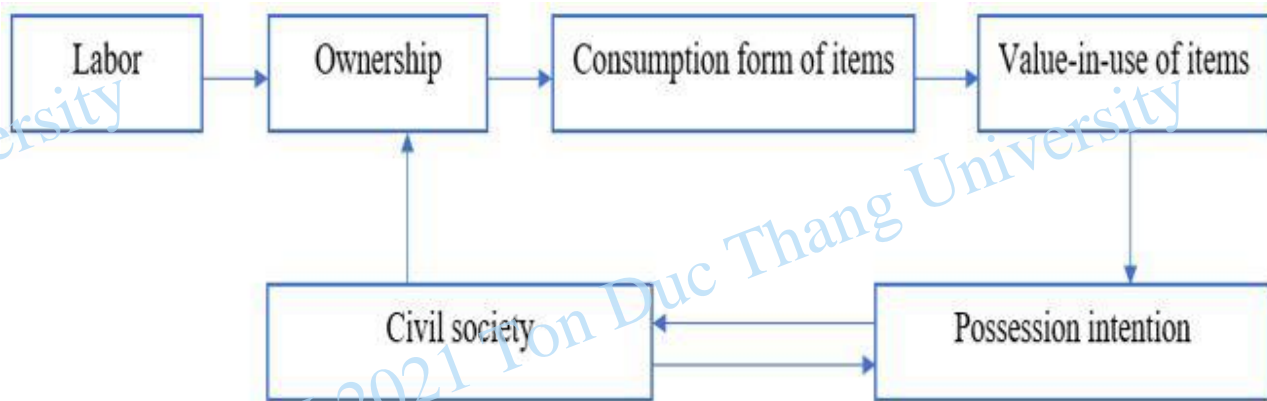


Fig.1: Diagram of the content of "Ownership" in John Locke's Social Contract theory (Source: Author)

Locke also claimed that a community or a political institution is built upon the consent of a large number of people. This agreement is based on acquaintance, friendship, wisdom and honesty of the chosen leader, trust, etc. Locke argued that any commitment or promise in the community must be made and followed. Locke's view of agreement is systematized in Fig.2.

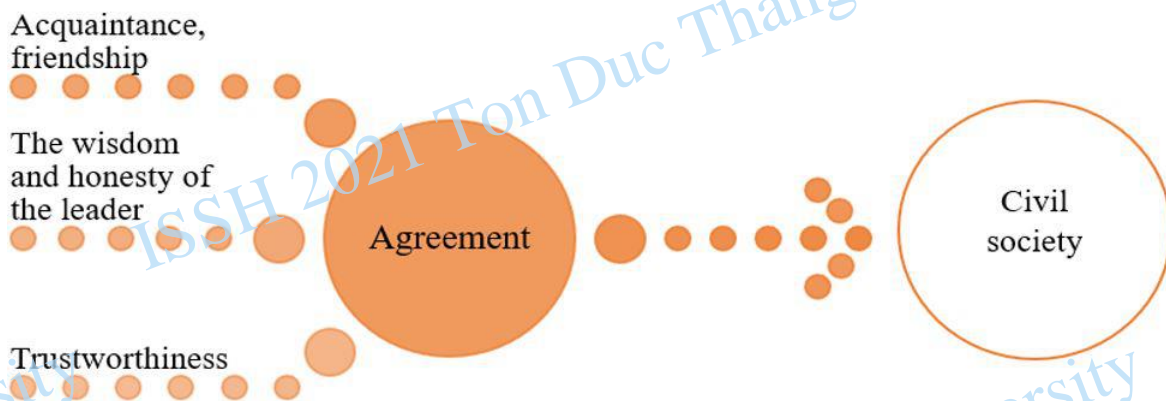


Fig.2: Diagram of the content of "Agreement" in John Locke's Social Contract theory (Source: Author)

The third criterion in Locke's work is trust. Trust affects the existence or dissolution of a political organization. Trust is the first element to entrust and empower the representative. However, whenever the community preservation is neglected, that mandate would be necessarily stripped away, and it passes into the hands of the community (Locke 1689, sec. 149). The content of Locke's trust can be summarized in Fig.3.

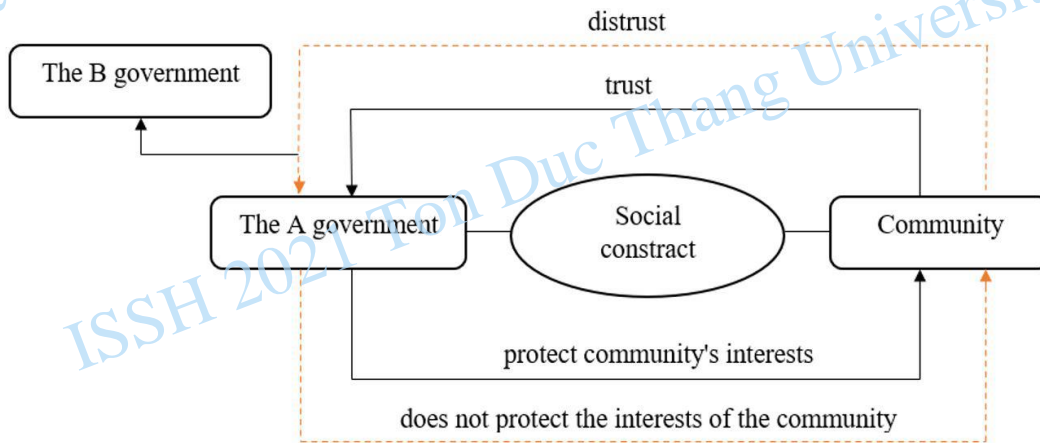


Fig.3: Diagram of the content of "trust" in John Locke's Social Contract theory (Source: Author)

Standing on Locke's theory, we considered CBT as a unit made up of social contracts. We analyzed the determinants of how the CBT model is operated and developed in Son Islet in this study.

The Study

Fieldsite

Son Islet has a total area of about 67 hectares, is an islet located in the middle of the Hau river; it is located about 8km from the center of Can Tho city (see Fig. 4). On Son Islet, there are 19 households serving tourism (see Tab.1). Our six main research sites are number 06, 09, 10, 11, 17, 18. These households were chosen because they represented the types of tourist services being served in Son Islet (see Tab.1). The second reason, the selected households belong to three groups: (1) the ones engaged in group-based tourism (number 09,11), (2) the ones with relatives working in the government (number 06, 10), and (3) the ones in freelance tourism (number 17,18). The third reason, these are the most chosen households by tourists according to our survey in Son Islet.



Fig.4: Son Islet tourist guide map (Source: Department of Culture and Information of Binh Thuy District, translated by author)

Community

Son Islet community actively made a list of dishes based on the available strengths, and they formed a chain in the supply of products and services. Households connected to jointly create a diverse menu based on the principle of 'one dish per house'.

In this study, we focus on the interviewees belonging to tourist households and local authorities. Members of households were selected according to the criteria of their job position: garden owner, supporter (cooking assistant/repairer/singer), and tour guide. Some interviewees will have two or more criteria, for example, he/she is both an owner and a supporter.

Research

The fieldwork process is divided into two phases, with the milestone being the time when the local community-based tourism model changed in May 2017. Thus, the first phase is from January 2017 to May 2017, the second phase is from June 2017 to November 2018.

In the first phase, we went in two small batches. Our first field trip was in January 2017, when Son Islet was crowded and appeared in the mass media. During this time, we were enthusiastically guided by Mr. Nguyen Van Thanh, a member of the Son Islet Tourism Cooperation Group, to visit each house, introduce the food and forte of each household. The second field trip was in May 2017, after the Cooperative Group was dissolved. At this time, people agree not to accept new tourists, only deal with previously signed contracts.

In the second phase, we split it into three small batches. In February 2018, we worked together with the citizens, the purpose of this trip is to participate in the tourism process of the locals since the establishment of the other club replacing the old Cooperation Group, the new one called Intergenerational Club. We conducted semi-structured interviews through conversations with nine households belonging to The Club and three tour guides in Son Islet. Households separated from the Cooperation Group were not selected for this interview. In March 2018, we asked the locals about the advent of the new ferry terminal. This trip aims to dig deeper to find out the reactions of the people when the new ferry terminal appeared. In November 2018, we went back to the islet in order to contact a group of households with family members working in the government (three households) and the group of individual tourism households (three households).

Analysis

First, we identified and segmented existing data groups at the study site. There are three prominent data here: (1) the advent of the Green Tourism Executive Board, (2) the disbandment of the Son Islet Community Tourism Cooperation Group and the Green Tourism Executive Board, (3) the formation of the Intergenerational Club. Three data is encrypted on Microsoft Words according to the characters BDH (Executive Board), TR (disbandment), and LTH (Intergenerational). During de-tape, these characters are added after each relevant data. Then, the data will be grouped into a file to link information.

The evidence is presented in the form of verbatim citations of the interviewees' statements. To ensure research ethics and confidentiality, the names of the interviewees were changed and re-encoded.

CBT on Son Islet

Transformation

The Son Islet CBT model has undergone two organizational changes. The Executive Board of phase 2 is added to the Cooperative Group of phase 1 and the Intergenerational Club - Tourism Village - Independent Households in phase 3 to replace the Executive Board and Cooperative Group of phase 2. The conversion process is shown in Fig.5.

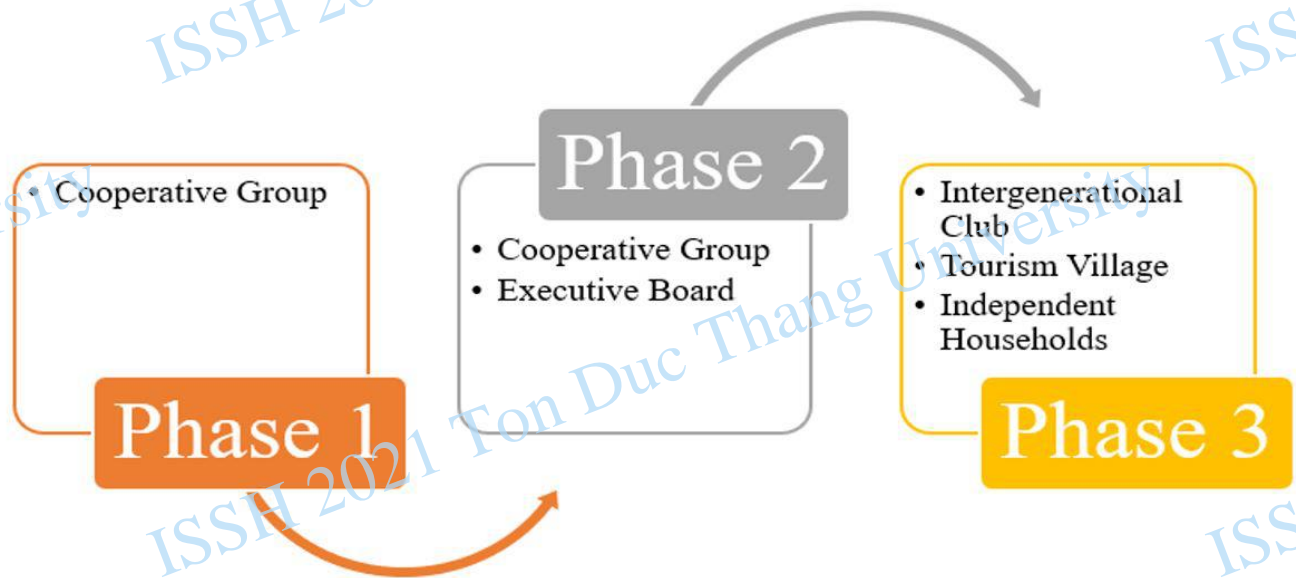


Fig.5: The transformation of Son Islet CBT model (Source: Author)

Phase 1

In 2015, Ms. Hai (an officer of the Department of Culture and Information of Binh Thuy District) and Ms. Ba (an officer of Bui HUU Nghia Ward) made a plan to make a food film on Son Islet. Then the idea of each house specializing in a dish was formed and applied to create a model of CBT in Son Islet. However, there were some conflicts between Ms. Ba and members of the tourism community. They discovered that Ms. Ba showed tourists a price higher than the price offered by the households. After the problem, people no longer trust this officer. In August 2016, people chose Mr. Nguyen Van Thanh, who was a tour guide on Son Islet, in the position of coordinator (instead of Ms. Ba's position). On September 8, 2016, the People's Committee of Bui HUU Nghia Ward recognized the 'Son Islet Community Tourism Cooperation Group' (referred to as the Cooperation Group). The process of organizing and serving tourism services of the Cooperative Group is shown in Fig. 6. The relationship between stakeholders in the process of forming Son Islet CBT is summarized in Fig.7.

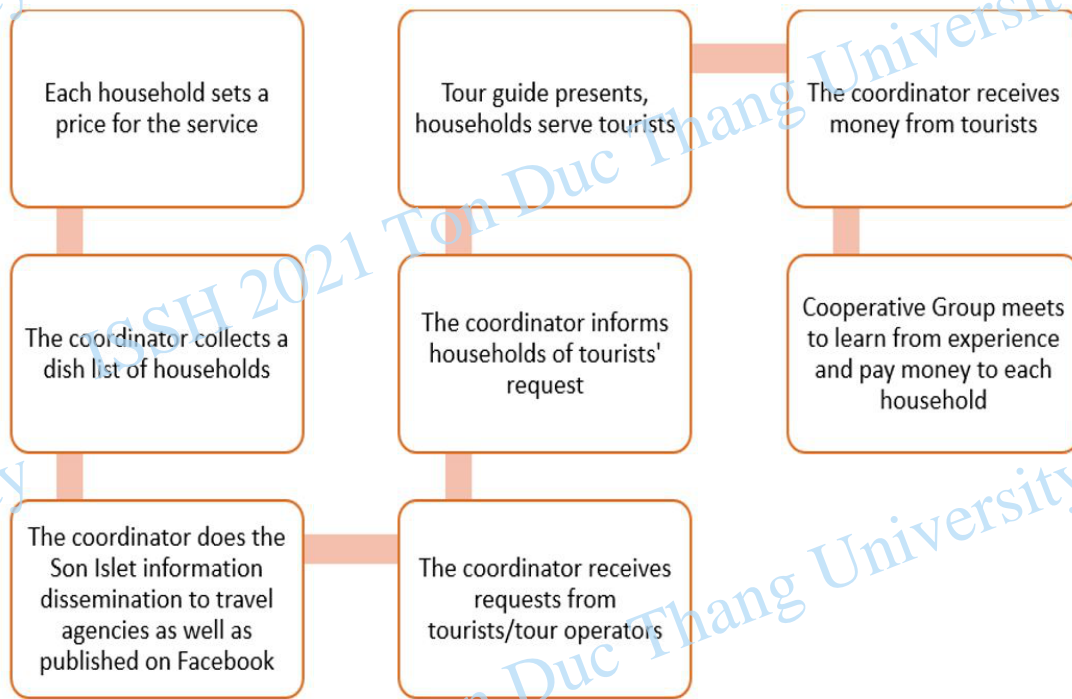


Fig.6: The procedure of CbT activities of the Cooperative Group (Source: Author)

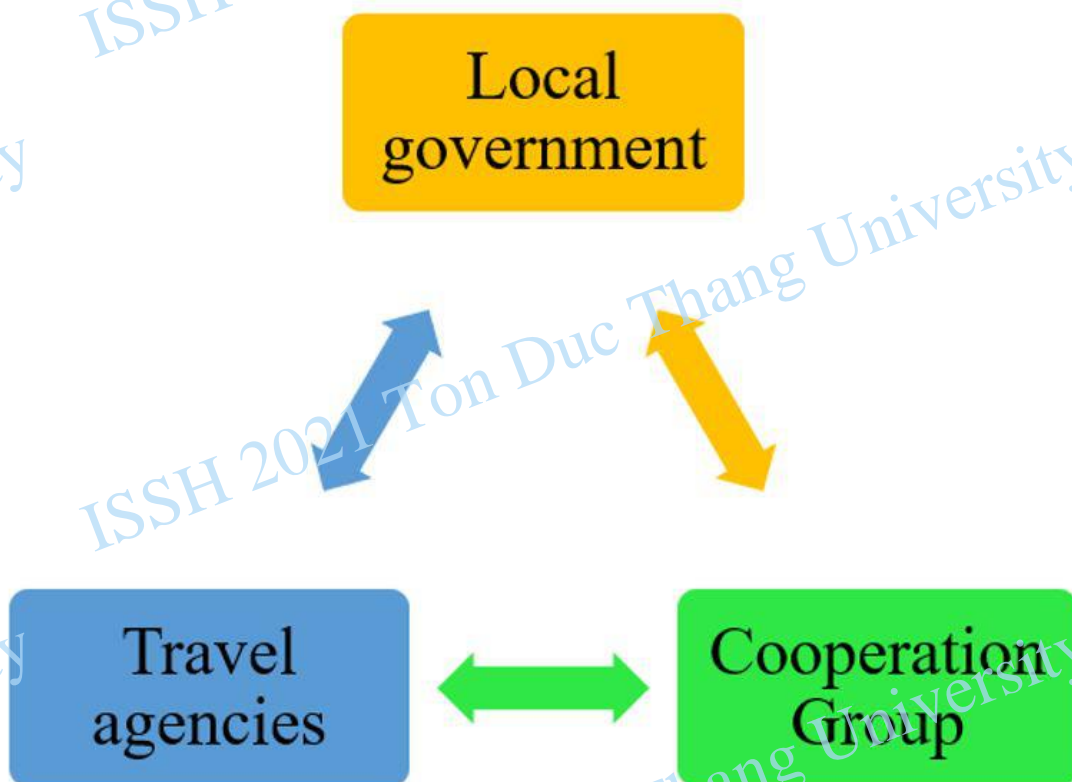


Fig.7: Diagram of stakeholder relationship in phase 1 (Source: Author)

This is the period of prosperous development of the CBT model in Son Islet. The results are shown in many aspects such as the growth of the number of participants/households, number of visitors, revenue. In which, the biggest achievement in this period is the connection between the stakeholders.

Phase 2

After eight months of operation, the local government established the 'Green Tourism Executive Board' (referred to as the Executive Board). At this stage, the stakeholders are divided into three main groups: (1) local government, (2) Executive Board, and (3) Cooperative Group. In group (3), they are divided into two smaller branches: group (3a) people with relatives in the government and group (3b) people without relatives in government. The relationship between stakeholders in the second phase is shown in Fig.8.

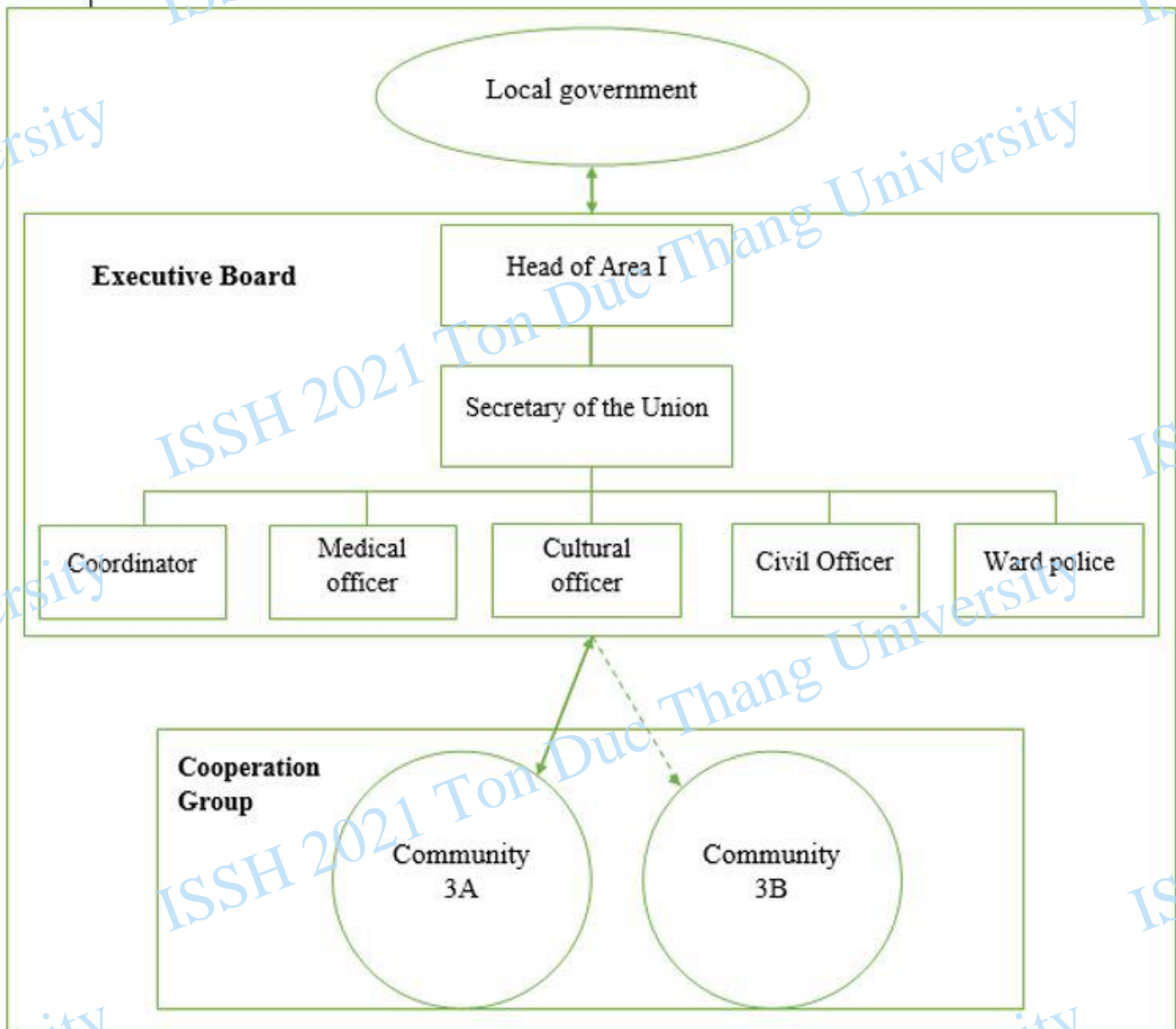


Fig.8: Diagram of stakeholder relationship in phase 2 (Source: Author)

Members (3a) thought that the coordinator (Mr.Thanh) distributed the tourists unevenly that led to group (3a) having less income than group (3b). Besides, those in (3b) did not comply with the request to report the income of each household to the Head of the Executive Board. Thus, the structure of Son Islet CBT is separated into two factions: the Executive Board with the group (3a) and the group (3b). The two factions do not support each other in the implementation of tourism. To settle the matter, on May 23, 2017, leaders of Binh Thuy district

directed the dissolution of both the Executive Board and the Cooperation Group. Households start making tourist activities freely.

Phase 3

After the Cooperative Group was dissolved, nine households in group (3b) still wanted to maintain tourist activities, so they established the 'Intergenerational Club.' Households with relatives working in government have worked together under the name 'Son Islet Tourist Village'. This is a non-fixed group, members just cooperate when tourists chose them. Besides, some households from the old Cooperative Group model do not want to become a member of any group, so they do business independently (see Fig.9).

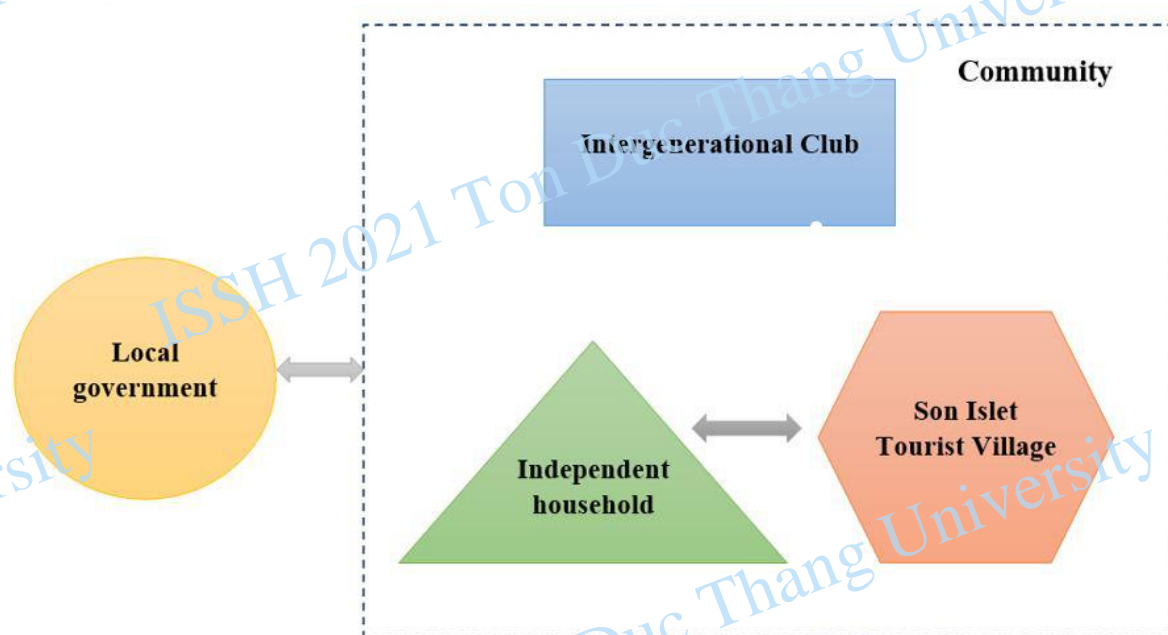


Fig.9: Diagram of stakeholder relationship in phase 3 (Source: Author)

In short, Son Islet CBT model has a transformation from an initial simple organizational structure to a model with more parties. The fact shows that each organization is replaced or supplemented with a new one, proving that the Son Islet CBT model does not stand still, but always moves to find a new form that will be the most rational organization and have the most effective operation.

Driving forces of CBT transformation

Professionalism in management

From the perspective of the government, the Cooperative Group revealed limitations due to a lack of experience in tourism management. The Group had members are at the same level and the Group did not have a leader. The Group paid much attention to product design, and service delivery, but ignored the formation of mechanisms for participation and regulation of relationships. During its operation, there were some conflicts but there was not any person to

resolve and connect the factions. Besides, the Group assigned many important tasks to Mr. Thanh, from promoting, contacting companies, distributing visitors to households. Therefore, the Executive Board would like to check and monitor the transparency of Mr. Thanh's work, limit doubts among households.

Ownership

In terms of ownership, phase 1 is the period of property creation related to tourism, phase 2 is the process of tourism expropriation, and phase 3 is when tourism ownership of the community is restored.

The Group was born with the aim of creating more livelihoods and generating more income for people. The CBT model helped people have the right of ownership to products and services from available resources and strengths. They had revenue, conditions to preserve and promote the homeland, the opportunity to learn, improve qualifications, skills,... However, when labor makes a difference in the income, it is also the time when doubts appear. This is the premise for forming possessive intentions. With 6/7 members who are government employees, the Board has transformed the community from the position of owners of the CBT model into subjects to be managed and received requests from local authorities.

The ward self-identified that this model was established by the ward, they named the model "Green Tourism Executive Board" to affirm that it **belonged to the local government**, so that they can intervene more and more deeply. (Mr. Cong - tour guide on the Son Islet, 29 years old, interviewed on March 29, 2018, translated and emphasized by the author)

In order to combat that possession, the community established its own tourism organization to define and preserve its ownership. Members of the Intergenerational Club have the right to be able to participate in all activities, contribute their ideas to programs and supervise aspects related to tourism.

Cooperation

In fact, the Executive Board cannot promote its role and functions, unable to coordinate activities with all households. People (3b) did not acknowledge the existence of the Board.

The Board asked group (3b) to present a labor contract between the community and Mr. Thanh, while the community (3b) valued trust and sincerity over paperwork. The Board of Management then removed Mr. Thanh from the Board, which affected the labor relationship established between the community and Mr. Thanh. The community sought to protect the coordinator as a way to protect the community's rights.

The people did not accept the Board because the people have never been consulted by the local government about the forming of its. In addition, the members of the Board are also not chosen by the people. Therefore, the people did not put their trust in this organization. This was the reason why people resolutely protected Mr. Thanh, refuse to hand over the books, income and expenditure reports, and would like to deny the Board's existence through stopping implementing CBT.

Agreement

The Intergenerational Club was formed by the consensus and approval of free people who are similar in their intention to continue to do tourism together.

There was a meeting (June 19, 2017) and a few smaller meetings... Those who want to continue, "**go**" together. Everyone agrees to do it. (Mrs. Nam - household owner, 46 years old, personal exchange, February 11, 2018, translated and emphasized by the author)

Consensus is also expressed through the selection of a new representative of the community.

Now we work with Mrs. Bay [...] In general, she is enthusiastic, from the case of Ms. Ba, then to the case of Thanh, then to the story of Ms. Be ... She always stood up and campaigned for justice. The difference here is in **the heart**, I am not talking about academic standards. (Ms. Minh - customer service support, 44 years old, interviewed on 29/3/2018, translated and emphasized by the author)

This new organization and the community have a commitment that is reflected in the club's bylaws. It defines responsibilities, roles and limits of power of leaders and members. With this regulation, the new CBT organization has ensured voluntariness, democracy, and consensus among its members.

To sum up, all three factors of ownership, agreement and trust have a close connection with each other and simultaneously affect the development of CBT in Son Islet. If ownership is not guaranteed by agreements, trust cannot be formed to entrust another stakeholder. In contrast, when ownership is preserved through agreement, trust is maintained for the next step of cooperation.

Conclusion

The community itself is such a complex block, so in the process of cooperation, it is necessary to build clear contracts. When planning, commitments on ownership, interests, and roles between the stakeholders were determined, so the relationship would not have been broken. Thus, CBT would like to work well, the contract must be formed and satisfy all three elements of ownership, agreement and trust. It is essential for a network inside the organization to connect tightly and the tourism model will be supported by all stakeholders.

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Appendix

Tab.1: Services on Son Islet

No.	Member	Service
1	Co Bac ferry terminal	Transportation
2	Huu Tinh Homestay	Homestay
3	Thanh Dat Garden house	Longan, pan cake
4	Ngoc Phat Garden house	Longan, rambutan, pomelo
5	Thanh Tam Garden house	Guava, scoop drain to catch fish, homestay
6	Co Ba Garden house	Pomelo, dragon fruit, scoop drain to catch fish, food service
7	Co Ut Garden house	Food service
8	Sau Cung Garden house	Star apple
9	Cong Minh Garden house	Longan, folk cake
10	Sau Canh Garden house	Longan, food service, folk cake
11	Song Khanh Garden house	Rambutan, food service, folk cake
12	Quoc Thinh Garden house	Rambutan, food service
13	Sau Ho Garden house	Custard apple, food service
14	Phuong My Garden house	Pomelo, food service
15	Chi Nhan Garden house	Food service
16	Chin Nho Garden house	Food service
17	Tin Hoa Garden house	Flying snakehead
18	Bay Bon Fish raft	Visiting fish raft
19	Chi Tiep Fish raft	Visiting fish raft

(Source: Department of Culture and Information of Binh Thuy District, translated by author)

THE INTERTWINED SPACES OF CULTURAL PRACTICE: THE CASE OF CING/GONG CULTURE OF LACH PEOPLE IN LAC DUONG DISTRICT, LAM DONG PROVINCE, VIETNAM

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Abstract: Inscribed as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in 2008, space of gong culture of multiple ethnic groups in the Central Highlands of Vietnam was documented and placed under the conservation mechanism as a static and homogenous social reality. In fact, cultural space in general and space of gong practice in specific of every ethnic group have constantly been shifted as the peoples underwent tremendous socio-cultural, political and economic transformations resulting from colonialism and post-war nation-state construction process. Insights into the socio-economic and cultural activities of the Lach in Lam Dong province (Vietnam) from my ethnographic research from 2017 to 2020 reveal the fact that there are intertwined *spaces* of gong practice in the community. The multi-spatial landscape of gong practice ranges from the vibrant tourist space at *gong cultural exchange clubs* organized by local players to the religious space of gong culture restoration activities managed by the cultural department at the local parish church of Langbiang which are juxtapositional and inclusive to one another and eventually embedded into the people's everyday living space. This paper argues that the space of cultural practice of an ethnic community is heterogeneous and transformative when the people make, voluntarily or forcefully, anew their lived socio-economic landscape to be who they truly are at a particular moment of time.

Keywords: Space of gong culture, cultural space, ethnic tourism, the Lach, Vietnam.

Introduction

My initial research among Lach community in Lac Duong town, Lam Dong province, Vietnam started with my participation in a project entitled 'Establishment of associated mechanisms for conservation of landscape biodiversity and cultural space in Lang Biang Biosphere Reserve, Vietnam,' headed by Southern Institute of Ecology (Vietnam Academy of Science and Technology) in 2016. One of the objectives of the project was documenting characteristics of cultural space of ethnic peoples in the region for the sake of the space's conservation in close relationship with biodiversity. Noticeably, in 2005, UNESCO inscribed gong musical practice of various ethnic people in the Central Highlands of Vietnam as a world heritage under the title of gong cultural space, which was considered as one of the crucial elements constituting the cultural identity of local ethnic groups as a whole and thus recorded as being imperative for conservative strategies and actions. Within the context of this 'heritagization' as Salemink puts it (Salemink 2013, 2016, 2020), I conducted an ethnographic research project[†] to explore further insights into the dynamics of socio-economic and cultural life of the Lach from 2016 to 2018. Utilizing the Lefebvrian space concept (Lefebvre 1992), the research observes that as the people take more active parts in national and international integration process, their

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sociocultural and economic spaces constantly and simultaneously get expanded, adjusted and re-created. Exploring local gong clubs of the Lach in Lac Duong town and the culture department at the parish church of Langbiang as newly invented spaces (Crouch 2000; Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Lanfant 1995; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998) where gong music is documented, revised, performed and trained, this paper argues that gong cultural spaces of the Lach are far from static, fixed and homogenous. Rather, they are dynamic, inclusive, empowering, heterogeneous, and in the process of continuous meaning making as the result of the people utilizing their agency in creating initiatives and mechanisms to reinvent their social spaces to practice their culture and make sense of their life.

ICH inscription and the homogeneity of gong cultural space in the Central Highlands of Vietnam

In UNESCO's heritage profile of gong cultural space of seventeen ethnic communities in the Central Highlands of Vietnam, officially proclaimed on November 15, 2005 and inscribed in 2008, gong music is recognized as a ritual music which is closely related to life cycle, harvest cycle, rites of passage and community's belief system. It is considered as creating a transcendent language to connect the human sphere and that of the supernatural. Depending on the context and content of the rituals that there is or is not a combination of gongs with other musical instruments and/or dance; however, gongs are always present and serve as indispensable parts of the events*.

However, with the recognition, which Salemink calls heritagization (Salemink 2013, 2016, 2020) UNESCO redefines the practice of local communities as something of the past and needs protection (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998) and establishes a homogenous heritage space for gong practice of various ethnic communities in the region and thus diminishes the heterogeneity of space (Edensor, 1998) as well as the ongoing process of space construction of local communities. Rather than being 'given', space and place are 'made, imagined, contested and enforced' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992, p.17-18). Moreover, in UNESCO's heritage profile, the music encompassingly and homogeneously refers to gongs; however, for each ethnic group, gongs differ in terms of musical instruments, songs and the context of gong playing. Gong music in the extended region refers to two distinct types of musical instruments, *Mông* and *Cing* in K'ho language (*công* and *chiêng* - in Vietnamese, respectively) with different playing techniques. It is the practice of *cing* beating in their conventional spaces and newly invented tourist and religious spaces of the Lach community in Lac Duong town that my research is to explore in order to conceptualize the dynamics of the local people's space construction and spatial practice in the contemporary world.

The study

In order to learn about the dynamics of gong cultural spaces of the Lach community, I conducted an ethnographic fieldwork research intermittently from 2016 to March 2018 in Lac Duong town, Lam Dong province with the assistance of five graduate students of the department of anthropology (USSH-HCMVNU). Moreover, in 2019 and 2020, I guided my undergraduate and graduate students to do field research in the community for their courses on ethnicity and sustainable development, each lasting for 3 or 4 days during which I revisited and

* See here <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/space-of-gong-culture-00120>

attended gong performances for tourists at some local gong clubs.

During the course of our research, we participated in gong performances for tourists at local gongs clubs and attended rituals at the local church where *cing* music was played*. We made unstructured in-depth interviews with local government officials in charge of socio-cultural and economic issues, heads of local gong clubs, members of 'cultural department' (*phòng văn hoá*) organized by the parish church of Langbiang Church, *cing* players in the community, members of the local gong clubs who are gong players, dancers and modern musicians, and children who were taking *cing* training course at the church. We also conversed with local people, both the Lach and other ethnic groups, as well as some foreigners who were living at the town about their experience with and perception of gong culture. For tourists, we took participatory observation and open-ended dialogues as our approaches to this mobile group of informants to get to their motivation, experience, and reflection of Lach culture in general and gong culture in particular during their visits to the community.

All in all, we interviewed heads of 4 gong clubs (out of 8 active clubs at the time of the research) in 2016 and in 2018, together with 6 gong beaters at the clubs. We made oral history interviews with 3 elders who were most knowledgeable about and competent in *cing* practice in the community. They were born in the late 1940s and early 1950s and considered as the last generation who grew up learning how to beat *cing* day by day and were the most excellent beaters alive by 2018. During the time we conducted our research, they were actively teaching *cing* for children at the local church and for in-practice players at local gong clubs. Their interviews, taken place at their residence, were never lacking their beating *cing* as demonstrations of how to play some given songs, storytelling of community events now and then and some ended in '*cing*-exhibition-show' style, like they always said, for *cing* music, *listening is learning*.

The Lach in Lac Duong town

Lac Duong town, the township of Lac Duong district, Lam Dong province, is stretching over a wide area of 7013 hectare of forest and agricultural land. The population of the town in 2017 counted 1283 households with 52% (5526 people) of K'ho Cil and K'ho Lach living collectively in 3 *bons* (village) – Bon Dung I, II and Dang Gia out of 12 administrative residential units of the town (Lac Duong District People's Committee 2017).

The K'ho Lach (self-called as Lach) is a subgroup of the K'ho, a matrilineal ethnic group belonging to Austronesian ethno-linguistic communities (Nguyen 2001, p.41; Schrock 1966, p. 391; and Hoang Cam 2014). Previously, the Lach possessed no writing system therefore when the French and then American missionaries came, they taught K'ho people how to write down their spoken language in Latin (Nguyen Van Huy 2001, p.43; Schrock 1966, p.391). Currently, courses on K'ho writing are still offered for K'ho people by some of the knowledgeable elders in the .

The Lach were traditionally agriculturists growing rice along the streams and rivers as well as herding water buffalo over their surrounding forests, hills and slopes. Since Economic Renovation in Vietnam was taken place in the late 1980s, Lac Duong district as a neighboring town of Dalat - one of the most famous tourism centers in Vietnam - has attracted an increasing number of visitors which opened up a new market for the Lach's traditional weaving products

* In this paper, *gongs* or *gong music* is used as it normally appears in Vietnamese (*cồng chiêng*) or in English (*gongs*) in official documents and as the way local people talk about the music performance at spaces for tourists while *cing* as utilized as it is referred by the locals at conventional and religious spaces.

and local produces such as mushroom, wild vegetables, young bamboo shoots, wild orchids and so on. Noticeably, the economic transition has been tremendous when the people completely turned away from rice cultivation to growing cash crops such as vegetables, cutting flowers and coffee. And with the newly recognized status of heritage by UNESCO in 2005, several gong cultural exchange clubs were opened as a new attraction of Da Lat destination for mass tourist consumption.

In the socio-cultural sphere, there was also a crucial transformation when the Lach converted to Catholicism and Protestantism under the French and then the American missionary work (Schrock 1966). In the past, the Lach were animists and worshiped a system of deities and gods reigning over the mountainous areas, including *jang dâl* (the mountain god), *jang lâi* (the forest god), and *jang liêng* (the river god). Annually, a variety of rituals used to be collectively organized to pray for their blessings on agricultural cycle, personal rites of passage and community festivities. During the rituals, offerings of special foods and rice wine were made in accompaniment of gong music performance and buffalo's leathered drum beating together with songs and dance (Nguyen Van Huy 2001, p.43-44). Currently, the people have turned to worship Jesus Christ and practiced rites and rituals ascribed by the church. 88.3% of Lach people in Lac Duong are Catholics and 11.7% are Protestants according to the statistics of the town government. Lach Catholics go to the parish church of Langbiang in Bon Dung I.

With these economic, sociocultural and religious transformations over the last century, remarkable changes in the people's social and cultural practice among which is *cing* practice entailed. New spaces for *cing* have opened or been (re)invented, as the result of newly established social organizations in the community, namely gong cultural exchange clubs and the cultural department at the parish church of Langbiang which dynamically (re)shapes *cing* culture of the Lach.

Cing culture of the Lach

'Gongs' of the Lach are sets of six flat *cing*s (Photo 1), which are 'beaten' - as the people say it - simultaneously led by the one named *Mother cing*.



Photo 1 - Sets of *cing* at Ben's residence, December 22, 2016*

'The *Mother cing* starts it first. Then comes the youngest [the sixth] to match with her and make a resonance of hers. The second must listen to the first [the *Mother cing*] and the sixth and adjust the tone of his *cing* and join into the rhythm. The fourth is the last to join. All must listen and follow the *Mother cing* and one another. If one slows down the beat, others should accordingly do the same. All must listen to one other' (Kwok, interview on October 5, 2016)†.

Cing music of the Lach has no written records. It is transmitted and absorbed simultaneously at its performance which leads to the fact that there are not many recognizable and beatable *cing* songs now in practice. Learning to beat *cing* is really difficult and requires a lot of effort and time. One must learn to listen to *cing* and understand their sounds and tones in order to learn how to beat properly and rhythmically. Because one song is played at the same time by all six *cing*s, one has to learn to beat six different *cing*s for each song. As a result, it would take years of learning, practicing and beating to master just one song. It is a long process of embodiment that each *cing* beater must do in the very environment of and during the time *cing* being played. For each *cing* beater, listening to *cing* is an act of embodied learning and beating *cing* is learned embodiment. Practicing *cing* is performing and thus the only mechanism of learning *cing* is by physically beating *cing*. The more one beats *cing*, the more perfect and knowledgeable embodied *cing*-beating agent she or he becomes. More importantly, the condition for that process of embodiment is that it must consistently take place in accompaniment of others as a group of six *cing* beaters. Thus, *cing* music is always collective and cooperative when the cultural practice comes to life. Therefore, it requires social spaces for *cing* to be performed and thus wherever *cing* music is played, a social space is visually represented and emerged. *Cing* music of the Lach creates their own spaces - endless and heterogenous based on the functions they may entail for those who beat them.

Ethnic tourism, gong clubs and tourist space of gong culture in Lach community

Kra Jǎn Hei, born 1941 and the current elder of Bon Dung I, recalled that he started to receive guests as early as 1991. His daughter at that time was an undergraduate student at Ho Chi Minh City University of Education. Her English instructor once took his Western friends to visit Dalat so she invited them to come over to her house in Lac Duong town and spend a night with her family. They were so amazed at her family's traditional Lach house and fascinated with Hei's demonstration of their culture in fluent French that the teacher later kept guiding many more groups of foreign visitors to his house under the form of homestay. Hei thus gradually and 'naturally' became the representative of his Lach culture, showing his guests their *bon*, traditional houses, local food and drinks and entertaining them with gong music (as his guests called it) and dance performance (photo 2). It required 6 beaters to perform the music thus he called for collaboration from other fellow villagers who were capable of beating *cing* and dancing (Kra Jǎn Hei, interview on December 24, 2016). By 2002, there were 8 similar local self-organized gong groups to perform for tourists at the residence of the group leaders in Lac Duong town.

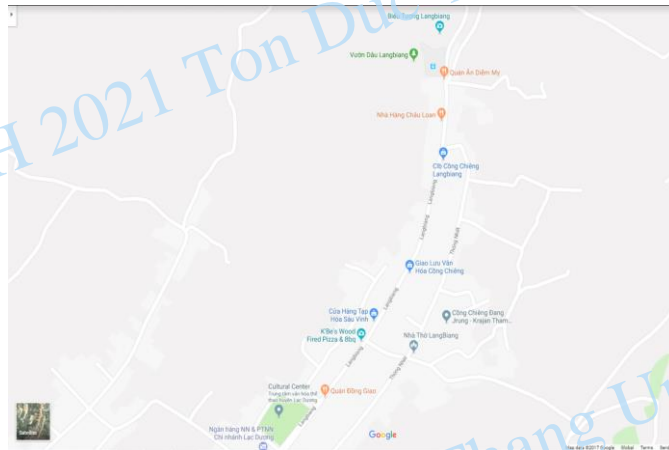
* All photos in this paper are courtesy of the author.

† Names of informants are pseudo to protect their identity.



Photo 2 - Hosting tourist space at Kra Ján Hei's residence, on December 24, 2018

After UNESCO's recognition in 2005, the music was thus turned into an object of protection and reservation as well as a symbolic resource to be explored in the heritage industry (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Salemin, 2013, 2016, 2020). Accordingly, an appropriate administration mechanism for standardizing gong cultural practice and rules on the performance of gongs for tourists were officially released at both provincial and local levels. On December 16, 2008, Lac Duong district released the document numbered 562/VHTTDL about the procedures for evaluation and official approval for eleven previously self-organized gong groups of Lach people in Bon Dung I, II and Dang Gia communes. Gong groups were officially named **Gong cultural exchange clubs (Câu lạc bộ giao lưu văn hoá công chiêng)**. By March 2018, ten clubs were still running business providing gong shows for tourists and some marked their existence on Google map (see map 1 and map 2 as in 2021).



Map 1 - Gong cultural exchange clubs at Lac Duong town on Google map in 2017



Map 2 - Gong cultural exchange clubs at Lac Duong town on Google map in 2021, access on November 7, 2021*

As approved by the government, one show lasts 90 minutes with gong performance, traditional dance, modern Vietnamese music, guests' experiment with Lach musical instruments and finally tasting ethnic food and wine. Shows are offered to groups of tourists, normally organized by tourist companies, at the fee of VND 50000 (approximately \$2.3) per visitor. The payment is to cover expenses for food, wine, wage for club members and other costs. During the time of our research, except for one club which had shows everyday, the other nine clubs performed irregularly, normally only over the weekend.

Clubs are opened at the club owners' houses, serving as an attraction of Lach material culture and traditional lifestyle. The houses are spacious enough to host from some tens to 500 guests with high corrugated metal roofs, cemented square ground with benches for the audience to sit down and enjoy the show, facing a center stage with a mural backdrop of forest and mountains. On the walls hang rattan baskets, farming tools, traditional clothing and so on. On the right side of the stage there stands a totem pole of the Lach carved with ethnic symbols (see photo 3, 4).



* <https://www.google.com/maps/search/thi+trần+lac+duong+công+chiêng/@12.0181628,108.4202905,16z>, access on November 7, 2021

Photo 3 - Gong cultural exchange space at Đàng Jrung club, on December 23, 2016



Photo 4 - Gong performance at the beginning of the show at K'Druynh club, on March 3, 2018

Typically, one club is composed of 15 to 20 people to perform a show of 90 minutes. Because the show is usually at night, club members mostly have their day jobs, be it farming, weaving or schooling. Owners of the clubs, all in their 60s and 70s (except for one who was born in 1981), are typically considered as knowledgeable and most competent of *cing* in the community who establish gong bands (*đội cồng chiêng*) of six beaters including himself, beside 10 young dancers. Some beaters may be already good at *cing* but most of them are in the process of learning. The youngest club owner (born 1981) recalled that he joined his brother-in-law's group - one of the first groups established in the village - when he was a teenager. 'I learned a lot about running the club and beating *cing* working with him. He was really good at *cing*. And other older guys in his group were too. But then they grew older so they quit' (Kra Jăn K'Dranhs, interview on March 3, 2018). In 2003 at the age of 22, he opened his own group with young members like him.

Many members in the current ten gong clubs were born in the 1990s and participated in the clubs in their teenage years as helpers/dancers for their own families' business or at their neighbors' request. Time went by and they gradually became competent at beating some *cing* songs. Typically, the clubs perform 3 songs, *Ror đạ*, *Bà Ndon*, and *Pép Tor Jun* which are considered by the beaters as joyful, energetic and traditionally played to welcome guests for social events such as weddings, birthdays for elders, New Year celebration and new crop celebrations and so on. Da Gout Kroal (born 1994) joined one club when he was 18 years old and now after 6 years, he has mastered just two songs *Ror đạ* and *Pép Tor Jun*. He self-evaluates that his beating *cing* is not as good as other elders in the community and that while performing for tourists he is learning from other members in his club who play longer and better than him. He enjoys beating gongs for tourists because he gradually 'senses the beauty of *cing*.'

'When I now know how to beat *cing*, I feel like I understand the music and then I think, God, it is so so good. Yet I have to learn more. I am learning from beating [*gong - đánh cồng chiêng*] for tourists at my club, from listening to *cing* at the church rituals, and from elders beating at funerals and events in my village' (Da Gout Kroal, interview on March 4, 2013).

For beaters like Kroal, gong cultural exchange clubs are sociocultural and economic spaces

where they embody and perfect their *cing* then present it under the umbrella name of gong cultural space heritage to tourists while for club owners, beside economic incentives, the spaces also serve as a nurturing venue, both entrepreneurship, ethnic awareness, and cultural identity, for their younger generations.

The department of culture at parish church of Langbiang and the ritualizing and standardizing space of *cing* music

In 2011, the parish church of Langbiang organized the department of culture with the mission of restoration Lach's traditional culture*. The department is run by a group of 5 local 'craftsmen' of *cing* and Lach culture knowledgeable elders to take charge of writing down in K'ho language oral folklore of the Lach, to collect the people' cultural artifacts and exhibit them in the cultural museum within the church (see photo 5). For *cing* practice, the department conducts two missions, e.g, documenting *cing* songs and revitalizing *cing* practice.



Photo 5 - Sets of *Cing* and *Mông* in the cultural museum at Langbiang Church, December 22, 2016

Documenting gong songs

The project was initially triggered by the fact that there were not many *cing* songs beaten in the community.

'In the past we had over 30 *cing* songs. Then gradually just half of them were beaten for family's events. Now only 10 or so left in practice. Because we transmitted them orally and didn't document them. Thus we are losing our *cing* songs. Now we only have some popular songs such as *Ror đạ*, *Bà Ndon*, *Pép Tor Jun*, *Wa kuang*, *Bon Jớ*, *Dâu*, *Tộc*, *Nhứt* and so on' (Kra Jăn Mi, interview on March 4, 2018).

The project is to digitalize the *cing* performance by as many elders as possible. It is still ongoing but people in charge repeatedly told us that they were really concerned about the fact that only a few elders alive in the community were able to beat the 13 *cing* songs which have been recorded. This is closely related to the second project the church has organized in an attempt

* See further here http://www.cgvdv.vn/cong-giao-viet-nam/net-an-tuong-noi-ho-dao-langbiang_a6272

to revitalize and transmit the 'passion for *cing*' to the younger generations.

Revitalizing cing practice

Cing beating competition

In their initial effort to revitalize *cing* practice within the community, the department organized a *cing* beating competition among Lach parishioners in the 8 sub-parishes under the church in 2011. Each zone gathered their *cing* group (*đội chiêng* as they call it in Vietnamese) of 6 beaters and then competed over their ability to beat fewer songs and the perfect matching of their group. Three most excellent groups were then honorably assigned to take charge of beating *cing* for rites at the church while the rest would be encouraged to further practice to improve their capacity. As a result, currently there are 8 *cing* groups in the parish, taking their turn to perform *cing* for rites and rituals in this religious space (Me Bla interview on March 4, 2018) (see photo 6, 7).

Since the competition members of these groups have filled this religious space with their music and reinvented ritual space of *cing* tangibly and vibrantly for the whole community.



Photo 6 - *Cing* performance at the midnight rite on Christmas at Langbiang Church, December 24, 2016



Photo 7 - *Cing* performance leading ritual procession on morning rite at Langbiang Church, March 4, 2018

Summer cing training courses for children

'When adult *cing* groups became stabilized and active in church services, we then turned to our children because they are our real future,' shared Me Bla Bon, one 'official' in the department (interview on March 4, 2018).

In the summer 2011, *cing* classes were opened for Lach children from 10 to 15 years of age in the parish who were at the same time taking Catholic doctrine classes. Courses were instructed by most competent elders in the community and devoted members of the adult *cing* groups. The church purchased several sets of *cing* for the children to practice. Each class included two groups of 6 children and in the first year, 3 classes of 36 children in total registered to take *cing* training. During the 3 months of summer, they were taught only 3 songs: *Ror đă*, *Pép Tor Jun*, and *Bà Nđon*. At the end of the summer, a competition amongst the groups was organized and the two most excellent groups were then assigned to take charge of performing *cing* for rites at the church, raising the number of active *cing* groups in the parish to 10.

It wouldn't be easy to learn to beat gongs in just 3 months therefore the kids have been encouraged to continue to retake the class in the following summer. Upon mastering all 6 *cing* for the 3 songs, they would then be trained on other songs. Since 2011, summer *cing* courses have continued to offer training for Lach children, some of whom I talked to in 2017. The girls in their 13 said that they would join the gong cultural exchange club if they had a chance. They wanted to practice *cing* more and the clubs are places they can do that.

Conclusion

There are clear oppositional opinions amongst the people themselves over the reasons for changes in their traditional cultural practice, including *cing* culture. Some elders who are now in their 70s and 80s identify religious conversion as a driving force of the transformation in their beliefs, rites and rituals which directly alters the original meaning of *cing* practice. Ritual spaces for *cing* to some extent disappeared and left the music residing only in the collective memory of the people. Yet those who were born post-1960s consider economic change during the 1990s as the sole catalyst for the disappearance of *cing* practice in their community. Cash crops growing leads to less cooperation and uncommon harvest calendars within the community, the conditions for collective celebrations which were a norm in the past. Consequently, social spaces for *cing* to be beaten were shrunk to just family's events such as funerals, weddings, birthdays for elders, and the like as it is still observable nowadays.

However, as a matter of fact, with the recognition of UNESCO, *cing* of the Lach acquired new status. A process of heritagization has been implemented by the government at different levels, including the local church. Heritagizing actions of the church have created a room for the music to regain its life while at the same time, religious space of *cing* has been reinvented with new forms and meanings. Moreover, 'cultural and heritage places and spaces, like time, are always 'in the making' through the meaning constructing and participatory activities that occur within them, generating a variety of personal, heritage and identity relationships including sense of ownership or emotional attachment, empowerment, value, and feeling' (Crouch, 2000, p. 65) and thus *cing* draw tourists to the community, resulting in the local self-expansion of social spaces to include these outsiders to represent their 'gong' culture. The distinguishable terms they use when referring to the type of music they perform at different spaces reveal the heterogeneity of spaces of and for gong/*cing*. Moving back and forth among the heterogeneous spaces which their *cing* serve as an essential component, they reveal their sense of ownership of the music: when it is a shared heritage, it is played in an all-inclusive space of tourism under the name of gongs while in their ethnic religious spaces, it is just *cing* which is alive and on its prolonged way to make home in the community's heart and mind.

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VIRTUAL TOURISM – A NEW KIND OF TOURISM: A LITERATURE REVIEW

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Abstract: Recent technological developments have contributed to the tourism sector's breakthrough in product and service provision. Among these technological advances, virtual reality is a potential tool for tourism development when fulfilling tourists' needs in the digital transformation era and confronting risks. Applying virtual reality in tourism or virtual tourism has received significant attention from research communities. However, the terms of virtual tourism are still new on the agenda of research, invoking different perceptions and approaches. This study analyzed previous research on virtual tourism and provides a narrative overview of the documents. The general objective of the research is to provide a basic understanding of virtual tourism by reviewing and analyzing prior relevant research on virtual tourism published on a wide range of sources. This paper tried to construct a systematic classification of some commonly highlighted points of view in virtual tourism. The results indicate this new kind of tourism should receive ongoing research attention, with popular notions including concept, advantages, applications and disadvantages, relationship with physical tourism, experiences and attitudes of tourists, and research methods. A future research agenda and some controversial points of virtual tourism are also mentioned in this research. The key findings of this study contribute to a thorough understanding of virtual tourism, as a new and considerable kind of tourism.

Keywords: literature review, virtual reality (VR), virtual tourism, new kind of tourism.

Introduction

Recently, the fast growth of technologies has led to fundamental impacts on socio-economic fields, including the tourism sector (Beck J. et al, 2019). The tourism sector is developing faster with the applications of technology, thus, creating a catalyst of innovation in the tourism market and products (Januszewska, Jaremen, & Nawrocka 2015; Buhalis & O'Connor 2005, cited in Khatri 2019).

Among technologies with the potential to make substantial changes to the tourism industry, virtual reality (VR) technology has been one of the most significant (Guttentag 2010; Beck et al., 2019; Nguyen & Tran 2020). Moreover, VR is also a significant prevalent topic in contemporary technology development by its increasing application in several sectors (Kim & Hall 2019), including tourism (Huang, Backman, Backman, & Chang 2015; Tussyadiah, Wang, Jung, & tom Dieck 2018). The entire value of the tourism economy-related VR will increase to \$200 billion in 2027 (World Economic Forum report 2017, cited in Kim & Hall 2019) and VR application in the tourism sector will develop new virtual tourism products and services.

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Virtual tourism (VT) could be understood as playing and enjoying, experiencing and travelling while exploring information with the support of VR devices. Such devices may create pictures, 3D 360-degree videos, drone videos, holographic images, and several tourism-related activities (Kim & Hall 2019). There have already been numerous applications of VR in the tourism sector: planning, management, marketing and PR, entertainment, education, tourism resources preservation, accessibility (Guttentag 2010; Yung & Khoo-Lattimore 2019). Rapidly noted by VT's important role, position, and advantages in tourism activities, it gradually becomes an alternative type of tourism and complements smart tourism in the future (Guttentag 2010; Mura et al., 2016).

Scholars have been interested in the VR applications in the tourism industry since the 1990s (Cheong 1995; Hobson and Williams 1995). Discussions representing diverse positions regarding VR in the tourism sector have animated tourism research for 30 years (Tussyadiah, Wang, Jung & tom Dieck 2018). The prospect of VT promotes questioning whether such VR applications could be considered a kind of tourism product, for example, Hobson and Williams (1995) asked, 'Is it entertainment when you can experience traveling around the Himalayas from the privacy of your living room – or is it tourism?' (Hobson and Williams 1995; Guttentag 2010).

Recently, an increasing number of papers on this topic offer abundant and varied notions, especially where some of these points are contrary because definitions of 'virtual' terminologies are numerous and often inconsistent (Mura et al., 2016). Reviewing and comparing ongoing topics on VT research is necessary for contemporary tourism development. This study analyzes previous VT research and provides a narrative overview of these discussions. The general goal of the research is to supply a thorough review of VT studies from a wide range of sources. The paper tries to construct a systematic classification of some commonly highlighted notions in VT. The results indicate this new kind of tourism received considerable attention among scholars, with some popular notions gaining significance, including concepts, advantages, applications and disadvantages, relationship with physical tourism, experiences and the attitudes of tourists, and research methods.

In the following sections, this research explores in each part how certain terms regarding VT can be elaborated and lead to further discussion and conclusions, with some suggestions for future research provided in the final part.

Method

This study employs a general approach to review VT in literature (i.e., VR applications in the tourism sector). Primary literature was obtained by searching some popular online databases: Elsevier, WOS (Web of Science), SpringerLink, Google Scholar. To achieve a comprehensive review, several keywords were used, including virtual reality, virtual reality tourism, virtual tourism, virtual reality application, virtual reality in hospitalities, and cyber tourism.

First, there were about 290 papers (research articles, books, chapters) found. Then, 95 papers were selected to read after being checked with some inclusion criteria including relevance and non-overlap. After reading, a total of 50 published papers were determined to be relevant and were included in the review. Finally, this study presented common aspects of VT in these final selected papers including (1) concept, (2) advantages, application, and disadvantages, (3) relationship with physical tourism, (4) experiences and attitudes of tourists, and (5) research methods.

Virtual Tourism Concept

The term Virtual Reality (VR) was used for the first time in the 19th century, and it was related to the theater and its illusions, but during the years this term changed, through a digital transformation (Zappia 2017). The concept of VR is a notable already for its discrepancies as its numerous definitions vary when describing features more or less necessary for creating VR experiences (Guttentag 2010). One generally accepted definition of VR references the 3D environment generated by computers (i.e., virtual environments [VE]) where users can navigate and possibly interact with this VE (Guttentag 2010; Ryan, Yung & Khoo-Lattimore 2019). Additionally, the notion of VR is also used to present users' need to escape from their present world for enjoyable experiences anywhere and involving any activities whatsoever (Ijsselsteijn and Riva 2003; Desai et al., 2014). In agreement with some of the aforementioned scholars, Hobson & Williams (1995) indicate that VR is a tool generated by computers, giving users the feeling of being transported from a physical world to a virtual image.

Recently, many tourism papers on VT fail to capture the VT concept and definition (Alyahya & McLean 2021) because definitions of virtual notions are numerous and various (Mura et al., 2016). Besides, up to now, scholars have continually been discussing concepts of VT: debating whether it is a new kind of tourism product or only refers to tourism-related kinds of experience, applying VR (Hobson and Williams 1995; Guttentag 2010; Beck, Rainoldi & Egger 2019; Alyahya & McLean 2021). Therefore, the VT concept remains unclear and inconsistent among tourism research communities.

Generally, several researchers try to define VT as a VR application in tourism, they indicate that VT should be understood as traveling in VE with the support of VR systems. VR in tourism is defined as the provision of synthetic or 360° real life for the functions of enabling virtual tourists' experiences, stimulating their visual sense and potentially additional other senses (Beck, Rainoldi, and Egger 2019). In a line with this point, Stanley (2017) define VR tourism as a kind of tourism that can provide potential tourists with the chance to experience destinations, attractions, and special events from their home before deciding to visit in the future (cited in Kim, Lee & Jung 2018). Besides, Bowman et al, (1997) refer to VT as the control of user viewpoint motion within a VE. Despite using the term VT, these definitions show that VT is not considered as a tourism product, just the movement in a VE, so future research should study alternative terms of VR applications in tourism and contribute established definitions (Beck, Rainoldi & Egger 2019).

Mura, P., et al (2016) suggest a broader concept of VT, which contemplates the presence of alternative realities where tourists can travel without body's movements. In line with this concept, VT can be understood as an alternative form of tourism products that does not require physical movement and enhance the travel experience (William, Hobson 1995; Sussmann, Vanhegan 2000; Guttentag 2010; Slater and Sanchez-Vives 2016 cited in Beck et al. 2019). Similarly, VT can be considered as a new kind of tourism or a way to improve tourism experiences (Musil and Pigel 1994; Hobson and Williams 1995; Sussmann, Vanhegan 2000; Guttentag 2010; Slater and Sanchez-Vives 2016; Mura et al., 2017) rather than a precise travel substitute (Beck, Rainoldi & Egger 2019).

In short, this research compared several unlike attitudes about the concept of VT. Among these points of view, VT should be understood as an alternative form of travel without physical movement and experience enhancement. Following this concept gives the tourism sector a new potential kind of tourism and several useful applications in tourists and other stakeholders' behavior.

Advantages, Applications, and Disadvantages

Much research has pointed out the advantages, applications, and disadvantages of VT as a new kind of tourism or an application of VR on tourism. To broadly review these discussions, this research collected and compared these points of view. VT can enrich the visitor experience (Kim et al., 2020). However, VT cannot provide necessary and real experiences including food, health, community cultural activities, ... (Wagler & Michael 2018).

Advantages and applications

There have been many significant advantages of VT pointed out in tourism literature, some of which are lower costs (Tussyadiah, Wang & Jia 2017) no transportation limitation (Dewailly 1999), safer conditions, no problems with translation, no bureaucracy or visas, no weather consideration (Hobson & Williams 1995), an overall committed experience (Prideaux, 2015), accessibility to areas that are otherwise inaccessible to reach or do not exist anymore (Sussmann and Vanhegan, 2000; Egger, 2016), conservation of tourism resources, archaeological tourism (Jude & Chike, 2020; Nguyen & Tran 2020), and environmentally sustainable solution of traveling (Wiltshier and Clarke 2016).

Other specific benefits of VT are possibilities for physically disabled tourists to experience virtual tourism sites without body movements as well as sustainability and the preservation of tourism resources (Wagler & Michael, 2018). In the time of tourism crisis (e.g., pandemic context, war, political issues, ...), people might consider VT as an alternative for physical travel because they would prefer less risky experiences (Schiopu, Hornoiu, Padurean & Nica 2021).

With these advantages, VT can be applied with many functions in the tourism sector: trips planning, general management, marketing and PR, exchanging information, new ways for entertainment, education and training, accessibility to limited tourism sites or destinations preservation, either before, during or after trips (Huang, Backman, Backman, and Moore 2013; Beck, Rainoldi et al., 2018; Li and Chen 2019). VR has been recognized as potential to support the foundation and implementation of tourism policy and in the travel planning process (Guttentag 2010).

Furthermore, the application of VR has been growing rapidly at several tourism sites: hotel and museum experiences enhancement, destination branding development, and adventure activities, historical and cultural heritage sites (Aiyahya & McLean 2021). In the period of the Covid-19 pandemic, VT has proved itself as a possible alternative for physical tourism and this replacement would raise a potential perspective of VT in the future as a new kind of tourism (Kwok & Koh 2021; Lu, Xiao, et al., 2021).

Disadvantages

Smell and taste are found as two impossible senses of VR experiences, so tourists can not experience full enjoyment, which is the most limited site of VT. VT can partially satisfy visual, auditory, and sensory experiences, but cannot provide experiences in food, health, community cultural activities, ... (Wagler & Michael 2018). Despite limited research on smell and taste for VR (Washburn & Jones 2004), VR technology continues to evolve, so VR systems are not doubtful to improve their abilities to provide experience with all the five senses (Guttentag 2010).

Furthermore, VT might raise several challenges for the tourism sector: Many scholars have agreed that VR applications utilized for tourism resources preservation might have a much shorter life cycle than tangible presentations like books, photographs and quickly become outdated (Addison 2007; Cignoni and Scopigno 2008; Guttentag 2010). Additionally, VT could lead to risks for developing nations relying on the income created by the tourism

economy (Cheong, 1995) for tourists would pay lower if they do not need to travel physically to these countries.

Relationship between Virtual Tourism and Physical Tourism

In this part, this paper indicated some attitudes about the relationship between VT and physical tourism (i.e., traditional tourism with body movement from regular living-area to another destination). Generally, although the opportunities that VR gives the tourism sector are very extraordinary, several questions and challenges persist regarding VT's developing tendency in the tourism industry in the future (Guttentag 2010).

First, there has been a popular agreement that VT could be an important complementary tool to stimulate the need to travel and enhance experiences for visitors (Guttentag 2010; Huang 2012; Davide Zappia 2017; Beck, Rainoldi & Egger 2019; Alyahya & McLean 2021). There have already been numerous significant VR applications in the tourism sector, which enhances the vital roles of VT with physical tourism (Kim, Lee, & Jung 2018).

Second, VT should be considered as an alternative kind of tourism, supporting physical tourism. Some papers show this: Musil & Pigel 1994; Hobson and Williams, 1995; Sussmann and Vanhegan, 2000; Guttentag, 2010; Mura et al., 2017 (Beck, Rainoldi, & Egger 2019). However, VT should be considered as a tourism product only when tourists travel and mostly use VR applications on their trips (Guttentag, 2010).

Third, to some extent, the attitude that whether VT can substitute traditional tourism is the most controversial one. Despite many challenges to predicting how VT would substitute tourism in the future (Beck, Rainoldi & Egger 2019), there have been several scholars adamantly noting that VT can never become a substitute for tourism (Cheong 1995). There are some reasons used to explain this: Musil and Pigel maintain that VT can not provide tourists the feeling of existing in real destinations and the possibilities to see, hear, breathe, interact in a real environment as physical tourism.

Comparing these points of view, this paper showed that there is a popular agreement in the research community that VT could be an important complementary tool to support traditional tourism in some respects. Besides, there are also attitudes to allow VT to be considered as an alternative form of tourism, but it can not replace the traditional one.

Virtual Tourism: Experiences and Attitudes of Tourists

Research on tourists' attitude and experience toward information technology seems to be a growing phenomenon in the tourism and hospitality industry but is still quite limited (Xiang, Zheng et al., 2014) even a theoretically integrated cognitive and behavioral model has not yet been developed (Myung, Choong, Ki Leea, Michael 2020). Moreover, very few studies have addressed the perception and experience of tourists towards virtual reality tourism (Mura et al., 2017).

Reviewing much research, this paper witnessed very limited results in tourist attitude and experience. Guttentag (2010) indicated one of the most important points: A user's opinion of the authenticity of VR applications or their receptivity would be a determinant affecting his or her acceptance of these applications as a VR substitute. This result is in line with prior studies showing a positive relationship between users' technology perceptions and future usage tendency (Chung et al., 2015; Huang et al., 2013). Furthermore, the notion of presence (e.i., the psychological condition where a user realizes entirely immersed and the feels existed in a

computer-generated environment (Ijsselsteijn and Riva, 2003)), largely impacts on VT experiences acceptance (Alyahya, McLean, 2021).

Recent research on VT has gradually concentrated on tourist behavior including enjoyment of VR content and the selection of destinations captured in VR (Kim, Lee, & Jung, 2018). When consumers try VR applications in tourism, they expect to experience subjective well-being such as being satisfied, being happy, ... (Kim, Hall 2019). Additionally, to explain consumer perceptions such as beliefs, attitudes, and behavior in virtual travel communities, flow is a crucial antecedent (Gao, Bai & Park, 2017). Furthermore, VR could increase tourists' intention to experience real destinations in the future (Tussyadiah et al., 2017).

Besides, prior research (e.g., Devolder, Pynoo, Sijnave, Voet, & Duyck 2012) showed that tourists tend to have a different acceptance behavior of technology concerning their socio-demographics (e.g., age and gender) and psychographic characteristics (e.g., personality) (cited in Errichiello, Micera, Atzeni & Del Chiappa 2019). Significantly, scholars have recently noted that the younger the users, the more interested they are in VR experiences (Tussyadiah, Wang, Jia 2017).

Many papers have proved the relationship between acceptance of VR and optimistic influence on the travel decision-making procedure as well as positive attitudes towards the destinations (Griffin et al., 2017, Rainoldi et al., 2018, Tussyadiah et al., 2017, Tussyadiah et al., 2018).

Method for Virtual Tourism Research

This paper reviewed some of the most popular methods and theories used to study VT. The results indicated that the qualitative research method is used the most (Loureiro, Guerreiro & Ali 2020), followed by quantitative one, some of the previous research use both. Comparing experiments, questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, in-depth surveys, ... were popularly used to collect primary data (Beck & Egger 2019).

Some widely used theories in collected papers are the technology acceptance model (TAM) (Huang, Backman, Backman, et al., 2013; Singh & Lee, 2008; Huang et al., 2015). Other theories are Virtual learning environments theory (Jung et al., 2015), hedonic motivation system adoption model (HMSAM) (Yung & Khoo-Lattimore, 2019), stimulus-organism-response theory (SOR) (Kim & Jung, 2018), self-determination theory (Huang, Backman, Backman & Chang 2015), flow theory (Lee & Jeong 2012), social presence theory (Tussyadiah et al., 2018), the concept of Authenticity theory (Dueholm and Smed 2014), theory of planned behavior (Han et al. 2014; Huang et al., 2013), ... Although there are so many theories widely employed, much research has lower contribution because of lacking theories model using. In addition, an integrated theoretical model should be developed to investigate attitudes and behaviors of VT tourist's as well as of other relevant stakeholders.

Conclusion

General results indicated that VT is a new kind of tourism receiving ongoing attention of research on some aspects: concept, advantages, application and disadvantages, relationship with physical tourism, experiences and attitudes of tourists, and research methods. Literature reviewing showed that VR application in the tourism sector could be considered as a new alternative kind of tourism to some extent or a potential supportive tool for traditional tourism despite some mentioned disadvantages.

There has been a controversial discussion about the concept of VT, so a popularly acceptable

concept has not been established. Additionally, there are two different attitudes about the role of VT, whether it should be seen as an alternative form of tourism or only an application of VR on tourism. This leads to a substantial question about the relationship between VT and physical tourism in the future. Although VT also has some disadvantages, it would be improved in the future with the support of VR technology development (Virtual reality, augmented reality, mixed reality). Users' perceptions and behavior when using VR technology seem to be popular research topics, but in the tourism sector, these topics are just becoming a subject of interest for tourism researchers.

Despite some significant results, this study has some limitations. First, reviewing the literature with common topics might miss some special or less popular subjects about VT or VR application in tourism. Second, this study searched relevant papers only on online databases, though there may have been several pieces of research not to be updated on these sites. Third, this paper tried to show and compare many different views about VT, but the word limit prevented it from discussing deeply into any aspect of the issues.

Apart from the limitations, these findings added to the source of knowledge about VR application in tourism and suggest some future research agenda for research communities. Future research should study more about the VT concept and its roles in the tourism sector, especially the relationship with physical tourism. Additionally, tourists' perception and behavior when becoming virtual tourists or using tourism products with VR applications should be researched more. Some other developing kinds of VR technology should be mentioned in future VT research. Last but not least, there should be a systematic review of literature in VT research to cover more largely and fully this ongoing and potential field.

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THE TRANS GAMING EXPERIENCE: MIMETIC APPROACHES TO GENDER AND IDENTITY IN VIDEO GAMES

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Abstract: Identification with the hero or subject of a piece of media is an age-old concept. In Laura Mulvey's theory of cinematic gaze, female audience members are still adept at taking on the role of the masculine hero (even if clothes of this 'transvestism' ride uncomfortably at times). Sherry Turkle is another early Internet theorist who believes cyberspace provides an opportunity to experiment with one's true identity. This research theorizes that video games stand at the intersection of Mulvey's film and Turkle's Internet, with a modern update: Games provide a mimetic virtual space where it is possible to not only experience as gazing subject, but also participate in becoming the protagonist. There is vast potential, then, to step into another's shoes. From independent productions to corporate AAA titles, games have already begun to explore transgender experiences. *Tell Me Why*, a large narrative production carefully crafted to center a trans character, takes a more diegetic approach, while *Diaries of a Spaceport Janitor* is a small game in which the player participates in the mimetic metaphor of needing to buy gender from vending machines. This research therefore attempts to explore how effective mimetic approaches in video games can be in allowing a player to participate in the trans experience and understand things like gender dysphoria. This will be done through semiotic analysis of the above-mentioned titles and others in a methodology that borrows from film and literature studies.

Keywords: Transness, Video Games, Mimetic, Gender, Identity.

Introduction

Video games as a representational media have the potency to establish mosaic systems of play, one whose potential in exploration of identity, shaping subjectivities and performing distinctly gendered ways of meaning making is still in formative stages. The ways in which transgendered individuals interact, navigate, and are represented in this medium is still under research. This research will examine transness in video games, but these will not be 'character creator' games, where players can customize their avatar and choose their own pronouns. Many character creator games exist, and they play an important role in this area, but examining them is outside the scope of this research. Instead, the authors will attempt to examine specifically intentional inclusions of the trans experience and transgender representation in video games. The goal is to discover some ways in which creators have utilized the mimetic nature of video games to make meaning from games. And here, the term mimetic describes the way in which the player physically acts out the narrative by pressing buttons and making choices to play a

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video game. But deeper than that, the narrative and gameplay mechanisms themselves address the player, and include their subjectivity in the experience. So the focus will be games which include either trans representation in the characters and/or the creator, or games with trans code as a metaphor for transitioning, transformation, or another means of representation.

First, definitions of 'transness' and 'transgender,' will be established, and existing research sought out about identity exploration and representation in various media. Transness has been represented both problematically and positively in many forms. The idea of identity exploration on the internet and in films is also long established by theorists. The same concepts can be applied to video games, but with an update to account for the participatory nature of games.

Next, several trans games will be examined. Usually independently produced and more personal projects utilize the mimesis available to the medium. Each game approaches the representation of transness in a different way, from traditional diegetic storytelling to metaphors of the game's mechanics, gameplay, or narrative.

Finally, this research concludes that there are many positive ways to create the experience of transness through play. In the few case studies chosen for this research, no two produced even a similar approach, yet all took advantage of the mimesis offered by the medium in their own unique ways.

Transness and Video Games

Since this study examines games dealing with transness in video games, it is a phrase that may need some defining. 'Transness' and 'transgender' are not easy terms or categories to define, and they dodge a straightforward definition. This is because they carry the burden of containing a plethora of practices, modalities and identities and hence in defining them, one assumes the integral risk of 'assigning a normative telos to an identity category that is often employed to oppose this modernist, binary logic' (West 2014, p.10). This doesn't necessarily make transgender and transness empty signifiers, but rather makes them an 'identity marker that defines related yet disparate, if not infinitely variable, gender projects' (*ibid*, p.11). In this sense, a capacious understanding offered by Susan Stryker serves us best. According to Stryker, 'it is *the movement across a socially imposed boundary away from an unchosen starting place* – rather than any particular destination or mode of transition – that best characterizes the concept of 'transgender' (Stryker 2008, p.1).

This definition, with a focus on self-identification, allows us to see the malleability of transgender and transness that encompasses identity flows that move away gender assigned at the birth, or includes individuals who cross-over the socially constructed, performative definitions of gender. Simply put, it includes a broad range of 'gender-variant practices, embodiments, and identities that challenge the assumed stability of, and relationality between, biological sex, the gender binary, and sexuality' (Fischer 2019, p.3).

The capacious understanding of transness and transgender also allows us to understand how they have been perceived and (under)percieved in media. Quantitative researches have highlighted that when compared to other LGBTQ groups, transgender representation has been relatively low in films (GLAAD 2020). This observation holds true for video games as well, where transness has below average representation (Mejeur 2018). Furthermore, for a long period in films and other related media, transness was defined through the representational matrix of either psychological pathology (Phillips 2006), as victims of violence (Cavalcante 2013), as caricatures (Gross 2001) or as expert deceivers and manipulators (Thach 2021). Even when representations have offered a more humane and nuanced interpretation of the transgender experience, it has been through the prismic tropes of suffering and violence

(Cavalcante, 2013). In video games, the most common tropes have been of body or gender ambiguity, followed by tropes of dysphoria and physical transition (Thach 2021). While the former leaves out explicit representations either through intent or through the process of localization, the latter portrays the trans bodies vis-à-vis a wrong body narrative (Bettcher 2014). According to Thach, the heavy representational dependency on this model can sadly reinforce 'the assumption that transness must include this linkage' and even though it might authenticate the identification with the model for those who associate with it, 'can also reinforce transnormativity for those who do not'(Thach 2021, p.28-29).

The limited or specific representation of transgender and transness does not mean that media does not provide alternate forms of representing, conceiving and exploring identities. In fact, as Sherry Turkle (1999) in her seminal essay *Looking Toward Cyberspace: Beyond Grounded Sociology Cyberspace and Identity* hypothesized, cyberspace challenges the conventional and traditionally accepted norms of identity, and allows the possibility of discovery of multiple selves. Turkle also suggests that our online personas can help us expand our range in the real. She gives an example of a man who is unassertive in person, but who takes on what he calls a 'Katherine Hepburn' personality on the Internet to be more outgoing and assertive. This, he reports, has helped him bring his online personality into his real life from time to time (*ibid*, p.645). Crenshaw & Nardi (2014) have highlighted how for many individuals, exploration of gender identity is easier online than offline. Andre Cavalcante (2016) in his ethnographic research has further highlighted how online mediums have become a testing arena for gender identity.

Video games in a similar sense depict the world in complex ways that can integrate systems of meaning making, while creating novel systems of representations as well as processing subjectivities. This is particularly true with mimetic representations, where 'mimesis assumes maximum of information and a minimal presence of the one who informs' (Stasiénko 2013, p.85). It is contrasted by its opposite diegesis which assumes a more narratological function. Games can often provide us with a mimetic virtual space where the players often have to physically act out narrative by pressing buttons and making choices to play a video game. Mimesis, therefore, becomes a way of embodying the subjectivity of the players, allowing them to conceive and experiment with identity. Mimesis has the potential to become a particularly significant medium of experiencing transness, especially when it allows an exploration and identification with the subject of the game, as we will see in the following section.

Of course, identification with the hero or subject of a piece of media is not a novel concept. In Laura Mulvey's (1975) theory of cinematic gaze, female audience members are still adept at taking on the role of the masculine hero (even if clothes of this 'transvestism' ride uncomfortably at times). However, mimetic gaming invites the player to experience identification not in a passive way but by actively engaging with the gameplay, which often serves the idea of a 'gaze' embedded in hetero-normative subjective experience. However, this identification also has the potential to subvert the traditional male gaze when the subjectivity identified with is a trans one. In other words, if the subject of the game is a trans person instead of the traditional hero. There is vast potential, then, to positively explore the contours of one's gender and transness. The following section, therefore, examines how some trans games have aimed to represent transness in the medium.

An Exploration of Trans Games

It is popularly agreed that one of the first trans characters in a video game was Birdo from the Mario franchise, but this representation is a problematic beginning. The still publicly available

English manual for Super Mario Bros. 2 says, 'He thinks he is a girl and he spits eggs from his mouth. He'd rather be called "birdetta"' (Nintendo 1988, p.27).



Through the years, similarly problematic trans characters showed up in games. There have, of course, been trans game developers all along the way, but recently their games have had the opportunity to reach the mainstream more and more. In these games, we can see a shift from trans caricatures to trans subjects whom the player can identify with in participatory ways.

Tell Me Why

For example, there's *Tell Me Why*, by developer DontNod (2020). *Tell Me Why* has been given labels along the lines of 'the first major game with a trans main character.' The several qualifiers in these labels highlight the strange past of trans representation in games and the fact that they once took the form of comedic dinosaurs who spit eggs. They also serve to indicate that this is a trans game for the mainstream. DontNod (2015) became a big name from their *Life is Strange* series dealing with dramatic adolescent issues like suicide and abuse, and so *Tell Me Why* is intended to capture the market interested in similar social issues.

However, *Tell Me Why* still refrains from the experimental mechanics of more indie authors. It begins with a thorough disclaimer about how the game was crafted with the help of trans consultants, and it takes a more diegetic approach to storytelling. It is careful to protect the studio that made it.

Only certain player choices guide the story of the trans character Tyler and his twin sister. Most of the gameplay happens through examining objects as in a detective's investigation. It is an approach often effective in films, but it does not take as much advantage of the video game medium's mimetic nature.

Diaries of a Spaceport Janitor

Diaries of a Spaceport Janitor, on the other hand, experiments with mechanics surrounding gender, making it an abstract participation crucial to the gameplay and story (Sundae Month 2016). *Diaries* takes a mimetic approach by making it difficult to play the game when you (as

the main character) are struck with gender dysphoria. The graphics become distorted, the text blurry and hard to read. The gameplay experience literally becomes worse as a message tells you that you feel awful and need to refresh your gender at a vending machine.

Buying gender at a vending machine is itself of course a metaphor. In this spaceport, you, the janitor, need to pick up and incinerate trash from the ground as your only means of income (other than selling the trash using some keen knowledge of the countless vendors in the area). You spend your days praying for luck from the pantheon of goddesses while you look for the right scraps of trash to be able to afford both food and gender. All the while, a curse in the form of a screaming skull hovers around, following you wherever you go.

On the background of this obvious analogy of struggling with gender and depression in a capitalist society, gender dysphoria is experienced as a metaphor of worse gameplay, with actual, felt relief when your gender is refreshed.

Ladykiller in a Bind

The 'bind' of *Ladykiller in a Bind* (Love Conquers All 2016) has a double meaning -- it refers to the main character's predicament, having been tied up by her brother and forced to recount the details of the story, and to the binding garment the main character must wear on her chest to conceal her breasts as she pretends to be her promiscuous brother and infiltrate his social circle. Since his social circle is a group of rich 18 year old high school students on a cruise, flirting with each other to win a game of influence, *Ladykiller* becomes fantasy fulfillment.

Ladykiller is from a genre of games that is more and more referred to as 'visual novels,' but it is still commonly called a 'dating sim.' The game thus takes on another mimetic approach by giving the player control over dialogue and other choices which directly affect relationships. The consequences of your choices may quite literally lead to sexual fantasies.

Christine Love, the trans creator of *Ladykiller*, uses the genre to explore things like submission, domination, and their interplay with consent. Play, in this sense, takes on its traditional meaning of exploration, specifically of identity and sexuality. Christine Love is a transfeminine person, but the main character is simply a transvestite, wearing male clothes to seduce whatever women she chooses. Thus, there are opportunities for a variety of gender identities to play out in this game.

However, Christine Love herself demonstrates that fantasy fulfillment isn't the only valuable use of game mechanics. In her later game, *Get in the Car, Loser*, representation takes the forefront (Love Conquers All 2021). It features three characters, rather than a main character in first person, and allows the player to see characters who respect each others' gender identities and sexual preferences. It is an example of a diegetic approach aimed at making players from marginalized genders feel more comfortable and accepted in her game world, rather than placing players in a first-person experience.

Celeste

Along these same lines, many games code trans characters and represent the trans experience without explicitly stating it. This transness as metaphor can be seen in *Celeste* (Thorson 2018). Madeline, the canonically trans main character (as confirmed by her creator after the game's

release), undergoes a transformation throughout the story by attempting to scale a treacherous mountain. Difficulty of gameplay becomes the mimesis -- the game explores topics of anxiety and depression while the character has to make precision jumps to avoid pitfalls and hazards on her way to the top of the mountain. There is quite a lot of trans coding in the game that might not be noticed by the average player, such as the use of trans and gay pride flags and colors in subtle areas and themes involving parallel worlds and mirrors (a challenging object for one facing dysphoria). In fact, the trans composer for the game created an emotional song called 'In The Mirror Reversed' that appears to be an almost autobiographical piece. Played in reverse, the song includes her talking about her trans experience*.

Celeste thus provides representation through mimesis. For those looking, the trans coding welcomes players hoping to find themselves represented in an extremely popular indie game.

Dys4ia

Finally, there are examples of transness simply gamified. *Dys4ia* is possibly the flagship title in this area (Anthropy, 2012). It is a game by trans game developer Anna Anthropy to share her experience with dysphoria and hormone replacement therapy. She released it on Newgrounds, once a bastion of alternative independently made animation and games that tried to push the envelope of what was socially acceptable at the time, and a male dominated space. It is therefore the most autobiographical experience out of any of the titles mentioned so far, and deeply personal.

Dys4ia achieves mimesis through mini games, which are tailor-made to create analogies to the daily life challenges of transitioning. For example, the player must play a mini game to shave their face, navigate a street full of people calling them 'Sir,' or maneuver their sensitive nipples through spiked hazards. It is a gratifying experience for the player when in the chapter titled, 'It Gets Better?' all of these games return but at a much easier difficulty (except the shaving). For example, the player's breasts are now big enough to knock the spiked hazards off screen rather than injure them. Rather than a difficulty curve that gets harder, the difficulty gets easier as transitioning and being recognized as a woman gets easier. The dual metaphors of the difficulty curve and the abstract mini games combine to allow the player a brief and poignant look into personal transformation.

From the above examples, it is easy to see that while not all trans characters in video games are positive or useful, there are plenty of titles out there utilizing not just one, but several mimetic and diegetic methods available to the medium to create meaningful experiences. It takes only a few short dives into these games to see they can be useful for identity formation, empathy, and representation alike.

Conclusion

As the research highlighted, trans games have represented transness and transgender in myriad of ways to create the experience of transness through play. The varied mimetic representations, coupled with some diegetic compulsions, took advantage of the medium to positively explore the contours of one's gender, identity and transness, while subverting the traditional hetero-normative gaze. Thus, mimetic approach in this medium not only allows the

* The song can be accessed at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rE8diav5I1k&ab_channel=GitGud

player an appreciation of agency but also encompasses a possibility of expanding the boundaries of representation. In any case, we know the medium is a valuable form of expression for some, like Anna Anthropy, trans creator of *Dys4ia* and other highly personal games. In her words,

I once heard the criticism that the phrase 'what video games need' can usually be more honestly rephrased as 'what I want from videogames.' In that case, what I want from videogames is a plurality of voices. I want games to come from a wider set of experiences and present a wider range of perspectives. I can imagine-you are invited to imagine with me-a world in which digital games are not manufactured by publishers for the same small audience, but one in which games are authored by you and me for the benefit of our peers (Anthropy 2012b).

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