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Editor's Note

The 34th volume of the *Ritsumeikan Journal of Asia Pacific Studies* is being published with the same principles set in 2012. The volume includes papers from both APU and non-APU researchers. The papers published in the volume are reviewed by at least one anonymous reviewer and the editor. The journal takes pride in and follows a policy of helping authors to improve their papers through the review process. This volume includes papers that focus on issues related to business, economic development, society and tourism.

The paper by Suk Young Han entitled 'Use of interpretation to enhance visitor experiences at UNESCO World Heritage Sites: The case of Changdeokgung Palace Complex in South Korea' reports on the interpretation media that assist visitors in understanding the meanings of attractions. The author, based on a questionnaire survey, found that visitors used such interpretation media as information panels, interpreters, and brochures. The author emphasizes that the interpretation of symbols and information provided at tourist attractions is gaining more importance because visitors intend to understand the meanings behind the symbols.

The article by Atsumi Nakao entitled 'The formation and commodification of Harajuku's image in Japan' discusses Harajuku in Tokyo, which is considered one of the unique representatives of Japanese contemporary culture. In terms of geographic space, it is a youth fashion street. The author discusses the evolution of this geographic space and the socio-political forces that were influential in the formation of what is now so popular not only among the local youth but also among international tourists. The author goes beyond and argues that Harajuku is not just a geographic space; it has developed a distinct image representing a unique culture that, among others, allows simple pedestrians to show their fashionable clothes. Harajuku is not just a fashion street either. It also has a commercial side. The author uses such concepts as 'circuits of capital' and 'commodification of a place' to explain this unique image of Harajuku.

The article by Joseph Quarshie and Tomoko Nanka entitled 'The role of libraries in "glocal" education at Ama town, Shimane, Japan' discusses ways libraries in a small town in Japan provide what they call 'glocal' education. In the article, 'glocal education' refers to provision of education, literacy or information that pertains to both local and/or global content. The authors collect data by combining qualitative and quantitative methods and report that these small town libraries select local content materials to deepen the library users' understanding of the traditional culture, of town development and of the tourism industry. The collection of global material focuses on learning from global success stories relating to town development, environmental sustainability, and human resource development. The overwhelming purpose of the collections of the libraries is to connect the island to the rest of the world.

Farid Ahmad Farzam Rahimi, in the paper entitled 'Towards community empowerment for poverty reduction in rural Afghanistan', argues that community empowerment is a way of improving the economic conditions of the rural poor in Afghanistan. Most Afghans live in rural areas relying on cultivation of land and maintenance of livestock. In earning their livings through these activities, the rural poor face such challenges as lack of access to the market, inadequate skills, illiteracy, droughts, and lack of finance. The author argues that the fate of these rural masses may be improved by adopting such community empowerment initiatives as encouraging people to participate actively in the design and implementation of agricultural development programs, creating favourable conditions for investment and private sector activities in the agricultural sector,

creating an atmosphere of mutual trust between the people and the government, creating an effective system of credit, developing markets for agricultural products, and enhancing the access of farmers to improved seeds, fertilizers, and medicine for livestock.

Naveen Kolloju, in the paper entitled 'Poverty reduction through women's entrepreneurial activities in rural Andhra Pradesh, India', discusses ways of improving the living conditions of Indian rural women through entrepreneurial activities. India is emerging as an economic power but a large majority, in particular rural women, live in highly disadvantaged conditions. They confront several challenges in their attempt to improve their economic conditions. These include: lack of access to institutional/farm credit, lack of innovative approaches for agricultural development, steep increases in the prices of fertilizer, high indebtedness, and imperfect market conditions. Development of institutions to support women to engage in entrepreneurial activities is one of many ways to improve their economic conditions. The author examines the potentials of self-help groups (SHG) and of running various small-scale business ventures by poor women in Andhra Pradesh. In addition, the paper attempts to highlight the major operational challenges in the functioning of SHGs.

Lyle De Souza, in the article entitled 'Canadian nikkei institutions and spaces', discusses the experiences of Japanese emigrants – Nikkei – and the institutions they have built in Canada that maintain and shape their distinct cultural identity. For example, Powell Street and Nikkei Place function not only as a place of gathering but also help in shaping and extending their cultural identities transnationally across the Asia Pacific region. The author reports that, although the size of the Japanese diaspora is declining, these institutions have expanded their activities. For example, Nikkei Place now performs multiple roles simultaneously in addition to its original purpose of being a cultural centre. Taking the advancements in the electronics sector, the organization has digitised source material on Canadian nikkei history and put it online, making it accessible to anyone, anywhere, and at any time. The author hopes that the negotiation of Canadian nikkei cultural identities would continue with the creation of new websites and social network groups and would adopt wider conceptions of nikkei and pan-Asian cultural identities.

Mohammad Muhsen, in his piece entitled 'Risk factors for depression among 18-45 year old women in Kabul, Afghanistan', examines the effect of war and other related factors on depression among women. He conducts a cross-sectional study of two groups of subjects and controls, 200 in total, in two hospitals in Kabul. The study reports that war and a number of other socioeconomic factors such as widowhood, forced marriage, living in a crowded household, lower education, and low and/or irregular income contribute to development of depression among women in Afghanistan. This finding indicates that serious efforts must be made to stop war in Afghanistan and also to persuade people to reject such traditional practices as forced marriages, for example.

Abdul Shukoor Haidary, in his article entitled 'Socioeconomic factors associated with opioid drug use among the youth in Kabul, Afghanistan', focuses on identifying factors influencing the use of opioid drugs by young adults in Kabul, Afghanistan. A descriptive as well as an analytical study was undertaken in six sites of Kabul. The study included 100 drug users (cases) and 120 non-drug users (control) for the quantitative part, and 24 local informants and 12 professional drug demand reduction informants as sources for the qualitative part. The study found that a large number of factors contributes to drug use among people in Kabul. They

include, among others, easy access to drugs, drug use among household members and friends, history of cigarette smoking and/or use of snuff, early age, use of opium as a painkiller for treatment, family problems and poor family relationships, peer pressure and influence, nearby poppy cultivation, and war-related tension and problems.

Paulus Rudolf Yuniarto, in his paper entitled ‘Social Activist, Patron, and Broker: Indonesian migrant entrepreneurs in Taiwan’, reports on the services that are provided by migrant business persons to their fellow immigrants. Based on observations of daily business activities of participating Indonesian entrepreneurs and in-depth interviews with them, the author reports that these entrepreneurs are quite different from ‘normal’ entrepreneurs. He reports that these entrepreneurs do engage in business relationships with their fellow immigrants. But that is not the end of their relationships. Entrepreneurs often play the role of “friends” in need, acting as a third-party resource to migrants as well as acting as patrons and brokers to migrants in trouble.

Seiichi Fujii, in his paper entitled ‘Value management in theme park industry innovation and evaluation of value in service industry’, focuses on the increasing importance of innovation in the services industry. The author develops a model integrating provision of goods and services by linking program and value management, applies the model to the theme park industry and finds that the industry becomes more competitive in providing goods and services to the clients.

Qurra-tul-ain Ali Sheikh, Muhammad Meraj and Mahpara Begum Sadaqat, in their paper entitled ‘Gender equality and socio-economic development through women’s empowerment in Pakistan’, develop a women’s economic empowerment index by summing up the responses of women in Pakistan in economic decisions with the help of descriptive and regression analysis. The authors report that about 35.9% women have lower, 54.1% have moderate and only 10% women have a high level of empowerment. The authors found that the age of women, their education, working status, income, access to micro-credit, ownership of property, father’s education, family’s bank account, savings, physical assets, place of residence and media exposure exercise positive influence in empowering Pakistani women. They report, however, that marital status, household size, family system, household headship by the husband, and use of purdah (veil) contributes negatively to the empowerment of women.

Mostafa Khalili, in his paper entitled ‘A comparative study of ethnic identity among Azerbaijani speakers in the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan’, reports on the issue of identity among the Azerbaijani people. He traces the history of the Azerbaijani people, who were divided between two different countries, and reports that living in two different countries for a very long time made them quite different from one another. The Azerbaijani people are for all practical purposes two different peoples. They are linguistically quite similar but culturally quite different.

Seiichi Fujii and Geunhee Lee, in their article entitled ‘The integration-oriented product development management in Japan - An application of product-customer matrix to KAO’, develop a product-customer matrix and investigate the way Japanese manufacturers have linked development management and program integrative management. The authors conduct a series of analyses on Kao Corporation as a case study and claim that their model clarifies the synergy effect between the B-to-B processed products market and the B-to-C completed products market.

Junwoo Han, in his article entitled ‘A report on the present status and impediments to tourism-based community development: A perspective of municipalities’, identifies the present status and impediments to tourism-based community development. Based on a questionnaire survey of government officers, the author found that tourism resources conservation was the most popular respondent activity while securing financial resources was their least important activity. The study reports that the most important impediments to tourism based community development include inaccessibility to areas of tourist attractions, lack of planning, gaps in the understanding of the importance of community-based tourism between government officers and local people, lack of coordination among groups involved in tourism-based community development, and the difficulty of branding community-based tourism and securing independent finance.

This volume publishes an article by Abdul Tamim Karimi that reviews a book on peace building efforts in war torn Afghanistan: Chuck Thiessen (2014). *Local Ownership of Peace Building in Afghanistan: Shouldering Responsibility for Sustainable Peace and Development*. Plymouth, United Kingdom: Lexington Books. Karimi states that the book is quite informative and argues that the peace building effort in Afghanistan should have been contextualized with discussion from other countries that went through similar experiences as Afghanistan did.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the faculty of the Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU) who have kindly reviewed the papers published in the 34th volume of the Ritsumeikan Journal of Asia Pacific Studies. I would like to specially thank Professor Nader Ghotbi (APU), who has not only managed the review of several papers of this volume but has also contributed a significant amount of his time in editing the papers. The reviewers are: Professors Beise-Zee, Marian; Diefenbach, Thomas; Fellizar, Francisco; Kimura, Rikio; Lee, Timothy; Mani, A; Porter, Edgar; Salazar, Robert; Sangho, Kim; Vafadari, Kazem; Yokoyama, Kenji and Yoshida, Kaori. I would also like to acknowledge the support I have received in the review process from the following APU graduate students - McLain, Greg; Pwint Mon Thien; and Robichaud, Chris.

Professor Ali Haidar
Chief Editor

ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

Use of interpretation to enhance visitor experiences at UNESCO World Heritage Sites: the case of *Changdeokgung* Palace Complex in South Korea

Suk Young Han¹

Abstract

This study explores the use of interpretation as a tool for enhancing visitors' experiences at a UNESCO World Heritage Site in Korea. The Changdeokgung Palace Complex was constructed in the 15th century during the Joseon Dynasty and has been designated as a UNSECO World Heritage Site since 1997. Questionnaires were given to visitors to the Changdeokgung Palace Complex in August 14-15 and October 1-2, 2011. This study found that the visitors preferred to experience the outstanding universal values of world cultural heritage through interpretation. The visitors were using information panels, interpreters, and brochures as interpretation media. Among these interpretation media, visitors were most satisfied with interpreters. In the case of the information panels and brochures, the visitors preferred the written words to pictures in order to experience the values of the Changdeokgung Palace Complex. The study also suggests the need to use customized interpretation systems in order to meet the needs of various visitors to the palace including young people and children.

Keywords: Interpretation, Interpretation media, Outstanding Universal Value, (South) Korea, World Heritage Sites.

Introduction

Tilden (1957) defined interpretation as an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply through the communication of factual information. Since Tilden first published his definition, there have been many other definitions of interpretation focusing more on environmental and cultural aspects.

According to Civitarese, Legg and Zudfle (1997:10), interpretation is a communication activity designed to enhance the quality of the recreational experience of the visitor and to inspire greater appreciation of the resource in an enjoyable manner. Similarly, Weiler and Davis (1993: 93) define environmental interpretation as an educational, illustrative and entertaining activity which aims at providing the visitor, through first-hand experiences, with an insight into the interrelationships of the various resources and systems comprising the natural environment.

The National Association for interpretation (NAI), a society for interpreting heritage in the UK has explained interpretation as the process of explaining to people the significance of the places or objects they have come to see, so that they enjoy their visit more, understand their heritage and environment better, and develop a more caring attitude towards conservation (Littlefair 2003: 21). The National Association for Interpretation (NAI) uses the following definition: "*Interpretation is a communication process that forges emotional and intellectual connections between the interests of the audience and the inherent meanings in the resource*".

The Interpretation Australia Association (IAA) uses a similarly broad, inclusive definition on their

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website (1993): *“heritage interpretation is a means of communicating ideas and feelings which help people understand more about themselves and their environment”*. The American Alliance of Museums (AAM) has defined interpretation as *“a planned effort to create for the visitor an understanding of the history and significance of events, people, and objects with which the site is associated”* (Alderson and Low 1985).

A more recent, museum-specific definition by the American Alliance of Museums (www.aam-us.org) characterizes interpretation as *“the media/activities through which a museum carries out its mission and educational role.”* In their view, firstly, interpretation is a dynamic process of communication between the museum and the audience; secondly, interpretation is the means by which the museum delivers its content; and thirdly, interpretation media/activities include but are not limited to exhibits, tours, websites, classes, school programs, publications, and outreach.

Therefore, one specific definition may not suit the whole breadth of the interpretation profession. *“The true interpreter will not rest at any dictionary definition”* wrote Tilden (1967), who then offered an alternative himself: *“Interpretation is the revelation of a larger truth that lies behind any statement of fact. [The interpreter] goes beyond the apparent to the real, beyond a part to a whole, beyond a truth to a more important truth”*.

These definitions suggest that interpretation offers more than instruction in facts. It uses facts and phenomena to pass on the meaning of something and to develop a deeper understanding. It stimulates interest and observation. It helps people to develop their skills, to read their landscape, to relive their history, and to feel their art (World Heritage Center 2012). Using these definitions, interpretation of World Heritage Sites can be summarized as an activity designed to communicate to visitors, in a recreational context, cultural, historical and natural/environmental messages, in order to assist them to develop empathy towards such sites and broaden their (cultural, historical, and environmental) knowledge, thereby enhancing visitor experiences.

Since the Seokguram Grotto and Bulguksa Temple in South Korea (hereafter Korea) were listed by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites in 1995, nine additional Korean sites have also been added to the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites. They include Haeinsa Temple Janggyeong Panjeon and the Depositories for the Tripitaka Koreana Woodblocks (1995), Jongmyo Shrine (1995), Changdeokgung Palace Complex (1997), Hwaseong Fortress (1997), Gyeongju Historic Areas (2000), Gochang, Hwasun and Gangwha Dolmen Sites (2000), Royal Tombs of the Joseon Dynasty (2009), and the Historic Villages of Korea: Hahoe and Yangdong (2010).

After being designated as UNESCO World Heritage Sites, the number of visitors to the sites has increased exponentially. For example, the number of visitors to Yangdong village increased by 300~600% after it was listed in 2010 (*Chosun TV news*, in Korean, <http://news.tv.chosun.com>). Enhancing visitor experiences at World Heritage Sites has thus become important; interpretation is now acknowledged as an essential tool for enhancing these experiences (Anderson & Low 1985; Civitarese, Legg & Zuefle 1997).

To seek ways to enhance visitor experiences, it is necessary to understand visitor needs. Therefore, this study aims to explore the experiences of visiting World Heritage Sites in Korea by identifying visitors' needs through conducting a questionnaire at Changdeokgung Palace Complex in Korea. The results are expected to provide information to help plan a better experience of World Heritage Sites in Korea.

Methodology

The author has done an extensive review on the criteria for designation as a World Heritage Site that will be presented in the next section. Moreover, an extensive study was done on one of the most famous World Heritage Sites in Korea, along with a questionnaire study of the visitors to the site. The study area was Changdeokgung Palace Complex which has been designated by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site since 1997. Constructed in the 15th century during the Joseon Dynasty, the Changdeokgung Palace Complex occupies 57.9 ha in Jongno-gu, northern Seoul at the foot of Ungbong Peak, Mount Baegaksan, which is the main geomantic guardian mountain. The specifics of this palace will also be described in the next section.

To identify the visitor needs for interpretation at the Changdeokgung Palace Complex, questionnaires were distributed and 316 collected in total. Questionnaires were given to visitors to the palace on August 14-15 and October 1-2, 2011. The questions were developed from issues raised in academic literature, comments derived from media statements on interpretation of World Heritage Sites, and research on attitudes to interpretation of World Heritage Sites. The questions were classified into four sections: major motivations for visiting Changdeokgung Palace Complex, interpretation media used to obtain information on Changdeokgung Palace, interpretation services needed at Changdeokgung Palace Complex, and demographic information.

Findings and Discussion

The selection criteria for UNESCO World Heritage Sites: To be included on the World Heritage List, sites must be of outstanding universal value and meet at least one out of ten selection criteria. These criteria are explained in the “Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention” which, besides the text of the Convention, is the main working tool on World Heritage. The criteria are regularly revised by the Committee to reflect the evolution of the World Heritage concept itself. Until the end of 2004, World Heritage sites were selected on the basis of six cultural and four natural criteria. With the adoption of the revised Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, only one set of ten criteria exists. The criteria for inclusion as a UNESCO World Heritage Site have been described in Table 1.

Changdeokgung is an exceptional example of official and residential buildings that were integrated into and harmonized with their natural setting. The complex was originally built as a secondary palace to the main palace of Gyeongbokgung, differentiated from it by purpose and spatial layout within the capital. Situated at the foot of a mountain range, it was designed to embrace the topography in accordance with *pungsu* principles, by placing the palace structures to the south and incorporating an extensive rear garden to the north, called *Biwon*, the Secret Garden.

Adaptation to the natural terrain distinguishes Changdeokgung from conventional palace architecture while the official and residential buildings that make up the complex were designed in accordance with traditional palace layout principles. The buildings and structures include three gates and three courts (administrative court, royal residential court and official audience court), with the residential area to the rear of the administrative area based on the principles of ‘*sammun samjo*’ and ‘*jeonjo huchim*’. The buildings are constructed of wood and set on stone platforms, with many featuring tiled hipped roofs with a corbelled multi-bracket system and ornamental carvings.

Table 1. Criteria for inclusion as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

<i>Operational Guidelines(year)</i>	<i>Cultural criteria</i>						<i>Natural criteria</i>			
2002	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)
2005	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	(v)	(vi)	(viii)	(ix)	(vii)	(x)
<i>Selection criteria</i>										
(i)	to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;									
(ii)	to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;									
(iii)	to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;									
(iv)	to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;									
(v)	to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;									
(vi)	to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);									
(vii)	to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;									
(viii)	to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;									
(ix)	to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;									
(x)	to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.									

The protection, management, authenticity and integrity of properties are also important considerations. Since 1992 significant interactions between people and the natural environment have been recognized as cultural landscapes. The garden was landscaped with a series of terraces planted with lawns, flowering trees, flowers, a lotus pool and pavilions set against a wooded background. There are over 56,000 specimens of various species of trees and plants in the garden, including walnut, white oak, Zelkova, plum, maple, chestnut, hornbeam, yew, ginkgo, and pine.

Changdeokkung was used as the secondary palace to Gyeongbokkung for 200 years, but after the palaces were burnt down during the Japanese invasion in the late 16th century, it was the first to be reconstructed and since then served as the main seat of the dynasty for 250 years. The property has had a great influence on the development of Korean architecture, garden and landscape planning, and related arts, for many centuries. It reflects sophisticated architectural values, harmonized with beautiful surroundings (UNESCO World Heritage Centre, <http://whc.unesco.org>).

The Changdeokkung Palace Complex meets three criteria of Outstanding Universal Values (OUV) as defined by the World Heritage Committee regarding integrity and authenticity, and protection and management as follows:

Criterion (ii): Changdeokkung had a great influence on the development of Korean architecture, garden design and landscape planning, and related arts for many centuries.

Criterion (iii): Changdeokkung exemplifies the traditional *pungsu* principles and Confucianism through its architecture and landscape. The site selection and setting of the palace were based upon *pungsu*

principles whilst the buildings were laid out both functionally and symbolically in accordance to Confucian ideology, that together portray the Joseon Dynasty's unique outlook on the world.

Criterion (iv): Changdeokgung is an outstanding example of East Asian palace architecture and garden design, exceptional for the way in which the buildings are integrated into and harmonized with the natural setting, adapting to the topography and retaining indigenous tree cover.

Integrity: Changdeokgung incorporates all key components required in Korean palace architecture and conforms to Confucian principles and protocols in its spatial layout, arrangement of buildings, gardens and forested mountain landscape at the rear of the palace. All the palace components are still intact, including the *Oejo*, the royal court of the dynasty; *Chijo*, the administrative quarters of the palace; *Chimjo*, the residence of the royal family; and the garden intended for the king's leisure. The entire architectural complex and natural setting of Changdeokgung are included within the boundaries of the property. The principal threat to the physical integrity of the buildings is fire. The wooden structures have been destroyed by fire on successive occasions throughout history.

Authenticity: The buildings of Changdeokgung Palace Complex were destroyed by fire and have undergone successive reconstructions, and some additions were made to the complex in the centuries following its original construction. However, when judged against the philosophy and practices that are standard in Asia, the complex has a high level of authenticity. The buildings and natural elements of the rear garden have sustained their original forms, which generally date from the latter part of the Joseon Dynasty, and their relationship with the natural terrain and landscape. Most recently, work has been undertaken to reverse the changes made during the Japanese occupation in the early 20th century. This work is being carried out using traditional methods and materials, and is based on historical evidence and research.

Protection and management requirements: The entire area of the Changdeokgung Palace Complex, including the individual buildings and plantings within the complex, has been recognized as a State-designated Cultural Heritage under the Cultural Heritage Protection Act. In addition, a number of the buildings of the complex have been designated as National Treasures or Treasures (Injeongjon Hall, Injeongmun Gate, Seonjeongjeon Hall, Huijeongdang Hall, Daejojeon Hall, Old Seonwonjeon Shrine and Donhwamun Gate) or as Natural Monuments (the Chinese juniper tree and the *Actinidia arguta* plum tree). These designations impose strict control over any alterations to the property.

The area extending 100 m from the boundary of the Changdeokgung Palace Complex has been designated as a Historic Cultural Environment Protection Area under the Cultural Heritage Protection Act, and all construction work and alterations within the area require the authorization of the Cultural Heritage Administration through the *Jongno-gu* district office. The Rear Garden of Changdeokgung has been designated as an Ecological Scenery Conservation Area under the Natural Environment Conservation Act. At the national level, the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) is responsible for establishing and enforcing policies for the protection and management of Changdeokgung, and for allocating financial resources for its conservation. The Changdeokgung Management Office, with approximately 40 employees, is in charge of day-to-day management. Regular day-to-day monitoring is carried out and in-depth professional monitoring is conducted on a 3-to-4 year basis.

The area around Changdeokgung is managed co-operatively by the Urban Planning Division, Traffic Policy Division and Cultural Heritage Division of the Seoul Metropolitan Government. Seoul City's Basic Scenery Plan and District Unit Plan for the areas surrounding Changdeokgung, which are periodically

revised and updated, provide the framework for management and planning in the buffer zone. Conservation works in Changdeokgung are conducted by Cultural Heritage Conservation Specialists who have passed the national certification exams in their individual fields of expertise. The CHA is implementing the “Integrated Security System Establishment Plan for the 5 Palaces and Jongmyo”, in place since 2009, in preparation for accidents and/or disasters that could impair the integrity of the property. Now we shall examine the results of the survey on the visitors to the site.

Demographic characteristics of respondents: The socio-demographic characteristics of respondents are presented in Table 2. A descriptive analysis of the sample shows that there were more female respondents than male and the respondents included those aged 30-39 years (27.4%) and 40-49 years (31.9%), with the majority (70.5%) having at least a college degree. Nearly half (48.3%) of the 316 respondents earned an annual income between US \$ 20,000 to 40,000. It can be said that the respondents have characteristics that may be expected from a representative sample of the general population.

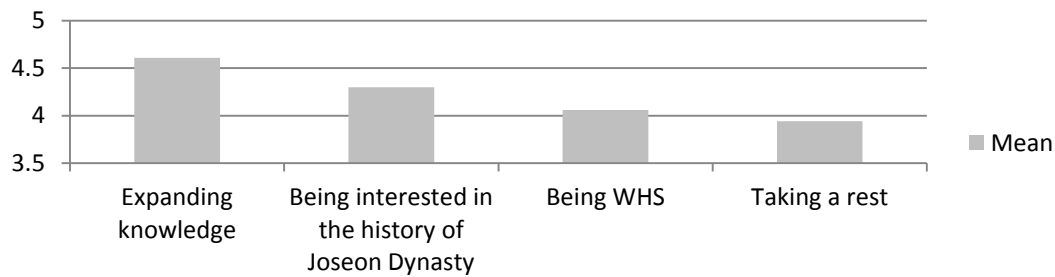
Table 2. Demographic characteristics of respondents (N=316)

		Number of visitors	Percentage
Gender	Male	133	42.2
	Female	183	57.8
Age	19 or younger	57	18.1
	20-29	22	7.1
	30-39	86	27.4
	40-49	101	31.9
	50-59	38	12
	More than 60	11	3.6
Level of education	High school	93	29.6
	College	47	14.8
	University	135	42.9
	Graduate school	40	12.8
Annual income (US \$)	Up to 20,000	66	21.0
	20,000~30,000	55	17.3
	30,000~40,000	98	31.0
	40,000~50,000	44	13.8
	More than 50,000	54	17.1

Major motivation for visiting the complex: Changdeokgung Palace Complex is regarded as the most significant historical place in Korea and visitors come for many reasons. Given that a high proportion of visitors have at least a college degree, it is not surprising that ‘expanding knowledge’ and ‘being interested in the history of the Joseon Dynasty’ were important motivational factors. Also, visitors indicated that the fact that the Changdeokgung Palace Complex is a World Heritage Site was an important motivational factor. This implies that designation as a World Heritage Site may have increased its status in the mind of visitors and may help to explain why Changdeokgung Palace Complex attracts a significant number of visitors. Interestingly, the study shows that “taking a rest” was an important motivational factor. The results are shown in Table 3 and Figure 1.

Table 3. Major motivational factors for visiting the site.

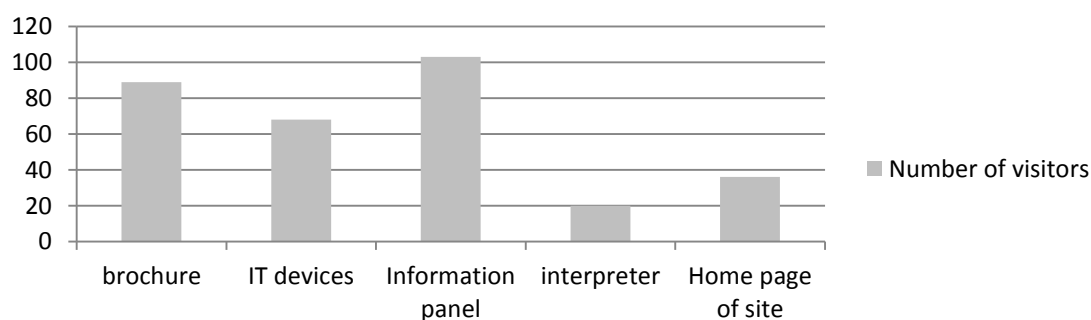
<i>Motivator</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Standard deviation</i>
Expanding knowledge	4.61	0.812
Being interested in the history of Joseon Dynasty	4.30	0.914
Being a World Heritage Site (WHS)	4.06	1.210
Taking a rest	3.94	1.261

Figure 1. Major motivational factors

Interpretation media used to obtain information on Changdeokgung Palace Complex: A lot of controversy surrounding the visitor experience at Changdeokgung Palace Complex is focused on the available interpretation. Although guided tours are provided, the great majority of visitors (54.1%) used signs as interpretation media. These include numbered way-markers and signs at the site as well as immediately off site and in the car park, providing information on the Palace Complex and the surrounding area. The results suggest that the visitors responded positively to the use of signs and found these easy to understand. The various media used by the visitors to convey the needed interpretation about the site was examined (Table 4 and Figure 2).

Table 4. Interpretation media used to obtain information

<i>Interpretation media</i>	<i>Number of visitors</i>	<i>%</i>
brochure	89	28
IT devices	68	22
Information panel	103	33
interpreter	20	6
Home page of site	36	11
Total	316	100

Figure 2. Interpretation media used by visitors

The visitors to the Changdeokgung Palace Complex preferred brochures (39.4%) and IT devices which can be carried during the visits (5.5%), to the guided tours. This suggests that the interpretative activity involving a guided tour suffered from constraints of timing and a lack of flexibility. When participating in a guided tour, a visitor needs to follow the pre-planned timing, routes and the pace of the tour. Brochures and IT devices allow visitors to skip unwanted information, revisit as they wish, and proceed at their own pace; it seems likely that these factors are perceived as convenient.

Interpretation services needed: This study shows that there is a need for new interpretation media. A staffed visitor center usually plays a major role in visitor management at tourism destinations. Its function includes providing information and assistance at the site. Some form of interpretation is frequently delivered at a visitor center. Currently, Changdeokgung Palace Complex lacks a true visitor center, due in part to spatial constraints. However, this survey suggests that the visitors' experience is likely to be 'complete' if they are encouraged to go to a visitor center, rather than only the site itself.

Also, this study indicates that it is necessary for visitors to understand the values of Changdeokgung Palace Complex as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. The respondents visited Changdeokgung Palace Complex because it is a world cultural heritage. However, the majority of visitors do not recognize the universal value of Changdeokgung Palace Complex as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Therefore, these values should be explained through interpretation, and whatever interpretation media that may be needed.

In addition, visitors wanted to have access to an interpretation system for children and the youth. Changdeokgung Palace Complex is a place to also teach children and youths about the value of Korean culture and history.

Conclusion

As the number of visitors to UNESCO World Heritage Sites in Korea increases, the role of interpretation becomes more significant in enhancing the visitors' experiences. To enhance these experiences, it is necessary to understand the visitors' expectations for interpretation. To explore visitor needs for interpretation, a survey was conducted at Changdeokgung Palace Complex in August 14-15 and October 1-2, 2011 and 316 questionnaires were collected.

The research shows that "expanding knowledge" and "being interested in history of the Joseon Dynasty" are important motivational factors in the visit. Second, the great majority of visitors (54.1%) used signs (information panels) rather than guided tours as the interpretation media of choice. They most often used information panels and brochures as interpretation media. Third, there is a need for interpretation to explain the Outstanding Universal Values of Changdeokgung Palace Complex. Lastly, the study indicates that there is a need for an interpretation system for children and youths.

These results show that interpretation media at Changdeokgung Palace Complex often did not provide sufficient information on why Changdeokgung Palace Complex was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. Therefore, every interpretation media should include such information. However, the available media should be appropriate for the different age groups of adults, children, and youths.

Finally, it must be acknowledged that this study has a limitation in that it surveyed only one World Heritage Site, Changdeokgung Palace Complex. Therefore, the results may not be generalized to all World Heritage Sites in Korea.

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

The formation and commodification of *Harajuku*'s image in Japan

Atsumi NAKAO¹

Abstract

Harajuku is known as a youth fashion street in Tokyo since 1990s and is now considered as one of the unique representatives of Japanese contemporary culture. This paper explores the construction of the image of *Harajuku* by looking at two dimensions; one is the historical formation of its image and the other is an institutional function through street snaps in media, especially popular magazines. The analysis is based on a number of concepts formerly developed by social researchers including the concept of “circuits of cultural capital” and “commodification of a place” by Zukin and Bell, respectively, as well as the semiotic architecture of capital and corporate imaginary by Goldman and Papson. This paper also provides a detailed illustration of the historical construction of *Harajuku* and the analysis of how street snaps on popular magazines and SNS influence on the young people's image of *Harajuku*.

Keywords: Fashion magazines, *Harajuku*, *Harajuku* fashion, Japan, Japanese culture, Street snaps.

Introduction

When I was a high school student, I religiously read the fashion magazine KERA. I would look at fashionable people photographed in Harajuku street snaps and long for a feeling of being in Harajuku. At the start of my college life, I went to Harajuku with money saved from doing part-time jobs. I do remember the disappointment I felt the first time I went to Harajuku. It was just a busy street; I could not find the fashionable people I saw in the magazine. At that moment, I realized how a fashion fantasy was constructed and that I was intrigued by an invented imagery of Harajuku. This experience encouraged me to explore how the Harajuku image was constructed and this paper reflects on my attempts to understand it.

Harajuku is a district located in Shibuya, Tokyo. However, in this paper, Harajuku is considered as a place where young people gather to create their unique culture and street fashion, especially in Takeshita Street (Figure 1). The object of this paper is to find out how the Harajuku landscape has been conceptualized to carry an image of a youth fashion street by applying two main theories: “circuits of cultural capital” by Zukin (1993) and “commodification of a place” by Bell (1997). In order to explore the strategies and processes in creation of Harajuku's image, this paper looks at the historical and semiotic perspective of its construction as a youth fashion street.

The paper first provides a brief explanation of Harajuku as a district. This is followed by the methodology including a review of the concepts developed by Goldman and Papson in their “Landscapes of Capital”, where they have explained how a representation of a certain landscape affects our ideas and the way we see the world. The methodology also uses the concepts of “circuits of cultural capital” and “commodification of a place,” which are applied to the analysis. This paper therefore analyzes the historical formation as well as a semiotic conceptualization of Harajuku. Finally, the paper will synthesize all the aforementioned elements to figure out how Harajuku's image was conceptualized in contemporary Japan.

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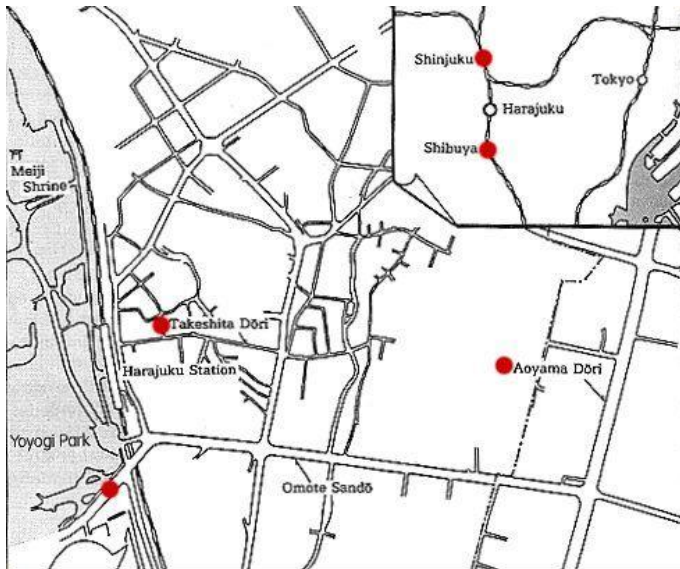


Figure 1. Harajuku as a district (Source: World Wide Web)

Methodology

Goldman and Papson explain their research concepts in a famous book published as “Landscapes of Capital”. Goldman and Papson (2011) collected 2,400 television advertisements (TV ads) from 1995 to 2010 to explore how those ads represented the world at the time. The theoretical basis behind “Landscapes of Capital” is that discourses within advertisements construct our understanding of contemporary economy and society. Goldman and Papson pointed that in TV ads, landscapes are not tied to historical events, geography or an actual nation, but that TV ads are signifiers that may float and flexibly change shape based on the encoder’s intention. One example is an advertisement with the streamline of a light beam, which may signify the image of speed, or information flows depending on what image the advertiser may find more appealing (p.124). Goldman and Papson offered how this floating or flexible landscape of capital leads to a certain image. This paper will apply this concept into the semiotic analysis part.

The theory of circuits of cultural capital: As for the concept of circuits of cultural capital, Zukin (1993) explains how a certain place goes through the process of gentrification. During urban development, continuously produced commodities keep moving around between ‘economic’ and ‘cultural’ circuits. In this process, one may witness the accumulation of “*economic value of investment capital*” (p.260). Zukin tries to explain “*the structural linkage between cultural and economic values today*” (p.260) by bringing two examples; the gentrification of nouvelle cuisine and Disney World (pp.260-275). This structure will be used later in order to organize the historical formation of Harajuku.

Commodification of a place: Bell (1997) conceptualizes the commodification of a place by exemplifying how tourist destinations are constructed. To explain the concept, he referred to three castles that were constructed with old antique and made to look real as if they had not changed since the 1800s. Hence, the commodification of a place is the process of giving value to the place and making it attractive for people to come to the place. This is done through brochure, displays, guides, etc. in trying to “*commodify*” the place (pp.828-832). This notion of commodification will be applied in the semiotic analysis in this paper.

Findings and Discussion

The formation of an imaginary landscape: For many decades, Harajuku has been spinning between market culture and service economy, and through this process has accumulated its capital value. Following Zukin's (1993) idea of "circuit of place", the following diagram shows the historical formation of the Harajuku landscape (Figure 2).

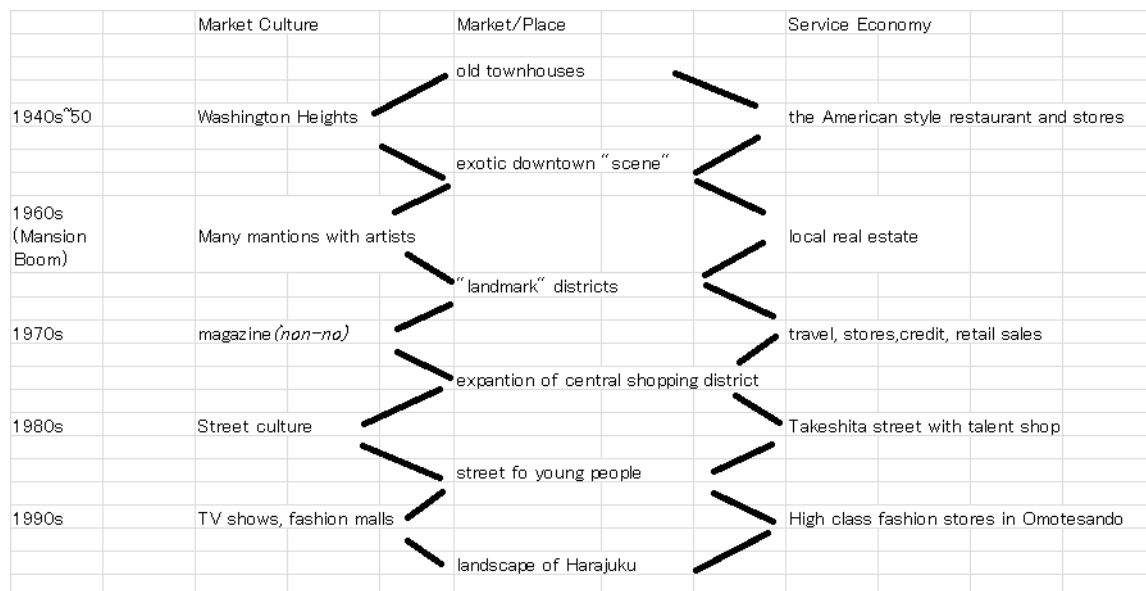


Figure 2. The historical formation of the Harajuku landscape from 1940s to 1990s.

The history of Harajuku is analyzed based on the preceding structure. It started with Harajuku post World War II since it was the period when Harajuku became a slightly unique district from other Japanese places. The United States (US) occupying army had a residence called "Washington Heights" built in a section of Yoyogi Park in Harajuku. Residents were noncommissioned officers and families categorized as middle class, thus contributing to the Harajuku's atmosphere of glam and refinement (Harajuku Omotesando Hiiragikai 2004: 77). This architectural market culture led to the establishment of American style restaurants and stores. Within Washington Heights there were residential areas, schools, churches, theaters, bars, and stores with employees required to speak English (Masubuchi 2012). A bookstore named Kiddy Land was built in Omotesando for American military officers and also Oriental Bather was established as a souvenir shop (Akurosu 1995: 94). The downtown scene started to form around that area. In 1958, central apartments were built next to Kiddy Land. Photographers, copywriters, and designers also moved to Harajuku since they were attracted to its refined and exotic atmosphere (Masubuchi 2012). They were often seen gathering together at the cafe located on the first floor of the building and arguing about their work and political issues (Masubuchi 2012).

In 1963, Harajuku witnessed its largest transformation when Washington Heights was returned to Japan and reformed to become an Olympic athlete village. In Yoyogi Park, Kunitashi stadium was built for the 1964 Tokyo Olympic (Akurosu 1995: 94). Mabuchi (1989) emphasizes that this stadium was the most beautiful stadium in Tokyo. As a result, Harajuku became broadly known for its exotic and international character. Then more designers, models, talents and apparel-related people migrated to Harajuku, and it was called "Japanese Champs Elysees", thus, an exotic downtown scene was formed.

In the 1960s, a “mansion boom” in Japan led to the building of expensive residential building complexes with the most famous ones in Harajuku because its atmosphere was preferred by many higher class people (Sakane, and <http://allabout.co.jp/gm/gc/26400/>). Such beautiful buildings became the landmarks of Harajuku. In 1966, Harajuku-zoku (the Harajuku tribe) appeared in the Harajuku district, most of whom were middle class college students wearing ivy, continental and mods fashion. They drove to Harajuku in sports cars (Acrosu 1995: 94). This was parallel to the context of Japan's rapid economic growth, especially in 1966, a year named “*mai car nengou*” (i.e. the year of ‘my car’). The Izanagi Economics, “*Izanagi Keiki*”, had just started when Harajuku tribes came around 1966 to 1967. The tribes would dance in loud music and do sports car racing in Omotesando streets which resulted in their being widely known and sometimes reported for such behavior to the police. In other words, the sophisticated atmosphere of Harajuku appealed to many young people.

Eventually, Harajuku tribes evacuated and left in the summer of 1967 (Mabuchi 1989: 139-144). After the Harajuku tribes went away, there was a time when Harajuku became quiet again for about six to seven years. Then in the early 1970s, the baby boomer generation started to get jobs. These baby boomers experienced several student movements when they were college students. There was a tendency among these baby boomers to not want to get employed by large companies. As a result, launching new business was the trend at that time (Mabuchi 1989: 243-244). Many young designers and buyers rented small rooms in apartments in Harajuku and opened clothing stores called “Mansion Maker”. They sold clothes, which attracted people from the same generation (Narumi 2007: 195). They also opened small boutiques in their mansions or in Takeshita Street. In 1971, the monthly fashion magazine “*non-no*” started its circulation. Followed by the launch of “*an-an*” a year later. These magazines featured Harajuku and its clothing stores. Girls reading *non-no* and *an-an*, called “*annon zoku*” (*an-non* tribe), got interested in Harajuku, which led to them shopping at Harajuku clothing stores. Consequently, Harajuku and Takeshita Street became famous for fashion and youth culture throughout Japan (Shibuya trend researcher 2006: 60).

In 1977, “*hokosha tengoku* (Pedestrian Paradise) started in Harajuku. Kawamura (2012) emphasizes that the Pedestrian Paradise was the primary reason youth culture flourished in the Harajuku district: “*Between 1977 and 1998, a section of main road in Harajuku was closed to traffic on Sundays making a public sphere and young people dressed in their (often handmade) creative fashion gathered there*” (p.29). In October of 1978, a fashion apparel building, Laforet Harajuku, was established. It had six floors with the first floor filled with famous branded apparel shops. However, sales did not go well and rumors went around that “Laforet Harajuku was a big failure” (Harajuku Omptesando Hiragikai 2004: 82). In February of 1980, Laforet Harajuku renewed its stores with Mansion Makers. Consequently, it became a big success and created bases for the DC brand boom from 1982 (Ibid, p.83).

Moreover, during 1978, *Takenoko-zoku* (the “Baby Bamboo Tribe”, Figure 3) appeared in Harajuku on weekends. It was the first time teenagers created a reputation for their own culture in Harajuku streets. Most of the members were junior high school students. They changed their clothes in Yoyogi Park and danced to the beat of disco music around “*hokosha tengoku*” (Pedestrian Paradise). Wearing harem pants, Kang-fu shoes and clothes inspired by the Arabian nights formed the major wardrobe of the *Takenoko-zoku*. They were just about 30 boys in 1979, but girl fans started to get together with them and media broadcasted their dancing. As a result, they grew to over 2,000 members in 1980; if tourists and fans were included, the number would rise to more than 100,000 people. Some of the popular boys among *Takenoko-zoku* became talents and actors, such as Okita Jouji.

Figure 3. *Takenoko Zoku* (Baby Bamboo Tribe)

Takenoko Zoku emerged in the early 1980s. In those days, “the main street in Harajuk, Omotesandō, was declared hook-ten (‘pedestrian haven’) and cars were banned every Sunday.” *Takenoko Zoku* would “perform choreographed dance moves for hours on end at Yoyogi Park. They invented a vibrant sphere of inclusion where their constructed self-image made them intensely visible, but also kept them distanced from their surroundings and from the audiences they drew. Quickly becoming a popular tourist attraction, they translated the state of being under perpetual scrutiny into the pleasure of being seen” (Groom 2011:191)



The *Takenoko-zoku* phenomenon ended in 1981 with the entry of a new tribe called “Fifties”, who had a regent style with twist dances. Hence, the *Takenoko-zoku* trend only lasted for about three to four years (Shibuya Trend research 2006: 16). Because of *Takenoko-zoku*, the center of Harajuku moved from Omotesando to Takeshita Streets. In the late 1980s, talent shops were established on Takeshita Streets. However, these talent shops only invited the lower age bracket of customers and were just considered as a popular tourist spot. Therefore, the talent shops were recognized as “Children’s place” and “Tourist site” with an uncool image (Shibuya Trend Research 2006: 60).

In the end of 1980s, when rapid economic growth in Japan seemed to last forever, office ladies and female college students went out to nightclubs and danced all night. They were called *Gyaru* or *Bodi-Kon Gyaru* because they were wearing body conscious clothes that tightly fit their bodylines and emphasized their sexual attractiveness (Kinsella 2013: 60-61). This *Bodi-Kon* boom cultivated the upcoming *Kogyaru* (high school gal) subculture in Shibuya. *Kogyaru* subculture got popular during the mid-1990s.

Kogyaru is the term for high school or junior high school girls who were dressed like a delinquent girl (Figure 4). This delinquent image was attributed to high school girls when media sensationalized and reported *Kogyaru*’s engagement in *Enjokousai* (compensated dating) with Japanese salary-men (white collar workers). The menu of compensated dating varied from selling their own panties, pretending to be on an actual date, going together to Karaoke, etc. to having sex just like prostitutes. The common notion for compensated dating was that girls involved in it sold their sexuality for the sake of money (Miyadai 1994). From around this period, a discourse was symbolized around high school girls as being sexually attractive. Likewise, the pornographic industry flourished with high school girls on adult videos, pictures or cartoons (Matsutani 2012: 71-76).



Figure 4. *Kogyaru* (literally: little girl) is characterized as wearing a school uniform in a stylish way with loose socks, a mini-skirt implying sexual deviance (Kinsella 2013:60).

Source: Left picture: Nippon of the day. Retrieved Nov 21, 2014 from <http://www.pinterest.com/sozaiyakoaki/nippon-of-the-day/> Right picture: My opinion on *Kogyaru* Fashion (*Kogyaru Kei Fasshion nituiteno Watashi no Iken.* Retrieved Nov21, 2014 from <http://akb48entertainmenews.blog.so-net.ne.jp/archive/c2304875360-1>

Then Shinohara Tomoe, a solo singer and talent, debuted in 1996. It was the time when the words *Enjokosai*, *Ruzu sokkusu* (loose socks) and *Amura* (short form of Amuro Namie) were awarded as the most popular words (*ryukou-go taisho*). These events indicated the high time for *Kogyaru*, with Shinohara popularity propelling it to a social phenomenon. Shinohara Tomoe was characterized with her flamboyant fashion, high-pitched voice and unique movement resembling the act of dancing (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Shinohara Tomoe (left) and Shinora (right)

Source: Right Picture: GRE news. Retrieved July 22 from <http://guri01.com/shinoharatomoe-yuumin-259>
Left Picture: minp! Retrieved November 21 from <http://www.minp-matome.jp/pub/>

At that time, Shinohara was 16 years old. However, she was not promoted with the advantageous image of a high school girl, but probably appeared as a reaction to the *Kogyaru* boom. The followers of Shinohara Tomoe soon emerged, called *Shinora* (short form of Shinohara Tomoe), and these teenage fan girls started to copy and follow her fashion, hairstyle and behaviors (Matsutani 2012: 88-92). Her fans would get together in Harajuku and go to the Laforet Harajuku to enjoy expressing themselves through clothes. As Godoy (2007), an editor of a fashion magazine has remarked, various kinds of fashion style emerged in Harajuku since mid-1990s including Punk, Cyber, Lolita, Shironuri, Feary, Decola and so forth; styles in Harajuku were never static or fixed. The boundaries of the varying styles often blurred and integrated with each other to the point where sometimes a new branch of style was created from a mainstream category. At the same time, many high class fashion stores were built in Omotesando, with brands imported from abroad. Thus, we can say that the landscape of Harajuku completed its formation around the 1990s.

However, upon the turn of the new millennium, the situation in Harajuku street fashion changed. Yonezawa (2008) and Masuda (2014) point to Harajuku's quantitative decline during the earlier part of the 21st century due to the entrance of 'fast fashion', which appealed to the price-conscious market (Masuda 2014). With the clothes boom (Yonezawa 2008: 80) UNIQLO played a significant role in the fast fashion paradigm shift. UNIQLO is a fashion brand established in 1984 in Hiroshima prefecture. It became such a widely popular clothing brand in Japan that every locale has at least one of its clothes stores. With a sales message as "simple, functional and comfortable", it can be regarded as the opposite of the Harajuku extreme street style (p.95).

Masuda Sebasuchan (2014) also mentioned that the decline of Harajuku street fashion is due to the disappearance of *Hoko-Ten* (Pedestrian Paradise). Youth culture lost their space for growth in their fashion and Harajuku witnessed the wave of *Ura-hara*, the backside of Harajuku style. *Ura-hara* is characterized as a simple boyish style. Masuda (pp. 23-25) suggests that a colorful decorative fashion can be at odds with adult norms, and believes that the forces of capitalism are pushing to regenerate *Hoko-Ten* (Pedestrian Parades) in the Harajuku district.

It can be said that Harajuku fashion is now internationally recognized as one of the most unique forms of Japanese culture. However, some artists who have been in Harajuku complain or refer to it as very cynical. As photographer Yonehara said in Masuda's (2013) book: "*Six years ago, Gyaruru was the center of the appeal trend when Sebasuchan (Masuda) was looking at Harajuku. Nobody accepted it as culture at that time. Then they suddenly changed their behavior to Harajuku when foreigners acknowledged its uniqueness*" (p. 24). Then, Aoki Shoich, editor of magazine "FRUiTS" also commented in Masuda's (2013) book that "*People abroad believe that Japan consists of colorful and vigorous people, but actually inside of Japan has become a very simple place now. I cannot find anyone to ask for one's street snap in Harajuku.*" (p.25)

Harajuku has a long solid history, which proves its growth from post war Japan towards its current status today. It was not an overnight story. Harajuku's unique culture is driven and cultivated by the youth's street power. However, some argue that Harajuku's street fashion is affected by the crisis of global capitalism and is losing its street power. Thus, we may be able to add Zukin's (1993) argument that after the urban landscape is mature enough, we can expect the deterioration or decline of the place.

Representation of Harajuku image and its consumption: One may observe how the landscape of Harajuku is commoditized in the fashion magazine KERA, and more specifically in the street snap of KERA. Many fashionable people have been photographed in the Harajuku street snap. Their fashionable uniqueness

motivates young readers to go to Harajuku and purchase the clothes they wore in the magazine. The concept of commodification of a place is applied here. Some examples of how readers react to those street snaps are provided in this section.

KERA was established in 1998 and has been featuring the Harajuku street snap in the magazine. Since 2012, the proponents of this paper have surveyed the people who consume Harajuku fashion. Through queries with them, it was observed that they commonly described the Harajuku street snap section of KERA as the best compared to other fashion magazines. They would first check the Harajuku street snap and find out who is on it for the latest month. This way they could get to know the featured person through social networking services (SNS) such as twitter. There is a small information box in each featured person's page where they put their twitter account in it. Therefore, fans or ordinary people can communicate with each other by following them. The small box also provides information concerning the location of the stores selling the clothes worn by the featured person, and most of the clothes can be found in Harajuku. So the featured street snap persons are not only showing their personal expression, but are also advertising fashion brands by unintentionally becoming their models.

The process of representation occurs within the Harajuku district. If one knows Harajuku well, they can tell where each photo is taken. Harajuku has only been a place but with fashionable people gathering within it, Harajuku has become more than a mere place for young readers. Magazine photos make readers believe that there are many people wearing such fashionable clothes in Harajuku, which leads to the desire to be one of them (Figure 6). Through this process of adding value, Harajuku is commodified.

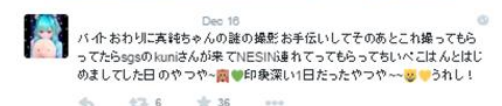


Figure 6. The role of street snap and twitter in Harajuku image construction.

After being photographed in the Harajuku street snap, that person may spread that information on twitter. The left picture is showing how a person reacts towards a post. She put her photograph on magazine on twitter then many people pushed the 'like' button on it. By getting 'like's, that tweet can spread to those in real time and a number of people can see the one who is on the magazine. Because of this, appearing on the magazine makes one famous among the Harajuku fashion consumers in twitter. The girl who appeared on the magazine, gained hundreds of followers and now she has 1,368 followers even though she is just an ordinal part-timer and is not any kind of a celebrity or model. Now she can obtain a lot of twitter or SNS followers, which translates to having more power and influence over followers.

As a result, people go to Harajuku with unique clothes in order to appear on a magazine. In other words, such representation of Harajuku motivates people to consume Harajuku fashion. Although Harajuku fashion is not a vehicle that encourages any fashion to flourish, it accelerates particular streams of fashion style in this district such as Decora, Lolita, Cyber and so on. Such styles merge with the newest trends after being reproduced by individuals. For instance, Lolita has formed into *Hime-Loli* (Princess-like Lolita) and *Kura-Loli* (Classic Lolita).

Harajuku is only a background of the photo in KERA's street snap. However, it contains a power larger than the models featured in the street snap because Harajuku has the ability to attract people in its fashionable environment. As Goldman and Papson mentioned, the landscape can change its image by being represented in a certain way. Harajuku is represented as the most fashionable place in Japan through KERA's street snap. This commodification of the place reproduces the Harajuku culture because it presents a circulation of desires that continues to inflate.

Conclusion

This paper explored how the landscape of Harajuku has conceptualized its image of being the youth fashion street. This paper came up with two answers. One is that Harajuku has successfully formed its urban structure with a unique market culture, such as the youth street subculture. Hence, such an urban structure kept its appeal for the young people to keep on coming and consuming Harajuku influenced culture. Magazines (*non-no*) and TV celebrities (Shinohara Tomoe) also contributed to Harajuku's image formation of a young fashion street. We analyzed the formation process by applying the theory of "circuit of cultural capital". This paper noted that after reaching maturity, a place's culture may deteriorate. We observed that Harajuku went quiet and simple after reaching a certain level of popularity. Another one is that Harajuku has been represented as a place to show your fashionable clothes in fashion magazines. KERA's Harajuku street snap photographs actual pedestrians in Harajuku instead of professional models and thus, provides an equal chance of publicity exposure to everyone. This representation of Harajuku has motivated young people to go and consume Harajuku products. The aforementioned turn of events were examined by the concept of "commodification of the place".

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

The role of libraries in ‘*glocal*’ education at Ama town, Shimane, Japan

Joseph Quarshie¹ and Tomoko Nanka²

Abstract

Modern libraries have evolved by incorporating information communication technology, marketing principles and user orientation to remain competitive and significant as information service providers. This research investigates how libraries may provide and promote materials on ‘*glocal*’ education in a small town in rural Japan called Ama-cho, and explores the library users’ perception of materials provided and the strategies used to promote them. The paper follows this single case with an embedded units design; data from 13 interviews and 50 questionnaires were collected and analyzed. The investigation found that the libraries selection of materials was guided by the town hall’s development agenda. In addition, it was found that librarians mainly employed visual methods, information technology and interpersonal skills to promote materials on ‘*glocal*’ education.

Keywords: ‘*Glocal*’ education, Information providers, Japan, Libraries, Librarians, Library users.

Introduction

Historically, libraries have been an integral part of formal education (especially schools) as well as public and private “storehouses of knowledge” (Lor 2004). As public spaces, libraries also serve as meeting places for scholars, avid readers and the general public. This property of libraries fosters interaction between library users. In today’s knowledge economy, information provided at school and community libraries is significant for both education and wealth creation (Caidi 2006). With the proliferation of internet use coupled with competition from modernized bookstores, among other things, libraries are beginning to redefine their services in order to attract and retain users.

In recent times, there seem to be a growing interest in maintaining or sharing a community’s local identity while embracing globalization. Among other things this has resulted in the coining and use of the term ‘*glocalization*’ which summarily expresses the notion of “think global, act local” or “think local, act global”. In their quest for sustainable development, the town authorities of Ama-cho (one of the four islands that make Oki District of Shimane Prefecture) pursued a fiscal discipline to overturn the budget deficit, initiated educational reform to save the high school from being closed by the prefectural government, and deepened their attention on supporting businesses that make use of local resources. The town authorities’ approach to sustainable socio-economic development is based on developing local products (goods, services and culture) using local and global know-how for a global market.

As information centers, Ama-cho libraries located at the town hall’s development center, the senior high school, junior high school and elementary schools, attempt to support the town authorities’ vision of ‘*glocalization*’ by providing information (mainly books) about local treasures as well as global thoughts and trends. In this context, we were interested in finding answers to the following questions:

1. How do the libraries provide information on ‘*glocal*’ education in Ama town?
2. How do the libraries in Ama town promote ‘*glocal*’ education?

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3. What are the library users’ perceptions of materials on ‘glocal’ education provided by the libraries in Ama town?
4. What do library users think about promotion of materials on ‘glocal’ education by the libraries in Ama town?

To review the efforts of the libraries in providing information for ‘glocal’ education and draw up lessons for implementation in other islands or small communities, this research seeks to undertake the following:

1. Discuss the basis for the choice of materials on ‘glocal’ education by libraries in Ama town.
2. Analyze the methods employed by the libraries to promote materials on ‘glocal’ education.
3. Investigate the perception of library users on the relevance of materials provided as well as the effectiveness of methods used by the libraries to provide ‘glocal’ education.

The following sections provide a review of literature on the evolving role of libraries and librarians especially with respect to education and in the context of ‘glocal’ education. This is followed by the research design, description of the methods employed in the study, an analysis of the findings and discussion of the results.

Role of libraries in general: There are many types of libraries owing to the core customer base they were built to serve. Libraries can be grouped under national, academic and research, public, school, special and corporate themes (Bakken 1998, 82). On a school campus or a community, the library is a “social place where interactions” ensue (Line 2002, 83). For example, junior high school students in Ama town occasionally hang out at the central library on weekends. A few final year high school students also use the high school library for group studies after school.

The physical features of a library influence its ability to deliver quality services. Contrary to a lay point of view that physical libraries are designed to aid movement and study, Line (2002) asserts that “*libraries were often not planned or operated to suit human beings*” (Line 2002: 73). Line’s paper holds that architectural choices such as opting for beauty over function, flights of stairs and no elevator between the floors, heavy doors, poor or no signposting with uniformed officials are responsible for making libraries user unfriendly (Line 2002: 74). Features such as lighting and sound level also count in creating a conducive atmosphere within a library (Line 2002: 83). There are libraries that have special services for the disabled. Some libraries provide reading materials in braille. Additionally, others have audiobooks and physical environments tailored to facilitate movement of physically disabled library users (Kerscher 2006).

In addition to purchasing books, libraries also identify, locate and record indigenous knowledge to raise awareness about it and promote it. Such materials include sound recordings, films, videos, broadcast media and digital material (Lor 2004). At the American Indian tribal colleges, the college library plays a critical role in achieving the colleges’ goal of “preserving and communicating traditional culture” (Duran 1991: 396) via audio recordings, etc. Bakken (1998) hints that as libraries gravitate towards digitization, libraries should protect indigenous knowledge against the effects of globalization (Bakken 1998).

With the proliferation of internet use, one may doubt the future usefulness of physical libraries. Line (1996) argues that the physical place of the library is still important in educational institutions. More so because it may be near impossible to digitize all books (Line 2002). Not dismissing the use of scientific management theory and IT for the purposes of preservation, Gorman adds that libraries ought to collect and promote books, which is more expansive (Gorman 2007: 488). Compared to books, information sourced

from the internet may be from “less reliable sources” (Ingwersen 1999: 11). Libraries have not been left out of the digital age. Many libraries have computerized systems for borrowing or searching for books from their collection or from other libraries they are connected with. Increasingly, there are so-called PC corners or media centers equipped with desktop computers in libraries. Some libraries also provide free internet (via Wi-Fi) connections for library users. According to Castellli (2006) libraries have become a mediator for IT infrastructure and library users.

With the use of information communication technology (ICT) physical libraries can serve library users with materials from other libraries via interlibrary loaning and partnerships. In the case of higher education, the partnerships encompass “academic and public librarians, computing professional, college and university administrators, faculty, publishers and vendors” (Kirk and Bartelstein 1999). Moreover as business people, librarians must work together with other professionals to “design, evaluate and maintain output processes, including economic aspects of collections” (Ingwersen 1999: 15)

If information is considered as a currency, then libraries in their capacities as repositories of information become a tool for wealth creation. Armed with digital information, libraries have the potential to redistribute information needed for business activity and wealth creation in hitherto information-depraved sectors of a society or an economy (Bakken 1998).

Adult education: Some libraries have expanded their services to encompass involvement in adult education or literacy. These take the form of library outreach programs, computer-assisted learning, and tutoring or literacy classes. Within the context of adult literacy, libraries distribute materials to persons that have been institutionalized in places such as hospitals, prisons, rehab centers and elderly homes (Schamber 1990). In recent times, libraries are more likely to have self-help books for young adults and middle-aged people especially during economic recessions characterized by low employment and frequent job changes. In a study involving 49 library policymakers across 4 countries, Caidi (2006) posits that libraries can indeed play a critical role in the political economy of a country by helping library users acquire skills that will empower them to contribute to society. In other words, libraries have turned into a “critical infrastructure for research and business in today’s knowledge economy” (Caidi 2006: 210). Furthermore, within the broader framework of adult literacy, libraries can be used as tools for disseminating information to rural communities to stifle misinformation and promote conflict resolution (Echezona 2007). Such projects can be carried out through mobile libraries, seminars and telecommunication services like text messages.

School libraries: Libraries are a necessity in high school education. Apart from their traditional roles of providing a place for further study and developing a reading habit, the library space in some schools doubles as a classroom, relaxing spot or space for club activities. Dent found a link between students’ library use and their academic performance, and also that the school library is useful for teachers as well (Dent 2006: 404-405).

Role of librarians: The role of the school librarian in the delivery of education as a service is more often than not unrecognized by the teaching staff and school authorities. Ideally, the school librarian ought to be consulted in the procurement of textbooks, additional readings and other media resources that compliment classroom instruction. Unfortunately, the role of the school librarian is mostly limited to keeping the library clean, quiet, organized and recommending books to highly motivated students. Agreeably, Ragle (2011) notes that the roles of library media specialists are more important than their current practice (Ragle 2011: 330). Thus, librarians need to form closer ties with faculty (or teachers) for the purposes of both research

and teaching (Stamatoplos 2009: 244-245). While there is the view that librarians should be allowed to play a front seat role in the delivery of education, there are little or no case studies where such a system is being applied.

The work of librarians has also evolved owing to an increased use of computers and computer devices in librarianship (Kirk and Bartelstein 1999; Bakken 1998) coupled with competition from modern bookstores (Line 2002). As a result of increased computer usage, librarians spend a considerable amount of time teaching students and faculty about the proper usage of library services including the use of online databases, online libraries, citation software, etc. These orientation sessions are structured as either credit hour courses, seminars or workshops.

Bookstores have increasingly become competitors of libraries. Many bookstores now have "lounges, warm staff, coffee, rest place during shopping, free internet browsing, attractive layout and design" (Line 2002: 75). While such changes are not out of the reach of many libraries, it may take some initiative and progressive thinking for a librarian to pursue such transformations. To thrive in the face of competition from bookstores, librarians are exhibiting the characteristics of marketing managers. It is not uncommon these days for librarians to apply marketing principles and techniques in their work (Chu 1999).

Libraries are on the path to change their traditional passive postures to a more user-oriented model of information provision (Caidi 2006: 205). The need for utilizing user-oriented models partly accrues to the diversity of customers and thus customer needs or preferences (Line 2002: 82). Equipped with tools such as task analysis, market analysis and marketing mix, librarians are able to "*help convert library users' needs and wants into effective demand for their products and services*" (Loo 1984). In this light, principles or techniques that librarians employ to promote their services is worth identifying. Taken that the library is a business and the librarian is a manager, the state-of-the-art librarian must combine "*scientific, research methodological, managerial and economic skills*" (Ingwersen 1999: 15).

The age of 'glocal' education: Fundamentally, the word 'glocal' pertains "*to the connections or relationships between global and local businesses, problems, etc.*" (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English 2014), and "*characterized by both local and global considerations*" (Oxford University Press 2014).

In her article, Rahul Choudaha discusses the growing number of Asian students wanting to study in foreign universities while residing at home, as 'glocal' students "*who are willing to pay for a global educational experience while staying in their home country or region*" (Choudaha 2012).

The need of exposing students to global issues and trends has become imperative in the fast-paced globalizing world. Education focused on preparing students to meet the needs of a domestic market is gradually fading out. "*Every student should be educated as an international student, a global citizen with the aspiration to compete globally*" (Zhang 2013).

"Glocal education" as used in this research denotes education, literacy or the general transfer of information that pertains to both local and/or global content (i.e. history, culture, industry, etc.). The use of the term "glocal education" does not attempt to present a recognized or accepted field of study but rather to reflect on the content that pertains to local and global issues separately or together.

Although current literature has touched on various issues regarding the features, functions and future of community and school libraries, there is little or no mention about the role of libraries in providing and promoting 'glocal' education. Therefore, we have attempted to fill that gap, by a case study of the libraries in Ama town, through data collection and analysis, to understand how libraries in Ama town employ or dismiss the following points in the course of providing and promoting 'glocal' education: collection of

indigenous knowledge, adult education, user-oriented services, inter-library partnership and network, and recognition of the role of librarians in the delivery of education.

Methodology

This research is a single case study with an embedded units design (Baxter and Jack 2008: 550). The scope of the case study comprises the geographical and socio-economic context within which the study is conducted. The geographical context refers to Ama town while the socio-economic context refers to education (literacy) reforms as well as economic revitalization efforts championed by the town hall. The research deals with the role of libraries operating in Ama town, attempting to analyze the contribution of the respective libraries both separately and collectively within the geographical context of the study.

Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected and analyzed within the limits of the case study design. With respect to qualitative data, primary data was collected through face-to-face interviews; 13 people consisting of four librarians, one elementary school student, two junior high school students, three senior high school students and three adults were interviewed within two weeks (between 6th and 20th September, 2014). The interviewees were selected using the purposive sampling method. Purposive (expert) sampling was used because library staffs are professionals that engage in library services in Ama town. In terms of library users, purposive (homogenous) sampling was employed because library users had in common the use of library services in Ama town. The head librarian of the central library and high school librarian were consulted in identifying the potential interviewees (i.e. library users).

The sample size of 13 interviewees was chosen to allow for in-depth interviews involving fewer people. Interviewing more adults and high school students rather than junior high and elementary school students reflected on the target of the town hall's agenda and also the level of demand for '*glocal*' literacy materials via library use.

The interviews were conducted at the conference room of the central library in Ama town and at the Oki Dozen High School library. Two consent forms were presented to the interviewees. The first form introduced the research project and sought consent from interviewees for the interviews to be audio recorded. The other consent form expressed the rights of the interviewee pertaining to the use of the information provided in the interview and preference to view drafts of presentations and publications before they are made public. Separate sets of questions were prepared and used to interview librarians and library users respectively.

Although the interviews could have been conducted in English with simultaneous Japanese translations, subtexts and nuances could have been lost during direct interpretations. Also, conducting the interview with the help of an interpreter would have made the interview time longer. With respect to the social context, the interviewees were considered to feel more comfortable listening to and speaking Japanese directly with the interviewer.

Quantitative data was collected using a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire was created to ascertain the extent to which the findings from the interviews were widespread i.e. a view generally held by most library users. Since the questionnaire was constructed after a preliminary analysis of the interviews, some questions in the questionnaire were based on keywords emerging from the interviews. The rest of the questions were founded on issues raised in existing literature. Fifty respondents (N=50) were selected using

the simple random sampling technique. The respondents included 10 junior high school students, 20 senior high school students and 20 adults. All 50 questionnaires were completed and returned.

26 respondents (52% of the sample) were female and 24 (48% of the sample) were male. The oversampling of females compared to males reflected on information from the librarians that there were more female library users than males in Ama town.

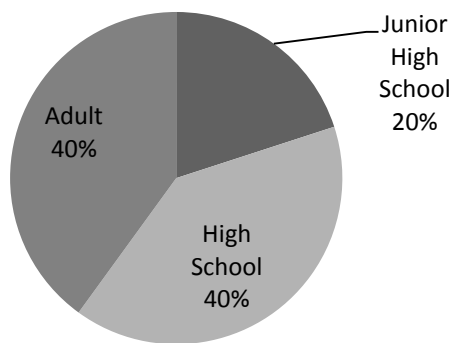


Figure 1: Grouping of respondents

Data analysis: The notes from the interviews conducted in Japanese were transcribed into English. The interviewees' responses were summarized into keywords and categorized under the research questions. These summaries were used to provide general responses to the research questions. Where necessary, statements from the transcribed audio recordings were quoted to support the analyses of information deduced from the notes. The survey data corroborated information gathered from the literature review and interviews in a form of triangulation (Figure 2).

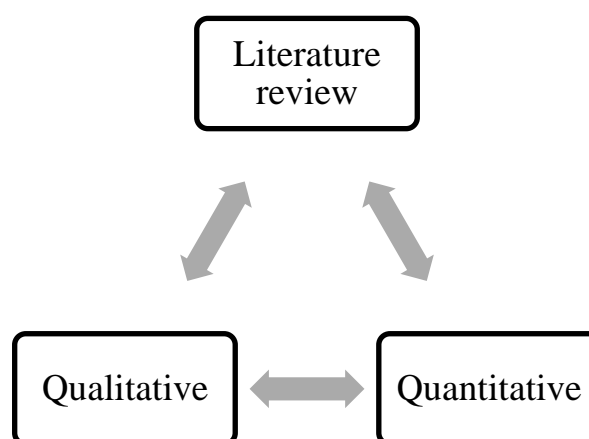


Figure 2: Analytical framework

Libraries in Ama town: Among the four main libraries in Ama town, only the central library has branches around the town. The central library has 11 branches excluding the main building. The central library was established in 2010. Its collection of 8000 books at the beginning of operations had increased to 25,000 books at the time of the study.

According to the librarians, the mission of the town's libraries was to serve in lifelong learning, studying, relaxing, reading, student's dreams, self-improvement, tourist rest spot, ideas exchange, social interaction, requesting books and community knowledge storehouse. Moreover, their target audience was all town people, particularly persons engaged in education (i.e. board of education, cram school staff, and teachers), students, minorities, children and visitors. Visitors to Ama town comprise tourists as well as people visiting to study Ama town's development model. Frequent users of the central library were people in their 20s and 30s, more women than men, students, tourists, '*shisatu*' (people interested in Ama town's development model) and "*I-turns*" (people from other areas in Japan who have relocated to Ama town for various reasons). Compared to other graders, the libraries at the elementary and junior high schools were used very little by final year students. Additionally, there were more female library users at the junior high school than males. The high school library was mostly used by teachers and students. On average, about 30 people used the central library in a day while about 30 students and between 40 and 50 students used the junior high school and high school libraries, respectively.

Apart from the high school library, the central and school libraries were funded by the Ama town government, Shimane prefecture and other sources referred to as "*cloud funding*" by librarians. The high school library is funded by the prefectural government, Parents and Teachers Association (PTA) and other contributions.

Librarians in Ama town: Ama town's central library has a total of three full-time employees and two part time staff. Each librarian is based at the central library and also supports the running of libraries at the kindergarten, elementary and junior high schools. In a week, librarians at the central library visit the school libraries three times on average.

In all, four librarians were interviewed. Three were full time employees of the central library while the fourth was the librarian of Oki Dozen High School in Ama town. There was a special arrangement of cooperation between all libraries in Ama town. For example, books and other materials were shared through an inter-library loan system. Librarians would personally deliver books that were requested at other librarians. Sometimes teachers and education workers shuttling between the schools and the town hall, would transport books on behalf of the librarians.

All four librarians acknowledged awareness of the town hall's initiative on revitalizing the island. However, only three of them had heard of the term "*glocal*" in relation to Ama town's revitalization agenda. The sources they cited were a speech by the Mayor of the town, newspaper articles featuring interviews of residents or written by residents, other publications and from interactions with high school students. Two librarians asserted that they were making a conscious effort to support the town hall's agenda of a "*glocal*" island.

Library users in Ama town: All library users interviewed had used the central library since they moved to the island or since they started reading (elementary school students). The period of use ranged from 5 months to 8 years. The general reasons why the respondents go to the library were for study, books (e.g. Manga), magazines, talking with friends, break/relax, support librarians, attend events, internet, a good atmosphere for working, attend classes and submit homework.

They were interested in subjects ranging from books, music, sports, movies, health, rural development, and cooking to education. In terms of the subjects for which they used the library, the interviewees

enumerated general knowledge/general reading, fashion, national history, education, language studies, career, rural development/social design, reading as a hobby and books with local content.

Out of the ten interviewees, three (an elementary school student and two junior high school students) had not heard about the word “glocal”. The remaining seven interviewees have heard about the word “glocal” and provided definitions, such as:

“I think ‘glocal’ is an abridged version of ‘Think global, Act local’”.

“You live in the island and a depopulated area, but you can meet people from other countries, and you can have a global experience.”

“A person who can do many things in the world but looks and thinks about local issues...”

“I think it is the broadness of view and how to relate to things. For example, people who know what is happening in the world can connect what is happening in Ama town or in other places and see the laws and universality which are common between them.”

Findings and Discussion

In the following discussion, the operational definition of ‘glocal’ education is “education, literacy or the general transfer of information that pertains to both local and/or global content”.

How libraries in Ama town provide information on ‘glocal’ education: The librarians were asked what guided their selection of local content materials, and the responses included books about Ama town, books on local industry, the geo-park, studying and all materials about Ama town and Oki Dozen islands. The librarians admitted that none of the libraries in Ama town engaged in collecting original local content data. With respect to global content (or foreign-centered materials), librarians were guided by global/trending issues, the environment, people making a difference in the world, student’s study/study abroad and data (on resources, maps, etc.).

How libraries in Ama town promote ‘glocal’ education: To promote materials at the central library, the librarians displayed copies of book covers and decorated the library space. Within the library, special shelves for topics (such as local industry or festivals) and trending issues were created, known as “corners”. There was also a café corner at the central library where users could drink and purchase beverages. Outside the library, there were announcements on the library’s homepage, local television channel and the town’s internet-based public address system. A librarian said that she sometimes passed on word-of-mouth information about books during social interactions. Such an approach is consistent with the island’s culture of a close-knit relationship-based community. At the junior high school library, books perceived to be interesting to students were displayed at the entrance of the library. A monthly library newsletter called “*toshokan dayori*” is also used to promote materials. The high school library also makes use of a “*toshokan dayori*” and “corners” as well as a bulletin board and one-on-one book recommendation service for library users.

For promoting materials on ‘glocal’ education, the central library had strategically placed bookshelves for books on Ama town and town development at the entrance. There was a corner for newspapers at the junior high school library and a corner for books on Ama town at the high school library. In terms of global content, the central library had corners on poverty, war, economics and town development. In both the junior high school and high school libraries, a corner was created to introduce the country of origin of the

assistant (English) language teacher (ALT). The high school library also employed the “*toshokan dayori*” and corners for trending global events such as the Olympic Games and soccer world cup. According to the high school librarian, “*When the London Olympics was held; I made a corner about London. I did the same thing for the Brazil world cup...*”

Library users’ perceptions of materials on ‘glocal’ education in the libraries: The library users were unable to say how librarians selected or provided materials on ‘glocal’ education. They however observed that librarians provided materials about the environment, sustainability, geography/geo-park, topography, history/local history, countries, town development and practical social design.

The results from the survey (in Figure 3) show that respondents were more interested to learn about ‘glocal’ history, culture, industry, language, education and town development.

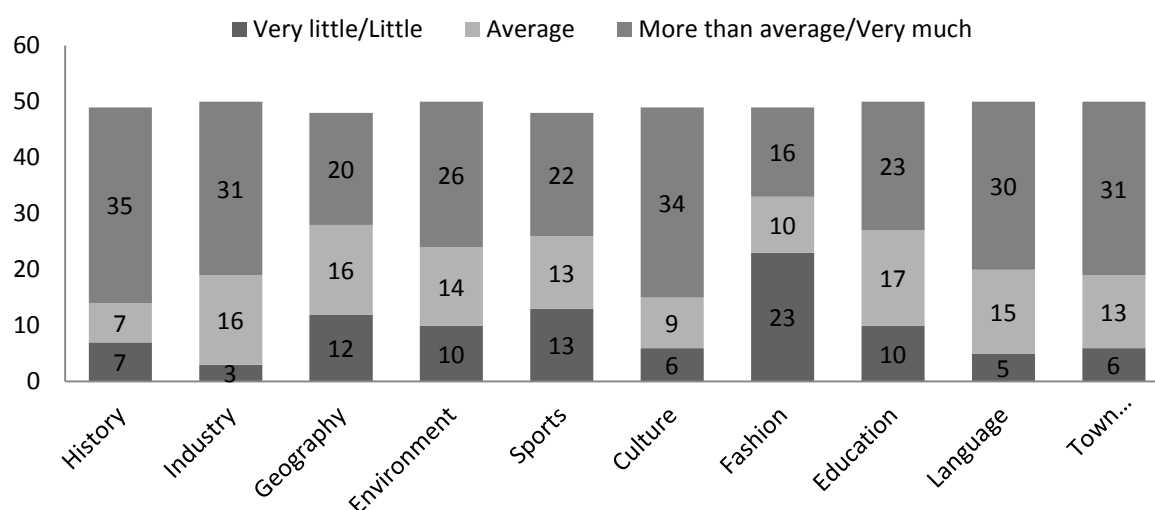


Figure 3: Rating of respondents’ interests in ‘glocal’ education (N=50)

Figure 4 shows that respondents rely a little more on the libraries than the Internet when seeking local education. On the other hand, it shows that respondents significantly rely more on the Internet than the libraries when seeking global education.

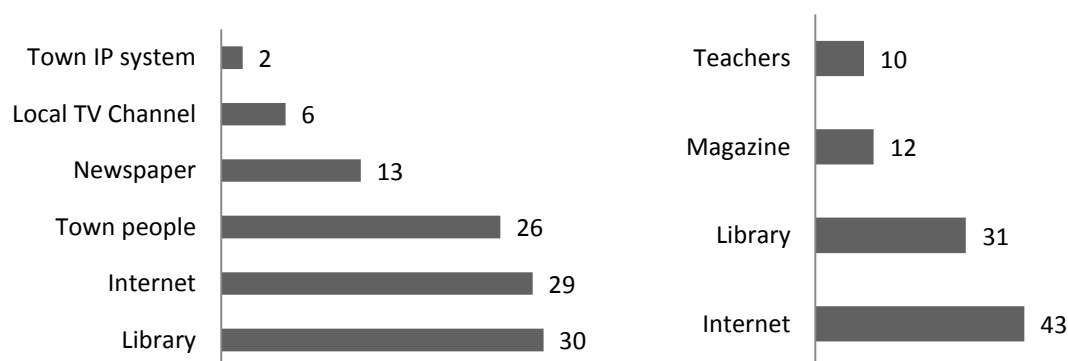


Figure 4: Source of local education, on the left (N=49), and source of global education, on the right (N=50)

Regarding the perception of library users on materials provided, two interviewees mentioned that books provided were not enough. Another interviewee observed that there were more materials on local content than global content. In all, 60% of the respondents (N=38), indicated that the use of library materials for ‘glocal’ education was useful since their demand for a deeper knowledge was met.

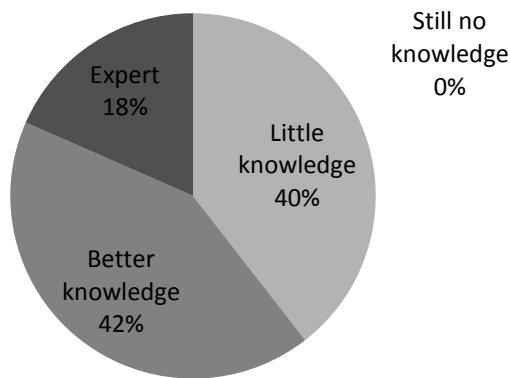


Figure 5: Perception of usefulness of materials at the library (N=38)

Overall, 88% of all respondents (N=50) agreed that the libraries in Ama town were playing a role in their ‘glocal’ education. Respondents acknowledged that libraries in Ama town played a significant role in providing ‘glocal’ education and would remain their major source for ‘glocal’ education in the future.

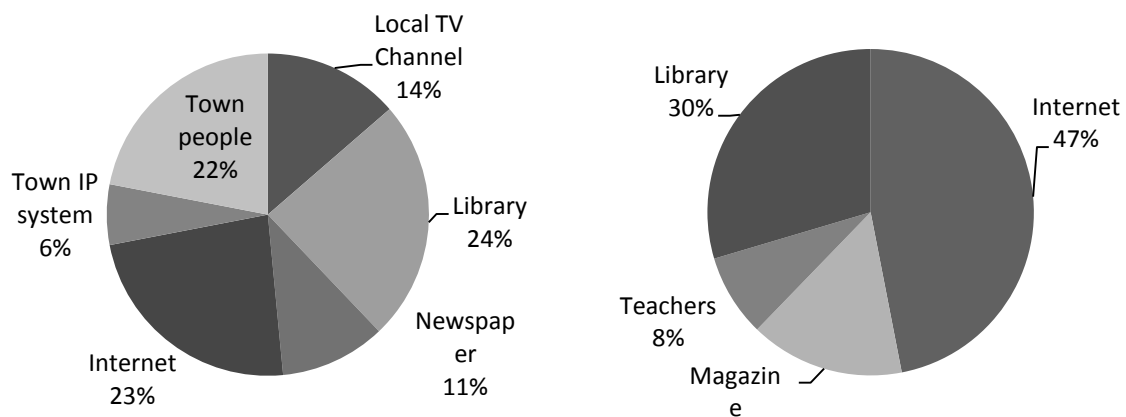


Figure 6: Future sources of local education, left chart (N=50) and global education, right chart (N=49)

Library users’ perception of promotion of materials on ‘glocal’ education at the libraries: Library users identified methods generally used by librarians to promote library services such as electronic loan system, availability of manga, book request service, reading picture books to children, kid’s corner, air-conditioning, good atmosphere, and furniture.

The tools for promoting ‘glocal’ materials deemed most effective by library users were the atmosphere, the one-on-one book recommendation service, book request service, topical shelving (corner), and the café.

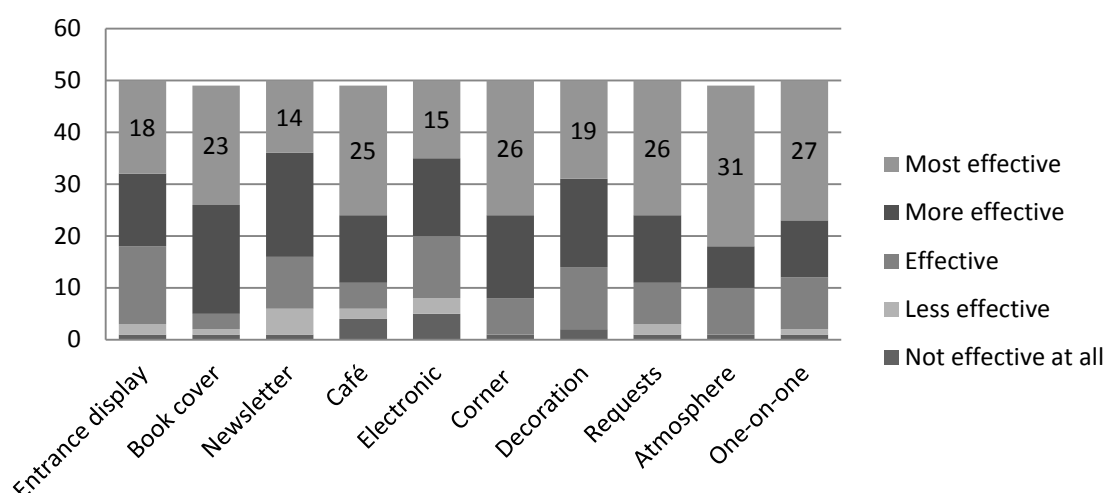


Figure 7: Users' rating of effectiveness of promotional tools (N=50)

The impressions of library users' regarding the promotion of '*glocal*' education materials was that it was easier for them to find books. A library user opined that the inter-library loan system was good because it allowed for a wider use of books. One library user recommended that in order for libraries to effectively promote '*glocal*' materials, digitized reference services must be installed, corners about school curriculum should be created and one-on-one recommendation should be improved.

Conclusion

The libraries in Ama town appear to select local content materials that deepen the library users' understanding of the traditional culture, town development and the tourism industry (e.g. Geo-park). The choice of global content material seems to be broadly guided by the notion of learning from success stories pertaining to town development, environmental sustainability, and human resource development. Much thought is also given to connecting the island to the rest of the world. This was observed in the creation of corners for global issues or trending issues around the world using books, magazines and newspapers.

The Ama town librarians use information technology, interpersonal skills and visual methods coupled with strategic positioning of '*glocal*' content materials to promote their use. For example, the library website and electronic borrowing system, one-on-one book recommendation service, display of book covers and library newsletter and topical shelving (referred to as 'corners').

Based on the respondents' perception of the most effective promotional tools used by the libraries in Ama town, an atmosphere of freedom created at the library and the competence demonstrated by librarians played significant roles.

In a sum, libraries are the second major source of information for '*glocal*' education among library users in Ama town. Materials at the libraries are provided in the form of newspapers, magazines and books. The general impression was that both local and global content materials provided and promoted by the libraries were relevant because respondents were able to derive better knowledge as a result of their use.

The role of libraries in '*glocal*' education at Ama town holds some generally applicable lessons. Libraries are able to reach the community more if they devote a portion of their collection to matters related

to local industry or initiatives, for example, tourism and town development. To enrich their collection and strengthen their positions as knowledge storehouses, libraries should engage in the collection of indigenous knowledge. Against the backdrop of rising unemployment and in another vein, the need for young people to acquire multiple skills, libraries could stock up self-help books. To be worthy competitors of bookstores, libraries may increase the sense of freedom by creating café corners close to the exit in order not to disturb the work of the majority of library users. A partnership and inter-library service between the community and school libraries is highly beneficial. School librarians must advocate for the use of the library space as classrooms in order to promote the library as a place for all students. Furthermore, librarians can make libraries more user-oriented by developing systems to frequently take book requests and recommending materials to library users on a one-on-one basis.

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REVIEW:

Towards community empowerment for poverty reduction in rural Afghanistan

Farid Ahmad FARZAM RAHIMI ¹

Abstract

This paper describes community empowerment as a new initiative in Afghanistan. The context of this paper is based on a review of policy papers and other literature, plus field observation in Afghanistan where poverty is a major problem across the country. The majority of poor people lives in rural areas, mainly as small farmers, farm workers and associated worker groups. Being mainly involved in livestock and agricultural activities, they face many challenges, including a lack of access to the market, inadequate skills, illiteracy, droughts, and financial problems. The main way to support them has been through poverty reduction programs and projects in rural Afghanistan. In the past 12 years, community empowerment has also entered into the focus of the government and international organizations for development of rural areas in Afghanistan.

Keywords: Afghanistan, Community empowerment, Poverty, Poverty reduction, Rural development.

Introduction

People of Afghanistan suffer from a long time war and instability but are ambitious and hopeful for having a better life in the future. Afghanistan is sometimes called a post-conflict country which in reality is not true because war and conflict still continue and take human lives day by day across the county. Afghanistan's economy has mainly relied on agriculture though it was damaged during the civil war. About 80% of villagers are surviving directly or indirectly through agriculture. Agriculture can serve as a tool for economic development by providing export revenues. Fresh and dry fruits, carpets and precious stones are the main exports items from Afghanistan. However, agricultural production levels fluctuate year by year. The infrastructures such as roads, irrigation system, research institutions, and promotion places have been destroyed as a result of the wars.

The hardships of rural people have caused them to migrate to urban areas and other countries. Depopulation in rural areas and immigration to urban areas and other countries have negatively impacted on agricultural production, and the decline of agricultural products has had a negative influence on the economy. Fluctuations of agricultural production are the result of three decades of civil war, massive migration of farmers to the neighboring countries, fluctuations in annual rainfall and frequent droughts, destruction of irrigation systems, and lack of access to agricultural services such as improved seeds, fertilizers, agricultural equipment and training of farmers. A gradual decline in agricultural production has caused food shortages and deepened the country's dependence on imports of food and other consumer goods and has negatively impacted on the balance of trade.

Although Afghanistan has a suitable climate and adequate resources for the production of crops and livestock, it has not yet achieved food security and self-sufficiency. A high percentage of the population suffers from poverty and lack of access to basic services. To end the war and alleviate the poverty, important actions need to be taken, such as designing development policies, and paying attention to

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economic and security cooperation with other countries in the region. The cooperation of international organizations such as World Bank has also been important for poverty alleviation in Afghanistan.

Nonetheless, solving socio-economic and political problems in Afghanistan is not possible without the involvement of local communities or their representatives in decision making. For instance, the participation of local communities in identifying their needs and designing development projects is important. Local communities need to be empowered in terms of clarifying their priorities and needs. Empowering local communities can lead them to play a key role in decision-making along with other stakeholders such as government agencies, donors, and so forth. The past experience and current realities show that a revision of approaches and strategies for rural development, with a new tendency to serve purposively through participation and empowerment of the poor may be more effective in meeting the needs of rural areas.

In rural Bangladesh, government investment in physical infrastructure like roads, bridges, electricity, embankments and irrigation facilities has been more effective as it creates both instant employment and further opportunities for future employment, as well as self-employment (Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development 2011: 8).

The government of Afghanistan and its international partners have invested significantly in strengthening sub-national governance structures that fit Afghanistan's political and social context, such as the provincial and district governors' offices and provincial councils, as well as official or semi-official bodies such as Community Development Councils (CDCs) at the local level, District Development Assemblies (DDAs) at the district level, Provincial Development Committees at the province level, District Coordination Committees (DCC) and Afghanistan Social Outreach Program (ASOP) Councils. These committees and councils are meant to temporarily fill the lack of governance capacity at local levels in delivering the necessary public services (Hate & Zadran 2013: p. 13).

Methodology

The main purpose of this paper is to describe community empowerment as a new initiative in Afghanistan. Qualitative data has been gathered for description of this paper. Both primary and secondary data are used purposively in order to answer the question of "How important is community empowerment in rural Afghanistan?"

Primary data was gathered through observation of the activities of Community Development Councils (CDCs) and District Development Assemblies (DDAs) as the local institutions and community representative bodies at the village and district levels, respectively. The field observation was launched during the August 2014 in Herat, Afghanistan. In addition, secondary data was gathered through the review of existing literature, policy papers, and other published governmental documents. A descriptive research method was used to explain the activities of the Government of Afghanistan in supporting community empowerment and the key role played by the local communities for rural development.

Findings and Discussion

Empowerment has been defined as access to basic services including safe drinking water, education, healthcare and basic infrastructure, is very important for the lives of poor people. The provision of basic services must therefore be formulated in the plans of the government and development institutions. In

addition, local communities must take part in clarifying their priorities and be empowered through participation with responsive and accountable institutions who affect their lives. Narayan (2002: 13) points out that:

“The term empowerment has different meanings in different socio-cultural and political contexts, and does not translate easily into all languages... [The] terms include self-strength, control, self-power, self-reliance, own choice, life of dignity in accordance with one’s values, capacity to fight for one’s rights, independence, own decision making, being free, awakening, and capability – to mention only a few. These definitions are embedded in local value and belief systems.”

Rappaport (1981), and Zimmerman & Warschausky (1998) have also argued about the definition of this term: *“Empowerment is both a value orientation for working in the community and a theoretical model for understanding the process and consequence of efforts to exert control and influence over decisions that affect one’s life, organizational functioning, and the quality of community life”* (Zimmerman 2000: 43). Moreover, Cornell Empowerment Group (1989) writes that *“Empowerment is an intentional, ongoing process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring, and group participation, through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control over those resources”* (Zimmerman 2000: 43).

Perkins & Zimmerman (1995: 570) in explaining their definition of empowerment, distinguish between processes vs. outcomes and the individual, the organizational level and the community level:

“Empowering processes for individuals might include participation in community organizations. At the organizational level, empowering processes might include collective decision making and shared leadership. Empowering processes at the community level might include collective action to access government and other community resources (e.g., media) ... Empowered outcomes for individuals might include situation-specific perceived control and resource mobilization skills... Community-level empowerment outcomes might include evidence of pluralism and existence of organizational coalitions, and accessible community resources”.

Empowerment Elements: There are many examples of empowering approaches which are initiated by poor people, a civil society, the private sector, and the government. Empowering poor people increase their freedom of choice in different contexts. Narayan (2002: 18) has described four elements of empowerment including access to information, inclusion and participation, accountability, and local organizational capacity. It is very important for poor people to participate in activities and take action in programs and projects offered to them. For access to information and involvement in decision making, they need to be connected to local governments and other organizations. Governments and citizens are interconnected; the government needs to get information from citizens and vice versa in order for people to exercise their rights, have access to services, and for the two to negotiate effectively and take action jointly. Without information, it is impossible for poor people to understand the forms of relations and to take effective actions when needed. The Government’s investment in rural development requires access to all information at the local and national levels. The dissemination of information helps the government as well as the citizens to focus on priority areas. The government needs to collect the information about poor communities’ priorities and needs. This can help the poor communities to realize that the government is working with them and is trying to solve their problems.

The term inclusion refers to the involvement of poor people in decision making in designing the development programs and projects. Participation refers to the inclusion of poor people in making decisions and identifying their priorities and needs. The participation of poor people in development activities helps with utilization of local resources, facilitation, service delivery, and capacity building. In addition, participation of poor people in government's development activities helps establish a decentralized decision making process for public services.

Participatory decision making helps the stakeholders to clarify the needs of poor people in rural areas so that they can focus on their most relevant needs. Participatory decision making may not be always harmonious; therefore, mechanisms for conflict resolution must exist for managing disagreements. Participation can be allowed directly through inclusion of communities' members and indirectly through selecting of representatives among the communities based on election mechanisms. In projects of the World Bank, participation has been the most important element among the four elements of empowerment, and has helped to open up new opportunities to institutionalization, and national priority setting and policymaking.

Accountability is also important to all key stakeholders of the development programs and projects; it relates to the ability of the public officials, service providers, and local communities to be responsible for the use of funds, their actions, and policies. For instance, a big problem in Afghanistan is corruption in development activities. Accountability can be formed by different mechanisms including political, administrative and public. Political accountability can be addressed through elections. For government agencies, administrative accountability through internal mechanisms such as horizontal and vertical relations within and between agencies is essential. Local residences expect government agencies to be accountable in delivering services.

Poor people in local communities need to be organized to take care of themselves. Therefore, capacity building through local organization enables people to work together, mobilize their resources, and organize themselves to help solve their problems. Poor people in rural areas can make formal and informal groups in order to support and provide strength to each other. The capacity building in community ensures that poor people can make decisions, solve problems, and manage the funds.

An organized local community is the key for development activities and its effectiveness. Bridging and linking of organized communities provide them with more resources and technical knowledge as well as networks and associations that can influence government decision making. They may be empowered enough to bargain with service providers, employers, and other agencies.

Figure 1 demonstrates the empowerment framework which describes the interrelationship between the state institutions, poor people and their organizations, as well as the development outcomes. Mobilization of poor people and local assets require investment in them and their organizations. Therefore, investment in poor people provides capabilities for both individual and collective activities. Individual capacities and the collective capacity enable poor people to participate in the society and collaborate with the government. Reform of the state must focus on incentives, rules, norms, mechanisms, and behaviors. The development outcomes include improved governance, better-functioning and more inclusive services, more equitable access to markets, strengthened civil society and poor people's organizations, and increased assets and freedom of choice by poor people (Narayan 2002: 23).

Mechanisms are needed to provide for accountability and capacity building for local organizations to help solve the poor people's problems. In some cases, direct participation of poor people or their representatives can play an important role in decision making.

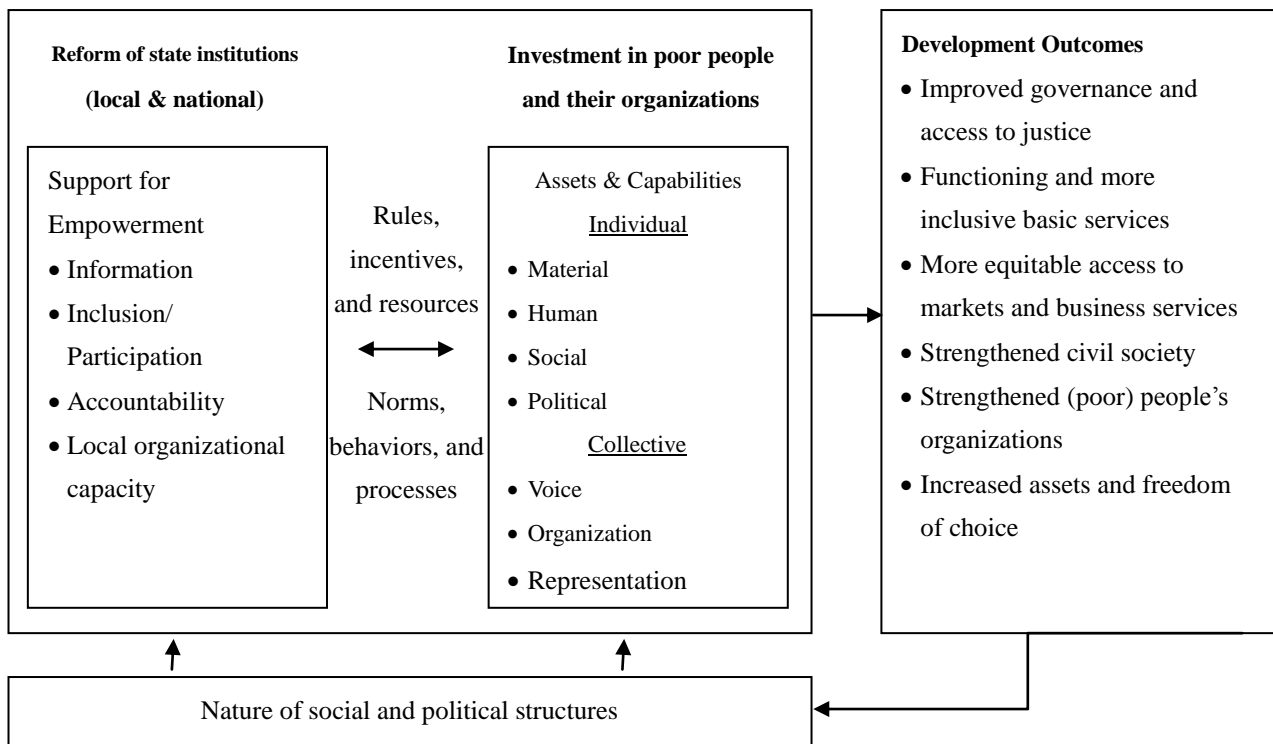


Figure 1. The empowerment framework (source: Narayan 2002: 23)

The existence of a civil society with research institutions and facilitators may play an important role in carrying the voices of poor people to decision makers at local and national levels. In Afghanistan, the poor and most vulnerable people live in rural areas; therefore, local communities and farmers living in rural areas need to be supported in meeting their basic needs and helping them grow out of poverty. In the past 12 years, poverty reduction has been the main focus of the Government of Afghanistan aiming to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). To reduce poverty, economic growth and development are needed. Economic growth and development reduce poverty both at the national and local level. Economic growth provides income generation for people and impacts on household expenditures. A higher income allows people to spend more money on services such as healthcare, schooling, and so forth.

Since 2002, community empowerment has been a new initiative in Afghanistan. Empowering local communities was originally a component of the Project on Emergency Community Empowerment and Public Works of the World Bank/ International Development Association (WB/IDA). It was a massive endeavor of the Government of Afghanistan and many international partners to address the needs of rural communities by using participatory involvement across the country. Community empowerment in Afghanistan was drawn based on the experiences of IDA on designing successful Community-Driven Development (CDD) projects elsewhere such as in Indonesia. CDD projects are mainly focused on social mobilization, empowering people including women, strengthening democratic culture at the community level, and promoting conflict resolution.

Economic growth, stabilization, and poverty reduction in rural Afghanistan were targeted in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Afghan National Development Strategy (ANDS), the Afghan Rural Development Sector Strategy (ARDSS), the Afghanistan Compact, as well as in United National

Development Program (UNDP) and Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development (MRRD) strategies. Additionally, the global strategic plan (2008-2011) of the UNDP and the Country Program Action Plan (CPAP) of the UNDP Afghanistan have concentrated their efforts on rural sustainable development and well-being of the poor people through widening economic opportunities, and utilizing the natural resources.

At the beginning, the National Solidarity Program (NSP) as the largest program of MRRD was launched in 2002 to provide for the local needs and development priorities, and the use of resources and grants. The first action was mobilizing communities and helping them to be involved in development activities. Through elected representatives called the Community Development Councils (CDCs), the rural communities were motivated to play a key role in developing their society in areas such as infrastructure, education, irrigation, healthcare, access to clean water and so forth.

In 2003, the Government of Afghanistan and international communities were formulated national programs and strategies to reconstruct the country. One of the programs was 'Assisting the Poor and Vulnerable'. The Afghan National Development Strategy (ANDS) was formulated in 2006 as a five years development program with alleviation of poverty being a key objective. Different ministries including the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Ministry of Housing, and Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development (MRRD) were in charge of poverty reduction. MRRD played an important role for poverty alleviation and rural development across the country. MRRD has formulated many national programs to empower local communities contributing to poverty reduction.

MRRD is working for social and economic growth in rural Afghanistan, thereby reducing poverty and promoting socio-economic development. It has presence in all 34 provinces of Afghanistan, and with support from international development partners delivers six main programs in keeping with the needs of the local populations. These programs are:

National Solidarity Program (NSP) was created by the Government of Afghanistan to develop the capability of local communities in identifying, planning, managing, and monitoring development projects in rural Afghanistan. NSP focuses on empowerment of local communities to be involved in decision making on development activities affecting their livelihoods. NSP is funded by many international and bilateral donors, the major donor being the World Bank.

National Area-Based Development Program (NABDP) began in 2002 with the support of UNDP, aiming to reduce poverty and improve the livelihoods in rural areas across the country. It focuses on designing and delivering locally sustainable programs for livelihood development, and developing and institutionalizing District Development Assemblies (DDAs) to enable rural communities to organize and participate in the development process.

National Rural Access Program (NRAP) is set to enhance the livelihood of rural communities and their access to basic services, goods, and facilities. It also helps the households and individuals in managing risk by providing employment. It provides for rural development enabling them access to the needed infrastructure as well as temporary jobs for rural people.

Rural Water Supply, Sanitation, and Irrigation Program (Ru Wat-SIP) focuses on basic services such as water and sanitation in rural Afghanistan. Rural communities face many health problems due to a lack of access to safe drinking water and sanitation. Provision of drinking water and sanitary services helps prevent from disease and reduce child mortality.

Afghanistan Rural Enterprise Development Program (AREDP) was established for the purpose of job creation and income generation, aimed at promoting local governance and building rural infrastructure. It is also funded by the World Bank and bilateral donors.

Comprehensive Agriculture and Rural Development–Facility (CARD-F) is a joint entity established under the auspices of the Ministries of Agriculture and Rural Development (ARD) Cluster. It is administered by MAIL, MRRD, MoCN, and the MoF, managed by an Inter-Ministerial Committee chaired by MoCN, and led by an Executive Director who reports to the Committee (Rao, 2014, p. 24).

These improvements reflect efforts by the Government of Afghanistan, with significant technical and financial support from the international donor community and other development stakeholders. The MRRD and the Independence Directorate of Local Governance (IDLG) have taken a leadership role in overseeing these initiatives. Donor-supported efforts have included UNDP's Afghanistan Sub-National Governance Program (ASGP), NABDP, Afghanistan Social Outreach Program (ASOP), and Afghanistan Peace and Reintegration Program (APRP), USAID's Regional Afghanistan Municipalities Program for Urban Populations (RAMP-UP), DfID's Strengthening Municipalities Program (in partnership with UN-Habitat), and the World Bank's National Solidarity Program (NSP) (Hate & Zadran 2013: 13).

The emphasis on the development of talents and abilities to empower the communities in remote and marginal areas and the use of these abilities in development projects has been constructive. The new approach (empowerment) refers to a bottom-up management. The bottom-up management approach lies on participation of disadvantaged and marginalized groups of society in planning and involvement in decision-making. Many vulnerable and impoverished communities are receiving subsistence assistance and livelihood training. School enrollment rates of both boys and girls demonstrate an encouraging upward trend every year, and more teachers, including female instructors, are being enrolled in and successfully graduating from training institutes. Energy and water distribution mechanisms are also gradually beginning to reach more communities, although reliable coverage remains a continuing challenge in the north and in remote areas farther away from provincial centers. In general, public awareness about the need for good governance has improved, and public expectation of better performance by government institutions at the central and local levels is rising (Hate & Zadran 2013: 13).

Participation of local people can help provides information about what they need and how to take action for undertaking of development projects. Equal participation of men and women and other different groups including the disabled and small ethnic groups has an effective impact on decision making and planning. Participation of men and women in decision making increases their power and influence in policy making. Having democratic governance is important in protecting people from social and economic problems as well as natural disasters, food shortages, old age, sickness, and unemployment.

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) office in Afghanistan recently prepared a Sub-National Governance and Development Strategy (SNGDS) to provide a strategic framework for future policy and programming support to Afghanistan in this crucial area. The strategy has two broad areas of focus; one is on building capable and accountable sub-national government institutions for service delivery. This pillar aims to promote the capabilities of sub-national executive institutions at Provincial, District and Municipal levels to provide services in an accountable, inclusive, responsive manner, while ensuring more involvement of women. It may be viewed as promoting the supply of good, conflict-sensitive local governance and accountable service delivery.

The other main pillar is empowering the population, civil society, and sub-national elected bodies to hold sub-national governments' accountable, ensuring stabilization, peace-building, and inclusion. This pillar aims to ensure that the population, representative bodies, and civil society organizations have the ability to engage with, influence, and hold sub-national government institutions accountable for effective and equitable public service delivery. This pillar will seek to ensure that marginalized and vulnerable groups take part in prioritizing and monitoring service delivery. It may also promote the demand for good local governance and accountable service delivery (Hate & Zadran 2013: 6).

Empowerment allows local communities to participate in implementation of development projects and also provides a context for decentralization. Decentralization refers to the transfer or assignment of powers of planning, decision making, management of central government or its agents to the subordinate units of government, semi-autonomous public agencies, and local authorities in rural areas. The government tries to involve local communities in policy-making, planning and implementation of their plans, especially poverty reduction. The implementation of regional and rural development programs can only be successful when it is planned based on the experience and available knowledge at local and national levels.

Empowerment lies at the center of participatory development. The development of local areas depends on the talents and capabilities of local communities, the use of natural resources, and available technology with special attention to the development of self-esteem, confidence and prosperity. Empowering local communities is the essential precondition for sustainable development. Government alone cannot implement development programs and rural development projects, but it can facilitate conditions for the implementation of these plans. Empowerment should be used to reduce poverty and bridging the gap between the rich and the poor.

In Afghanistan, holding elections for local councils, for the purpose of involving them in development activities has been remarkable. However, the potential of rural women has not been considered in the various stages of development and hinders their employment, income, health, education, and social status.

Transferring some of government's jobs to people (participation) helps with the implementation of local governance. This approach creates a strong trust between the government and the people. It is quite obvious that the central government, in many cases, has not allowed citizen participation in economic and social activities, therefore, people are being pushed back.

Formation of community development councils is an achievement of NSP in creating unity between the people and their participation in decision-making which is popular in the social field. The establishment of community development councils and capacity building of development councils have empowered local people to gather and identify their development needs.

NABDP is another successful program which has created a social network across the country. NABDP works to gain progress toward the achievement of the MDGs by reducing disparities in Afghanistan's rural population. They have projects in economic development, infrastructure, and improved local governance. Since 2002, NABDP has worked in Afghanistan's most rural areas, to help develop the country's poorest communities. Being present in all 34 provinces of Afghanistan, and reaching 388 of the 402 districts, NABDP has completed thousands of projects country wide, benefiting millions of rural people.

As a whole, local governance has improved since 2001 in Afghanistan. Afghanistan has experienced marked progress, since the fall of the Taliban regime in late 2001, in providing necessary public services across a widening geographic area, extending increasingly beyond the political center in Kabul. These have included the creation of a basic but functional healthcare system that did not exist during the Taliban period,

a significant increase in physical infrastructure to link rural and urban areas, and improved domestic airports that are better connecting major regional hubs across the county with one another and with the rest of the world. In addition, even remote and insecure parts of the county are now increasingly likely to have access to public communication channels via radios, televisions, and mobile phones.

Conclusion

Poverty in Afghanistan was considered in different dimensions such as dependence of rural population on agricultural activities and livestock as the main sources of income, lack of irrigation infrastructure, and lack of access to clean water, healthcare, and electricity. Many rural households have remained poor. Poverty and lack of resources are the major problems in Afghanistan. The rural areas have been most vulnerable because most of the development activities have been concentrated in large cities.

This paper has discussed the importance of community empowerment for rural development in Afghanistan. Community empowerment is a useful approach for all countries, developed and undeveloped. Empowering local communities and focusing on agriculture development can help with rural development and ensure that local people can meet their basic needs. It depends on encouraging people to participate actively in the design and implementation of agricultural development programs, creating favorable conditions for investment and private sector activities in the agricultural sector, creating an atmosphere of mutual trust between the people and the government, creating an effective system of credit, development of markets for agricultural products, and enhancing access of farmers to improved seeds, fertilizers, and medicine for livestock.

The most vulnerable people during the years of war have endured more hardship while few of them have been able to cooperate in addressing their needs and requirements. With the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the establishment of democracy, and huge amounts of international aid, social development and serving of the people by the people are expected. Many national programs have been launched to support the empowerment of local communities in order to solve their problems and provide them with the needed livelihood.

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

Poverty reduction through women's entrepreneurial activities in rural Andhra Pradesh, India

Naveen Kolloju¹

Abstract

In India, ensuring sustainable livelihoods and alleviating rural poverty remain serious challenges for policy makers. There are many problems including a lack of access to institutional/farm credit, lack of innovative approach for agricultural development, steep increases in the prices of fertilizer, high indebtedness, and imperfect market conditions. The lack of institutional support often traps the poor into a cycle of perpetual debt and poverty, and in extreme conditions, they may not even have access to food. In these circumstances, ensuring livelihood security for the poor through the promotion of various small-scale entrepreneurial activities has received critical attention. Rural banks have been entrusted with the responsibility to provide adequate and affordable credits to rural people to improve their livelihood opportunities. Self-Help Groups (SHGs) have become instrumental in delivering tiny loans to the poor women through banks to promote various entrepreneurial activities. Particularly in Andhra Pradesh, a southern state, the SHG movement has been playing a pivotal role by bringing a radical change in the position of women from daily-wage laborer to self-employed entrepreneur. As an empirical analysis, this paper critically examines the potentials of SHGs to emerge as institutions of rural entrepreneurship, and of running various small-scale business ventures by poor women in Andhra Pradesh. Besides, the paper attempts to highlight the major operational challenges in the functioning of SHGs.

Keywords: Andhra Pradesh, India, Poverty reduction, Rural poverty, Self-Help Groups (SHG), Women entrepreneurs.

Introduction

The discourse on poverty has been a central issue for academicians and policy makers across the globe. Especially, it assumed critical importance with the debate on the new goal for global poverty reduction, “*to reach zero extreme poverty by 2030*” (The Chronic Poverty Report, 2014-2015), though the third Chronic Poverty Report proposes a new framing for a post-2015 goal to eradicate extreme poverty, tackling chronic poverty, stooping impoverishment, and supporting sustained escapes from poverty. In spite of implementing various anti-poverty measures and welfare policies by the governments and International agencies, many people in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries remain poor. According to the Global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) (2014), up to June 2014, a total of 1.6 billion people were living in multidimensional poverty, out of which 52% live in South Asia, and 29% in Sub-Saharan Africa. Additionally, of the said 1.6 billion, 85% live in rural areas (Alkire et al., 2014:1). The Global Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) is an index of acute multidimensional poverty, developed in 2010 by the Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). It assesses the nature and intensity of poverty at the individual level, and directly measures the nature and magnitude of overlapping derivations in health, education and living standard at the household level.

In India, poverty alleviation has consistently been one of the important challenges since its independence. The Government of India has implemented various developmental strategies, and welfare

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policies from time to time to help reduce poverty. However, India still has a long way to go in alleviating poverty (Goshal 2012). Poverty in India is largely rural in character, where landless laborers and casual workers are the worst off economic group. In particular, Scheduled Castes and Tribes, women and female headed families and old people face more deprivation than others. They have been suffering more from poverty due to landlessness, unemployment, inaccessibility of resources, primary healthcare and education, transportation, market etc. (Dev 2007; Haughton & Khandker 2009; Sukumar 2010). The Rangarajan Committee report on *Measurement of Poverty* (2014) estimated that the 30.9% of the rural population and 26.4% of the urban population were below the poverty line in 2011-12, and the poverty ratio in all India in 2011-12 was 29.5%. In other words, 260.5 million individuals in rural areas and 102.5 million in urban areas with a grand total of 363 million were under the poverty line in India. This means that three out of every ten Indians are poor (ibid, p.5).

Some scholars have looked at poverty from a gender perspective as well. Nussbaum (2000) elucidated the feeble conditions of women in most of the developing countries, and argued that women are less nourished than men, less healthy, more vulnerable to physical violence, sexual abuse, and are treated as “*second class citizens*”. In a similar vein, Upalankar (2005) stated that women are among the poorest of the poor and still suffer from malnourishment. The poor woman’s voice does not carry any weight in the family, particularly in rural India. This situation is primarily due to the lack of economic independence and being neglected as contributors to development. These social and economic inequalities relegate women to a lower status and make them less important, less capable, less central, and less valuable than men. Unfortunately, poverty has increasingly becoming feminized, meaning that an increasing proportion of the world’s poor are female (Moghadam 2005).

However, scholars offer some strategies to alleviate feminization of poverty and bring gender equality. Nayyar (2005) argues that reduction of gender inequality in access to resources and opportunities may lead to an increase in the rate of economic growth and in turn reduce the poverty level, because gender equality enables women to take up income-earning opportunities, and participate in the growth process. The author correlates reduction of gender inequality by providing economic opportunities, and emphasizes for creating various self-employment activities for women so that they can become financially stable on their own. Morrison et al. (2007) in their working paper on ‘Gender Equality, Poverty and Economic Growth’ are of the view that economic empowerment is one of the important ingredients in the process of women’s empowerment. They also add that women’s access to market and their decision-making power within households not only leads to reduction of poverty but also increases their productivity at the individual and household level. Indeed, they stress the need for providing credit to women that allows them to take up small-scale self-employment activities. This in turn, would enhance their capabilities in decision-making within and outside the family.

Amartya Sen (2000) observes that poverty is “*not simply a state of low income or consumption but as the lack of freedom of a person to choose and live the life he has reasons to value*”. He characterizes poverty as one of the “*deprivations of the basic capabilities rather than merely as lowness of incomes*”. In other words, he believes poverty is the absence of a wide range of capabilities, including security and ability to participate in economic and political systems (1999: 87). A person’s well-being depends on his/her capabilities or freedom to achieve certain valuable “doings and beings”, called ‘functioning’. Therefore, expanding people’s capabilities should be the prime objective of development. While income is important, it is not an end itself, but it is the means through which an individual gains “*command over resources*” that

can be converted into capabilities and 'functioning' (Anand & Sen 2000). Interestingly in recent times, particularly in the state of Andhra Pradesh, the SHGs function as an institution for the reduction of feminization of poverty. Sen highlights the significance of the expansion of the capabilities of all human beings, and emphasizes that it is one of the vital components to achieve the goal of development. Sen also mentions the importance of providing education to women (p.192).

By adopting the core elements from Sen's theory, the SHG Bank Linkage Program (SBLP) model through Self Help Groups (SHGs) provide one of the important banking strategies to promote self-employment opportunities for rural women. SHGs help women to develop their capabilities and their rational thinking power. This can reduce the socio-economic inequalities by promoting self-employment opportunities. Sen's capability approach provides an analytical framework to understand how women attain capabilities to develop a voice in decision-making, and reduce inequalities in the society. This research takes insights from Sen's approach in order to understand how SBLP model provide self-employment opportunities, improve the awareness levels of women and their economic opportunities.

Self-Help Groups (SHGs) are now recognized as one of the alternative sources to address the unemployment of rural women. The basic purpose of the SHGs is to improve the conditions of the poor and marginalized sections, particularly those who are unable to obtain credit from money-lenders (Puhazhendhi et al. 2000; Rao 2002; Ramalakxmi 2003). Nawaz (2009) suggests that the involvement of rural women in various entrepreneurial activities through SHGs enables them to empower themselves in different fields. SHG as an institution of entrepreneurship, not only develops women's entrepreneurial capacity but also is a form of collective action (team work & collective decision-making), striving for each and every individual's empowerment by extending loans to the poorer sections in rural areas through the formal banking system, that is, by the SHG-Bank linkage Program model. The promotion of SHGs formally began in 1992 by National Bank for Agricultural and Rural Development (NABARD) as a part of SHG-Bank Linkage Program. One of the main aims of NABARD's SHG-Bank Linkage Program was to provide sustainable access to financial services to the rural poor, with a focus on those who had remained uncovered by the banking system (Seibel 2000:1). In scripting the success of SHG movement, the case of Andhra Pradesh is noteworthy. The state has been at the forefront of microfinance intervention through Self Help Group-Bank Linkage Program (SBLP) in India since the late 1990s. According to the Society for Elimination of Rural Poverty, Government of Andhra Pradesh report (2013), as of 31st March 2013, there were 10,59,101 SHGs with more than 1,15,00,000 SHG members. The objectives of this study are to examine the role of Self-Help Groups in creating entrepreneurial activities to the women in rural areas, to assess the impact of SHGs on the rural poor women with reference to income, employment, asset creation and women empowerment in the selected three villages of Andhra Pradesh, and to critically look for the structural constraints in the successful functioning of the SHGs.

Methodology

The study is confined to the assessment of the impact of SBLP model on poverty reduction through promoting various small-scale entrepreneurial activities among the poor women. Considering the time and resource availability, the study is limited to the three districts of undivided Andhra Pradesh. The present study was mainly carried out prior to the division of the state into Andhra Pradesh and Telangana in June, 2014. Though the study is limited to only three districts, it represents all the three regions of undivided

Andhra Pradesh i.e. the East Godavari district from Andhra region, Chittoor from Rayalaseema region and Karimnagar district from Telangana region.

Sampling procedures and sample size: Each district in the sample was represented by a village located within the selected district. After consultations with the concerned Mandal Revenue Officers, Chinabonala village of Siricilla Mandal in Karimnagar district, Deevanchervu village in Rajanagaram Mandal in East Godavari district and Taduku village in Puttur Mandal in Chittoor district were selected. From each of these three villages, 50 respondents, that is, a total of 150 respondents were selected from SBLP model by using simple random or probability sampling. Probability sampling provides an equal chance to each item in the target population to get included in the final sample. In other words, each one of the possible samples has the same probability of being selected (Kothari 2010). Since all members of the SBLP model were women, the researcher adopted simple random sampling. The researcher visited SHG Village Samakhya Office and approached Assistant Project Manager (APM) in order to select the sample size. On average, each village consisted of 30-40 SHGs. Among them the researcher visited 10 SHGs randomly and approached all the members of the each group and finally selected 5 respondents from each group according to their willingness to respond to the questionnaire. Therefore, the final sample size is 50 from each village.

Data Collection: The study employed different methods to collect both primary and secondary data. Questionnaires were administered to SHG members to collect the primary data. In the process of data collection, the researcher used different tools such as interviews with the SHG members and bank managers by using standard-structured questionnaires and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) to elicit the needed information.

Data Analysis: After the data collection, the completed questionnaires were scrutinized and edited in order to elicit accurate data. The study used Excel sheets in order to transform the variables into a format suitable for analysis. The data have been analyzed and then presented in the form of tables, charts and diagrams. The data analysis was carried out using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS version 20). Descriptive statistical tools such as frequency distribution and cross tabulation have been used to describe the socio-economic and demographic profiles of the respondents.

Findings and Discussion

In recent times, SHGs are seen as instrumental in both women's empowerment and poverty eradication by creating various entrepreneurial opportunities with the help of micro-finance. In the field study, it was observed that most of the rural women on an average borrowed Rs. 50,000-60,000 from SHGs. Before joining SHGs, most of these women were coolies and daily laborers or housewives. They did not have access to capital to start a small business ventures. If they got money from money-lenders, the interest rate used to be very high and they were unable to repay the money within the time-frame. That is the reason most of the women from poor households worked as coolies and daily wage laborer. With the instigation of SHGs and with the financial assistance from the SHG-Bank linkage, the scenario changed and led to a significant improvement in the economic conditions of the rural poor. Table 1 demonstrates the purpose of receiving loans from SBLP model by the SHG women.

Table.1: Purpose of receiving loans from SHG-Bank Linkage in the three villages: Cross Tabulation

Purpose of Loan	Total respondents	Type of Utilization	Chinabonala	Diwancheruvu	Taduku
Daily Consumption	31	Non-productive purpose	14	8	9
Ceremonies	6		2	3	1
Emergencies	17		8	4	5
Agriculture/Agri equip	26	Productive purpose (Self-employment)	7	14	5
Livestock rearing	22		5	6	11
Photostat center	2		1	1	-
Tailoring	5		1	2	2
Weaving	7		7	-	-
Kirana Store	5		2	2	1
Bangle store	6		1	1	4
Chat Bandar	3		-	2	1
Vegetable/fruit shop	6		-	3	3
Basket/Broom Making	6		-	4	2
Beedi -making	8		2	-	6
Total	150		50	50	50

Source: Field Survey, January-March 2013.

The purpose of receiving loans under SHG, was divided into two categories of 'productive' and 'non-productive'. Of the 150 respondents, 96 (64%) got a bank loan and utilized it for productive purposes. The productive purpose category included 11 sub-categories. Of the 96 respondents in this category, 26 (17%) utilized their loan to purchase agriculture related equipment and supplies such as seeds, fertilizers, and pesticides. Livestock management is also a valuable source of livelihood in the rural areas of Andhra Pradesh. They may purchase cows and buffaloes and sell milk in nearby dairy centers. The remaining 48 respondents (32%) in the productive category utilized their loan for various self-employment activities.

The remaining 54 respondents, in the non-productive category, used the loan in neither off-farm nor on-farm activities; 31 respondents (21%) used their loan for daily consumption, 6 (4%) for various social ceremonies, and 17 (11%) for emergency (medical) purposes. Geographically, Chittoor district in Rayalaseema region is largely drought prone and most of the rural population depends on single crop cultivation. As a result, their incomes are meager. During off seasons, the tenant farmers and seasoned laborers of this district are left with no secure income source. The situation is worse for women; left without any option, these women are compelled to depend upon the SHG loan to meet their basic daily necessities and other material needs such as building houses, performing social ceremonies and meeting medical and other emergencies. It is noteworthy to mention that the dependency on these loans is particularly high in case of women from Schedule Caste (SC) and Schedule Tribe (ST) background. A respondent in the SC category from Taduku village in Chittoor district expressed her agony as:

"Because of poverty, I was forced to use the borrowed amount for my daughter's marriage. Since the money was already spent on her marriage, we are now not in a position to start any income-generating activity. In fact, the loan amount is not sufficient to start any business. My husband and I work as a daily wage laborers in agriculture and allied activities. Through the money we earn, I repay the amount borrowed."

Interestingly, another SC respondent from the same village feels that:

“If we did not have access to loan under SBLP model, we would have had to depend upon private microfinance companies or conventional moneylenders in the villages to meet the financial needs, who invariably charge high interest rates.”

As seen in these examples, although the basic purpose of loans under SBLP model is to encourage rural women to start a self-employment activity to help them come out of the vicious circle of poverty, many women use their loan on non-productive purposes to meet their daily requirements. Considering the exploitation in the hands of conventional moneylenders and other informal lending sources, it is comparatively safe for the (poor) women to meet their financial needs with the help of SBLP loan rather than through informal credit facilitators. Such examples underline the need of subsidized credit for poor women to meet their financial needs as well as for self-employment generation.

Although 96 respondents are involved in various self-employment activities, none of them are involved in any group business ventures, which can provide employment opportunities not only to the investor but also to other unemployed women. For instance, *papad* making, handloom weaving, toy making and other such small-scale business enterprises require a fair share of labor power, thereby opening up new employment avenues. During the focus group discussions, these respondents were asked to explain their lack of engagement in innovative business ventures. Most of the respondents mentioned that the amount of loans they received were small, they did not have the necessary entrepreneurial and management skills, and were unable to engage in meaningful business projects.

Table.2: Improved income levels of the respondents before and after joining SHGs (income per month)

<i>Purpose of Loan</i>	<i>Total respondents</i>	<i>Period of using SHG (years)</i>	<i>Before Joining SHG</i>	<i>After joining SHG</i>	<i>Change in income levels</i>
<i>Daily Consumption</i>	31	54	2-3 years	1500-2000	---
<i>Ceremonies</i>	6		2-3 years	---	---
<i>Emergencies</i>	17		1-2 years	1000-2000	---
<i>Agriculture/agri equip</i>	26	96	4-5 years	1000-1500	2000-3000
<i>Livestock rearing</i>	22		6-7 years	1000-1500	2500-3000
<i>Photostat center</i>	2		1-2 years	---	2500-3000
<i>Tailoring</i>	5		3-4 years	1000-2000	3000-4000
<i>Weaving</i>	8		5-6 years	1000-1500	2000-2500
<i>Kirana Store</i>	5		5-6 years	---	2500-3000
<i>Bangle store</i>	6		3-4 years	1000-2000	3000-3500
<i>Chat Bandar</i>	3		2-4 years	1500-2000	2500-3000
<i>Vegitable/fruit shop</i>	4		5-6 years	1000-1500	1500-2500
<i>Basket & Broom making</i>	6		5-6 years	---	1500-2000
<i>Beedi –making</i>	9		3-4 years	1000-1500	2000-2500
<i>Total</i>	150	---	---	---	---

Source: Field Survey, January-March 2013.

Table 2 shows the income levels of the surveyed respondents before and after joining SHG, and accordingly identifies the improved income level. It is observed that the years of connection to a SHG and number of times loan received by a member correlate with the nature of occupation and income levels of the respondent. Most of the respondents who remained homemakers and worked as wage laborers in agricultural

and allied services utilized their loan for non-productive purposes such as daily consumption, performing social ceremonies and meeting emergencies. These respondents did not show any progress in their income levels even after joining SHGs. However, the respondents using their loan for productive purposes such as agriculture related activities, livestock rearing, and various self-employment activities show a steady progress in their income earnings after joining SHGs. An OC respondent from Diwancheruvu village in East Godavari district said:

“I borrowed Rs. 10000 from the SHG Bank linkage and added another Rs. 10000 with which I purchased an iron plough. We offer that equipment on rent for two or three days to other farmers who do not have the similar equipment for which we charge Rs. 150-200 per day depending upon the demand. On an average, we earn Rs. 1500-2000 per month as rent during the work seasons. However, this income drastically falls during off-season.”

Of the various self-employment activities, tailoring seemed to be the most rewarding income generating business scheme, as the respondents showed progress in their income levels after joining SHG. By joining SHGs and opening tailoring outlets, they were in a position to earn Rs. 3000-4000 per month, compared with only Rs. 1000-2000 before. Interestingly, they joined SHGs some 5-6 years ago, which indicates that they have received loans for at least three-four times. The second most preferable option under self-employment activities was *chat bandars*. On an average, they earn Rs. 2500-3000 per month. The owner of a *chat Bandar*, a widow from Diwancheruvu village proclaimed:

“I borrowed Rs. 20000 from Village Organization (VO) two years ago, added my own personal savings of Rs. 10000, and started a chat Bandar in my village. On an average, I earn Rs. 2500-3000 per month. I have repaid the borrowed amount recently.”

The same respondent was quick to point out the difficulties in running her *chat Bandar*. She had to work from 3 to 8 in the evening and sometimes even till 9 in the night as the business runs only in the evening or night time. Working in such odd hours is a daunting task for women as it has safety and security issues. Besides, they had to take care of their daily chores and other household responsibilities as well. Some of the women are involved in handloom weaving, basket making, *beedi*-rolling and running vegetable/fruit shops. These categories of income-generating ventures also show progress in income levels. These observations could imply that the increased income levels of the respondents have a considerable impact on living standards and household income. Table 3 explains the contribution of their income to family expenditure.

Table 3: Contributions to family expenditure

<i>Contribution to family expenditure</i>	<i>No. of respondents utilizing credit for productive purpose (Total =96)</i>
Basic Food	31
Children's Education	20
Buying electronic goods	15
Health Care	12
Constructing house	7
Repaying old debts	11

Source: Field Survey, January-March 2013.

Of the 96 respondents, 31 members (32%) contributed from their income for purchasing food items, 20 members (21%) contributed to children's education, members (15.5%) contributed to purchase of electronic goods, 12 respondents contributed to healthcare expenditures, 7 to building houses and 11 members used it for repaying old debts. One respondent, Padmavathi, aged 36 years, from Sai Laxmi SHG of Deecvan Chervu village in the East Godavari district said:

"We have one acre of land and we have added another 2 acres on tenant basis. In addition, we have also bought two buffalos. We have borrowed Rs. 30000 from SHG federation and Rs. 20000 from SHG under 3 percent interest rates. Now we are able to do farming as well as cattle rearing. I sell three liters of milk every day and earn Rs. 2500-3000 per month. Gradually, I am also repaying the debt amount of Rs. 50000. With the savings, my children are able to study in English."

Another respondent from Jagruthi SHG of Taduku village in Chittoor district, said:

"I have borrowed Rs. 25000 from VO and used the loan for constructing the house. My husband and I work as a daily wage laborers. With the income, I used to save Rs. 500-700 per month and repay the loan installment. Though we have constructed house with the help of loan amount and other sources, without regular income source, I have been facing difficulty in repaying the borrowed amount in regular installments."

Repaying old debts appeared as a common issue in most of the households. In this study, 11 respondents used their surplus income to repay their old debts. The respondents who borrowed loans from private microfinance sources were often unable to repay their weekly installments. In order to repay these installments, they were compelled to depend on other financial sources, which is the basic cause for the alleged microfinance crisis in Andhra Pradesh. Various studies point out that most of the MFI borrowers often used their loan to buy luxurious and other electronic goods rather than utilizing it on some productive purpose. At the time of repayment, they were left with no income and were unable to repay the loan, which entrapped them in debt (Nair 2011; SERP report 2013).

Table.4: Respondents' perception of a change in socioeconomic condition after joining in SHG in three villages

<i>Indicators of socioeconomic change</i>	<i>High, very good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Small</i>	<i>No change</i>	<i>N=150 (100%)</i>
<i>Social mobility</i>	31 (20.6)	75 (50)	24 (16)	20 (13.3)	150 (100)
<i>Recognition in the family</i>	36 (24)	69 (46)	28 (19)	17 (11)	150 (100)
<i>Building house through Indiramma loan</i>	15 (10)	57 (38)	42 (28)	36 (24)	150 (100)
<i>Access to health services</i>	18 (12)	50 (32)	66 (44)	16 (10.6)	150 (100)
<i>Access to credit sources</i>	35 (23.3)	81 (54)	23 (15)	11 (7)	150 (100)
<i>Increase in income levels</i>	24 (19)	75 (50)	31 (20.6)	20 (13.3)	150 (100)
<i>Financial awareness</i>	16 (10.6)	41 (27.3)	79 (52.6)	14 (9)	150 (100)
<i>Awareness levels on markets</i>	22 (14.6)	69 (46)	40 (26.6)	19 (12.6)	150 (100)
<i>Awareness/participation in developmental & political activities at gram panchayat</i>	16 (10.6)	77 (51.3)	42 (23)	17 (11)	150 (100)
<i>Encouraging children's education</i>	21 (14)	82 (54.6)	37 (24.6)	10 (7)	150 (100)
<i>Cumulative percentage</i>	15.6%	45%	27.4%	12%	100%

Source: Field Survey, January-March 2013. Note: Figures in parentheses represent the number of respondents in percentage.

Table 4 demonstrates the respondents' progress on various social and economic matrices in post-SHG stage. It reveals the perceptions of the selected 150 SHG members in the three villages. Ten indicators were taken into consideration to analyze the improvement in socio-economic conditions. These ten indicators attempt to encapsulate and address Amartya Sen's five basic freedoms, which serve as a benchmark for determining a decent living in a variety of areas. Sen in his work, *Development as Freedom* (1999) defined capability as a substantial freedom for achieving a specific purpose and proposed five basic human freedoms that people require to accomplish their functions: political freedom, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and educational attainment.

A respondent working as president of Sai Krupa SHG of Diwancheruvu village in East Godavari district said:

"Some of the women health workers of Primary Healthcare centers from Mandal (block) come once a week to our village. They primarily promote health awareness and disseminate health message at the gram panchayat office, particularly related to pregnant women, lactating women and children of 1-5 years age. We take the initiative to disseminate the information further to the women of our village. In fact, during the SHG meetings, we formulate health agenda (necessary health precautions), and disseminate health information and promote awareness on effective utilization of primarily healthcare services."

As far as the economic indicators are concerned, SHG women lagged behind on financial awareness. Of the 150 respondents, 79 showed a low interest in various financial matters. In fact, financial awareness of the rural poor has become a critical issue in ensuring financial inclusion. 81 respondents, however, expressed their satisfaction in accessing credit from banks, while 75 showed progress in income levels. They largely utilized their loans for productive purposes. A respondent from Diwancheruvu village, Rukkamma, a widow woman, aged 54 years from Vigneshwara SHG, expressed her improved economic status:

"I have two daughters and both are married. I stay alone in my home. I borrowed Rs. 20000 from my SHG two years ago and bought one buffalo. I sell 2 liters of milk every day and earn Rs. 1500-2000 per month. I have repaid the borrowed amount. I am now planning to borrow some amount and buy one more buffalo to expand my business."

Only 69 respondents expressed their satisfaction on awareness of market conditions, while as many as 40 respondents showed a low interest in market conditions and 19 respondents were not at all aware of markets. This may be one of the reasons for respondents' unwillingness to invest in opening a new business venture, as they would have to cope-up with recent market trends.

As far as participation of the SHG respondents in various developmental programs and other political activities at the gram panchayat level, Amartya Sen's theory of development is applicable. According to Sen, 'political freedom' is the opportunity of people, particularly women to participate in various political affairs and developmental programs, and to cast vote of their own choice to ensure accountability in the political system. During the field survey, it was found that of the 150 respondents, 77 expressed an interest in participating in various developmental activities organized at the village level. The participation of women, even at the *mandal* level is one of the encouraging trends in the panchayat meetings. A respondent from Vanaja, aged 28 years from Suryateja SHG of Diwancheruvu said:

“Recently the government of Andhra Pradesh conducted ‘Rachha Banda program’² in our mandal of Rajanagaram. The SHG members along with our village sarpanch (village head) participated in the program and submitted a list of demands to the chief minister. We do not know, however, when the demands will be addressed. We did our job by participating at the ‘Rachha Banda program’. We usually participate in ‘prajavani meetings’³ conducted at the mandal level every Monday from 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. Mandal Thasildar Officer conducts and oversee the meetings. This initiative primarily aims at resolving various socio-economic problems such as delay in distributing ration cards, aadhar cards, sanctioning of Indiramma housing loan, old age pensions, among others.”

Such examples show that given the opportunity, women are capable of participating in various political matters at different levels. In fact, when women participate in meetings as a group, it improves their confidence and encourages them to participate in a full-fledged manner.

Respondent’s perceptions on drawbacks of SBLP model and SHG functioning: Despite its potential contributions, the SHG-Bank Linkage Program suffers from certain limitations. Of the 150 respondents surveyed, 141 expressed their dissatisfaction in the functioning of SHG. 43 respondents (29%) complained that there was no mutual understanding within the group, and 19 (13%) were unhappy at the behavior of their president. For some in this group, the president was “not so cooperative” in providing information regarding loan and other necessary financial services. 22 (15%) respondents complained about the distribution of the loan, saying that the loan distribution was not transparent. The participation of some respondents was in some cases completely lacking. Interestingly, in some SHGs, the group president’s spouse or any other male member of her family was involved in the process of receiving the loan from the bank and disbursing it to the group members. Such intrusion severely hinders the functioning of the SHGs and the relations among the group members, and leaves a scope for engaging in fraudulent ways in loan disbursement. These problems regarding the functioning of SHG point to the poor governance of the group meetings and lack of effective leadership which negatively impact on the functioning and sustenance of the group. One of the serious impediments in the functioning of the SHGs is the apparent lack of ownership and dynamism of the members because of the stagnant leadership in the SHGs and VOs. Such trends severely hamper the performance of SHG.

The second problem relates to disbursement of loans. It was found, during the course of study, that some of the SHG women were gravely dissatisfied with the mechanism of loan disbursal. Around 19 respondents (13%) complained about the untimely disbursal of loan, while 11 (7%) from SC and ST communities alleged that bank officials often gave preference to the SHGs of the predominant castes in disbursing loans rather than the maturity of the group. The third problem relates to SHG vis-à-vis entrepreneurship development. The literature on this subject claims that SHGs are promoted as a platform

² ‘Rachhabanda’ program is a people’s participatory initiative, launched by the government of Andhra Pradesh in January 2011, aiming to redress public grievances at the gram panchayat level. The areas of this program are sanctioning of BPL cards, pensions, housing loan, MGNREGS and SHG-Bank Linkage loans to women in rural and urban areas. Under this program, the EPRs and officials visit all the gram panchayat and interact directly with the people (source: www.ap.gov.in)

³ ‘Prajavani’ initiative primarily is a web based grievance system, which monitors public grievances at the District level and Mandal Revenue Office at the block level. The literary meaning of ‘Prajavani’ is ‘voice of the people’. It facilitates any citizen to file a grievance at the Kiosk at the village or *mandal* and get the response back in the Kiosk in a stipulated time. It removes the need for physical presence of individual for submitting petitions. (source: <http://prajavani.ap.nic.in>)

for the development of entrepreneurship qualities, and further to start various innovative small-scale business ventures (Nawaz 2009). The findings from the field, however, negate this claim, and in fact, point to the negative results in relation to entrepreneurship development. Based on field observations, the major problem of the SHG borrowers was not only small and untimely loans but also a lack of entrepreneurial and management skills to initiate and sustain various business undertakings. It could be argued that just providing subsidized credit is not sufficient to bring the desired change. There must also be effective training programs on entrepreneurial skills and business management.

The fourth problem relates to the viability of on-farm goods and its purchasing value in the market. It was observed that of the 150 respondents only 32 women utilized their loans for producing non-farm goods. They include basket making, broom making, mat weaving, *beedi* rolling, bangle store and others. However, the question is how far these non-farm goods have a reasonable purchasing value in the market, and whether these good would sustain in the longer run, especially if they can compete with plastic goods, which are available in low prices.

Conclusion

Despite the above said drawbacks, as a whole, the idea of alleviating poverty through various microfinance models and banking initiatives is a big step and deserves much appreciation. From the field-surveyed observation, it can be inferred that the delivering tiny loans, particularly through SHG-Bank Linkage Program (SBLP) has a positive impact on the creation of various livelihood opportunities vis-a-vis reducing poverty of rural women. Particularly, some of the women members of SHGs engaged in various productive activities like buying agricultural equipment, livestock rearing and self-employment activities resulting in a considerable progress in their income levels. The contribution of their income to family expenditure like purchasing food items and electronic goods, children's education, healthcare, house construction and repaying old debts significant reduced their vulnerability to poverty. The entrepreneurial activities enable the rural mass to have an opportunity to transform from a daily wage earner to a self-employed entrepreneur, if only the SHGs lend money to them with subsidized interest rates and simple procedures. It may be time to look at the concept of SHGs in a long term perspective because of the potential to create various entrepreneurial activities for the rural unemployed poor women. This may not only increase their empowerment but also may reduce the feminization of poverty.

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

Canadian *nikkei* institutions and spaces

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Abstract

Since their first arrival in Canada in 1877 to the present period, Canadian *nikkei* have established a variety of institutions and spaces that highlight their position within Canada as a minority group. Canadian *nikkei* history began with their labelling as “*yellow peril*”, followed by their internment during the Second World War, their dispersal after the Second World War, their award of Redress in 1988, and finally their place as a “*model minority*” in modern multicultural Canada. These main historical milestones have been reflected in various commemorative institutions and spaces such as Powell Street and Nikkei Place which function not just in a practical sense for gathering the Canadian *nikkei* together but also in an ideological sense to help shape their cultural identities extending transnationally across the Asia Pacific region.

Keywords: Canada, Cultural identity, Institutions and spaces, Minorities, Multiculturalism, *Nikkei*.

Introduction

The ‘*nikkei*’ are people of Japanese descent living outside Japan and no longer Japanese citizens. Canadian *nikkei* can therefore be defined as Canadians of Japanese descent. Some argue, such as the *Kaigai Nikkeijin Kyōkai* (Association of Nikkei & Japanese Abroad), that the term *nikkei* includes all Japanese living outside of Japan even if they hold Japanese citizenship (Hamano 2008: 5). Canadian *nikkei* are also known as “Japanese(-)Canadians” (with or without the hyphen), although this label has been criticized by some for essentializing both sides of the hyphen and thus not accurately reflecting their identity (Mahtani 2002). The Canadian *nikkei* have had a long and turbulent history in Canada, from being labelled as the “*yellow peril*”, when they first arrived, to a “*model minority*” in recent times. This paper shows the influence of history on cultural identity through commemorative Canadian *nikkei* institutions and (web) spaces.

Japanese immigration to Canada started in the late 19th century, mainly into the Pacific coast of Canada (Nakayama 1984). These early pioneers were then followed by a wave of early settlers (Takata 1983). After the early settlers the majority of whom were men, came the “*Picture Brides*” from Japan, encouraged by stories of economic and social freedom in Canada and a seemingly immigrant-friendly government policy (Makabe 1983). Many of these early immigrants began careers in fishing, mining, forestry, and commerce (Fukawa 2009). These initial groups of immigrants often retained many aspects of their cultural identity from their homeland but saw Canada as a chance to “*recreate themselves*” (Lemire 2012: 59). They lived together in enclaves and they had their own institutions (Yamagishi 2010: ch 2). Canada at that time was still in the early stages of its development as a nation-state, so Canadian *nikkei* pioneers were not able to relate to a ‘Canadian’ nation in the way in which people can today; they were open, however, towards learning more about their new place of residence.

Conditions changed from the 1930s onwards as the world cascaded into economic depression. Japanese immigrants felt a sense of isolation against increasing Canadian nationalism, so many of the *issei* (first generation) became more insular, although this depended on where they were located, and the numbers of other immigrants they were with (Canada History Project n.d.). The second generation (*nisei*) were more

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outward looking and torn between retaining traditions from their Japanese heritage whilst adapting to their life in Canada (Fujiwara 2012: np). They were fluent in English, well-educated, and interacted more with white Canadians (Fujiwara 2012: np). They considered Canada their home and had limited transnational ties with Japan (Sugiman in Agnew 2005: 65-68). However, they were still subject to racial prejudice from white Canadian society due to being a visible minority (Hickman and Fukawa 2011: 52).

The Canadian government forcibly interned Canadian nikkei in British Columbia during the Second World War. This was a response to the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Imperial Japanese navy. The Canadian government worried that people of Japanese descent in Canada might be (or might become) involved with spying (particularly on the British Columbia coastline) or acts against the interests of Canada. Canadian nikkei were branded “*enemy aliens*” under the War Measures Act (Fujiwara 2012b: 65) which gave power to intern “*all persons of Japanese racial origin*” (Tsuneharu 2003: np). There is evidence that some senior members of government and the RCMP did not see Canadian nikkei as a threat (Omatsu 1992: 12) and that opposition from the political left in Canada may have halted internment (Cohn n.d.). However, the Canadian government succumbed to the widespread fear of the “*yellow peril*”, rounding up twenty-seven thousand people in early 1942. These included women and children, making it the largest mass movement in Canadian history. About three-quarters of these were naturalized or native-born Canadians (Sunahara 1981: 46). They were relocated at least one-hundred miles from the British Columbia coastline to interior locations such as Lillooet Country, Tashme, the Okanagan Valley, and Slocan.

The government detained Canadian nikkei without charge or trial. Many worked on sugar beet farms in the prairies, on road camps in the interior, or an internment camp in Ontario (Robinson 2013). In contrast to nikkei wartime internment in the United States, Canadian nikkei families were often split up with women and children in six inland British Columbia ghost towns (Maufort and Bellarsi 2002: 131). Conditions at the internment camps were often less than ideal (Fukawa and Hickman 2011), despite propaganda films by the Canadian government to show it as otherwise. The Red Cross had to send supplemental food shipments from Japan because the Canadian government only spent one-third the amount of the United States per internee. As in the United States, *nisei* rather than *issei* took the camp leadership positions, presumably because the people overseeing the camps saw them as more ‘Canadian’ and less ‘Japanese’ (Rogers and Bartlit 2005: 163). Some Canadian nikkei, such as Harold Hirose, tried to prove their allegiance to Canada by serving for the Canadian army (Omatsu 1992: 78).

After the war, Canadian nikkei were released but only given a choice of relocation within Canada east of the Rockies or deportation to Japan which was chosen by about 3,700 people (Broadfoot 1977: 309). The government did not return the vast majority of their seized assets despite promises beforehand that they would be, instead auctioning them for a fraction of their true value (Lenzerini 2008: 272). Many had to rebuild their lives from scratch, often scattered away from the community they had been a part of before the war. The Wartime Transitions Act, which replaced the War Measures Act, maintained the denial of civil rights until 1949 when the Canadian government finally allowed them back into British Columbia and lifted the remaining restrictions (Hickman and Fukawa 2011: 134). By then many did not have the resources or the inclination to return to British Columbia, and in any case had already restarted their lives elsewhere. Racism persisted, including at the top level of government. Prime Minister Mackenzie King’s wrote: “*It is fortunate that the use of the bomb should have been upon the Japanese rather than upon the white races of Europe*” (King Diary, 6 August 1945). Just after the war, though notably not so much during it, Canadian nikkei won the support of

some locals. Public protests against their treatment led to the appointment of a Royal Commission and the repeal of some anti-Japanese legislation (Yamagishi 2010: ch12).

The journey to Redress for the mistreatment of Canadian *nikkei* was not a smooth one; Maryka Omatsu's (1992) title "Bittersweet Passage: Redress and the Japanese Canadian Experience" is an apt one. Redress was neither accepted immediately nor unequivocally by the Canadian government (Miki 2004: 12). It did not gain the unwavering support of all Canadian *nikkei* either (Omatsu 1992: 5). The settlement day for Redress was 22 September, 1988. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney addressed the House of Commons. He agreed to the three NAJC resolutions offering respectively an apology for internment, Redress for individual survivors, and assurances it would never happen again. The government also reinstated Canadian citizenship for those forcibly repatriated to Japan. The Canadian government would provide C\$21,000 individual Redress to eligible persons, with an additional C\$36 million in total for the community and for the establishment of a Canadian Race Relations Foundation (Miki and Kobayashi 1991: 138-139). Much of this money went into the creation of some of the spaces and institutions that I shall discuss.

Methodology

The historical and sociological studies dominating research on Canadian *nikkei* are unsuited to providing a nuanced study of cultural identity. Situated within a cultural studies framework, this research takes an exploratory approach to researching the cultural identity of Canadian *nikkei* through their institutions and social spaces in Vancouver, Canada. This approach considers the social and cultural context of these spaces. This can provide a relatively sophisticated understanding the cultural identity of Canadian *nikkei* as well as other important related issues such as multiculturalism. This can then be compared and contrasted with other *nikkei* and diasporas. The research is positioned as an intervention in the study of Canadian *nikkei* that encourages understanding their cultural identity in a collective and multidisciplinary manner.

The fieldwork for this research was undertaken in 2013 whilst the author was a visiting scholar at the University of British Columbia. It comprises a multi-layered approach including interviews with members of the Canadian *nikkei* cultural elite, textual analysis of cultural productions, archival research, ethnography, and site visits to the various institutions and spaces. This multi-pronged approach helps to unpack the impact of Canadian *nikkei* spaces and institutions.

Findings and Discussion

With Redress achieved in 1988, there were questions over the direction of Canadian *nikkei* as a community into the future and how the Canadian *nikkei* cultural elite involved with Redress would continue, if at all, working together. Cultural producers still revisit internment and Redress as themes in their works; however, the historical context is now over the place of Canadian *nikkei* within Canada's enactment of multiculturalism. A number of organizations sprang up both to remember the Canadian *nikkei*'s past, and to lead it into the future.

The term "cultural heritage" originates from the 1970s. It questions ideologies of social development, with linguistic and/or cultural turns emphasizing increasingly complex multiple personal identities as well as the effect of immigration on modern Western nations such as Canada (Sonkoly n.d.: np). Cultural heritage is therefore a responsibility of each current generation. It exists at the national level (including government) as

well as smaller chapters representing the interests of specific groups, such as Canadian nikkei. In Canada, the two main national heritage movements are “Heritage Conservation in Canada” and “The Canadian Register of Historic Places”.

I would like to highlight here the key organizations that seek to preserve the cultural heritage of Canadian nikkei: SEDAI, Multicultural Canada, The Historic Joy Kogawa House Society, and Nikkei Place.

SEDAI: SEDAI, The Japanese Canadian Legacy Project, “*is dedicated to collecting and preserving the stories of earlier generations of Canadians of Japanese ancestry for all future generations*” (SEDAI: The Japanese Canadian Legacy Project n.d.). Its website contains a collection of videotaped oral histories of *issei* Canadian nikkei, as well as speeches from CNCP and leaders such as Gary Kawaguchi, President of the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre (JCCC). The website also contains photograph archives of internment camps, POW camps, pre-war, and the war years. Documents are also available tracing the genealogy of Canadian nikkei families up to seven generations back. It is one of the best archives of primary materials on the history of Canadian nikkei.

SEDAI, which means ‘generations’ in Japanese, is in part a dialogue between generations of Canadian nikkei. Here, the *issei* elders can be appreciated by their descendants:

“[SEDAI] *is dedicated with respect, admiration and gratitude to the issei ... They worked hard, embraced the best values of their new country and triumphed over adversity to secure a place in Canada for their children and future generations. In so doing, they have set an example for all Canadians*”
(SEDAI: The Japanese Canadian Legacy Project n.d.)

The structure of SEDAI, being a freely accessible website, is easily accessible to Canadian nikkei (and everyone else). As a project, SEDAI is organized by the JCCC, run by volunteers, and relies on donations. Amongst the donors are the Japanese American National Museum, the Japanese Canadian Redress Foundation, Densho (The Japanese American Legacy Project), and the National Association of Japanese Canadians Sustaining Fund.

As well as being one of the main donors, Densho also affects the ideology and methodology of SEDAI. Densho, based in Seattle (Washington, United States), is an organization formed with a mission to:

“... *preserve the testimonies of Japanese Americans who were unjustly incarcerated during World War II before their memories are extinguished. We offer these irreplaceable first-hand accounts, coupled with historical images and teacher resources, to explore principles of democracy and promote equal justice for all.*”
(Densho: The Japanese American Legacy Project n.d.)

Densho in Japanese means “to pass on to the next generation”, implying that the oral histories it attempts to archive may later be used didactically in classrooms. This methodology, which in turn has influenced the methodology of the SEDAI interviews, may thus restrict both what the interviewers can ask and how the interviewees can answer. The general audience may therefore also have a highly curated experience strongly based on the ethos of Densho.

SEDAI is able to leverage itself in the contemporary era using modern technologies, the understanding gained from the development of heritage industries in general, and a spirit of volunteerism related to safeguarding cultural heritage. The SEDAI team, which operates as a committee under the auspices of the JCCC, consists mainly of Canadian nikkei volunteers. However, several notable Canadian nikkei cultural producers are “honorary advisors” for SEDAI. These include author Joy Kogawa, Judge Maryka Omatsu,

filmmaker Linda Ohama, and author Kerri Sakamoto. Of the fifteen Honorary Advisors, eight are from Toronto, three from the United States, and only two from British Columbia. This points as evidence that multiculturalism, and more precisely activism and politicization, differ between different areas of Canada.

Multicultural Canada (website): SEDAI and “Multicultural Canada” provide alternatives to cultural productions such as literary fiction to remembering the cultural heritage and expressing the cultural identity of Canadian *nikkei*. The emphasis with these websites is on primary sources with an implicit understanding that they are preserving Canadian *nikkei* memories. As we see with Hayden White’s (2009) argument that history is also a narration, the questions they ask their interviewees and the way they present their material on the website have implications. The angle taken is generally one of appreciating one’s ancestors particularly *issei*, but this does not take the tensions between these generations into account. Every archive is influenced by its founders and their politics, often imbued in the mission statements. However, such ‘social’ institutions are a handy yardstick to compare with cultural producers for their differences in how they envisage and seek to promote Canadian *nikkei* cultural identity.

When preserving oral histories with the angle of appreciating one’s ancestors, it begs the question of why is respecting them so important. It might be the approach of the board of directors of the institutions involved, something which they see as important or which they think their intended audience deems important. Respect for elders is seen as a key feature of Asian communities including Japanese (Sung 2001), so perhaps this ancestor respect is a specific feature for Canadian *nikkei* (or Asians in general). Many Canadian *nikkei* have, however, pointed out that this idea of Asian respect for elders is a myth (Sung 2000). Joseph Tobin (1987) in *“the American Idealization of Old Age in Japan”* shows this stereotyped understanding of an imaginary Japanese culture. Another possibility for ancestor respect could be Canadian multiculturalism itself which encourages connection with an ethnic group’s homeland culture and by extension their ancestors.

The “Multicultural Canada” website is similar to SEDAI in that it is a freely accessible website concerned with preserving the history and cultural memories of Canadian *nikkei* and other Canadian minority groups. There is dialogue between the two websites with each linking to the other. However, Multicultural Canada differs in that it is a national-level project with corresponding differences in structure, funding, and ethos:

“The Multicultural Canada digitization project grew from our conviction that the cultural groups that make up our country have little-known stories that need to be researched and told. Through newspapers, interviews, photographs, print and material culture people tell us who they are. Yet research into Canada’s multi-ethnic communities has been hampered by the relative lack of availability of non-English language materials and other artefacts originating from minority groups. Archives and libraries have long worked with individuals and cultural communities in Canada to collect and preserve the historical record of their experience; but these documents are seldom available beyond the walls of the institution. The intent of Multicultural Canada is to provide free and greater access to these existing collections.”

(Multicultural Canada n.d.)

Multicultural Canada contains the Chung collection of archival material focusing on Canadian *nikkei* in Canada between 1900 and 1939, and the Japanese Canadian oral history collection. Although the ethos of the Multiculturalism Canada website is similar to that of SEDAI, based on the heritage of a minority group, there is a tendency in the Multicultural Canada website to group all minorities together as ‘others’. On the collections page, minority groups from Hungarian to Jewish to Indian to Japanese are all listed together as “ethnic groups”. Whereas SEDAI appears to be created by Canadian *nikkei* mainly for Canadian *nikkei*,

Multicultural Canada appears to be curated by mainstream white Canadians for the same group to learn about Canada's ethnic groups. The website also includes access to the Encyclopedia of Canada's Peoples that provides essays on minorities such as Canadian nikkei and 'learning modules' to help teachers and students make use of the primary materials in the collections. There is some help by Canadian nikkei organizations for the Multicultural Canada website, with the Japanese Canadian Centennial Project and Japanese Community Volunteers Association listed as supporting agencies, as well as Dr. Yuko Shibata listed as an individual that has helped.

The Historic Joy Kogawa House: The Historic Joy Kogawa House is the childhood home of Kogawa and serves as a cultural reminder of Kogawa and her work that symbolizes the suffering of Canadian nikkei during the Second World War. The Historic Joy Kogawa House Society purchased it in 2006 with the help of The Land Conservancy of British Columbia. It is used in a writer-in-residence capacity to encourage the development of Canadian writers and the appreciation of them. Here public and private, national and local, as well as cultural producer and community, all come together to preserve Canadian nikkei cultural memory. The first mandate of the society is "*to operate and preserve the former Joy Kogawa family home at 1450 West 64th Avenue in Vancouver as a heritage and cultural centre and as a site of healing and reconciliation*" (Welcome to Historic Joy Kogawa House 2005). Thus, in addition to commemoration and memorialization, there is active thought on how to lead the current generation of Canadian nikkei, particularly schoolchildren.

Although Kogawa tends to speak less of Kogawa House today than she does of her other political causes, she writes the house into her novels: "*The house then—the house, if I must remember it today, was large and beautiful*" (Kogawa, 1994b: 54). In a letter to a fan, Kogawa describes how she used the house in her novels, what she donated, and her fears of what might become of the house:

"The applewood table and chairs came with us, Mother's sewing machine, the Japanese 'kori', the trunk, their wedding gifts of dishes, the gramophone as described in Obasan, the Yellow Peril game, the little blue wool dress with flowers stitched along the bottom as described in both Obasan and Naomi's Road, the books we took to Slokan, The Book of Knowledge encyclopedia set that I've never parted with -- the stories in there gave me my moral training. There are items at the Galt Museum we might be permitted to return to the house. And there are other things I've kept with me. Will any of these things go back to the house? Well—the first question would be—can the house survive?"

(Joy Kogawa letter to Anton Wagner, 4 November 2013)

The Historic Joy Kogawa House differs from many of the other Canadian Nikkei institutions and spaces in a few important ways. First, it has emerged out of a single experience. Out of the Canadian nikkei oral histories I have read or listened to, Kogawa's personal experience is neither the most compelling nor original. Perhaps the value lies in her story's ordinariness, or, more likely, because of the way she has told her story. The resonance her story creates has led to its affective power and the commemoration of the Historic Joy Kogawa House. Second, it is different from other institutions and spaces because it was and continues to be a highly political issue with continued media coverage. Most recently, there have been concerns over the governing and financing of the house. This combination of its individual personality and high profile makes it one of the more important Canadian Nikkei spaces.

The politics around Historic Joy Kogawa House has two major implications. First, it shows that an individual such as Kogawa can become like an institution. She is already being memorialized and made a representative for Canadian nikkei. Kogawa herself is keen that the house be saved but less keen that it be

made a representative for Canadian *nikkei*. Second, it begs the question of why should this home be memorialized and not the other Canadian *nikkei* homes. The answer is most likely that Kogawa's home has been made famous by her novels providing the survivors of internment and their descendants an additional (or alternative) site of commemoration to visit and learn from.

Nikkei Place: Nikkei Place consists of Nikkei Place Seniors, Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre, and The Nikkei Place Foundation. The mission of the National Museum & Cultural Centre is “to preserve and promote Japanese Canadian history, arts and culture through vibrant programs and exhibits that connect generations and inspire diverse audiences”.² To this end, the Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre organizes the TAIKEN education program for schoolchildren, as well as weekly programs open to all. The TAIKEN program is led by Canadian *nikkei* elders and community representatives, aiming to teach about “internment, Redress, and regeneration all in one” (TAIKEN Education Programs n.d.). Weekly programs include arts & culture, cooking, education, health and fitness, martial arts, seniors programs, and the Gladstone Japanese Language School. There are also a number of events and exhibitions held throughout the year, including workshops, festivals, and lectures. These all help to bring together Canadian *nikkei* spatially and help them identify with their cultural identity:

“I was thinking of the museum which is in itself a community landscape where it is a place where people go and they identify and again I was there recently and they were holding a judo class and I would say just by looking, which you can't always tell, maybe less than half of the students in the class were Japanese Canadians but it still has a sense of the community, and the museum, I don't know if you've been there? They focus very much on...it's not just exhibits it's creating the actual, not the actual but coming as close as possible to the landscapes in which Japanese Canadians lived and worked and it is part of the curatorial philosophy to do that which you see in a lot of museums but by no means all.”

(Interview with Professor Audrey Kobayashi 2013)

The museum gallery itself usually has the ongoing TAIKEN exhibit displaying the history of Canadian *nikkei* from 1877 to present, along with another exhibition. Nikkei Place also collects and organizes materials relating to Canadian *nikkei*, some of which it makes available online. These include the Nikkei National Museum Oral History Collection, which in collaboration with Simon Fraser University holds over 230 digitized interviews and “Nikkei Images” a publication focusing on the history of Canadian *nikkei*. The Nikkei Place website contains news, a blog, an audio podcast, and other online materials relating to Canadian *nikkei*.

Nikkei Place, in contrast to other organizations representing Canadian *nikkei* such as the NAJC, is relatively new only having been established in 2000. Indeed, there was even disagreement just before its opening over whether or not to raise a Japanese flag there. For some Canadian *nikkei*, the nation Japan represented by its flag would at best be irrelevant to them and at worst would be damaging to how they wish to present themselves in Canada. The issue is further complicated because the Japanese government partially funds Canadian Nikkei institutions such as Tonari Gumi. This can be seen as using emigrants as “*dutiful agents of colonial development*” (Endoh 2009: 8). Calling it “Nikkei Place”, rather than including the words Japanese and/or Canadian, emphasized their special place within Canadian society. Canadian *nikkei* are defining the word ‘*nikkei*’ in their own terms at a local level. This new reworking of the definition allows the

²Nikkei National Museum & Cultural Centre. <http://centre.nikkeiplace.org> (accessed 18 February, 2015). Similar cultural centres for Canadian Nikkei exist in Burnaby, Calgary, Edmonton, Kamloops, Hamilton, Montréal, Ottawa, Steveston, Thunder Bay, Toronto, Vernon, and Winnipeg.

inclusion of not only those Canadian nikkei established in Canada for more than a generation but also *shin ijusha* (post-war Canadian nikkei immigrants) (Sekita, 2004). Nikkei Place is an attempt, perhaps a last-ditch attempt, to keep a Canadian nikkei community:

“The history of the Japanese Canadian community and its relation to multiculturalism in Canada explains the current nature of the nikkei community in Vancouver. The results of this research suggest people hope to sustain a community by way of redefining the external boundary in relationship to multicultural Canada and the internal boundaries within the heterogeneous nikkei community. Through interviews with Hapa young adults of nikkei in Vancouver, much diversity was found among them which reaffirmed the diverse nature of the nikkei community.” (Sekita 2004: ii)

Sekita’s description above is repeated in other cities across Canada (albeit with smaller Canadian nikkei populations). In Toronto, the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre (JCCC) fulfils a similar role to that of Nikkei Place, as does the Calgary Nikkei Cultural & Senior Centre in Alberta. Many of these Canadian nikkei cultural centers have social facilities attached to them, especially for care of the elderly as well as liaising and advocacy functions for the Canadian nikkei community in general. Thus, the maintenance of heritage in such centers often has other functions in addition to serving any multicultural agenda.

Many of the programs at cultural centers such as Nikkei Place appear highly ‘Japanese’. For example, regular weekly programs at Nikkei Place include arts & culture (Japanese calligraphy, *kimono* dressing class, *sake* workshop, tea ceremony workshop); cooking (*sushi* class); education (Japanese school); and martial arts (*aikido*, judo, and karate). These classes are often run by *shin ijusha*. For *shin ijusha*, the JCCC is a way of maintaining Japanese culture. The deployment of traditional forms of Japan in terms of a homeland authenticity is something I noticed across my fieldwork contact with *shin ijusha* in Vancouver.

Powell Street: By having Nikkei Place as a formal space to represent Canadian nikkei, they are no longer invisible, at least not in Vancouver. After internment and the subsequent dispersal, Canadian nikkei tended to avoid staying together *en masse* in enclaves. The former Japantown in Vancouver, known as Powell Street, has few Canadian nikkei living there now, and there is a tug-of-war over how to represent it. Professor Audrey Kobayashi explains:

“I’m part of a group that has received a grant to address the rebranding of what the Vancouver City Council calls ‘Japantown’, which we do not call Japantown; we just call it ‘Powell Street’. Of course this is the area from which Japanese Canadians were uprooted at the beginning of the 1940s And it became the worst of the skid row of Vancouver. The housing has deteriorated, there are many, many social and economic problems in part exacerbated by the fact that Japanese immigrants had built boarding houses and small hotels as a way of accommodating all of the immigrants and these became single rooms mostly for single men. After the 1940s that housing deteriorated and now the City of Vancouver wants to rebrand what they call Japantown and there have been a number of good projects going on to revitalize the housing which is fine but we’re working with artist groups and activist groups to resist or set in perspective this rebranding so as not to turn it into a kind of tourist destination. So, I’m working with a group of Japanese-Canadian academics and artists as well as a group of people from the current community. I also have ongoing work looking at the history of Powell Street focusing on what happened in all of the buildings, trying to tell the stories of how that neighborhood emerged and I’m working with a group at the University of Victoria who are also doing additional research on the history of Powell Street buildings.” (Kobayashi 2013)

For some Canadian *nikkei* whose memories of Powell Street are of the poverty and racism they experienced whilst living there, it is not necessarily a good thing to rebrand it as Japantown. Besides, Canadian *nikkei* have already to some extent reclaimed Powell Street not in physical spatial terms but symbolically through the annual Powell Street Festival:

“Well, whether to say it’s a community I’m not sure – well let me first of all say the Powell Street festival which is not post-Redress but actually was part of the build up towards Redress and has only grown since and that is an example of maybe a tenuous relationship to the place that is Powell Street but at least transforms that landscape once a year to say, you know, this is our ‘furusato’ - do you know that term? In a way, we don’t live here anymore but we come back every year and it becomes the place that defines us, defines our roots and our origins; so that I would say is one.”

(Kobayashi, 2013)

The Powell Street Festival Society (PSFS) organizes the event as part of its overall mission *“to celebrate and cultivate Japanese Canadian and Asian Canadian arts and culture; to encourage Asian Canadians to take a leadership role in the development of the arts in Canada”* (About the Society n.d.). The PSFS is run by volunteers comprising a board of directors, various committees, and dozens of people helping during the event itself. Annual individual donation campaigns, corporate networking, fundraising events, and public funding sources fund it.

The Powell Street Festival is a rare example, since the days of ‘Redress’, of cultural producers working together with other Canadian *nikkei*, local governments, and other organizations. Although Canadian *nikkei* filmmakers are often part of elaborate production networks, other cultural producers (particularly writers and academics) work more in isolation. This is not to say that they are not part of an interconnected dialogue with other people involved in the construction of Canadian *nikkei* cultural identities. However, one effect of their isolation is a more abstract approach towards conceptualizing cultural identity than Canadian *nikkei* organizations and spaces where there is impetus towards the goal of maintaining ‘community’.

The Powell Street Festival is important because it fulfils a different role to other ‘Japanese’ festivals. It is a role based on heritage that contrasts to other festivals such as the Sakura Festival in Vancouver and the Japan Matsuri in London. These latter festivals are more commoditized and part of an affective world culture consumption. Powell Street, by focusing on history and memorializing, is much more political and concerned with the place of Canadian *nikkei* in Canadian society.

Nitobe Memorial Garden: Nitobe Memorial Garden is located within the Vancouver campus of UBC in British Columbia. It is a Japanese garden with a Tea Garden and Tea House *“considered to be the one of the most authentic Japanese gardens in North America and among the top five Japanese gardens outside of Japan”* (Nitobe Memorial Garden, n.d.). The garden pays homage to Inazô Nitobe a Japanese academic and politician who sought to improve relations between the United States and Japan, *“building a bridge across the Pacific”* (Howes, 1995: back cover). Nitobe is the author of *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (Nitobe 1938) which sought to explain Japanese culture to the English-speaking world.

Nitobe is an unusual space amongst those I cover in this paper since it seems to be an institution used and appreciated more by *shin ijusha* and visiting Japanese rather than established Canadian *nikkei*. It is a construction of ‘Japanese-ness’ suggesting that cultural identities are distinct—that the ‘Japanese’ and ‘Canadians’ need to have a bridge built between them, as Nitobe said long ago, for mutual understanding. Therefore, Nitobe Memorial Garden does seem out of step with other organizations such as the Powell Street

Festival Society and *taiko* groups who now look at cultural identity more in terms of similarities, or intersections, with other cultural groups rather than differences. The garden seems more in step with the ethos of Canadian multiculturalism and preservation of ethnic racialized cultures.

Nitobe Garden also highlights a key difference in the dynamics of cultural identity between *shin ijusha* and established Canadian nikkei, suggesting the groups are somewhat divided. Indeed, *shin ijusha* have an almost entirely different experience constructing their cultural identity in Canada in terms of their local experiences. For example, the various institutions in Vancouver for those of Japanese descent seem to be divided in their patronage between the two groups. The Vancouver Mokuyokai Society is organized for “*fostering greater cultural, linguistic and economic understanding between Canadians and Japanese*” (Canadian Japanese Society Vancouver Mokuyokai Society n.d.). From visits to their events, they seemed to be split evenly in terms of numbers of each group. However, socially at meetings the distinct group members tended to congregate with each other.

Conclusion

In this paper I have showcased the roles of a variety of Canadian nikkei institutions and spaces. I have shown the similar ways in which many of them work, as well as the similar objectives they work towards. Such institutions and spaces provide an alternative to Canadian nikkei cultural producers in the construction of cultural identity. Often they are just as concerned with identifying and preserving Canadian nikkei cultural identities from the past as they are with the present. Cultural producers are not completely separated from these institutions and spaces since they are often on the committees or hold other influential roles.

As numbers of Canadian nikkei dwindle due to intermarriage, one would expect a corresponding decline in the size of memberships of these spaces and institutions or even their closure. However, the trend seems to be a move instead towards a widening of their scope. For example, cultural centers such as Nikkei Place now perform multiple roles simultaneously in addition to their original purpose of being a cultural center. Another major change into the future will be the move towards the curation of primary source materials on Canadian nikkei history online rather than in physical archives. Projects such as SEDAI and Multicultural Canada are examples of this. Websites offer not only a cost-effective way of preserving such materials but also make them easy to search and accessible to anyone, anywhere, and at any time. This will allow organizations such as Densho the best chance to fulfil their remit of passing cultural identity on to the next generation.

Whereas websites such as SEDAI currently focus on Canadian nikkei almost as a self-contained cultural identity, other websites such as Multicultural Canada incorporate Canadian nikkei into a wider generalized ‘others’ category. One can expect the negotiation of Canadian nikkei cultural identities to continue with the creation of new websites, social network groups, and so on with less of a focus on the Canadian nikkei’s past (particularly internment and multiculturalism) and more on future wider conceptions of nikkei and pan-Asian cultural identities. This is an important new trend because many existing minority communities around the world still construct identity locally.³

This paper demonstrates the role of Canadian history and multiculturalism in shaping the various Canadian nikkei institutions and spaces. On the face of things, Canadian multiculturalism policy with its ethos of supporting different cultures within a general Canadian mosaic culture would appear to strengthen the

³ See for example “Identity construction among the Magars of Okhaldhunga District in Eastern Nepal” (Magar & Mani 2014).

cultural identity of Canadian *nikkei*. Unlike during the Second World War or earlier, Canadian *nikkei* would actually be encouraged by institutions such as the government. However, intermarriage rates for Canadian *nikkei* at 95% are higher than any ethnic community within Canada. Documentaries such as “*One Big Hapa Family*” by Jeff Chiba Stearns suggest that this may be a legacy of the racism faced by Canadian *nikkei* previously.

What multiculturalism has achieved is a widening and strengthening of Canadian *nikkei*. Their cultural institutions such as Nikkei Place and the Vancouver Mokuyokai, indirect results of Canada’s multicultural policy, have led to a review of who are included as (Canadian) *nikkei* at a national and provincial level. Canadian *nikkei* now refers to both established people of Japanese descent in Canada (those descendants from the first settlers who came to Canada starting in the late 19th century) right up to the *shin ijusha* from the postwar period. Although there are still differences and occasionally tensions between the different generations and groups comprising modern Canadian *nikkei*, there is an increasing willingness to consider *nikkei* as something that goes beyond the nation-states of Canada and Japan.

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

Risk factors for depression among 18-45 year old women in Kabul, Afghanistan

Mohammad Muhsen¹

Abstract

Currently, it is estimated that 350 million people suffer from depression worldwide. Depression is a common problem among women in developing countries, especially in war-torn regions such as in Afghanistan, and may be associated with both socioeconomic and cultural factors. This study examined the possible role of war related socioeconomic and some cultural practices in the affliction of women with depression in Kabul. A cross-sectional study on two groups of subjects and controls, 200 in total, was conducted in two hospitals in Kabul. Depression had been diagnosed by psychologists/psychiatrists in Kabul Mental Health Hospital based on *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (4th ed.) criteria. The control group was selected from the same socioeconomic group in Istiqlal Hospital without depression and/or severe illness. The comparative research highlighted significant war-related and socioeconomic risk factors for depression including widowhood, forced marriage, living in a crowded household, lower education, and low and/or irregular income.

Keywords: Afghanistan, Cultural factors, Depression, Kabul, War-related factors, Women.

Introduction

The continuous war and conflict in Afghanistan has caused an endless social stress with a destructive effect on the mental health of the people. The objective of this research was to identify the association of war-related, cultural and socio-economic problems with depression among reproductive age women (18 to 45 years old) in Kabul, Afghanistan. Furthermore, through this study we examined the relation of some traditional and social norms that have dominated women's lives in Afghanistan, including forced marriage, low and irregular monthly income, low education, and loss of a family member with depressive symptoms among women. Depression is a serious medical condition in which a person feels very sad, hopeless, and unimportant and often is unable to live in a normal way (Merriam Webster Dictionary). According to a World Health Organization (WHO) survey released in 2012, many individuals suffer from depression around the world and it is a major "contributor to the global burden of disease". Currently, it is estimated that 350 million people suffer from depression. One out of every twenty persons has experienced an incident of depression in the prior year, according to the World Mental Health Survey, piloted in 17 countries (WHO, 2012). Despite considerable improvements in the modern world, depression is one of the most common psychological disorders. According to the World Health Report 2001, based on "disability-adjusted life years, or DALYs", depression was the fourth main reason of disability among all illnesses. If the existing tendencies remain, it will be the second-most significant root of infirmity in 2020 (Corey & Sherryl, 2006). According to Murray and Lopez (1996), depression is recognized as a main health problem and is a key reason of "psychological and physical morbidity". It is expected to be second only to ischemic

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heart disease in terms of total burden of disease by 2020 (Murray & Lopez, 1996).

However, the situation of mental health in Afghanistan and many other war-torn countries is worse. According to Dr Alemi (Dr Alemi, 2014), more than 50% of the population in Afghanistan has some form of a psychiatric problem. Lopes Cardozo and colleagues piloted a nationwide mental health study in 2002, and stated that 73% of Afghans experience symptoms of depression, 84% have symptoms of anxiety, and 59% have posttraumatic stress disorders (Cardozo et al, 2005). Also, the WHO declared in a report focused on Afghanistan's mental health system, that in 2005 there were only eight psychiatrists, eighteen psychiatric nurses and twenty mental health professionals for a population of 27 million (WHO, 2006). The World Health Organization had disclosed in another report in 2001 that there were no mental health centers to deliver proper health services, and the existing centers were not well equipped. The latest battles have totally damaged the core psychiatric hospital in Kabul. Only one of four public mental health clinics work, and there is a shortage of qualified psychiatrists in the country.

Afghans have suffered from prolonged mental disorders for decades. Prior findings have declared that 20 to 30 percent of Afghans were suffering from mental illnesses due to continuous war and domestic violence (WHO, 2001). War and internal conflict have damaged all infrastructures, including the health system, in Afghanistan. Many professionals from all fields have immigrated to other countries.

However, studies conducted in Afghanistan on mental health report different results. According to Bolton and Betancourt, generally in Afghanistan the findings on "mental health" have concentrated on the occurrence of "post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, and anxiety" (Bolton & Betancourt, 2004). Scholte and colleagues reported that in Afghanistan, the occurrence of symptoms of depression and anxiety was discovered to be excessive: "38.5% to 67.7% for depression and 51.8% to 72.7% for anxiety" (Lopes et al. 2004; Scholte et al. 2004). This study has focused on women's problems in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan.

Women have suffered more than men because of war and conflicts. According to both Lopes and colleagues and Scholte and colleagues, females after war in Afghanistan live with worse mental health conditions (such as elevated anxiety, PTSD) and have suffered several more "traumas" than males (Lopes, et al., 2004; Scholte et al., 2004). Based on above research in Afghanistan, many women live in a worse mental health condition than men. Women suffer more than men because the Afghan society is a man-dominated society. In a majority of families, females have no right to be involved in families' decisions. According to de Jong, there are numerous reasons that may cause psychological disorders among Afghan females including schooling, age, spousal situation, ethnicity, surviving tools, and uncertain wages. Researchers have regularly discovered that higher educational level has a protective role for psychological disorders. There are many examples that the low level of education is related to PTSD amongst postwar countries such as Afghanistan (de Jong, 2002).

The USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979 until 1989. According to Hilton's argument, after the withdrawal of Soviet forces, the combat continued between the communist party and the resistance parties; the internal conflicts continued for more than 20 years. All of this turmoil badly affected Afghans, particularly the females (Hilton, 2001). Hilton argues that war and domestic conflicts had their own negative impact on Afghans, especially on women. Therefore, we designed an analytical study to determine the association of war related and socioeconomic factors with depression among 18-45 year old women at two hospitals in Kabul.

Methodology

Two methods were used. One was a qualitative focus group discussion with psychologists and psychiatrists in the Kabul Mental Health Hospital. I discussed with them the different problems the depressed women faced and their experiences treating the women. They treat depressed women in two different departments, OPD (Outpatient department) and IPD (Inpatient Department). A focus group discussion was conducted with psychologists and psychiatrist, including a trainer specialist of psychology in Kabul Mental Health Hospital. An open-ended question (what are the effects of war related and socioeconomic factors on women's mental health?) was asked from the focus group, psychologists and psychiatrists, who discussed it in detail.

For the quantitative study, I designed a questionnaire to conduct a survey on two groups, subjects and a control group. The survey was done in the form of an interview. I interviewed 100 women who were depressed. I asked them many questions related to the factors under study, and I took a control group of women with a similar age and socio-demographic status. The participants of the control group were mentally healthy. I compared the two groups regarding the frequency of these factors to see if any of these factors were more (or less) common among depressed women. The total planned sample size was 220 subjects, 110 subjects and 110 controls.

This research was conducted in two public hospitals in Kabul city, Afghanistan. The sample of the case group (depressed women) was interviewed in Kabul Mental Health Hospital (KMHH) and the control group (non-depressed women) was interviewed in Istiqlal Hospital. They also lived in the same district of the city so that they were similar in socioeconomic conditions. Any woman with a history of serious illness (e.g., heart disease, acute or chronic renal failure, liver disease, COPD, diabetes,...), pregnant women or those in postpartum stage, and as well as any woman with a depressed person in family/household, was excluded from the list of controls. The control data was thus collected from non-depressed healthy women.

The aim of this research was to determine the factors correlated with depression among women aged 18-45 in Kabul. From the sample size of 110 in the case group, only 100 responded to the conversation, and 10 of them refused to do the interview. The preplanned sample size of the control group was 110, and among these 100 answered questions while 10 rejected to cooperate. The same designed questionnaire, which had 11 questions, was distributed to both case and control groups. Thus the actual number of participants in the case group became 100 and included patients who had already been hospitalized in the psychiatric ward and those who were coming for follow-up to Kabul Mental Health Hospital during the data collection period. These women had already been diagnosed with depression by the psychologists/psychiatrists at the mentioned hospital according to Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-IV criteria).

The questionnaire had 11 questions to cover the war-related and socio-economic condition of respondents. The questionnaire was written in English first, and later translated to Pashtu and Dari (two national languages of Afghanistan), as the majority of respondents were unfamiliar with English, as well as illiterate. Therefore, a face-to-face interview was conducted with every patient, and the purposes of this research and the questions were explained to each patient in Pashtu or Dari.

Findings

Qualitative Analysis: The focus group discussion included a trainer specialist in psychology, five general practitioners of psychology and six psychiatrists. The trainer specialist was the head of the group, and all other professionals took part in the discussion. The discussion was open, and I asked about war-related and socio-economic factors of depression among women in Kabul from the members of the focus group. The discussion was conducted in Pashto language, and I recorded all the discussion. Then, I translated it from Pashto into English.

Widowhood: Mental health professionals (psychologist and psychiatrists) indicated that widowhood has an influence on the mental health of the women and they had observed too many such cases. Many of the group members pointed out that widowhood would be a risk factor for depression. They stated that war and domestic conflicts caused huge problems in Afghanistan. A lot of people lost their family members, and tens of thousands of women became widowed.

They stated that when illiterate women become widowed and have no supporter, they face vast problems. As the majority of Afghan families is male-dominated, they do not let the widowed to remarry, and they continue their life in widowhood; widowhood is thus a risk factor for depression among women, especially among the poor, illiterate, and male-dominated families. They added that most of the widowed even literates do not have any proper financial support from the government or other entities. Therefore, widowhood from one side and financial difficulties from the other cause many mental problems, particularly depression.

The trainer specialist and member of the panel added that some people are prone to depression due to such difficulties. And key reasons are poverty, financial deficit and violence in the families. When a woman faces violence in the family, she is more susceptible to psychiatric disorders, specifically depression.

Forced marriage: Members of focus group discussion (psychologists and psychiatrists) pointed out that forced marriage is a risk factor for depression among women. Many of mental health professionals stated that forced marriage is a risk factor for different mental disorders among women in Kabul. Also, professionals stated that in some cases when a father or brother became widower and wanted to remarry, they then exchanged their adolescent daughter or sister to an adolescent boy or old man, even if their daughter or sister disliked that. In some cases, families try to earn money by marrying their daughter to a rich old man.

Furthermore, they referred to some cases of forced marriage called *Baad/Baadi*. They explained that in this custom in a situation where a father, brother or uncle has killed someone due to conflict, after a while, elders of society may come together and try to make reconciliation or peace between the two sides by having their daughter or sister marry the other family. In other words, they exchange or force their daughters/sisters to marry the sons of the other side/family. If a side has no female in legal age, they marry their child, even a newborn girl, and wait for her to reach puberty. Mental health professionals added that:

“We have a forced marriage case right now in the ward. She is an eighteen years girl, and the family engaged her in childhood. But now the girl wants to reject that relation, and she faces the resistance of her family. Finally, she became depressed, and now she is hospitalized in the mental health hospital.”

Therefore, forced marriage appears as a risk factor for depression among women in Kabul. They added that we are still in conflict, and male-dominated families do not give the rights of choosing the husband to their females.

Spouse Unemployment: The focus group members pointed out that spouse joblessness has a direct impact on a woman's mentality. Professionals talked about the negative impacts of spouse unemployment; many panel members agreed that spouse joblessness has a direct influence on women and other family members' mentality. The level of uneducated and unskilled people is high; thus, the majority of unskilled people cannot find regular jobs, and they do not have any extra support from the government. Therefore, many depressed women come to the hospital, and, after taking their medical history, the doctors find that they have financial problem. The majority of them complain that their spouses are jobless and have no regular monthly income. Thus, psychologists and psychiatrists stated that spouse joblessness is a risk factor for depression among women.

Living away from spouse: Mental health professionals pointed out that living away from a spouse is a risk factor for depression among women, and among men as well. Seventy percent of focus group members stated that living away is a risk factor for depression. The trainer specialist of psychology and member of the panel, talked in detail about this issue, and he added:

“These are the spiritual and psychological stresses, thus, definitely it becomes a risk factor of depression. When a couple (wife and husband) live away from each other for a long time, definitely, this situation may cause many problems. The most considerable effect is on sexual desirability for both, and psychologically legal sex is a spiritual support for a wife.”

Some people travel abroad after getting married. These individuals stay there for years. Wives stay at home with in-laws. This psychological stress causes depression. Most poor or low-income people travel abroad to earn money. The main reason is a bad custom, which is called *Walwar* (Bride Price; it is a sum of money which the groom has to pay for a bride's family/in-laws). In some cases, this amount exceeds 2 million Afghanis (equal to \$20,000 US). Thus, due to this hard custom, a groom has to leave after the wedding to earn money for the debt of his wedding. Finally, the young groom struggles to earn more money and work hard; on the other hand, the young bride stays at home for years and faces many problems. Furthermore, a psychiatrist said:

“I have many patients in Saudi Arabia, UAE, Kuwait, Oman and other countries. Many of them contact me through mobile and share their sadness and concerns. They call for consultations, and they have been taking medicines. At the end, I can say that there are many causes, such as living away from family, working hard, and having no contact with wife or children for a long time. Thus, the husband becomes depressed there, and the wife gets depression at home.”

Quantitative analysis: One hundred women between the ages of 18-45 were enrolled as the case group. From this group, 20 women (20%) were from IPD (In Patients Department) of Kabul Mental Health Hospital, and 80 (80%) of them were from OPD (Out Patient Department) of the mentioned hospital. A control study group was also selected from a similar socio-demographic group, from the same district of the city, in Istiqlal Hospital. The women, who were selected as control group, were attending the hospital either for the purpose of a general checkup, accompanying an ill family member, or came to the hospital just to visit their hospitalized relatives. These women were healthy, and did not have any mental or psychological problem. The response rate was 89 percent in both groups, and the respondents answered to all the questions (Table 1). The following are the found risk factors for depression among women; the result of each factor will be discussed in detailed.

Forced Marriage: The results indicate that *forced marriage* is one of the risk factors of depression among women in Kabul. The data shows that 8% of depressed women had been forced to marry; on the other hand, none of the women in the control group were forced to marry. The data also shows that 80% of women in case group and 90% of participants in control group had arranged marriage. Thus, only 12% women in the case and 10% in the control group had voluntary marriage. There were no differences between arranged and voluntary marriage in both groups (Figure 1).

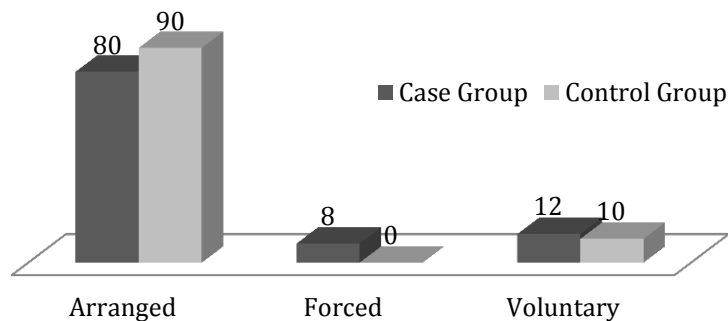


Figure 1: Marriage type (arranged, forced, and voluntary). The data doesn't show an association between arranged or voluntary marriage, and depression among women, but forced marriage is a risk factor for depression.

A statistical analysis of data indicated that forced marriage has a statistically significant association with depression. The Chi-square value was ($\chi^2 = 9.78$). The P value is = 0.0017, which is significant (less than 0.05). It obviously shows that there is an association between depression and forced marriage.

Widowhood: The percentages of lost relatives (father, mother, son, brother and sister) were about the same in both groups. The death of close relatives, other than spouse, in the depressed and control groups were (brother; 9% vs 10%, father; 5% vs 7%, mother; 5% vs 18%, sister; 2% vs 5%, son; 6% vs 3%), respectively. Forty six percent of women in depressed group, and 52% of women in control group, had not lost any close relatives (Figure 2).

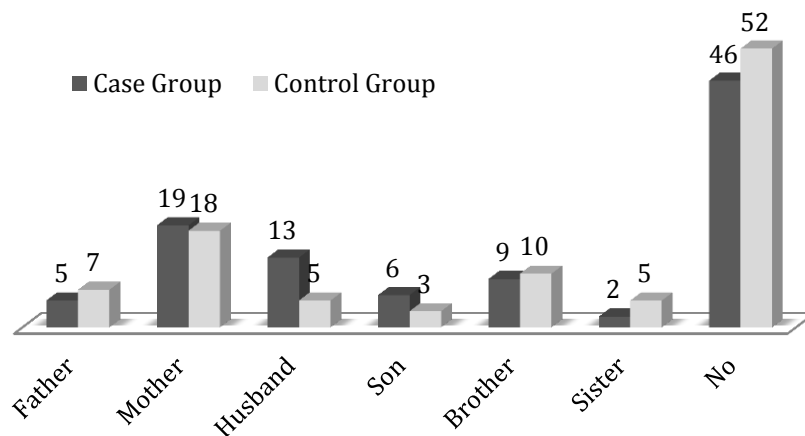


Figure 2: Relation of having a lost relative with the risk of depression among women in Kabul. Only the loss of husbands is significantly associated with depression in the case group.

The result of widowhood in the two groups showed that 13% of women were widowed in the depressed group, but only 5% in the control group. The statistical analysis demonstrates that the Chi-square value is ($\chi^2 = 3.90$) with a P value of 0.048, which is significant (less than 0.05). The data also show that there are no associations between depression and loss of other family members such as father, mother, son, brother or sister. Another research conducted in Kabul among women who had lost their husbands demonstrated that depression symptoms existed among 78.6% (ARE, 2004). The loss of husbands, and subsequent problems in life, may gradually cause depression in the widowed women.

Household with many members: The study shows that women living in a household with many members are prone to depression. The data was divided into two groups: those women that their household members were less than 10, and households with ≥ 10 members. The data clearly shows that households in the case group have more members than control. Seventy three households in the case group had ≥ 10 members, but only 22 households in the control group had ≥ 10 members; 27 households in the case group had < 10 persons in each household in the case group, but 78 households in the control group had < 10 members (Figure 1. 3).

The Ministry of Public Health has announced that “the average number of people in a household is 7.5”. According to (Marine Corps Institute), a family can reach up to 50 members, and these individuals are controlled by one head that they call “father.” Those women who have a collective family life in a household and are constantly abused verbally by their in-laws (mother and father in-laws, brother- and sister-in-laws) are prone to depression. Verbal abuse is one of the prominent risk factors for women leading to depression.

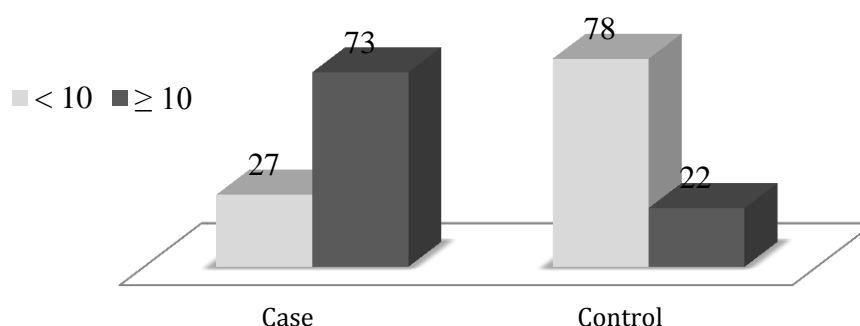


Figure 3: The relation between having less than 10 vs. 10 or more persons in a household with depression among women. As seen, 73 women in the case group had 10 or more persons in their household while only 22 women in the control group lived in such a crowded household.

The statistical analysis demonstrated the chi-square test at ($\chi^2 = 54.35$) with the P value = 0.00, which is significant. The result of Chi-square is a high number. It shows that those women who live in a household with many members are highly susceptible to depression.

Living away from spouses: In this study women who live away from their spouses are 8% in the case group and 4% in the control group. Based on statistical analysis, the result of Chi-square test is ($\chi^2 = 1.41$), and the P value = 0.23 which is not statistically significant. During the interview with psychiatrists and psychologists, however, they believed that living away from spouses is a risk factor for depression among women.

Education: In this study 42% of women in the case group were literate, and 54% of participants in the control group were literate. The percentage of illiteracy in the case group is 58% and in the control group 46%; there are no big differences between the results of the two groups. The result of Chi-square test was ($\chi^2 = 2.88$) and P value = 0.089, so statistically insignificant. Thus, no association was observed between illiteracy and depression among women in Kabul. However, the collected data from both the case and the control groups in this study indicate that the education level has its own impact on women mentality. The data precisely shows that those females who have a low level of education are highly prone to depression. Figure 4 shows that 1.68% of women of the case group have higher education (bachelor level), and 8.64% of women in the control group have a bachelor degree. The percentage of women with high school level education is 7.56% in the case group and 15.66% in the control group. There are many examples that a lower level of education has a relation to PTSD amongst postwar countries such as Afghanistan (de Jong, 2002).

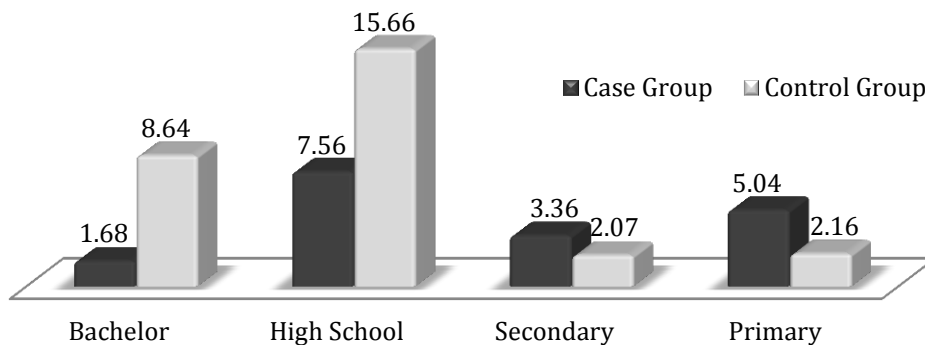


Figure 4: Education level in both groups. The result of Chi-square test was ($\chi^2 = 43.52$) with a P value of 0.004 which is significant. Therefore, the figures demonstrate that the case group has a lower level of education than control group.

Women's occupation: The result of this research did not find any association between women's job and depression. The following chart and statistical analysis clearly indicate that women's job does not have any relation with depression. The frequency of women who work as civil servants in the case group was 17%, while 23% of participants in the control group were civil servants. There are no big differences between these two percentages. Furthermore, 83% of women in the case group and 77% of participants in the control group are housewives.

Based on statistical analysis, the Chi-square test is ($\chi^2 = 1.125$), and the P value = 0.28 which is statistically insignificant. Thus, the result of collected data and statistical analysis did not prove an association between women's job and depression.

Husband's occupation: The results show that the husband's job has an impact on women mentality. Sixty three percent of women in the case group said that their spouses had no job, but only 13% of women in the control group mentioned that their husbands were jobless. The Chi-square value is ($\chi^2 = 53.05$) with the P value = 0.00, which is significant (0.05). Therefore, it demonstrates that the husband's unemployment has a high association with wife's depression.

Monthly income: Monthly income of the case group was lower than the control group. The data shows that 43% of women in the case group but none of control group gets less than 9000 Afghanis per month. Thirty one percent women of case group and 7% of control group had 10,000 – 19,000 Afghanis per month (Figure 5).

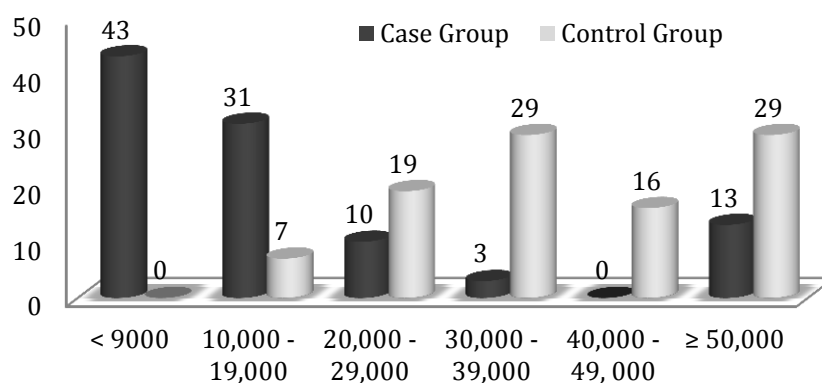


Figure 5: The monthly income of households. The comparison of monthly incomes of case and control group shows that the majority of participants in the case group have less income than the control group. This demonstrates that low income has an association with depression among women in Kabul.

Living with in-laws: The data demonstrated that 64% of women in the case group lived with in-laws, but only 35% of women in the control group lived with in-laws. The Chi-square value is ($\chi^2 = 16.82$), and the P value is = 0.00 which is less significant. Thus, it shows that living with in-laws is highly associated with women's depression.

Discussion

This study is the first one in Kabul, Afghanistan to examine the association of women's depression with war-related factors (e.g. losing a husband or other family member), some cultural practices (e.g., living in a crowded household, forced marriage, marriage in *Baad/Baadi*), low and irregular monthly income, living away from spouses, and having a low education (Table 1).

The findings indicate that widowhood is clearly related with depression. This is possibly because living without a spouse is difficult as in the Afghan society, and fewer widows may get married after widowhood, and these woman become further susceptible to depression. Other theories, including the "life course theory" about the difficulty related with losing a spouse (Umberson D & Williams, 2005) and the "distress theory" (Holmes. T & Rahe, 1967) (Mastekaasa, 1994) , explain that altering spousal position is an important lifetime occasion, which could in turn produce tension in a person's life.

Table 1: Univariate analysis shows the distribution and association of war related and socioeconomic factors with depression among women aged 18-45 in Kabul, Afghanistan.

Items		Subjects (n=100, %)	Controls	Chi square	P Value
Age	18 - 24	18 (18)	11 (11)		
	25 - 29	22 (22)	27 (27)		
	30 - 39	27 (27)	32 (32)		
	≤ 45	33 (33)	30 (30)		
Marital status	Married	79 (79)	91 (91)		
	Married (Spouse Away)	08 (8.0)	04 (4.0)	1. 4184	0. 2336
	Widowed	13 (13)	05 (5.0)	3. 9072	0. 0480
Marriage Type	Arranged	80 (80)	90 (90)		
	Forced	08 (8.0)	00 (00)	9. 8702	0. 0017
	Voluntary	12 (12)	10 (10)		
Literate	Yes	42 (42)	54 (54)	2. 8846	0. 0894
	No	58 (58)	46 (46)		
Education Level	Bachelor	04 (1.68)	16 (08.64)	13. 1765	0.0042
	High School (10-12Y)	18 (7.56)	29 (15.66)		
	Secondary (5-9 Y)	08 (3.36)	05 (02.07)		
	Primary (1-4 Y)	12 (5.04)	04 (02.16)		
Job	Civil servant	17 (17)	23 (23)		
	House wife	83 (83)	77 (77)	1. 125	0. 2888
Monthly Income	< 9000 (Afg)	43 (43)	00 (00)		
	10,000 - 19,000	31 (31)	07 (07)		
	20,000 - 29,000	10 (10)	19 (19)		
	30,000 - 39,000	03 (03)	29 (29)		
	40,000 - 49, 000	00 (00)	16 (16)		
	≥ 50,000	13 (13)	29 (29)		
Spouse Job	Yes	37 (37)	87 (87)		
	No	63 (63)	13 (13)	53.0560	0. 0000
Living with in-laws	Yes	64 (64)	35 (35)	16.8216	0. 0000
	No	36 (36)	65 (65)		
lost relative	Brother	09 (9.0)	10 (10)		
	Father	05 (5.0)	07 (7.0)		
	Husband	13 (13)	05 (5.0)		
	Mother	19 (19)	18 (18)		
	Sister	02 (2.0)	05 (5.0)		
	Son	06 (6.0)	03 (3.0)		
	No	46 (60)	52 (52)		
Household No.	≥ 10	73 (73)	22 (22)	54. 3517	0. 0000
	< 10	27 (27)	78 (78)		

Another factor that was divulged through this study was the reality of living in a big joint family without a proper social system. Living together in a big household is common in the traditional system in Afghanistan. Women who live in such a crowded household are likely susceptible to having quarrels and some abuse by in-laws. This contrasts with other countries where people have their individual household.

Forced marriage was another major problem and a risk factor of depression among women in Afghanistan. There are many cases where women are forced to marry, since they do not have any other options. They are obliged to obey the orders of their father or brothers, which in many cases lead to depression.

The trainer and psychology specialist of Kabul Mental Health Hospital stated:

“We know that half of our population is women, but unfortunately some negative and unacceptable cultural practices, especially among male dominated families do exist. Therefore, based on those wrong opinions, they consider female as a second or inferior human or gender. ... in these families women are oppressed, expose to family violence, and even they do not have a choice or a will of their own”.

Based on data, low and irregular income is another risk factor of depression among women in Kabul city. Results show that in the case group, many women have a low income; also, a majority of them mentioned that their husbands are illiterate and do not have any vocational skills. Furthermore, there are limited opportunities to find a regular and permanent job. Thus, most of the depressed women are from families whose income is less than 200 USD per month.

Another risk factor of depression among married women is living away from their spouse. The above situation is due to the lack of work or job opportunities in Afghanistan. In order to have a decent life, men have to travel abroad to earn some savings; besides, the family of the wife may ask for some money called *Walwar* which may exceed 1 million AFS (20,000 USD). It was said in the group discussion:

“Due to this difficult custom practice, groom has to leave immediately after wedding to earn money for the debt (if any, and in most cases, yes, they have) of his wedding and Walwar. Finally, the adolescent groom struggles to earn more money and work hard; on other side, the young bride stays at home for years and endures many problems”.

The last risk factor, which was recognized through this study, was education level. The results indicate that those women with low education levels were more prone to depression. There is no other previous study done to find out the relation of depression with the low level of education in Kabul.

Conclusion

This research perceived a major and significant relationship between a number of risk factors and depression among women. There were some war-related factors (e.g., losing a husband or other family member), economical (e.g., low and irregular monthly income), education (e.g., low level of education) and even cultural negative customs (e.g., living in a household with many members, forced marriage, marriage in *Badee*).

These results point to policy suggestions in the form of taking some major steps to stop war and conflicts, gradually work on unacceptable traditional customs, and other such problems. Some other suggestions would be educating the society and increasing the awareness level in various branches of life.

The government should create more job opportunities for women as well as support widows through local entities. They should work and raise people's awareness about the significance of women's rights.

Women by themselves should make progress to gain knowledge about their rights and communicate with their families, especially with their in-laws, in a more proper way.

Acknowledgement

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

Socioeconomic factors associated with opioid drug use among the youth in Kabul, Afghanistan

Abdul Shukoor Haidary¹

Abstract

Drugs are known to have dangerous consequences, but many people still use them. This study seeks to identify the factors influencing the use of opioid drugs by young adults in Kabul, Afghanistan. A descriptive as well as an analytical study was undertaken in six sites of Kabul. The study included 100 drug users (cases), and 120 non-drug users (control) for the quantitative part, and 24 local informants and 12 professional drug demand reduction informants as sources for the qualitative part. Qualitative data were analyzed using a thematic coded keyword approach whereby the data collected from key informants were grouped under emerging themes of the research objectives. Quantitative data were analyzed using chi-square statistical test as well as basic descriptive statistics. The study revealed that drugs are easily available around the city and villages of Kabul and are inexpensive. Opioid drugs were found to be popular among the larger Kabul population, and may be obtained from drug dealers and other drug users. The study found personal, behavioral, social and economic factors associated with opioids use including easy access to drugs, drug use among household members and friends, history of cigarette smoking and/or use of snuff, early age (15-22 years), illiteracy and low education, use of opium as painkiller for treatment, family problems and poor family relationships, peer pressure and influence, lack of sports and entertaining facilities, nearby poppy cultivation, war-related tension and problems, lack of proper drug prevention programs and lack of treatment facilities, unemployment and lack of job security, migration and displacements, frequent exposure to drugs, hard work at strenuous jobs and poor participation in community activities.

Keywords: Afghanistan, Drug abuse, Kabul, Opioids, Poppy.

Introduction

Humans have been using opium since ancient times. There is evidence that drugs such as opium were used from the Neolithic era in China, and opium appears to have been used in ancient Babylon both to relieve pain and induce sleep. The history of opium in Asia starts from the ancient period; by the eighth century A.D, opium had spread from the Eastern Mediterranean region to China, generating an Asian opium zone. Then, in the 16th century, India's Mughal Empire grew; the trade of drugs was primarily for use as entertainment. Then by the extension of European colonies in Asia, the European colonial system created and developed the Asian opium trade and encouraged a dramatically expanded production of opium in Asian countries (such as India, China, Burma, Philippines, Vietnam, and the Golden triangle countries such as Myanmar, Thailand and Laos) from the late 17th to early 20th century (McCony, 2000).

Opium has always affected human beings, particularly since this substance was used as a tool of war and illegal commerce in colonial regimes (Motte, 1981). During more recent historical times, opium and its derivatives have been widely used in medicine. Before the introduction of anesthesia during the 19th century, a mixture of opium and alcohol was extensively used to numb surgical patients and reduce the pain of operations. In 1874, Alder Wright, a chemist in London, first experimented and developed heroin (Taylor, 1963).

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The first move against opium use was taken by the Chinese government in 1839, known as the Opium War between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and China from 1839 to 1842 (UNODC, 2007). In 1909, the international community sat together in Shanghai, China to discuss how to deal with drug issues in the world. Subsequently, in 1912 on the basis of Shanghai conference the first agreement on the control of opium was endorsed (Ghodse, 2002, p. 381). Later, many conventions, regulations, protocols, and resolutions were issued by the United Nations. Much of the existing apparatus of international drug control is based upon the single convention on Narcotics Drugs in 1961; this international treaty covers the production and trafficking of 'narcotic drugs' (Taylor, 1963).

Drug use is still a major problem and threat to human beings in all parts of the world. In 2012 it was estimated that around 243 million people worldwide aged 15 to 64 year old (between 162 to 324 million, equal to 5.2 percent of the world population) had used an illegal drug. Currently, addiction to illegal drugs is one of the top 20 risk factors for health worldwide and among the top ten risk factors in low-income countries. Some health problems related to drug abuse are infection such as HIV, hepatitis, tuberculosis (TB) and other blood borne diseases (UNODC, 2014).

Globally, the main illegal drugs in consumption terms are opium, heroin, morphine, cannabis, amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS), Ecstasy (MDMA) and cocaine (UNODC, 2010). Opioids such as opium, morphine and heroin are at the top of the list of problem drugs, which cause the highest burden of disease and drug-related mortality (UNODC, 2014). Afghanistan, Iran, and the central Asian countries continue to be parts of the world with a higher incidence of opiate users than the global average. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, 1.5% of people use opium, heroin, and other opioids (UNODC, 2009). In Pakistan, 0.8% of the total population are regular heroin users, 0.3% of the total population is opium abusers, one percent of the total population is combined opioids abusers; approximately 1.5% of the population (nearly 1.6 million people) report non-medical abuse of opioids (UNODC, 2013).

In 1924, Afghanistan reported a very low level of poppy cultivation in some villages of the country to the League of Nations. However, from 1978 to present, throughout more than three decades of war, Afghan people have faced more drug related problems and cultivation gradually grew larger (UNODC, 2003). Due to opium production, Afghanistan became a member of the Golden Crescent (Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan). The cultivation of opium has grown and increased in Afghanistan throughout this period and began rising gradually after 1979 due to the Soviet invasion, regional and international factors, and other tensions through the war (McCony, 2000).

The conflicts and war have affected the use of millions of hectares of arable lands and sent a lot of households over the border, mainly to Iran and Pakistan; few people stayed to work on the remaining farmland. On the other hand, the White House appointed the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to do a major project to support the Afghan opposition (*Mujahidin*). Operating through Pakistan's Inter Service Intelligence (ISI), the CIA started providing weapons and funding to the Afghanistan *Mujahidin*. While the *Mujahidin* got control over freed parts inside Afghanistan, they armed groups who pressed their supporters to grow opium as a progressive tax and processed it into heroin across the border in Pakistan's Northwest frontier province. During this decade of conflict, Afghanistan's opium production increased from 250 ton in 1982 to 750 ton in 1988. Under ISI protection, Pakistani traffickers and Afghan resistance leaders opened hundreds of heroin production laboratories along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, and Pakistan was able to capture the world's heroin market in a short time (McCony, 2000).

After Soviet armies left Afghanistan and the Western States' financial support was cut, *mujahidin* commanders started competing for power in the new Afghanistan regime, which resulted in a civil war. The conflict continued between *mujahidin* until the 1990s, when they divided Afghanistan into several parts; in 1994 Taliban insurgents emerged and step by step captured most parts of Afghanistan and announced their unified government. The Taliban increased the cultivation of poppy, because their main income was through taxing opium production (Gretchen Peters, 2009). Currently, Afghanistan produces the world's largest amount of opium drugs; surveys show a large increase of poppy cultivation from 154,000 hectares in 2012 to 209,000 hectares in 2013 (UNODC, 2014).

Drug trafficking is a top illegal business for mafia networks; the UNODC estimated the global economy from the illegal drug business at 320 billion USD for one year, equal to 0.9 percent of world GDP, 68 billion of which belongs to the opiate market. Afghanistan produced 82% of total world opium in the same year, and the value of Afghanistan opium harvest was 438 million USD (UNODC report, 2009). Another survey shows the drug smugglers' and dealers' profits in neighboring countries in 2002 at about 4 billion USD of which 2.2 billion USD went to criminal groups in Central Asia (UNODC, 2003). A study published by Degenhardt in 2013, found that addiction to illegal substances was accountable for 3.5 million years of life lost throughout premature death and 16.4 million years of life lived with disability (UNODC, 2014).

Afghanistan has become the leading producer of opium in the world, and is now facing major and growing challenges associated with drug abuse problems. Around one million people (940,000) use drugs, particularly opiates by 8% of the entire population of Afghanistan; this rate is twice the global average of drug users (UNODC, 2010). The number of regular opioid drug users in Afghanistan is estimated at 290,000 to 360,000 people, or equal to 2.7% of the adult population between 15-64 years old. Around 133,000 drug users live in Kabul province. Opiate drugs have been reported with the highest frequency besides drugs such as cannabis and prescription opioids (UNODC and Afghanistan MCN, 2009). Nowadays, Afghanistan has one of the highest prevalence of opiate users in the world at 2.65 percent. Drug use in Afghanistan is a growing problem, particularly among refugees and the young generation, and has resulted in many problems in the society. Currently, Afghan people want to avoid from the cultivation of poppy. They continue to cultivate other crops, mainly food crops, but there is little attention by the state and international commitment to support them in cultivating other crops, instead of poppy and marijuana (UNODC, 2003, p. 21).

Using opiates has affected the academic progress of children in Afghanistan; some have left school and been forced to work because a family member was using drugs (UNODC Survey, 2014). Through a survey, the UNODC found that drug use has led to domestic violence too. Many employees have lost their jobs, and some of the families were forced by drug user members to borrow money. Therefore, families have faced financial problems as a result of drug use. Crime, premature death, corruption, workplace difficulties and security problems have increased due to drug abuse (UNODC survey, 2014, p. 9).

There are many more drug users and dealers among the arrested population than the general population in Afghanistan; among prisoners, one third has drug related crimes (UNODC, 2011, p. 3). The UNODC survey in 2009 found about 18,000-23,000 injecting drug users (IDUs) in Afghanistan. Based on the Johns Hopkins University survey conducted in Afghanistan, the prevalence of HIV among injecting drug users was about 7.2% (DDR/MCN, 2012). The UNAIDS and WHO found that HIV prevalence is mainly concentrated among injection drug users in Afghanistan. So, the main incidence and spread of HIV in the country are through injection drug users (World Bank, 2012).

A massive source of corruption results from drug-related activities, undermining government institutions or political systems, particularly in provinces where poppy cultivation exists (Mohseni.N). Drugs fund criminals, insurgents, and terrorists in Afghanistan and abroad. Corrupt government officials keep undermining public trust, security, and the law. The taint of money laundering is harming the reputation of banks in the Gulf and beyond (Gretchen, 2009).

One main consequence of the use of opioids in Afghanistan is the loss of potential productivity due to disability, and another big concern is premature deaths (UNODC, 2013). Government and the private sector have inadequate resources and poor infrastructure, with a limited capacity to treat only about 3% of the opioid users annually. Additionally, drug treatment is not incorporated as a priority in the agenda of the relevant ministries. The lack of an allocated budget through the government to respond to the problem and the absence of proper protocols and standards to treat drug addicts are major challenges (DDR/MCN, 2012).

Methodology

This study was divided into two parts, quantitative and qualitative. For an analytical examination of the socioeconomic factors associated with drug use among 15-35 years old people in Kabul province, a case-control study was undertaken to investigate the associated risk factors among the subjects as compared with a control group. The prevalence or the level of exposure to a risk (or protective) factor was measured and compared between the two groups (Bailey, Vardulaki, Langham, & Chandramohan, 2006, p. 45). This study also included a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) meeting with Drug Demand Reduction (DDR) professionals and local informants to assess the socioeconomic factors contributing to the use of drugs in Kabul. The drug user interviews were part of the quantitative study while the focus group discussions were part of the qualitative study. The drug user interviews were part of the quantitative study while the focus group discussions were part of the qualitative study.

The study randomly picked opioid users to learn what factors influenced them to become drug users. The selection of control group was done to compare the two groups that live in the same socioeconomic conditions, but differ in drug use. Also, this study compared which kind of social and economic capital the control group had, to not become an opiate user, as compared with the case group. A face-to-face Interview technique was used with both drug users and non-drug users. In each site interviews were conducted with 20 drug users as well as 30 non-drug users, as the control group, from the same area, age and gender with similar socioeconomic conditions. This study was conducted in 6 districts of Kabul province: five city sites, and one out of city site. The study was conducted in the following sites of Kabul:

- 1- The Kalakan District; located in the north of Kabul province; I conducted FGD with local informants and interviews with drug users coming for treatment (as outpatient) and non- drug users living in this district with similar socioeconomic conditions.
- 2- The First District; these included interviews with drug users after consumption of opiates in the drug use site, back of Mashed-e- Eidga and FGD with local informants at the first district municipality hall.
- 3- The Third District; I conducted face to face interview with female opiate users in the Sanga Amaj women's drug treatment center and interview with control group subjects living around Kute-e-Sange square.

- 4- The Seventh District; here there were interviews with opioid users in Jangalak 300 beds drug residential treatment center.
- 5- The Ninth District; I conducted FGD with DDR professionals in the ministry of counter narcotics, drug demand reduction meeting room; I also conducted interviews with non-drug users working in industries.
- 6- The Fifteenth district; I conducted interviews with drug users and non-drug user subjects who lived around the Panjsaad Family cemetery.

The target population of this research study was opioid users under treatment in hospitals and drug treatment centers, the homeless, and opioid users in the drug use sites at the said locations of Kabul city. The control group was from young adults 15-35 years old as non-drug users, living in same socioeconomic areas and working in the same area around drug treatment centers. Opioid drug users included 120 people 15-35 years old, mainly male and a few female; 20 of them rejected the interview. The control group in the beginning consisted of 150 subjects, but 30 of them rejected the interview. Both groups were selected based on random sampling; multistage cluster sampling was used for male and female correspondents.

In the FGD, 12 community informants attended. Totally 3 focus group discussions were conducted. The informants invited for each focus group discussions were 12 local people. The following categories were invited as local informants: family of drug abusers, community elders, religious leaders, head of the community health association and police representative and drug treatment centers councilors or coordinators, school teachers and ex-drug users during the continuum of care. For FGD meeting with DDR experts the study invited drug demand reduction professionals. The study selected questions to examine personal, family, community and economic factors and questions to examine the main socioeconomic factors that influence the young generation to become opioids users in Kabul.

Qualitative data were analyzed using thematic coded key words approach whereby the data collected from FGDs key informants were grouped under emerging themes of the research objectives and then continued by summarizing and discussing the findings of the focus group discussions. The quantitative data were analyzed using chi-square statistic test along with descriptive statistics such as frequencies, mean and percentages.



Figure 1: Focus group discussion meeting in *Kalakan* district, Kabul.

Findings and Discussion

Through meetings with local informants and DDR professionals the following risk factors were found as probably associated with the use of opiates among young and adult of Kabul population: (1) easy access to drug and lack of proper law enforcement, (2) drug use among households and family problems, (3) peer pressure and influence, (4) lack of sports and entertaining facilities, (5) war related tension and problems, (6) lack of proper drug prevention programs and lack of treatment facilities, (7) unemployment and lack of job security, (8) migration and displacements and, (9) exposure to drugs and hard work at strenuous jobs e.g. in brick kilns (Figure 2).

The UNODC research on the impact of drug use on users and their family in Afghanistan, in 2014 found risk factors such as unemployment, economic problems, family problems, peer pressure, use of drug as a painkiller, having drug users among family members, depression, and drug use out of curiosity, as the reasons contributing to the abuse of drug among people (UNODC survey, 2014, p.107).

Lack of awareness about the harm of drugs and harmful consequences of addiction, particularly among adolescents and the young generation, is a leading risk factor toward drug addiction. Unfortunately, in Kabul there are very limited consultation and awareness services at schools, mosques and even on media to guide the young generation about hazardous effects of drugs. Whereas schools and mosques can play an important role, this is not happening now or is in very limited scale. Also the study identified that in Kabul province and surrounded provinces there are not enough treatment centers for treatment of addiction. In some districts drug treatment centers exist, but their services are not complete and standard; when they are discharged from treatment centers they use opioids again. Lack of comprehensive prevention programs is one reason why people use opiate and cannabis drugs.

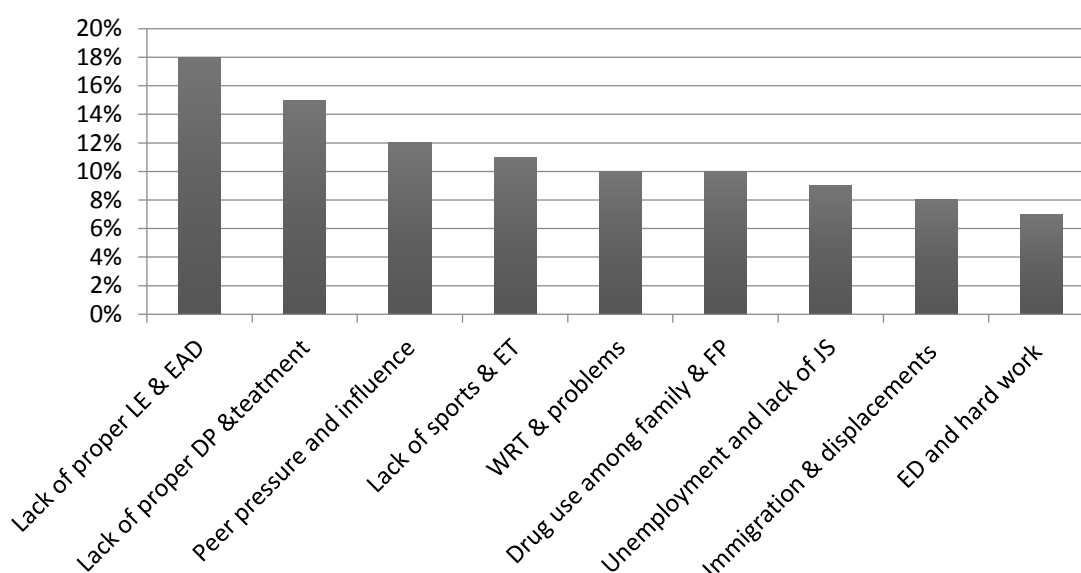


Figure 2: The percentages of factors contributing to the use of drugs, based on the FGD meetings with local informants and DDR professionals. (“LE” means law enforcement, “DP” means drug prevention, “ET” means entertaining facilities, “WRT” means war related tension, “FP” means family problems, “JS” means job security, and “ED” means exposure to drugs.)

In Afghanistan most people are illiterate or low educated, and even those who have a high school education do not know about consequences of the opioids. Also, it is over three decades that the people of Afghanistan are facing war related problems and tension. Consequently, they may use drugs to relax but then become dependent on the drugs. Some Afghan people, particularly young laborers are working in illegal heroin production laboratories and poppy cultivation farms. Through contact with opium gradually they become addicted.

Based on face-to-face interviews with drug users and non-drug users, the study determined some socioeconomic, personal risk factors and adverse behaviors associated with the use of opiates in Kabul province. In order to examine them further the research selected a comparative methodology to quantify the risk factors of drug users and non-drug users from the same age group, gender and socioeconomic group. The risk factors included:

- (1) Personal and demographic factors such as age, illiteracy and education level.
- (2) Behavior factors such as; cigarette smoking & use of snuff, and drug use experience & reasons.
- (3) Family factors such as parents' education, having a drug user in the household, use of opium for treatment in the family, and poor family relationship.
- (4) Community factors such as drug use among friends, easy access to drugs, poppy cultivation in the community and poor participation in community activities.
- (5) Economic factors especially unemployment.

The study found that the average age of people who started to use opioid drugs was 20.7 years old. The range was between 14-32 years old. The majority of those who started to use opioids were very young. Most of them were under the age of 21, and one half was under age 22. On the other hand, the average non-drug users' age was 21.5 years old and ranged between 15 to 35 years old.

A study conducted in 1985 supports these findings and suggests that the risk of beginning to use drugs is higher between age 18 and 21 years old. It also suggests that the age of the highest risk for seeking to smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol, use cannabis, opiates and other substance peaks at 16 and 18 years old and the process ends by age 20 (Callen, 1985).

Drug dealers prepare an addictive set at lower prices for young people. The young people of Afghanistan do not have information, awareness and do not know how to protect themselves from harm and hazard of accessible drugs such as cannabis and opioids. Filled with curiosity, with the youthful desire to "try anything once," they become easy victims.

Education: The study indicates that 65% of cases were illiterate and 35% literate. Among literates, 68.5% had low education (only can read and write). On the other hand, among the control group (non-drug users), 46% were illiterate and 54 % literate. The P value (0.004) and Chi-Square value (7.9) suggest illiteracy and low education have a significant association with the use of opioids.

The result of a study conducted in Afghanistan by UNODC suggests that illiteracy and low education are risk factors in the use of drugs. The study estimated that among correspondents, 55.9% were illiterate, 18% primary school, 12.3% secondary school, 9.7% had high school and the rest (4.1%) had higher education level. The study believed that education could play an important role in drug use (UNODC Survey, 2014, p.18). The findings of UNODC survey may be a little different, because it was conducted with many more samples in the entire country. According to the central statistical office (CSO) estimations, about 70% of the Afghan population is living in rural areas (CSO, 2013). During the three decades of war

between 1970 and 2000 years, only cities were under the control of government and the rural area was under control of the government opposition. All schools and education services were closed in rural areas.

Cigarette smoking and use of snuff: In the case group, 26 of respondents had never smoked a cigarette and used snuff before starting the use of opioids and 74 had experience with cigarette smoking and use of snuff before the use of opioids. The chi-square test value = 52.54 and P value of 0.00 revealed a statistically significant strong correlation between cigarette smoking, use of snuff and the use of opioids.

A study in USA describes that the younger generation tends to start with some gate entry substances, for instance smoking cigarette and alcohol consumption, then gradually progresses to cannabis and step by steps other drugs (Schilling & McAlister, 2000).

In Afghanistan culture and context, the main responsibilities for the family belong to fathers. During the war, fathers were busy with war, or left the country for work. The young generation smoked cigarettes or used snuff because there was no one to look after them. And due to war, most of the young generation remains illiterate.

Drug use experience & reasons: The main reasons for using opiates among 100 drug users were peer encouragement and for recreation; 40 percent responded that their friends encouraged them to use drugs, 25% used drugs for fun, and 14 percent for pain relief. Finally, data show a strong association of addiction to peer encouragement and influence, recreational use, and using of opioids as painkillers. On the other hand, in the control group some of them used drugs once or a few times, 52.5% used it for fun and 26.5% used it because of peer encouragements.

In line with this study, UNODC research on the impact of drug use on users and their family in Afghanistan suggests that risk factors such as unemployment, economic problems, family problems, peer pressure, use as a painkiller, having drug users among family members, depression, and use out of curiosity were the main reasons (UNODC survey, 2014, p.107).

Compared to UNODC 2014 survey, some findings of this study are new, for instance use of drugs for fun. Enjoyment and fun is part of human nature, particularly young people want to have recreational programs and sports facilities to enjoy themselves after work. Unfortunately during the last three decades, these kinds of activities and events have been affected due to war and conflicts. Nowadays, the environment is not suitable for young people, to have fun in proper places. On the other hand, only one chance remains for youth to smoke cigarettes and use snuff in parties and gatherings and step-by-step through peer influence they may use cannabis as a gate for other drugs including opium and heroin. Also in Kabul there are no sport and recreation facilities for the youth and teenagers to spend their additional time with useful activities.

Parents' education: This study found that 71% of parents of drug users were uneducated but only 51% of the parents of control group subjects were uneducated. Also among educated parents of non-drug users, 52% had higher education but in the case group among parents who were literate, 35% had higher education. Father's illiteracy with a P value of 0.00023 and Chi square value of 9.24 had a strong and statistically significant association with the use of opiate drugs. Therefore, the study approves the hypothesis that parental illiteracy and low education have association with drug use. This study indicates that a father plays an important role in growing and upbringing of their adolescents and young generation. However, if a father was illiterate, he would not know about the harm of drugs. Therefore, it is highly probable that he would not teach his children how to avoid drug addiction.

Drug use in the household: Drug users were about eight times more common among families of case group compared with the control group. In the study group (drug users), 46% had drug users in the household, but in the control group only 6% (7 people). So it shows that the use of drugs in the household has association with drug use, with a chi-square value of 48.12, and statistically significant.

According to the household survey in Afghanistan National Urban Drug Use Survey the occurrence of positive drug tests among Afghanistan children under age 15 was 2.3 %. Opioids were the most common find, found in 56 percent of the test positive children. The results of positive tests for opioids suggest that they were given the opioid drugs by an adult or because of environmental exposure to opium and heroin in homes where adults smoke opiates (UNUDUS, 2012). Another study conducted by UNODC in Afghanistan, suggests that risk factors such as having drug users among family members is the reason that increases the use of drug among people (UNODC survey, 2014, p.107).

The family environment when a drug user is in the household has an effect on other members of the family who may become drug users. Also, smoking drugs in front of household members, particularly young generation leads a person to use drugs and become addicted to drugs.

Use of opium for treatment in the family: The study results show that 21% of the study subjects households used opioids for treatment or as painkillers without prescription by a doctor; with a chi-square value of 9.79 and $p = 0.0017$ which is statistically significant. Thus the use of opiates for treatment has an association with opiate use.

Although the use of narcotics is forbidden in Islam, due to a lack of access to health facilities and services in Afghanistan, the elders recommend opium for the treatment of some diseases such as arthritis, diabetes, hepatitis, dental problems, respiratory diseases and other chronic diseases. Children who use opium from their childhood gradually become drug addicts.

Poor family relationships: Among the study group 20 subjects had poor family relationships compared with 9 subjects in the control group. Also p -value = 0.0064 and chi-square value of 15.5 indicates there is a statistically significant correlation between poor family relationships and use of opioids.

A similar study in other countries found that the structure of households plays an important role in the development of young generation. There are more young children who use drugs if parents have little attachment with their kids, or have poor or inadequate relationships with their children (Stern, Northman & Van Slyck, 1984).

A family system is defined as the unique interaction and relationship of each family member to one another (ACCE, 2011). Functional families have rules, standards, and guidelines for behavior that are explained and consistently enforced (everyone knows what to expect) and normal families have adults who are close, share authority, support one another and offer growth opportunities for members. When a family member has a mental or other problem such as addiction, functional family characteristics change, making the family system dysfunctional. Therefore, weak attachment with household members makes family dysfunctional and with dysfunction risk of addiction is higher compared with functional families.

Drug use among friends: In the case group, there were 87 drug users among friends, but in the control group, only 20 cases; it means having drug users among friends is strongly associated with opiate addiction and the risk of drug use is about 5 times higher among case group subjects compared with the control group. Therefore, drug users among friends and peers are a significant risk factor to the incidence of opiate addiction in Kabul.

In line with this study, another survey in 2006 found that the friends' and community's behavior regarding drug use, and the transfer of opinions and thoughts, influence on motivational factors to abuse of drugs. People with friends involved in drug use may also use drugs (Odejide, 2006).

Friends play an important role in the behavior of each other; based on social learning theory the people learn from each other (Bundara, 1977). In Afghanistan context, peer pressure may be the main cause for the use of drugs. Also, in most cases when people have low self-confidence and are afraid of being rejected from the group, they accept the pressure and start using drugs, which finally turns into addiction.

Easy access to drug: The study found that among the case subjects, 90% did not have problems in obtaining any types of drugs. It means that both in and outside Kabul, drugs were available for them. On the other hand, among control group subjects, 27% mentioned that it was easy to find drugs in their communities. Therefore the access of people, particularly the young generation to buy drugs easily, has a significant correlation with the use of drugs. Although Afghanistan has counter narcotics laws and regulations, but unfortunately, it is very easy to buy any types of drugs. Easy access to drugs and cultivation of poppy in Afghanistan and also the low price have contributed significantly to increasing opioid use in Kabul. This is more significant in areas where poppy is being cultivated and opiates are being produced.

Poppy cultivation in the community: In this study, 27 subjects from the case group declared that there was poppy cultivation in their neighbor community before they started to use opioids. However, only 3 subjects among the control group stated that some of their relatives and villagers cultivated poppy. The chi-square value is equal to 28.606 and the association of poppy cultivation in the community with use of opiates is statically significant.

According to 2014 UNODC worldwide report Afghanistan is the world's largest opium producer (UNODC, 2014). Another survey, conducted in 2009 by UNODC, described that the poppy cultivation setting is a major threat both at the national and international level. Beside an increase in poppy cultivation, the number of opioid users has also increased dramatically from recent years in all parts of Afghanistan (UNODC survey, 2009). Poppy cultivation is a significant challenge for Afghan society affecting all people. Therefore, this study suggests that the existing risk factor could increase drug addiction in Kabul.

Poor participation in community activities: The study found that 21 subjects from the case group and 8 subjects from the control group never participated in community activities. The p-value (0.00641) and chi-square value of 10.09 verify that there is a significant correlation between poor community participation and the use of opioids.

The findings are in line with studies by Hirschi that a person attached to social institutions and activities gets less involved in activities that would damage or harm the attachments. People who have allocated and spent energy, time, and resources into selecting community values and norms are less likely to turn against it than someone who has not made such a capital. Therefore, unexpected habits such as substance abuse are less appealing to persons with high commitments (Hirschi, 1969).

Weak attachment to the community and their activities make people to become isolated from their society and this isolation has negative consequences for the use of drug and some other harmful behaviors.

Unemployment: In this study, 64% of the case group subjects did not have jobs compared with 47% in the control group who did not have a regular job. Thus joblessness has an association with continuous addiction in the case group and drug use in Kabul. The chi-square value was 7.346 with 1 DF and $p = 0.0014$,

statistically significant. The study approves the alternative hypothesis that joblessness has an association with opiate use.

The findings are in line with the study conducted by UNODC in 2014, suggesting that unemployment is the first reason that people use drugs. The study believed that joblessness could play an important role in drug use (UNODC Survey, 2014, p.107).

In Kabul, some of the mafia networks use this opportunity and hire unemployed youths to smuggle drugs and sell drugs in which some of these youth end up using drugs through exposure to drugs and drug dealer's encouragement. The government has not been able to provide more job opportunities for young people. Some of the young people also go to neighboring countries to work there; some of them started using drugs during this period.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to explore the socioeconomic factors associated with opioid use among young adults (15-35 year old) in Kabul, Afghanistan. The study tested the hypothesis that young people with low socioeconomic status, low or no education, and personal behavioral problems have a higher risk for drug addiction than the rest.

The findings of the study revealed a correlation between some socioeconomic factors and opioid use. These factors are influential in increasing the risk of addiction with opioids in Kabul, Afghanistan. The study utilized both qualitative and quantitative methods. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were used as data collection tools for qualitative analysis, while a case and control design was utilized to collect and analyze data for the quantitative section of the paper. The chi-square test was used for the comparative analysis of the socioeconomic risk factors of case and control subjects of the study.

The results of the study identified the complexity existing between the use of opioids and other factors among people aged between 15 and 35 years old. As stated by FGDs informants, opium and heroin activities such as poppy cultivation and trafficking are dangerous phenomena in the country. FGDs and in-depth interviews of the respondents of the study, including local informants and DDR, revealed that the following factors have important roles in drug addiction in the country: lack of proper law enforcement, easy access to drugs, peer pressure, lack of proper drug prevention, treatment and control initiatives, lack of sports and recreational environment and facilities, war related psychological problems, having a drug user in the household, friends and society, high unemployment rates among the youths, immigration, exposure to drugs, illiteracy and low education, and lack of awareness about the harm of drugs.

The study identified many factors increasing the risk for addiction. These risk factors were: age, illiteracy/education level, use of snuff, cigarette smoking, parents' education, drug user among households, drug use of opium for treatment in the family, poor family relationship, drug use among friends, easy access to buy drugs, poppy cultivation in the community and poor participation in the community activities, and unemployment.

It appears that the majority of people who acquired opioid addiction were more exposed to addiction in early ages between 15 and 21 years. Therefore, the young population of the country is more vulnerable to drug addiction. Moreover, they are more commonly the targets of drug circles, including drug dealers. Based on the study results, socioeconomic problems and risk factors play an important role towards the use

of opioids by young adults. Likewise, family and societal factors such as having drug users in the household and easy access to drugs play a crucial role in the addiction of young people.

Another factor that was identified by the respondents and key informants was socialization. Socialization includes poor family relationship, drug users among friends, peer pressure and poor participation in the community activities, which are also significant risk factors in the Kabul population. Economic factors were also identified as crucial for drug use including unemployment, which has an association with drug use. Finally, personal and behavioral features such as age, illiteracy and low education, smoking cigarette and use of snuff, are risk factors that have led to young adults using opioids. While the presence of these factors does not guarantee that people will use drugs, it does make them more susceptible.

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

Social activist, patron and broker: Indonesian migrant entrepreneurs in Taiwan

Paulus Rudolf Yuniarto¹

Abstract

Indonesian migrant entrepreneurship in Taiwan involves entrepreneurs who apply local values or customs in the host society and then (re)produce them in their business activities, expecting profit from customers without losing the social cohesion of their business operations. In practice, they first accommodate the basic social and economic needs of migrant workers and develop social cohesion among them. Second, entrepreneurs engage in mutual relationships in their developing social networks in Taiwan. Indonesian migrant entrepreneurships are not independent economic business operations; rather, they are strongly linked to the social and cultural conditions of migrants. Entrepreneurs often play the role of “friends” in need, acting as a third-party resource to migrants so they can find help and self-actualization, as well as acting as patrons and brokers to migrants in trouble. This paper is based on the observations of participants’ daily business activities and in-depth interviews with Indonesian migrant entrepreneurs from June to December 2014. The ethnographic research method, which is used particularly to research personal preferences, is applied herein to social activities as a means of exploring the effect that migrant–entrepreneur patronage and broker relations have on the practice of entrepreneurial activity.

Keywords: Indonesia, Patron-broker, Social activist, Taiwan.

Introduction

Migrant entrepreneurship in Taiwan is no longer considered a “sideline,” “transitional,” or “traditional” economic activity; it has come to be seen as a key long-term economic activity, a source of income, and a response to labor market conditions. Besides contributing to the interactive development of the modern urban landscape, immigrant entrepreneurship in Taiwan is a significant element in combating unemployment and welfare drain through proactive job creation (for detailed studies on migrant entrepreneurship in Taiwan, see Huang 2009; Huang et al. 2012; Huang and Douglas 2008; Hung-Chen 2014; Hung-Ing 2008; Lan 2011; Tzeng 2012; Chi and Jackson 2012; Ho Thi 2010). However, in the case of established migrant entrepreneurships and their co-ethnic relations, based on the research findings herein on Indonesian migrant entrepreneurship, not only stand in the basic economic relations, such as trader and buyer. These entrepreneurial acts also appear to be based on migrant condition realities.

As demonstrated by their business orientation, rather than merely providing migrants with local products, entrepreneurs provide “social services” for co-ethnic migrants, such as spaces for religious practices; educational, entertainment, and administrative help; dedicated spaces for counseling; and other facilitations, including helping migrants in trouble (for details, see Yuniarto 2014). These practices are referred to as the social activism, patronage, and broker patterns of Indonesian migrant entrepreneurs in Taiwan. Their businesses go far beyond economic development in using and practicing migrant custom knowledge, adjusting to labor conditions, and establishing social relationships among migrants. Therefore, the question on which this paper will elaborate is as follows:

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“How does the interaction between Indonesian migrants and entrepreneurs shape the roles that Indonesian entrepreneurs in Taiwan play as social activists, patrons, and brokers?”

Defining the concept: Social activist entrepreneur

A social activist entrepreneur is defined as an individual with an attitude driven by the desire to create positive social change using an entrepreneurial framework. Theoretically, social activist entrepreneurs are people who allocate their monetary contributions and efforts to mobilize resources for use in communities (Couto 1997); who have a value commitment to benefiting a community (Dhesi 2010); and who, by making a contribution to the social good, express their identity as caring, moral persons (Wuthnow 1991). In the context of Indonesians in Taiwan, migrants hold the status of newcomers, and they carry the image of being poor and minority sojourners, so entrepreneurs serve to generate participation in social activities. Dhesi (2010: 708) mentioned that the “bounded solidarity” of the lower castes might impel members to help each other rather than reach out to the wider community. In addition, social entrepreneurial activities are quite demanding in terms of having a general awareness of social issues (Abu-Saifan 2012: 25). In the practices of migrant entrepreneurs, social activities are also usually linked with a cultural element (such as migrant weekend activities, migrant needs, and migrant problems), and they consist of pursuing innovative solutions to social problems and serve to build solidarity within communities (Brandellero 2009: 32). Therefore, entrepreneurs become social agents who organize cultural, financial, social, and human capital to generate revenue from migrant activities (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993).

To understand social relationships between migrants and entrepreneurs, the concept of migrant social capital is helpful. Social capital is often inherent in the social relations among co-ethnic members; it could be embedded in the formal organizations and institutions within a definable ethnic community and it structures and guides these social relations (Zhou 2014: 8; Salaff et al. 2003a, 2005b). It was found that “patronage” and “broker/agent” are practical concepts used to analyze the migrants and entrepreneurs who operate within these patterns. Patron and broker entrepreneurship among Indonesians in Taiwan are based on relations between entrepreneurs as owners or patrons and with migrants as helpers or clients who work with them as dependents, creating a dyadic relation in the business operation. The patron–broker relationship is generally characterized by an unequal relationship between a superior (a patron or broker) and a number of inferiors (clients, retainers, or followers) (Pelras 2000: 16; Wong 1988: 10). The patron/broker becomes a leading figure for all clients through the assistance he or she provides when necessary, including monetary loans and protection (Pelras 2000: 16).

The roles of patron and broker in migrant societies have been discussed in various studies on the Portuguese in Canada (Brettell 2003), the Irish in the USA (Corrigan 2006), the Chinese in New York (Wong 1988), and the Black and Korean communities in the USA (Silverman 2000). All scholars have concluded that actors can achieve values or goals through the manipulation of the goals, resources, and restrictions of both groups. Practically, the concepts of patrons and brokers in migrant entrepreneurship can be used to describe mutual relationships among Indonesian migrants, in which the persons benefit each other. The patron/broker concept is particularly apt in discussing the adjustments migrants make when living in a host country. Through this concept, entrepreneurs further their own goals through their ability to dispense favors to their clients (Brettell 2003: 128).

Conceptual framework

Schiller and Caglar (2006, 2012) suggest an analysis that extends beyond the individual entrepreneur, as well as beyond the enclave ethnic economy, paying attention to the symbolic and behavioral dimensions of entrepreneurial activities as an important aspect. Entrepreneurship may be associated with migrant economic mobility, but the conditions of the migrants themselves—the migrant situation, labor, and the larger society—also influence entrepreneurial activities (Schiller et al. 2006; Waldinger et al. 1990). Conceptually, migrant workers, conditions, and entrepreneurs' interconnectedness can bridge both the macro (economic structure) and the micro (individual relations) multidimensional aspects (Vertovec 2000; Brettell 2002). In this regard, according to Zhou (2013), rather than seeing migrant entrepreneurs merely as participating in economic activities or difficulties, it is important to see entrepreneurs as people operating a business and to reveal the social background that will enable the recognition of their entrepreneurship pattern or model. Figure 1 elaborates these relationships. This paper begins with the context of the problems of Indonesian migrants in Taiwan, which can be divided into two dominant issues: socio-cultural and migrant conditions. Entrepreneurs respond to the migrants' everyday needs by applying a non-administrative entrepreneurship style (left box). Other stakeholders, conversely, are in charge of dispute resolution regarding labor or working problems (right box). Regarding migrant activities and problems, both sets of actors carry out cooperation as a form of institutional coordination. However, this paper aims to discover the social function of the Indonesian entrepreneur in accommodating the social needs/problems of migrants in Taiwan, as shown in the entrepreneurs' box.

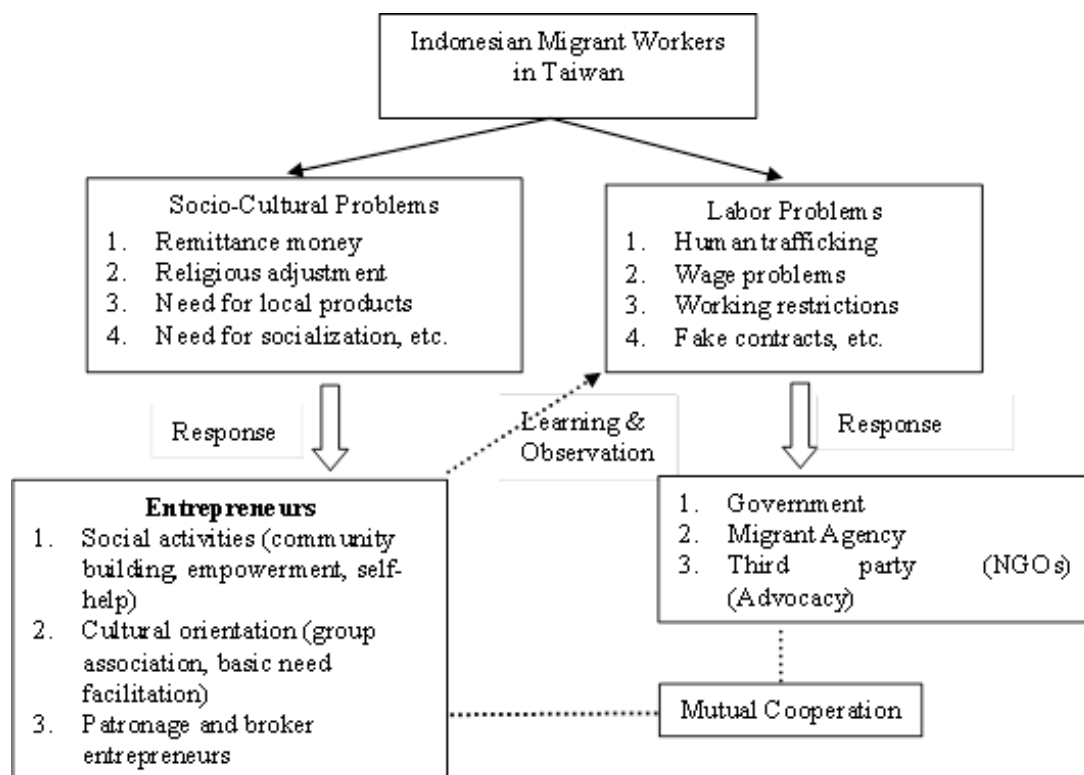


Figure 1. The Indonesian Migrant Worker and Entrepreneurs Relation in Taiwan.

Data collection

In this paper, Indonesian migrant entrepreneurs are the subjects of analyses. According to Mr. DE, head of the Indonesian Entrepreneurs Association in Taiwan, the estimated number of active Indonesian entrepreneurs in Taiwan reached more than 300 by 2014, consisting of owners of neighborhood stores and restaurants, outlets, shipping and remittance services. Indonesian entrepreneurs in Taiwan employ approximately 1,500–2,000 local helpers (Yuniarto 2014: 98). Compared to other Southeast Asian migrant communities in Taiwan, Indonesian migrant entrepreneurship enjoys an advantage over a number of potential competitors, benefitting from co-ethnicity to carve out economic niches; thus, this particular group is representative and it was chosen as the study example. Based on the qualitative approach taken, the primary data were gathered mostly through in-depth interviews concerning the entrepreneurial stories of entrepreneurs and participant observations of daily activities. Fieldwork was conducted from June through December of 2014. Distinguished entrepreneurs were chosen as examples of the most active and pioneering individuals in Indonesian entrepreneurship and due to their participation in various social migrant activities. The fieldwork started with a multilayered consultation with Indonesian government officials in Taiwan, as well as with the head of the Indonesian Business Association and with entrepreneurs residing in Taipei. This starting point was chosen in an attempt to assess the Indonesian enclave economy and to locate prospective entrepreneur informants. The particular research locations were Taipei City and Taoyuan County, but some observations were made in other cities. As a result, stories were collected using the resources in this paper from nine entrepreneurs, academicians, and legal/illegal workers, as seen in the following table (Table 1):

No	Initial Name	Age/ gender	Education	Period of Stay	Company (List of Businesses)	Activities
1	JS	40/ Male	Bachelor's Degree	20 years	Media company (Tabloid, radio, clothing, electronics, event organizer)	Training & workshop, education, group activities
2	DE	39/ Male	Master's Degree	15 years	Money remit and magazine company	Training & workshop, education, group activities
3	TT	39/ Male	Bachelor's Degree	20 years	Local Indonesian-Taiwan Magazine	Training & workshop, education, group activities
4	MM & NN	32/ Male and 40/ female	Elementary education & Mandarin Diploma	12 & 20 years	Indonesian neighborhood shop	Patron entrepreneur
5	HS and YS	34/ Female and 61/ Male	Junior high school and senior high school	13 years	Indonesian shop (catering, restaurant, mail order, shipping, direct selling)	Patron entrepreneur
6	LL	52/ Female	Senior high school	25 years	Indonesian restaurant and agency)	Broker entrepreneur
7	EY	50/ Female	Elementary school	27 years	Indonesian shop, catering and broker/agent)	Broker entrepreneur
8	KM & ZA	40–50/ Female and Male	Senior high school	18 years	Indonesian Muslim restaurant	Patron entrepreneur
9	AI	45–50/ Male	Senior high school	20 years	Indonesian shop (catering, restaurant, mail order, shipping, direct selling)	Patron entrepreneur

Participants were contacted by either email or phone before the interview to arrange venues and times, to state the research aim, and, in some cases, to send the interview questions in advance. All the interview sessions lasted between one and one and a half hours, and they were recorded for later analysis with the consent of the research participants. Most questions were open-ended, and impromptu and follow-up questions were asked to encourage research participants to clarify and further explain their opinions. Further, the gathered data were analyzed descriptively, as the study was expected to yield comprehensive results of the entrepreneurs' daily activities.

The migrant condition and the entrepreneur position

The migrant consumers' habits and working conditions, such as when they have holidays, what their habits are, and where they usually gather, are observed to clarify the roles of social migrant entrepreneurs. It is important for entrepreneurs to know these things in advance because they are related to business services. Generally, on the weekend, factory workers can leave for holiday around 8:00 a.m., and by 22:00 p.m., they are expected to be back to their dormitories. For domestic workers, before dinner around 19:00-20:00 p.m. is their time to be back to their home. Because of the short time available, free time must be spent efficiently on Saturday and Sunday, despite the multitude of tasks and responsibilities (i.e., going to church or mosque, getting a haircut, shopping, dining, and socializing) (Huang and Douglas 2008: 55). Migrants usually gather at the corners of the train stations, eating and dancing behind the prime public areas of the Taipei, Taoyuan, Chungli, and Taichung stations, and they tend to shop underground, rather than in skyscraper department stores (Lan 2006; Lovebland 2006). They prefer Indonesian shops, night markets, and communication/cell phone stores, as well as patronizing stores that sell their homeland commodities (Hung Cheng 2013: 22; Lan 2003: 119). In response, the entrepreneurs attempt to provide everything the workers need, such as gathering places, local food, wage-appropriate goods, or karaoke music cafés. Regarding migrant social interests, they are accommodated by communication media through magazines or communal activities.

In general, Indonesians in Taiwan are poor, uneducated, and they take unskilled jobs, while often living with struggles, including illegality, inferiority, and controversy (Lan 2006; Lovebland: 2002; Yuniarto 2014). According to Ms. ML, an Indonesian journalist in Taiwan, in addition, television and newspapers also create a poor image of migrants. They publish topics about migrant worker with disparaging titles, such as, "Stranger of robbers" or "The foreign killer" to report on and describe situations related to the migrant condition. In reality, according to Mr. SW, head of the Migrant Worker Association, Indonesian workers are typically migrants with low education levels coming from poorer families, and most of them lack forward thinking and are only economically oriented to pay for their children's education, housing, and other basic needs. Most business owners open their locations for holding religious activities, meetings, and employment/vacancy information, as well as to share knowledge/experience about living, work counselling, and provide secretariat work for migrant associations. Therefore, entrepreneurs become social activists, providing their services and locations to develop migrant capacity building and to become centers of social activity.

Other aspects of the Indonesian migrant condition include having the status of illegal/undocumented migrants. According to data from the Department of Immigration in Taiwan, at the end of July 2014, there were 45,579 illegal/undocumented migrant workers in Taiwan, with a breakdown according to ethnicity as follows: 21,521 Indonesians, 20,615 Vietnamese, 2,460 Filipinos, and 983 Thais. Being undocumented is undoubtedly riskier than working legally. Undocumented migrants often work in the informal sector and,

aware of their irregular status, they try not to leave their houses very often. If caught by the police, they would be detained, they would have to pay a penalty of NT\$10,000 (US\$300), and they would be repatriated to their home countries. These migrant issues, such as a lack of documentation and working illegally, have created profitable businesses for agencies/brokers, which negotiate job offers and housing and which function as interpreters or mediators if a migrant requires language assistance to communicate with the state apparatus or for other purposes.

Practicing social activities

In general, entrepreneurs' activities can be categorized into four types: social, religious, group, and national activities. Social activities are related to the everyday migrant condition, such as events in the workplace, including work accidents, abuse of power, or poor health conditions. Religious activities are related to support for ritual activities, which customarily includes Muslim organizations or associations for cooperation that hold religious events for the Indonesian Muslim community in Taiwan. Group activities are usually related to relationships between firms or within the community, and these relationships are usually long term and close. Group activity support is given in the form of money donations, room facilities, food or good supplies, and connections. Finally, national activities, which are usually celebrated in conjunction with migrant workers' events or to observe an Indonesian national holiday, are supported by both the Taiwanese and Indonesian governments in cooperation with some of the more skilled entrepreneurs, who function as event organizers to assemble information and mass support.

Mr. JS, the CEO of Indonesian local media company Ltd., was interviewed and he discussed stories of entering social activities:

"I was often asked to serve as a translator by a migrant agency, employee, or immigration court or to help Indonesian domestic workers. Indonesian workers are so smooth and naive. One time, I got a call from an 'mba-mba TKI'² asking how to install a GPRS phone signal or another time, someone told me a story about her situation with a bad employer, or asked, 'Why didn't I get my full salary?' or they inquire about how to ask their employers to be allowed to go out or to have a holiday, etc....I felt sorry for their condition."

Through this touching experience with migrants, he realized the need for some type of communication to serve as encouragement for these immigrants. In 2006, he established the *IS* tabloid to help migrant workers connect with each other and share information. The magazine is a monthly publication, and each edition informs migrants of anything related to the trends in migrant issues, such as migrant activities, news, conflicts, and stories. Since 2006, he has set up many branches of businesses related to migrants, such as *IS Style*, which promotes stylish clothes and cosmetics for migrant women. In 2008, he also founded *IS Multimedia*, an online shopping product for migrants so they can shop without leaving the house. He established *IS Publishing* in 2009 to promote book/magazine/novel publishing for migrants in Taiwan. His latest product was the *IS Lounge*, established in 2010, where all *IS* club members can participate in such social activities, such as entrepreneurship seminars, investment seminars, women's reproductive health workshops, language training, travel and tourism in Taiwan, holiday or group parties, and collecting

² The formal word is *embak*. In Javanese, *mbak* means older sister; in general, *mbak* means "miss." Indonesian people also use it in various fields—e.g., at a traditional market, restaurant, or bank—to speak to unknown women, such as a waitress or a female housekeeper.

donations for migrant workers in difficulty, all catering to the migrant worker.

Practically speaking, social entrepreneurs' activities are effective when entrepreneurs cooperate with other individuals or organizations. Migrant groups, with their limited knowledge of anything outside their workplace or their own networks, share their human and financial resources with the entrepreneur. For instance, Mr. TT, a business person and special radio anchor for Indonesians in Taiwan, has involved himself in the migrant condition for almost 10 years. He spoke of his experience in assembling groups of Indonesian workers to visit tourist attractions and thus relax with friends:

"My companies invite the customers to take tours of Taiwan, for example, to visit the Taiwan National Museum, visit heritage sites, hike and enjoy natural scenery, take a bike tour, or participate in a music festival or short story writing competition. For me, this entire network with migrants and associations becomes a further effort to support migrants' creativity and self-actualization. These events also help businesses to stay in continuous contact with their existing customers."

Mr. TT started a migrant magazine to encourage Indonesian workers to perform and actualize themselves confidently. For example, he used an Indonesian migrant worker as a model for the cover of his magazine. He also became the producer of an Indonesian migrant band in Taiwan, recording and distributing their albums in both Taiwan and Indonesia. As another opportunity, he joined with an Indonesian student to publish two books that tell the stories of Indonesians working in Taiwan and basic computer technology for migrant workers. He dedicated his work, titled *From Zero to Hero*, to the Indonesian community in Taiwan to encourage them to see their lives as being worthwhile.

Social activities are combined with business operations—such as the business location being combined with indoor social activities, such as *arisan*,³ wedding parties, *pengajian*,⁴ *silaturahmi*,⁵ group meeting associations, and arrangements of outdoor activities, including music events, tourism and travel, etc. Other activities include such migrant group celebrations as *Eid al-Fitr*, the Indonesian Independence Day, and the Chinese New Year. In Kaoshiung City, the author met a famous Indonesian couple, Mrs. KM and Mr. ZA, the owners of an Indonesian Muslim restaurant in Kaoshiung, who devote themselves to supporting these types of migrant activities. The Indonesians in Kaoshiung who know them call them the "father and mother" of TKI (Indonesian migrant workers). They provide a place for religious events, as the majority of Indonesian workers are Muslims who practice such religious duties as *sholat* (praying five times a day), fasting during Ramadan, eating *halal* food and beverages, and reciting the Quran. They also hold *Iftar* (the breaking of the fast together) and *taraweeh* (extra prayers that Muslims read at night in the month of Ramadan) at their place of business.

Usually, a group of Muslim migrants collects money to give to the owner to cook *halal* food and provide special *Iftar* food, such as *takjil* (sweet food eaten upon breaking of the fast). Similar activities may occur at other times, not only during Ramadan—for instance, doing *tahlilan* (repeated recitations of the confession of the faith) if a member of a migrant family has died. They apply the Javanese phrase "*mangan ora mangan kumpul*," which means that even if there is no food or one does not eat, togetherness is always important. This phrase refers to and demonstrates the spirit of mutual cooperation and social solidarity

³ A regular social gathering where members contribute to and take turns winning an aggregate sum of money.

⁴ *Pengajian* comes from the word *kaji*, and it means "review." It can refer to prayer, individually or with a group of people, and it refers to gatherings for reviewing the surah in the Qur'an or hearing religious lectures or a public sermon.

⁵ This means going to say hello to someone either inside or outside your family and having a conversation. This term is used for associations based on similarities in region, religion, or place of work.

among individuals or groups. This spirit is valuable for someone who is far away from home and who needs a place and friends with whom to share the same feelings and to maintain the spirit of togetherness.

Another social activist entrepreneur is Mr. AI from Taichung City, who also supports similar activities. Established in 2000, his business operation, of late, includes many services: international trade, the sale of products, the packing of goods, the selling of goods for other businesses, helping with medical examinations for foreign workers coming to Taiwan, buying plane tickets, arranging residence permits and insurance, sending money through the post office, shipping by sea and air, and job searching (i.e., being a job broker). He usually supports events on a national scale for migrants. Since its establishment in 2010, routinely sponsored events have included religious activities, migrant entertainment days, singing contests, career support and contests for a variety of migrant worker bands in Taiwan, and special seminars for workers in Taiwan. The social activity entrepreneur Mr. DE was also interviewed, who is the owner of a local magazine and money remittance agency, the producer of the film *Diaspora and Love in Taipei*, and the head of the Indonesian Entrepreneurs Association in Taiwan. Through the organization, he and the college community have forged a solidarity in donating to migrant workers who have had a work accident or serious health problems and in promoting migrant rights, such as advocating for holidays for domestic workers and introducing migrant shelters as a place to find information related to migrant problems. This activity has support from the Indonesian government office in Taipei, as well as from migrant non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as he further explained:

“...Because we are one of the nation’s homelands, we all need to help each other. If there are migrants affected or if they need health aid, if they have burned hands, fingers cut off, if they are injured by a torturing employer, we are a fellowship of entrepreneurs who felt inspired to help them or simply give some donations. We collect donation money from other entrepreneurs and continue to distribute it to the victims. This routine activity is now well established, as it was begun in 2010. More than a hundred donations, from NT\$3,000 (US\$100) to NT\$5,000 (US\$150) each, have been made to affected migrants, with more than NT\$200,000 (US\$6,300) in total donations from Indonesian entrepreneurs all over Taiwan.”

Patron/broker entrepreneurs

Every Indonesian shop/company has its own *laoban* (boss, owner), someone who plays a major role in creating extensive patron–broker networks. In this sense, entrepreneurs employ the idiom of ethnicity to maintain a degree of ethnic isolation and to enhance identification with the migrant nation. Indonesian entrepreneurs can distinguish themselves as non-formal migration agencies that can usually resolve immigrant problems and thereby be assured of attracting Indonesian migrant clients; as a side benefit, the *laoban* can also ensure his or her own success by obtaining migrants’ business.

Case one: Illegal/undocumented patrons

The first example is the AB Toko (Toko means shop, a combination mini-market/retail shop, restaurant, and karaoke), a neighborhood shop well known as a place for Indonesian group worker gatherings, which is owned by Mrs. NN and Mr. MM. They also have a rental room outside the AB Toko, where illegal/undocumented migrants can stay for a low price. As observed, there are a number of illegal/undocumented migrants in this area, and they need a place to stay that is safe from immigration police monitoring. The shop owners offer the room secretly to those who need it. In this way, the AB

Toko's laobans have become patrons and brokers for illegal/undocumented migrants. In the year and a half that they have operated this rental room (taken from the date of fieldwork in 2014), they have had no problems running their business. Most illegal/undocumented migrants randomly stay together. They share job information, such as cleaning Taiwanese houses (as part timers/*dagong*), with each other. AB Toko's laobans also share information about jobs. Sometimes, Taiwanese employers come to the store seeking a domestic helper to clean their houses or someone to take care of a sick grandfather/mother.

They risk being caught by immigration police and returned to Indonesia. Indeed, the shop owners at AB Toko also take a risk when they provide illegal job information, but they are trying to help fellow migrants in the name of humanity. AB Toko's laobans are also available to migrants to talk about problems or when facing difficulties in their workplaces. For instance, they give advice regarding migrants' problems with their employers or mediate communications with migrant agencies and the Indonesian government in relation to work problems. They can also help migrants who are involved in accidents and need to contact an agency, employer, or the Indonesian government to obtain assistance. AB Toko also covers medical costs for migrants before health insurance money is paid, and the migrants can repay it later.

Case two: Broker entrepreneurs

Two other broker activities commonly performed in conjunction with being an entrepreneur as a way to get extra money are becoming an interpreter for migrants and managing a shelter house. Mrs. LL and Mrs. EY are two broker agents who work with Indonesian labor or the local immigration court. Their side jobs as interpreters (litigation mediators) consist of providing translation assistance to the Taiwanese government and to Indonesian (illegal) migrants in resolving disputes. Both women began their careers as brokers by using their houses as migrant shelters, especially for troubled or illegal/undocumented migrants (*TKI kaburan*). Most of the "patients"—the word normally used to describe the troubled migrants they handle—come to the shelter with various problems: fake contracts, torture and rape allegations, and termination of work issues. The shelter normally handles 10–15 people at a time; in 2005, however, Mrs. LL had to accommodate almost 100 people in her shelter for as long as two months because a factory where the migrants worked went bankrupt.

The two women, in their experiences as both interpreters and managers of migrant shelter houses, are sympathetic to the frequently troubled migrant condition. Troubled migrants heavily depend on the skills of interpreters to solve their problems in immigration court and to forge the best deal with their employers. For instance, Mrs. LL mediated for one migrant, KM (initial name), a woman who became pregnant by her employer, who took no responsibility. In short, both KM and the employer resorted to the law to find a resolution. In this case, KM claimed compensation from her ex-employer for the child who would be born, with the ex-employer claiming, on his part, that the intercourse was consensual, as evidenced by the absence of violence. At the time of this author's research, the dispute resolution for this case was still in the judiciary process. In such cases, the entrepreneurs play the role of "friend in need" because they can understand what the victims are feeling and serve as a broker between the migrant workers and the government and employers.

Businesses related to migrants are promising, as they create interest in other entrepreneurs. Churches or Muslim groups also play a broker role in mediating migrant problems. The role of the church is represented by the priest, or by a group of individuals in a Muslim organization and they provide a shelter. Both churches and Muslim organizations derive advantages from brokering migrants, as they add new members to their congregations in addition to pursuing their main mission. The Indonesian Bethel Church

(*Gereja Bethel Indonesia* [GBI]) in the Taiwan branch and the China Muslim Association-Special Branch Nahdatul Ulama in Taiwan (CMA-PCI NU) are two examples. The GBI mostly motivates, coaches, and trains the Indonesian community, which is dominated by Chinese-born Indonesians, while the CMA-PCI NU is dominated by volunteered student and migrant workers. Both groups actually have the same mission: to bridge communication with the government and society at large and to offer social services. In some case, Indonesian spouses or migrant workers often suffer from discrimination and violence in the form of sexual abuse, deprivation of religious freedom or of eating *halal* food, false working contracts, and violations of rights as workers and as spouses of Taiwanese. These organizations provide advocacy and mediate between the migrants and their employers or spouses either legally or through consultation. On the entrepreneurial practice, they promote social activities, such as religious retreats, visits to tourist sites, religious lecturer events, etc., and at the same time, they raise funds by selling religious merchandise/accessories, food, and clothing and by collecting donations from their members. The religious institutions enjoy a prosperous income from this job, as well.

Case three: Patron–broker entrepreneur

For this case, an example was taken from Indonesian restaurant and shop owned by Mrs. HS, an Indonesian, and Mr. YS, a Taiwanese. This couple invested money into building a mosque beside their house called the At-Taqwa Mosque. This mosque not only facilitates all Muslim prayer in Taoyuan County for Friday prayers, but it also serves as a Muslim organization. The mosque organization offers many sub-activities, such as a radio show with a special program called “HS on the Air.” Besides the radio program, this mosque oversees some Muslim organizations, such as *Majelis Taklim Yasin Taoyuan* (MTYT); the Indonesian Worker Muslim Family in Taoyuan; the Indonesian Workers Association, Taoyuan branch; and the Indonesian Worker Community in Taoyuan. Mrs. HS is no longer a patron of these organizations, but her name has become well known in the Indonesian and Taiwanese societies and particularly among the Taiwan government in Taoyuan.

Her role as a patron is now illustrated in her mutual symbiosis with the At Taqwa Mosque organization, with ex-employees and friends, and with Taiwan Immigration. For the At Taqwa Mosque, Mrs. HS became an investor and a financial resource for mosque organizational activities. Besides serving as a patron for the mosque organization, Mrs. HS has become an advocate for ex-employees who want to develop their own businesses, and she works with the Taiwan Immigration Office by providing employment for illegal migrants under their supervision as part-time workers. The Taiwan Immigration Office recognizes her store as “bonafide” and has a good relation with this firm, so they can send illegal migrants safely to work there while their cases are still in progress at the immigration court. Because of her good reputation in Muslim society, Mrs. HS is sometimes appointed by the Muslim organization at the At Taqwa Mosque for social meetings with the government or to represent the Indonesian Muslim Community in Taiwan. She becomes “the messenger” for other migrant organizations deals with problems relating to the provision of *halal* food at the factory, providing a room for prayer at the factory, send complaints to the Taiwan or Indonesian government when migrants have difficulties.

Discussion

The social function of the middleperson

Entrepreneurial activities and migrant workers in Taiwan have three fundamental interconnected characteristics, according to Portes and Zhou (1992): (1) bounded solidarity, (2) enforceable trust, and (3)

brokerage as a social mechanism (Faist 2014). They interact to allow the community to survive economically and socially. According to the matrix analysis and the cases explored, entrepreneurs foster activities that facilitate migrant workers' integration by providing an awareness of education and entertainment possibilities while working in Taiwan, giving them a place to exist, and organizing their social activities. They also take care of illegal/undocumented migrants, processing return home documents, driving them to the immigration office, and sometimes providing food and basic lodging along the way. They also educate migrants in a positive way: they spread labor information in tabloids, magazines, and websites; provide informal language courses; make their businesses into migrant group activity secretariats; and pour their financial resources into religious activity, donations, and even shelters where illegal migrants can stay. Their entrepreneurship activities, to some extent, attempt to create migrant capacity building and to empower quality Indonesian migrants as the government or NGOs do. Previous case studies have shown that entrepreneurship is regarded as a positive profession for an individual or community. Socially speaking, the entrepreneurs have a social function in serving migrant communities and connecting with other social environments. From their standpoint, they mediate the relationships between the Indonesian migrant workers and the Taiwanese government (i.e., the immigration office or police), as well as between employees and the Indonesian society. The role of Indonesian migrant entrepreneurship in Taiwan in its middleperson position may be summarized as "the bridge."

According to Belshaw (1965), the role of the bridge cannot exist without the social acceptance of entrepreneurial innovations, assistance, or support, which should also be understood as investments in the future, in a friendship network, and in trust (in Kim 1995). Barth (1972) also finds the role of entrepreneurs is significant, because it is closely related to a leadership role, and it has social and economic implications for the social structure (in Kim 1995). Heberer (2004: 19), based on his study on Chinese Yi ethnic attributes, believes that entrepreneurs are analogous to "headmen," owing to their leadership function and commercial activities in society. All the informants in this study admitted that they were accepted as such leaders by migrant groups; the migrants listen to their opinions, invite them to participate in decision-making, ask for their advice, and depend on them to solve many problems. Only a few people have these qualities of leadership/headmen. The traditional abilities required (intelligence, courage, wisdom, and trust) are widely accepted (Heberer 2004: 19), and one who has a reputation for innovation, experience, and the wise use of resources automatically grows into this role and becomes a leading figure (Kim 1995: 145) in the partnerships in which they participate. Indonesian entrepreneurs also become spokespersons (referred to as *headmen*) to transmit information about migrant needs and problems to the government or to other stakeholders. For example, through magazines/tabloids, they may publish news or write opinions regarding migrant issues; they likewise help in handling cases of migrant workers in various situations.

A moral obligation

As indicated earlier, social entrepreneur activities, patronages, and broker jobs have been formed and manipulated to launch socio-economic activities in response to the migrant condition. In particular, social activities, patronage, and broker relations have become important instruments for establishing firms, obtaining financing and employment, and maintaining stability and relationships with customers. By means of a social perspective, this study offers a socio-cultural explanation for how migrant entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship can emerge, maintain, and transform the migrant enclave's problems and activities in time and space migration. In this study, the author has followed Portes and his colleagues (Wilson and Portes 1980; Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Zhou 1992) in identifying two important concepts in the enclave

economy, that is, structural and cultural component. One of the structural components is co-ethnicity, which provides a framework for the relationships between owners and workers and, to a lesser extent, between patrons and clients. In terms of the cultural component, the economic activities are governed by the mechanisms of support and control, which are necessary for economic life in the community and for the reinforcement of norms and values. In the author's opinion, both elements define how migrant entrepreneurs construct their socio-economic behaviors in a new country. This premise concerning entrepreneurial practices, as shown in this study of entrepreneurs and the plight of migrant workers, shows it to be both a kind of dialectic relation and a moral obligation to fellow sojourners. In this aspect, this work resembles James Scott's (1976) hypothesis in his work *The Moral Economy of the Peasant*, wherein he showed that people's expectations of sharing their wealth with other members of the clan or community were essentially a moral obligation. For instance, the principle of mutual help come into exist as well as the practice of "*mangan ora mangan kumpul*" as mentioned above.

As observed, the migrant condition, in the forms of the practice of religion; migrant traditions, such as making associations and maintaining strong ethnic ties; and petty conditions in the workplace, actually affect business strategies, entry motives, and the development of the nature of the chosen business. The companies of entrepreneurs can become self-help institutions for migrants having trouble; such companies can distinguish themselves from formal migration agencies and can arrange solutions to immigrant problems, thereby being assured that they will attract Indonesian migrant clients. The entrepreneurs observed through this study assist the migrant and Indonesian societies in the following ways: they provide illness, working accident, and death donations; support costs for ritual festivities; hold workshops for migrant entrepreneurship or business training in their own companies; collect donations for village development in migrants' places of origin, etc. Based on these social practices, the entrepreneurs' dual role is clarified: on the one hand, such entrepreneurs are members of a community network and on the other hand, they remain entrepreneurs who must consider the interests of their companies (Heberer 2004: 15). In this regard, as Mr. JS said:

"...In principle, my company is doing business not for profit only, but our profit will be used for our needy Indonesian friends in Taiwan; we earn money from them and give back to them. However, I don't give it in the form of money; rather, I share my business knowledge or give facilitation support to their positive activities."

The entrepreneurs' stories shared herein seem to reflect what Geertz (1963: 90) pointed out in his study of Bali peddlers and princes: entrepreneurial success "will lead to a higher level of welfare for the organic community as a whole," showing their contributions to the community. Therefore, in the author's case, the art of Indonesian migrant entrepreneurs' social practices in Taiwan is seen also as part of a societal moral obligation rather than solely economic. To this point, typically, migrant entrepreneurship activities and moral obligations are both part of a cognitive process and act to encourage individuals to feel strongly committed and determined to create a social venture to address a social need.

Conclusion

This paper has explored the pattern of Indonesian migrant entrepreneurial activities in Taiwan. The entrepreneurs' mobility is limited to the local community and rooted in the moral economy—they share

wealth with other members of the community to support or assist them—and the relationship between entrepreneurs and migrant workers goes beyond the normal economic relationship between buyers and sellers. This is because the pattern of entrepreneurship seems to support broad capacity building in the Indonesian migrant society in Taiwan. The migrant worker condition forces entrepreneurs to enter into the migrant social life dimension or social/administrative migrant problem, in addition to looking for financial benefits. In other words, the market creates a new and separate moral and value system of entrepreneurship.

It can be concluded that entrepreneurs stand between two poles: one is planted among economic factors (i.e., gaining profit), whereas the other stands upon its moral obligations to the community (i.e., the migrant fellow), and there is a mutual exchange between these two positions. This stance is a result of the embeddedness of the economy in the wider social context because, as Marcel Mauss has said, “Exchange is not simply an economic transaction, but a total social phenomenon” (in Heberer 2004: 24). Both socio-cultural activities and patron–broker relations are the result of the intersection of these two poles.

This paper has attempted to offer a comprehensive explanation the role of migrant entrepreneurs and their social functions, and this includes the social context of entrepreneurship behaviors, especially the development of social relationships through which people obtain information, resources, and social support (Aldrich and Zimmer 1986; Light 2005; Salaff *et al.* 2003a, 2005b). In other words, though entrepreneurs function as brokers or middlepersons between migrants and other societies against a backdrop of profit making, their entrepreneurship is strongly manifested in socio-cultural and solidarity motives within the community (Bonacich 1973; Waldinger 1990). Thus, entrepreneurs, to some extent, become leaders and agents of change within their societies.

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

サービス産業のイノベーションと価値評価 ―テーマパーク産業におけるバリューマネジメント― (Value management in theme park industry- innovation and evaluation of value in the service industry)

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Abstract

Innovation activities are becoming increasingly important in the manufacturing industry as it moves towards service economy. Implementing innovation in the service industry should link program and value management, thereby integrating the provision of goods and services. This integration configures new products and creates new value. These processes are reviewed in this study. Evaluation model for integrated provision of goods and services was employed. A new outcome was obtained in adapting this model to the theme park industry after evaluating the industry's competitive advantages. The model shows that by integrating different purposes of the theme park businesses, the industry becomes more competitive in providing goods and services to the clients.

Keywords: New product development, Program management, Product synergy, Service innovation, Value management.

製造業のサービス化やこれからの産業の主役と考えられるサービス産業によるイノベーション活動の重要性が増している。サービス・イノベーションを実践するサービス産業のプロジェクト活動は、プログラムマネジメントとバリューマネジメントの連鎖を円滑に行うために、グッズとサービスを一元化する新たな価値基準が求められる。そこで、サービス・イノベーション研究における製品を構成するグッズとサービスの関係性を整理した上で、それらが構成する新しい価値基準モデルを定義した。このモデルを競争優位の明暗が明確となっているテーマパーク産業に適用した結果、テーマパーク産業の競争優位性の明確化、テーマパーク経営の異なる目的の把握、サービス産業におけるグッズとサービスの関係性の明示、二種類のモデルの新しい可能性の探索、について成果が得られた。

キーワード：プログラムマネジメント、サービス・イノベーション、新製品開発、バリューマネジメント

1. はじめに

物財が飽和に達した現代社会におけるサービス・イノベーションに対し、二つの方向性が指摘されている。それは、製造業によるビジネスのサービス化とサービス産業におけるビジネスの革新である(南・西岡 2014)。製造業が創出する製品はもはや形のあるモノ（以下グッズとする¹⁾）だけでは、顧客価値の創造や競争上の差別化が困難であると認識されている(P2M ガイドブック改訂委員会 2007)。このため、さまざまな形で製造業が提供するサービスは、グッズと一体となった製品としての価値の重要性の認識が広がっている(南・西岡 2014; 小原 2014; 角・中村・小平和・中上 2008; 菊池・鴨志田 2008; Fujii and Lee 2013)。

一方先進国のサービス産業は、その GDP の占有率や就業人口が 1990 年代には製造業を追い抜いており、各国の経済への貢献度は増している。ところが、サービス産業におけるビジネス革新

¹ S-D ロジックの登場により、既存の言葉の概念が再定義されている途上である。S-D ロジックでは、従来のサービスをサービシーズとし、物理的に有形財であるグッズと無形財であるサービシーズを合わせたものを、新しくサービスと定義している。また従来のグッズを中心とする考え方を G-D ロジックとし、古い概念と位置づけた。本研究では、この新しい概念がコンセンサスを得ている途中段階と考え、製品はサービスとグッズから構成されていることを基本とし、従来の無形財のサービスを単にサービス、有形財をグッズと呼ぶこととする。

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に関する議論は、まだ緒についたばかりである(近藤 2012)。たとえば南・西岡は、新技術の導入に焦点を当て、さまざまな事例の分析を行っている(南・西岡 2014)。彼らは、新技術によりもたらされる新サービスの創出と生産性向上という二つの側面に着目し、製造業のサービス化と比較している。その比較分析の中で彼らは、グッズと比較したサービスの固有性が大きな課題となると主張する。それら固有性とは、顧客満足、顧客価値、知覚品質、価値共創、などで表現される顧客の主観に基づくものが基盤となっており、グッズを創出してきた製造業の従来のマーケティングよりも、かなり顧客への接近、あるいは顧客の立場からの発想が求められる。

製造機能を保有しない組織が多いサービス産業では、イノベーションの実現には、外部のプレイヤーを巻き込みながらプロジェクトの目的を達成する組織形態が重要である。その際、従来建設業や製造業で培われたプロジェクトマネジメントの知識やノウハウの活用を、欠かすことが出来ない。P2M（プログラム&プロジェクトマネジメント）では、イノベーションの全体構想を司るプログラムマネジメントがプロジェクトマネジメントの出発点である。そのプログラムマネジメントにおける重要な統合活動の一つが、価値評価である(P2M ガイドブック改訂委員会 2007)。イノベーションのアウトプットである価値を評価するバリューマネジメントは、連続的なイノベーション活動を求められる企業において、次のプロジェクトのプログラムマネジメントのインプット情報となる。そしてインプットとアウトプットは連鎖し、相互関係を形成し、プロジェクトマネジメントを運営する組織能力に影響を与える。この価値評価の基準や考え方は、サービスの固有性を理由として、グッズの創造に対する評価とは異なると考えられる。製造業においてグッズを中心にサービスを付加した総合的な価値評価を考察しているのに対し、サービス産業においては主たる製品であるサービスの価値をどのように考えれば良いのか、あるいはサービスに付加するグッズをどのように統合して評価すれば良いのか、これらが本研究の問題意識である。そこで、本研究では、グッズとサービスを一体的に取り扱うことが可能な価値基準モデルを提案し、それを用いて実証研究を行い、その有効性を検証することとする。その上で、その新しい価値基準モデルの意義を考察する。

その問題意識に対する答えを見出すために、まずサービス・イノベーションに関する概念の先行研究をレビューする。そして先行研究から得られた知見を基に、分析のためのモデルを提示する。次に分析を実施する産業をサービス産業の中のテーマパーク産業に絞り、企業ならびにテーマパークを選定し、その分析モデルを当てはめる。さらにそこから得られた知見を検討し、それをまとめる。最後に、結論を得て、今後の課題を整理する。

2. サービス・イノベーションに関する先行研究

幡鎌は、サービスの無形性と同時性を取り上げ、顧客の主観に基づく、サービス経験品質や顧客満足が、サービス・イノベーションに密接に関係していることを指摘した(幡鎌 2009)。その上で、研究所による基礎研究の成果を中心とする製造業のイノベーションとは異なり、サービス産業では現場視点での課題解決を中心とした新サービスやビジネスモデルが重要となり、知識や価値を共有する組織体制によるマーケットプル型になると述べている。このようにサービス・イノベーション研究は、サービス研究を基盤としており、グッズとの対比において浮かび上がるサービスの違いを中心に研究が進んできた。そこで、サービスの固有性とグッズとの関係性を中心にサービス・イノベーションの議論について、先行研究をレビューする。

2. 1. サービスの定義と二元論

Rathmell は、サービスを、何かを成し遂げようとする人間の努力を行う行為の結果と定め、抽象的ではあるが無形性を表現している(Rathmell 1966)。これに対し、Fisk は、グッツとの明確な違いを挙げながら、人間の行為が向けられるグッツに依存している点も指摘している(Fisk 2005)。さらに、Kotler は、人の作用の側面を強調して、一方が他方に対して提供する行為やパフォーマンスの事を指すとしながら、無形であり所有権という概念が当てはまらないことも述べた(Kotler 2001)。一方近藤はサービスを、個人や組織など特定の対象に対する価値生産的な活動またプロセスである、と述べた。そして、価値生産的な活動を広い意味でのソリューションの創造、活動またはプロセスについて連続的と相互作用、とそれぞれを定義した(近藤 2003)。このようなサービスの特性について、蒲生はこれら先行研究を分析し、グッツとサービスの特性に関する相違点を、表 1 のように明示した(蒲生 2008)。

表 1 グッツとサービスの相違点 出所：蒲生[2008] より筆者作成

グッツ	サービス
有形	無形
同質性	異質性
生産と流通と消費の分離	生産と流通と消費が同時
物	活動あるいはプロセス
中核価値が工場で生産	中核価値が売り手と買い手の相互作用で生産
顧客が(普通は)生産プロセスに不参加	顧客が生産に参加
在庫可能	在庫不可能
所有権移動	所有権非移動

これら先行研究は主に、有形財としてのグッツに対して、無形財としてのサービスの違いを取り上げるものが多い。これは、マーケティングの理論自体が、有形財を提供する製造業の対市場活動を起点として確立されたためである。しかし一方では 1960 年代から 70 年代にマーケティング研究に関する拡張性の議論が活発化し、製品そのものを広くとらえるべきであるという概念の拡張が一般化され、サービスをも含むという認識が普及するようになった(二瓶 2002)。このため、すでに構築されていたグッツを基本とした様々な理論を再構築する必要があり、このようなグッツとサービスの相違点を明示しようとする二元論が一般的となり、サービス・マーケティング研究は一つの分野として確立されていった。

2. 2. グッツとサービスの一元論

角らは、消費者意識の変化や情報革命による技術の急激な進展を受け、製造業におけるサービスとサービスビジネスモデルを模索する動きを活発化する必要があると主張している(角・中村・小平和・中上 2008)。また一方では、サービス経済化した社会を重視し、サービスそのもののイノベーションが重要であるとの考え方も広まってきた。近藤は、その場合銀行の ATM や JR の電子マネーなどを取り上げ、サービス提供者が有形財である製品を付加することで、新しいサービスの革新を起こしていることを指摘している(近藤 2012)。さらに、近年新しい概念が台頭し、グッツを中心とした従来の考え方を G-D ロジックと位置づけ、サービスを中心とする考え方がそ

れを統合するとする S-D ロジック(Service-Dominant Logic)が登場し、議論が活発化している(村松 2010)。

このような変化を受けて浅井は、グッズとサービスの一元論を唱えており、マーケティング管理というテーマからいえば、二元論は必ずしも有効でないと述べている。その理由として、グッズとサービスの属性区別に対する戦略が類似していることと、有形財としてのグッズと無形財としてのサービスの区分の困難さ、を挙げた(浅井 2003)。さらに、菊池・鴨志田は、サービスとものとしての財貨は同時に消費されるという考え方を取り上げ、これらを厳格に区分することの意味の無さを指摘している(菊池・鴨志田 2008)。

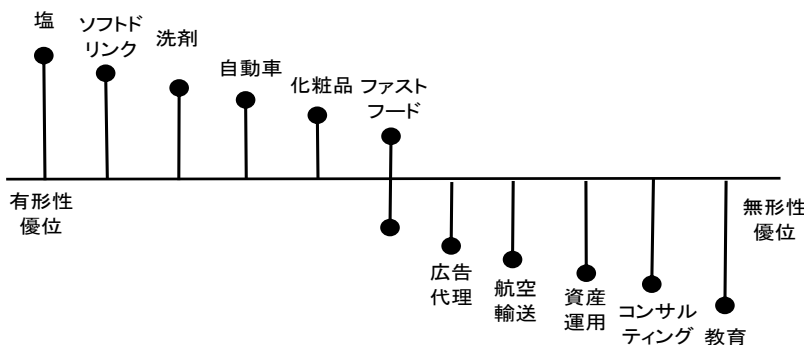


図1 製品のスケール 出所：Shostack[1977]より筆者作成

このように近年になり、一元論の重要性が訴求されるようになってきたが、当初から一元論を主張する Shostack は、製品とサービスの有形性と無形性の違いに着目して、図1に示すような製品の概念を提示した(Shostack 1977)。これは、製品は分類することができず有形性の高いグッズと無形性の高いサービスを組み合わせ、つまり全体として統合的に考える必要性を示すものである。図1は、その製品の特性により、グッズとサービスの構成の程度に違いがあり、これらを製品として同列に取り扱えないことを示唆している。この他にも、Berry and Parasuraman も同様に、製品のほとんど全てが有形部分と無形部分から構成されていると指摘し、円グラフを用いてその概念を説明している(Berry and Parasuraman 1991)。

2. 3. 先行研究から得られる知見

サービス・イノベーションの議論が活発化する中、イノベーションがもたらす価値を考察する時、そもそも有形財としてのグッズと無形財としてのサービスの関連性が先行研究では議論されている事が分かった。そしてそれは、製造業のビジネスサービス化(南・西岡 2014)、ハード・ソフトシステムの融合(小原 2014)、ものづくりとサービスの融合(角・中村・小平和・中上 2008)、製造業のサービス化(菊池・鴨志田 2008)、顧客製品マトリックスによる統合マネジメント(Fujii and Lee 2013)、などと表現され、製造業で生み出されるグッズに付随するサービスを高め全体として価値をイノベーションに結びつけようという動きが主流である。一方サービス産業においては、新技術を中心としたイノベーションを検証しようという動きが出始めている(南・西岡 2014)が、それはまだ緒についたばかりである(近藤 2012)。そこで本研究では、先行研究で提示されている一元論を基盤としながら、既存のサービス産業のビジネスモデル、特にサービスとグッズと

の関係について、新しい価値評価概念を用いて分析を行うことで、プロジェクトにおけるバリューマネジメントの実践に貢献することを目途とする。

3. 分析の枠組み

3. 1. サービスの構成要素

Rust and Oliver は、グッズとサービスの互換関係を示すトータルな製品の構成要素として、図2に示すような概念を提示した。これは、製品が有形財である「グッズ」と無形財であるサービスとの組み合わせで提供されるものであるとの概念の基本を示しており、有形のグッズを中心に置き、付随するサービスを「サービス・プロダクト」、「サービス環境」、「サービス・デリバリー」の3つに分類している(Rust and Oliver 1994)。

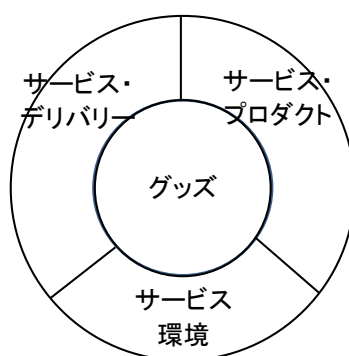


図2 製品の構成要素（グッズタイプモデル図） 出所：Rust and Oliver[1994]より筆者作成

彼らは、有形の「グッズ」を顧客に渡される物的な要素、「サービス・プロダクト」を製品全体のサービス部分のことで顧客の望む結果のための計画された一連の活動、「サービス環境」をサービス活動が行われる場の条件と作り出す要素、「サービス・デリバリー」を顧客が実際に体験するサービスを提供する活動の流れ、とそれぞれを定義した。

彼らのこの考え方は、グッズとサービスを区分することは困難である一方、それぞれの製品はそれぞれの特性により有形であるグッズの部分と無形であるサービスの部分の占有率が異なる、との Shostack の考え方も取り入れている(Shostack 1977)。つまり、もはやグッズはサービスを含めて、製品全体の価値として考えなければ、競争優位性を考えることができないという一元論の重要性を主張している。

3. 2. 調査方法の検討

本論文の問題意識は、サービス産業における有形財であるグッズと無形財であるサービスとの関係性、より積極的に表現すれば相乗効果を探索することが目的である。近年情報産業の発展など先進国においてはサービス産業の重みを増しており、サービス産業においてはサービスそのものが主な製品であり、グッズを中心に据えるこの概念をそのまま適用することは困難と考えられる。そこで本研究では、Rust and Oliver の概念、つまり構成要素とその定義を引き継ぎながら、図3に示すように、サービス産業の主たる製品であるサービスを中心におき、グッズを外側に配置する新しい価値基準モデルを用いる。

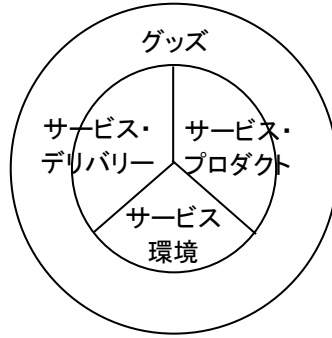


図3 サービス産業における製品の構成要素（サービスタイプモデル図）

出所：Russett and Oliver[1994]を基に筆者作成

本研究では、この新しい価値基準モデルをサービス産業の一つであるテーマパーク産業を取り上げる。その理由は、我が国ではクールジャパンのコンセプトを基盤として脱製造業の産業基盤の確立が急務と考えられていること、ホスピタリティとしての我が国の「おもてなし」が世界的に注目を浴びていること、テーマパーク産業は欧米型のビジネスモデルの成功事例があること、その一方日本型は未だ発展途上にあること、1980年代に活発化した後新陳代謝が激しく失敗事例も多いこと、といった状況が挙げられる(西本 2006; 中島 2011)。その他にも、エンターテインメント産業の特性上情報を集めやすいこと、お土産物などグッズに関する収入が一定の割合を占めていると考えられること、一部のエンターテインメント施設は東南アジアを中心とした観光客の増加に貢献していること、が挙げられる。

3つの企業ならびにテーマパークを取り上げて、提示した新しい概念を用いて分析を行い、それぞれにどのような特徴があり相違点はどのようなものなのか、の検討を実施する。

4. 実証調査

4. 1. 対象企業および対象テーマパーク

1983年東京ディズニーランド（以下、TDLと略す）が開業し成功を収めた時期から各地で地域密着型のテーマパークが数多く設立され、その多くが第三セクターによる経営であった。しかしその多くが成功できず、閉園に追い込まれた。その一方では、TDLと並んで成功しているのがユニバーサル・スタジオ・ジャパン（以下、USJと略す）であり、2001年以降は東西二強時代と言われている^[21]。そこで本研究では、まずTDLとそれを運営するオリエンタルランド、そしてUSJとその経営主体であるユー・エス・ジェイを、取り上げることとする。また、1991年当時は第三セクターとして営業開始したものの、その後民間企業に運営主体が移り、東京や大阪といった都心からは離れた九州にあるハーモニーランドとその継続企業であるサンリオ、も比較検討することとする。

4. 2. 分析検討：テーマパーク産業

4. 2. 1. TDL（東京ディズニーランド）

（1）企業・テーマパーク概要

TDLを含むディズニーリゾートは、株式会社オリエンタルランドがディズニー・エンタープラ

イズ・インクのライセンスを受け、運営している。オリエンタルランドは、テーマパーク事業、ホテル事業、その他の事業を行っている。

テーマパーク事業では、1983年に米国外で初のディズニーテーマパークとなる TDL を開園し、2001年には世界で唯一「海」とテーマとした「東京ディズニーシー」を開園した。夢が叶う場所として、冒険や未来など7つのテーマで構成される TDL、海にまつわる伝説や物語をテーマにした東京ディズニーシー、明確に異なるテーマと楽しさを持つ個性的な施設が集まり、エンターテインメントが提供される場所である。年間入園者数は 2,700 万人を超え、ディズニーランドが 30 周年を向かえた 2013 年には、ディズニーリゾートの累計入園者数は 5 億人となった。2013 年度の売上高は 3,955 億 2,700 万円、ゲスト 1 人当たりの売上高、入場者数、売上高、営業利益、いずれも過去最高となった。

ホテル事業では、約 1700 室を有する直営ホテルがあり、東京ディズニーホテルや東京ディズニーシー・ホテルミラコスタ、ディズニーアンバサダーホテルを運営している。その客室稼働率は 90% であり平均客室単価も 5 万円と高い水準を維持している。

その他の事業ではショップやレストラン、映画館などから構成される複合商業施設「イクスピアリ」や、東京ディズニーリゾート全体を周遊するモノレール「ディズニーリゾートライン」を運営している。

テーマパーク事業の発端は、一人の経営者の夢「アメリカのディズニーランドの素晴らしい世界を日本の子どもたちにも見せたい」というシンプルな熱い思いから始まっている。ゲストに「ハピネス」を届けることをビジネスとし、それを支えるキャストの「ホスピタリティ」も進化させている。東京ディズニーリゾートのファン層拡大の取り組みについて、4 歳から 11 歳の子供と 40 代以上のゲストの取込率の増加が過去最高の入園者数に寄与している。家族で楽しめるアトラクションなどを導入し、子連れファミリー層の拡充や、新たな来園機会を提案し、主に 40 代以上のゲストであるポストファミリー層の拡充を行い、ファン層の拡大を行っている。オリエンタルランドの 2013 年度のアニュアル・レポートによればテーマパーク事業の売上高は、主にアトラクション・ショー収入、商品販売収入、飲食販売収入に大別され、内訳はそれぞれ 44%、36%、19% となっている。また、来場者（ゲスト）一人当たりの平均売上高は 10,601 円であり、チケット収入は 4,483 円、商品販売収入は 3,860 円、飲食販売収入は 2,259 円となっている。

（2）モデルによる考察

サービス・プロダクト：一年を通したパレードやショーに加え、期間限定の季節に応じたパレード、ショーを行っている。ショーには、クリスマス期間限定の屋外パレードである「ディズニー・サンタヴィレッジ・パレード」、光と音楽とともにディズニーの仲間たちが輝くナイトパレード「TDL・エレクトリカルパレード・ドリームライツ」、ディズニーソングに合わせてダンスやジャンプするキッズのためのショー「スーパードゥーパー・ジャンピンタイム」バンドの生演奏をバックに南国ムードで繰り広げられるディナーショー「ミッキーとミニーのポリネシアン・パラダイス」など食事をしながら楽しめるショーもある。

サービス環境：TDL へのアクセスは電車では JR 舞浜駅から行くことができ、バスは各都市、各ホテルから出ている。また、羽田空港、成田空港からのバスもある。車を利用する場合、首都高速湾岸線「浦安出口」から約 5 分で駐車料金は普通乗用車 2,000 円、収容台数は 20,000 台と利便性が比較的高い。リゾート内の交通アクセスは TDL、ディズニーシーや周辺のホテルを結ぶ、東京ディズニーリゾートラインというモノレールが安価である。パーク内ではベビーカー、車いすの貸し出しを行っており、車いすのままでも利用できるアトラクションもある。バリアフリーと

して、身障者や障害者への、サポートやサービスを提供しており、ホームページでも事前に確認できるようになっている。

サービス・デリバリー：テーマごとに 7 つに分かれ、建物や音楽などを変えており、待ち時間や移動中もそのテーマを楽しむことができる。また、待ち時間を示したボードがアトラクション前に置かれており、容易にその時間を把握できる。スマートフォンのアプリを通じて、アトラクションの現在の待ち時間を調べることができるサービスもある。

グッズ：ディズニーキャラクターのデザインされたグッズやお菓子、ウェスタンランドなどテーマに合わせたグッズやアクセサリを売るショップもある。パークで身につけたい帽子や小物なども様々な場所で売られている。また、自分の横顔を切り絵にしてくれたり、ガラス製品、せっけん・香水、マジックグッズを専門に扱うショップもある。記念写真の撮影ができる写真館、自分のとった写真をディズニーキャラクターのフレームをつけてプリントできるショップもある。

これらの概要をサービスタイプモデル図で示すと、図 4 のようになる。

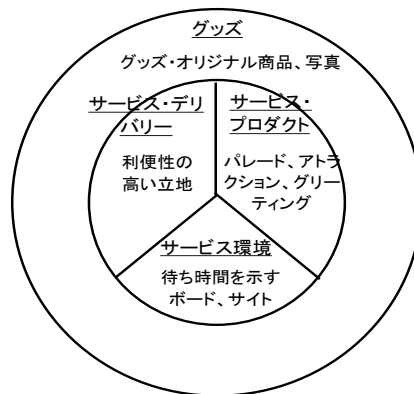


図 4 オリエンタルランドにおけるサービスタイプモデル図

出所：筆者作成

4. 2. 2. USJ (ユニバーサル・スタジオ・ジャパン)

(1) 企業・テーマパーク概要

USJ は、株式会社ユー・エス・ジェイに経営されるテーマパークである。2001 年にハリウッド映画やキャラクターを中心としたテーマパークとしてオープンし、乗り物や体験型のアトラクションのみならず、パレードやショー、イベントなど多彩な楽しみ方を提供している。USJ にはハリウッドとフロリダのパークで人気の高いアトラクションに加え、日本のために特別に開発された新アトラクションを導入している。

株式会社ユー・エス・ジェイは 1994 年、大阪市港区に設立され、1996 年、米国法人エムシーエー・インク（現ユニバーサル・スタジオ・インク）と USJ の企画などに関する基本契約を結び、大阪市此花区に 2001 年、USJ を開園した。主な事業内容は USJ の運営及びそれらに関連して行われる各事業である。2008 年度²の売上高 685 億 3 千万円でその内訳は運営収入が 354 億 7 千万円 (51.8%)、商品売上高が 171 億 7500 万円 (25.1%)、飲食売上高が 98 億 6100 万円 (14.4%)、その他の収入が 60 億 2400 万円 (9%) である。入場者数は 813 万 8 千人であり、その内レギュラーパス利用

² 株式会社ユー・エス・ジェイは、2009 年 9 月をもって上場廃止しており、公表されている数字としては、2008 年度つまり平成 20 年度のものが最後となっている。今回の分析では、2008 年度の有価証券報告書の数値を用いた。

者数は 550 万 7 千人、年間・期間限定パス利用者数は 263 万 1 千人であった。

(2) モデルによる考察

サービス・プロダクト：1 年を通して楽しめるパレードやショーに加え、期間限定のパレード、イルミネーションなども行っている。エルモやスヌーピーが登場し、「不思議の国のアリス」「シンデレラ」などの絵本のページをめくっていく様な夜のパレード「マジカル・スターライト・パレード」や、期間限定で世界一のクリスマスツリーを見ることができる「ユニバーサル・ワンダー・クリスマス」では、クリスマスソング満載のゴスペルショーやオペラシンガーの歌声とプロジェクション・マッピングで届ける最高エンターテインメント「天使のくれた奇跡Ⅱ」などがある。また、ユニバーサル・スタジオから誕生した怪物たち、ドラキュラ、狼男、フランケンシュタインなどが踊って歌うロックンロール・ショー「ユニバーサル・モンスター・ライブ・ロックンロール・ショー」もある。

アトラクションには、2013 年 3 月に後ろ向きに走るコースターもオープンした、気に入った BGM を流しながら、ハリウッドの上空を疾走するジェットコースター「ハリウッド・ドリーム・ザ・ライド」や、2013 年夏に世界最高の映像技術「4KHD×3D」にリニューアルした「NEW アメージング・アドベンチャー・オブ・スパイダーマン・ザ・ライド 4K3D」はじめ、「ジョーズ」や「ジュラシックパーク」、「ターミネーター」など、映画の世界がアトラクションになっている。また、家族が夢中になって遊べる場所として、ゴーカートやメリーゴーランド、滑り台などのアスレチックのある小人向けのエリア「ユニバーサル・ワンダーランド」もある。

サービス環境：USJ までのアクセスは電車、バス、海上シャトル船、車・バイクで行くことができる。電車を利用する場合、JR 大阪駅から約 20 分の「ユニバーサルシティ駅」を利用し、行くことができる。バスは関西国際空港、伊丹空港をはじめ、各都市から出ており、関西国際空港から約 70 分、伊丹空港から約 45 分の距離に位置している。車・バイクを利用する場合、阪神高速湾岸線の北港 JCT を分岐し、ユニバーサルシティ出口を出てすぐである。駐車料金は平日 2,200 円、土日祝 2,500 円と、比較的手頃である。

サービス・デリバリー：USJ のアトラクションの待ち時間は、アトラクション前やパーク内電子掲示板に表示されているほか、スマートフォンのアプリを使えば、各アトラクションの待ち時間情報やショーのスケジュールをリアルタイムで確認することができる。「ハリウッド・ドリーム・ザ・ライド～バックドロップ～」がオープンした当初待ち時間が 8 時間以上を記録するほどであった。USJ には、このバックドロップなどに並ばずに乗れる様々なルートが用意されている。一つ目は、いくつかの人気アトラクション回ったり、サーカスやパレードを専用エリアで鑑賞したりするユニバーサル・スタジオ・ツアーやユニバーサル・プライベート・ツアーを利用する方法である。二つ目は、優先的にアトラクションを利用できるエクスプレスパスが販売されており、7 つのアトラクションに乗れるブックレット 7、4 つのアトラクションに乗れるブックレット 4、その他にも学生や子ども限定のエクスプレスパスなどを購入し、利用する方法である。最後に、アトラクションの 1 人乗り、「シングル・ライダー」を利用する方法であり、エクスプレス・パスルートが使える、効率的にアトラクションを回ることができる。

グッズ：セサミストリート、スヌーピー、キティ、ピンクパンサーなどのキャラクターグッズをはじめ、映画キャラクターのグッズ、期間限定のグッズを販売している。犬用のグッズも販売している。また、USJ オリジナルファッションブランド「スムーチュ」では女の子のためにファッションとキャラクターを融合させた衣服を販売している。

これらの概要をサービスタイプモデル図で示すと、図5のようになる。

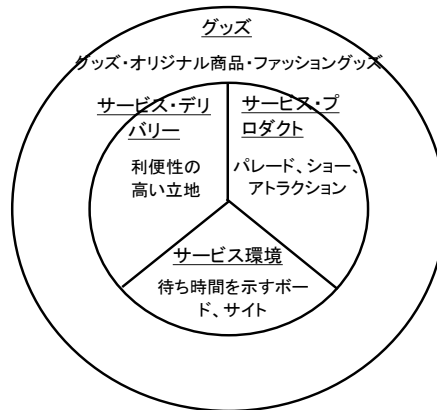


図5 USJにおけるサービスタイプモデル図 出所：筆者作成

4. 2. 3. ハーモニーランド

(1) 企業・テーマパーク概要

ハーモニーランドは、サンリオ株式会社の子会社である株式会社サンリオエンターテイメントが運営するサンリオのテーマパークである。1991年に大分県速見郡日出町に、当初は大分県日出町との共同出資として、サンリオキャラクターパークとして開業された。サンリオキャラクターの登場するショーや子ども向けのアトラクションがあり、家族で楽しめるテーマパークとなっている。

ハーモニーランドを運営するサンリオ株式会社は、1960年に創業した。ほんの小さな贈り物が大きな友情を育てることを意味した「Small Gift Big Smile」を企業理念とし、この考えを基本にソーシャルコミュニケーションギフトおよびグリーティングカードの企画販売、テーマパーク事業などを行っている。2013年度の売上高は742億円、日本国内の売上高は62.9%の466億円であり、内訳はライセンス事業が379億円、物販その他が87億円である。サンリオの国内での事業内容は、ライセンス事業、物販事業、テーマパーク事業、の3つである。ライセンス事業は企業や団体、商品やサービスなどで伝えたい思いをサンリオキャラクターを通じて伝える事業であり、例えば、資生堂やミスタードーナツ、ローソンの商品にハローキティがデザインされている。物販事業は、キャラクターをより身近に感じてもらうために様々な商品をつくり、お店も展開する事業である。テーマパーク事業はキャラクターの開発、育成の場として、東京都多摩市の「サンリオ・ピューロランド」や大分県の「ハーモニーランド」を運営し、アトラクション、物販、レストランに加え、ライブエンターテイメントを提供する事業である。サンリオ・ピューロランドの入場者数は76万6千人、ハーモニーランドは38万8千人である。

(2) モデルによる考察

サービス・プロダクト：ハーモニーランドにおけるサービス・プロダクトは、サンリオキャラクターのライブショーやイルミネーション、アトラクションだといえる。

ライブショーには「宇宙と生命」「見えないものの大切さ」をテーマにする「パレード・ノア」や、キャラクターがその日、誕生日の人をお祝いしてくれる「ハッピーバースデーショーキティズドリームファクトリー」などが行われている。様々なLEDで飾られた光のお城「キティキャ

ッスル」を舞台にキティがヒットソングとともに送るレーザーショー「イイル★ミラクル」などもある。

アトラクションにはキティの家を見たり、触れたりできる「キティキャッスル」、人気キャラクターがデザインされたゴンドラに乗れる「大観覧車ワンダーパノラマ」、ジェットを運転しながらハーモニーランドをのんびり眺められる「スカイジェット」、サンリオキャラクターたちの世界をボートに乗りながら観ることができる「サンリオキャラクターボートライド」、フェアリーキティの回転木馬「フェアリーキティカルーセル」、4歳から乗ることができるジェットコースター「エンジェルコースター」などがある。また、いくつかのゲームにチャレンジし、自分だけのオリジナルキティを生み出し、フォトスタジオで記念撮影もできる「キティラボ」という回遊型アトラクションもある。

サービス環境：交通アクセスは、高速道路日出ICから2分の場所に立地している。日出駅、杵築駅からもバスは出ているが、1時間に1本程度であり、無料シャトルバスなどはないため、自家用車がなければ、比較的行くのが不便である。

パーク内には休憩所、ベビーベッド、ベビールームが多くあり、子ども連れを考慮した設備が整っている。4か所のレストラン、カフェがあり、持ち込みの飲食物を食べられるスペースも屋内外それぞれ確保されている。

ハーモニーランドのアトラクション利用制限には身長による制限はなく、年齢による制限が一部行われている。しかし、4歳の子どもの場合、保護者同伴であればすべてのアトラクションに乗ることができる。

サービス・デリバリー：アトラクションの待ち時間は、時期や天候によっても異なる。日曜日や祝日にはアトラクションの乗るためや、食事をするために待ち時間が発生するが、長くても1時間以内と何時間も待つことはない。また雨天時には乗ることができるアトラクションが限られてくるが、ほとんど並ぶことなくアトラクションに乗ることができる。ショーやパレードなどではキャラクターにふれることができたり、いっしょに踊ったり、写真を撮ることもできるので体感でき、思い出を演出する配慮がなされている。

グッズ：サンリオキャラクターのグッズが販売されており、季節やイベントに応じたグッズもある。また、サンリオキャラクターがデザインされたフードメニュー、ボトルにキャラクターが描かれているワインなどもある。揃いのベストを着たハーモニーランドオリジナルのぬいぐるみや、ハーモニーランドでしか買えないマイメロディグッズなど、ハーモニーランド限定のグッズも販売されている。身につけエンジョイグッズとしてサンリオキャラクターをモチーフとした着ぐるみキャップ、ニット帽、カチューシャを販売している。ハーモニーランドではアトラクションに乗った際にスタッフが写真を撮ってくれるサービスを行っており、それを一枚1,000円などで販売するものが多い。写真のフレームにはキャラクターがプリントされ、イベントや季節に応じたデザインもある。

これらの概要をサービスタイプモデル図で示すと、図6のようになる。

4. 3. 考察とまとめ

サービス産業におけるサービスとグッズの関係性を考察し、サービスとグッズの総合的な価値評価を検討するために、新しい価値基準モデルを設定し、3つの企業ならびに3つのテーマパークにこれを当てはめ、それぞれの分析を行った。これらの特徴を検討するが、その際、特徴と比較、テーマパークの事業目的、グッズの位置づけ、そしてモデルによる製品特性の評価、の4つ

の視点で考察を行う。

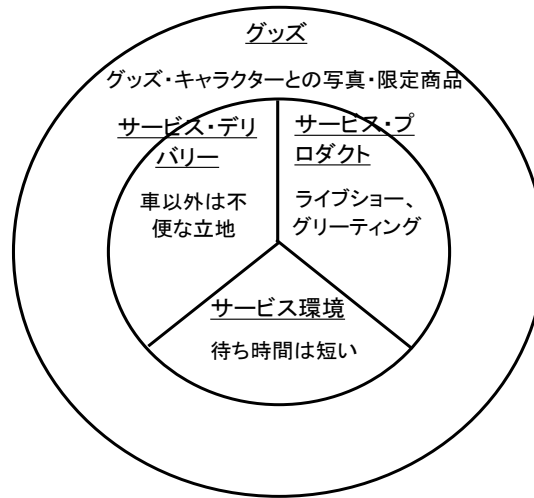


図6 ハーモニーランドにおけるサービスタイプモデル図 出所：筆者作成

4. 3. 1. 特徴と比較

製品の構成要素4つを比較すると、2013年度の入場者数では、TDL（ディズニーシー含む）約2700万人、USJ975万人、ハーモニーランド39万人となっており、特にハーモニーランドは他の二つのテーマパークからは大きな差を空けられている。その原因は、サービス環境にあると考えられ、立地的な制約が大きな差となって表れている。

また、来場者収入、物品販売、飲食販売の3つが、各テーマパークの収入の柱となっているが、TDLではその比率が44%、36%、19%、であるのに対し、USJでは52%、25%、14.4%、となっており、TDLの方が来場者収入の方が大きくなっている。これらのうち、来場者収入は、サービス・プロダクト、サービス環境、サービス・デリバリー、が寄与すると考えられ、物品販売はグッズが直接的に関係し、飲食販売は、サービス環境とサービス・デリバリーが強く影響を及ぼす。TDLとUSJを比較すると、物品販売の占有率がTDLの方が高くなっているが、これはグッズがコア製品であるサービス・プロダクトを強く補完しているためと考えられる。

ちなみに、ハーモニーランドはこの内訳データが公表されておらず、比較が困難であった。サンリオエンターテインメントの年間売上はサンリオ・ピューロランドとハーモニーランドを合わせたもので、53億円とサンリオ全体の742億円の約7%であり、オリエンタルランド全体3,955億円の1%強程度である。

中島は、TDLを業界のリーダー企業でありベスト・プラクティスであると評しており、そのコアにあるのはテーマ一貫性であるとしている。すなわち、一貫したテーマを核として、サービスとグッズが構成されており、特にサービスを提供する人材育成にも多くの経営資源が投入されていることを指摘した^[21]。またTDLは、自社の競争優位性について、広大な土地、巨大なマーケット、便利なアクセスというサービス環境を中心としたものと、ディズニーとのライセンス契約というサービス・プロダクトやグッズに関するもの、さらに卓越したホスピタリティを提供する人材という言葉でサービス・デリバリーを可能にする従業員、も挙げている。このようにTDLは、テーマパーク事業が提供するサービスを中心とする製品について、一つの成功例であることが広く認識されている。

4. 3. 2. テーマパークの事業目的

モデルならびにその背景による分析から、それぞれのテーマパーク事業の目的が異なると判断できる。2013 年度では、TDL を運営するオリエンタルランドの連結売上高 4,236 億円のうち、82.6%がテーマパーク事業であり、残りはホテル事業（13.7%）、商業施設やシネマコンプレックス運営などのその他事業(3.7%)であり、テーマパーク事業が中心である。また、USJ を運営するユー・エス・ジェイの 2008 年度の業績によると、その売上高の 91.2%は、テーマパーク事業の運営、商品、飲食からのものであり、パートナーシップフィーなどのその他事業は 8.8%となっており、わずかである。このように TDL や USJ は、テーマパーク事業で主な売り上げや利益を確保する「テーマパーク経営」と呼ぶことができる。一方ハーモニーランドを運営するサンリオは 2013 年度の有価証券報告書で、その事業区分を商品販売や版權使用許諾業務（ライセンス事業）を含むソーシャル・コミュニケーション・ギフト事業、サンリオ・ピューロランドとハーモニーランドの運営であるテーマパーク事業、そしてレストラン事業などのその他事業、の 3 つに分類している。売上高 770 億円のうちそれぞれの内訳は、順に、686 億円(89.0%)、62 億円(8.1%)、22 億円(2.8%)、となっており、商品や版權に関する売上高の比重が極めて高い。これは、キャラクター関わる版權および版權に関わる製品の事業で主な売り上げや利益を確保し、テーマパーク事業はそれを補完するための事業となっており、「版權価値増加経営」と考えられる。

これら 2 種類の経営手法においてはそれぞれ、「テーマパーク経営」の製品としてのグッズはサービスを中心とする補完的な要素であり、「版權価値増加経営」においてはグッズを中心としそれをサービスが補う構成であると考えられる。

このような 2 種類の経営においては、テーマパーク事業におけるサービスとグッズの関係性も異なると考えられる。「版權価値増加経営」においては、入園料とアトラクション料金を分けて入園料は低く抑えアトラクション料金は適正に設定するなど、製品の売上に直接的、あるいは間接的につながる新たなショーやイベントの開催が重視される。つまりテーマパーク事業は、テーマパークで子供やその親が得た経験価値を、将来のグッズへの購入につなげるためのものと考えられる。一方「テーマパーク経営」においては、新たなアトラクションや施設をつくるなど顧客を飽きさせないサービスが極めて重要となり、その中心となる収入源はパークの入園料である。TDL のケースでは、グッズである製品の売上が 40%近くを占めるが、それもアトラクションなどのサービス・プロダクトを中心とするアトラクション・ショー収入があればこそであり、入園料を中心とした事業であることは間違いない。

4. 3. 3. グッズの位置づけ

「テーマパーク経営」において販売されるグッズの売上高に貢献する割合は比較的高く、TDL では 40%弱にもなる。いかにテーマパークサービスを補完するかがグッズの重要な役割になる。この補完的役割とは、経験価値の強化、想起、伝達で表現することができると考えられる。まず、経験価値の強化とは、テーマパークのサービスによる経験に得られた価値を、当日あるいはパークを離れた後にも、より高いものにする役割である。次に経験価値想起とは、サービスから離れた後にその経験価値を思い起こさせ、時には再度サービスの利用を促す、つまりテーマパークへの再来場を後押しするものである。そして最後に経験価値伝達とは、友人知人など周囲の必要な潜在あるいは顕在顧客にそのサービスを伝え、それらの人々の来場や製品購入への意欲を喚起するものである。

他方「著作権価値増加経営」におけるグッズの役割は、2種類に分かれると考えられる。一つは著作権ありきの製品開発であり、もう一つは物販ありきの製品開発である。著作権ありきの製品開発とは、著作権を他社に販売し、普及を図ることがさらに著作権の価値向上や著作権ビジネスの強化を目的としており、サンリオの場合、ミスタードーナツや資生堂とのコラボレーションがその一例である。物販ありきのグッズの製品開発は、自社の主力事業であるキャラクター製品を開発し、テーマパーク内の売店やサンリオグッズの専門店などで販売することを目的として行われる。

4. 3. 4. モデルによる製品特性の評価

二種類のテーマパークの事業目的があることが分かってきたが、今回分析した3社の事業内容を検討しようとする時、その製品に適用するモデルとして、サービスタイプモデル図かグッズタイプモデル図か、適用の検討が必要である。サンリオでは、著作権ビジネス（ライセンス事業）を行っているが、著作権はサービスかグッズか、つまり今回提示した2種類のモデルのどちらを適用すべきか、について考察が必要である。「著作権」の主たる製品としての機能において、ロゴやマークなど基本的なアイテムは自社が設定したものを変更することはせず、それそのものにサービスの要素、つまりサービス・プロダクト、サービス環境、サービス・デリバリーを見出すことは困難である。このように著作権は無形財に近く有形財として特定可能な形状などは存在しないが、グッズと同じ性質を持つ。つまり、特性上グッズタイプのモデル図の適用が妥当と言える。一方、この著作権にも、契約に関わるサービスとして、企画提案や契約期間などのサービスが存在する。これを図で表すと、図7のようになる。

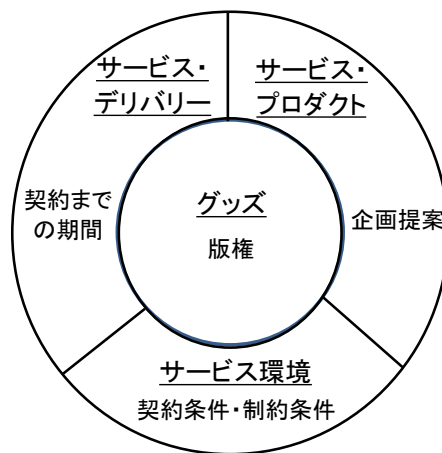


図7 著作権に関するグッズタイプモデル図

出所：筆者作成

5. 結論と展望

本研究は、サービス産業、特にテーマパーク産業におけるサービス・イノベーションを実現するプロジェクト活動を行うためには、どのように事前ならびに事後を中心にイノベーションから得られる価値を評価すれば良いのか、を目的として検討を行った。そのために初めに先行研究として、グッズとサービスの違いや関係性を取り上げた。そこから、グッズとサービスとの違いを強調するあまり、サービスに貢献するグッズや、サービスとグッズとのシナジーの議論が希薄である点を明らかにした。そして、既存のサービスに関する概念図を基に、サービス・プロダクト、サービス・デリバリー、サービス環境、グッズの4つの要素からなる新しい価値基準モデルを設

定した。そして、これらのモデルを、サービス産業、特にテーマパーク産業の3つの企業と3つのテーマパークに当てはめ、実証研究を行った。その結果まず、サービス産業用のモデルからテーマパーク事業におけるベストプラクティスとしてのTDLの強みが明らかになった。また、USJやハーモニーランドとの違いも明確になった。次に、TDLとUSJはテーマパークを中心とした経営である一方、ハーモニーランドはむしろ販売されるグッズや版權を中心とした経営であり、どちらのタイプの経営を目指すかによって、サービスとグッズの関係が異なる、つまりサービスを中心に考えるべきか、グッズを中心に考えるべきか、というイノベーション価値の基準が異なる事が分かった。さらに、サービス中心とグッズ中心のそれぞれの経営において、グッズには異なるいくつかの役割があり、これらの役割に照らして、それぞれのグッズの価値を適切に判断すべきであることも明確になった。最後に、サービス中心のモデルで評価すべきか、グッズ中心のモデルで評価すべきか、は、その製品の無形性や有形性による判断を行うのではなく、その製品それぞれが持つ特性により判断すべきであるという結果が得られた。このように、グッズとサービスを一元的に扱う新価値基準モデルは有効であることが分かり、またその適用可能範囲は経営スタイルにより異なる事が明らかになった。

本研究で得られた価値評価に関する研究成果から今後のサービス・イノベーションの展望として、3つの方向性が考えられる。まず、1つ目として、フードをテーマとしたテーマパークの新たな登場など、テーマパーク産業の環境は変化しており、登場しつつある新たなものを含め、全国のテーマパークを「テーマパーク経営」あるいは「版權価値増加経営」に分類することが可能と考えられ、分類することでそれぞれの事業にどのようなサービス・イノベーションが適合するのかを、考察することができる。2つ目は、スヌーピーやリラックマなど他のキャラクターをもつ企業に対し、「版權価値増加経営」を強化する一施策としてテーマパーク事業をサービス・イノベーションし、新製品開発や事業シナジーの方向性を提示することも意義深いと考えられる。3つ目は、特許、金融サービス、コンサルタントの知識提供などの無形財を、サービスタイプモデル図かグッズタイプモデル図のどちらに区分できるかを検討し、これらサービスタイプモデル図やグッズタイプモデル図の精度を高める事も、サービス・イノベーション研究への貢献が期待できる。

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

Gender equality and socio-economic development through women's empowerment in Pakistan

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Abstract

The paper is an effort to recognize and measure the set of main socio-economic and political determinants of women's empowerment. It is based on a cross-sectional data, collected by the Applied Economics Research Centre (AERC) in four provinces of Pakistan. Four different indices are developed by using the magnitudes of woman's economic and household decision making, and physical mobility and political participation factors. A cumulative index of woman's empowerment has developed by summing up the scores of each index together. The empirical analysis showed that about 35.9% women have lower, 54.1% have moderate and only 10% women have a high level of empowerment. Age of woman, level of schooling, working status, monthly earnings, access to economic credit, bank accounts, assets, investments in different saving schemes, area of residence and access to social media are positive and statistically significant, and matrimonial position, number of children, household structure, ownership by husband, hijab (veil) observance and time management have shown significantly negative impact on women's empowerment.

Keywords: Cumulative index, Gender equality, Pakistan, Women's empowerment.

JEL Classification: J16

Introduction

Empowerment has diverse meanings in various socio-cultural and political frameworks and it is not uniform across the board. Usually, the concept of empowerment is used to describe the associations within households, amongst deprived groups and other people at the global scale. In a broader sense, it defines the expansion of independent preferences and actions that one can take by using the power and control. Power to take major decisions is important for individual, family, and acquaintances. In conventional societies, woman is considered a less privileged to take decisions inside and outside home. That is why; empowerment of woman can be called a dynamic and multidimensional phenomenon that envisages the women to understand their equality and power in all spheres of life.

The notion of "power" is a core concept of word empowerment. Power can be identified as working in a number of diverse conducts and it should be considered as functioning at diverse stages, comprising the institutions, the households, and the individuals. Amongst individuals or a group of people, primarily it is allocated by the capability to act independently. Therefore, empowerment is a process of a dynamic two-sided structure of identity for both individuals and society as well. These power associations work in various fields of life i.e. economic, social and political, and at diverse stages i.e. personal, household, society, marketplace and organizations (Mayoux, 2000). The approach to power has chosen up by a number of

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feminist organizations and Non-Governmental Organizations (These four types of power are encouraged remarkably by manuscripts from Oxaal and Baden (1997), Jo Rowlands (1997), ATOL (2002) and Action Aid (2002). The process of empowerment can be broken down into four levels of power authority:

- i. Power Within:** making it possible for women to eloquent their own objectives and plans for its modifications.
- ii. Power To:** making it possible for women to build up the required expertise and access the required resources to attain their objectives.
- iii. Power With:** making it possible for women to look at and articulate their collective well-being, put in order to attain them and to connect with other women's and men's associations for modification.
- iv. Power Over:** It includes a conjointly exclusive association of power or subservience and take on that power subsists merely in limited magnitude. It activates either submissive or vigorous confrontation that varying the primary disparities in autonomy and resources that restrain women's ambitions and their capability to attain them.

The importance of women's empowerment in international development programs is obvious from the policy reports, prepared at high level of international conferences, for example, Beijing Platform for Action, the Beijing Declaration (1995) and Resolution, the Cairo Program of Action, the Millennium Declaration and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). All these conferences have documented gender equality in their development objectives and investigated the ways to promote growth, trim down poverty and endorse better governance as well. Gender equality and women's empowerment are the main objectives of Millennium Development Goal (MDGs). The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) was started to build Gender related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) in 1995 as a supplement of Human Development Index (HDI). These two indices give clarification for gender inequality in the attainment of essential resources and economic opportunities in socio-political domains.

Women in developing countries are influenced by a variety of socio-cultural norms and racial forces i.e. a range of religious faiths, incomprehensible legal frameworks, and complex economic and political dilemmas. The disparity in labor market participation, minimum role and influence on education, nutrition, health, and a political participation are apparent amongst women in most of the developing nations (Rustagi, 2004). In comparison with developed countries, the women in developing world show a negligible contribution in power frameworks (Mahbubul Haq, 2000). In Pakistan, woman is a more deprived species than men, in all quantum especially in education (Khan, 1993; Shah, 1986; Behrman and Schnieder (1993). In a patriarchal society, the dominant class always put forward a number of justifications for their biased segregation.

The 9th edition of Global Gender Gap Report (2014) exhibits that Pakistan's rank has shifted down to 141 amongst the 142 countries measured, last position in the regional ranking. It also described that the labor force participation was 86 males and 25 females with female to male ratio were 0.30. The literacy rate of males was a 67% to 42% female with female to male ratio was 0.63. The enrolment ratio between female and male at the primary education level was 67% females to 77% males and only 3% of the females reached at the position of senior officials, legislators and managers, as compared to 97% of the males. In similar conditions, it asserts that there are 22% females and 78 % males, working as professional and technical workers with 0.28 male to female ratio. Pakistan's rank is 85th in political empowerment as just 21%

females are in parliament; in contrast to 79% males with female to male ratio is 0.26. There are only 5% female head of the state in the past 50 years as compared to 95% males with female to male ratio of 0.05 (GGG Report, 2014).

After a brief background of woman's suppression in Pakistan, our objective in this paper is to recognize and estimate the impacts of selected socio-economic and demographic determinants on women's empowerment. This paper aims to get a realistic indication regarding the impacts of socio-economic and demographic factors of women's empowerment in a developing country like Pakistan. This study tried to answer the succeeding questions: to what extent the socio-economic and demographic factors affect the level of women's empowerment? What measures are needed to be taken to increase the level of empowerment that can encourage Pakistani women to participate in sustainable growth? Moreover, we hypothesize that highly empowered women take active part in socioeconomic and political activities more than low empowered women. Remainder of the study is planned as follows; section 2 provides the review of literature including national and international studies. The data and methodology are discussed in section 3, empirical findings and interpretation of the results are presented in section 4, and the final conclusions and policy implications are exhibited in section 5.

Review of literature

This section presents the reviews of empirical studies on socio-economic, demographic and political determinants of women's empowerment. Different researchers believed that the dimension of political and social awareness of women is a part of the empowerment process (Sabharwal, 2000; Karnani, 2007). According to Saraswathy et al. (2008) "the women's empowerment is a process of identifying their inner strength, opportunities for growth, and roles in shaping their own destiny." All the definitions of women's empowerment contain at least a psychological characteristic, besides the social and economic ones that exist. This refers to an immense deepness of perceptions regarding power, ranges from inner power (natural characteristics like self-confidence, determination and self-actualization) to societal power (Puhazhendi and Badatya, 2002). In the same context, Malhotra et al. (2002) recognized the methodological advancement in determining and computing the empowerment of women. They analyzed the different conducts in which women's empowerment had been conceptualized. They also measured the key elements of theoretical, methodological, and empirical approaches on empowerment from the grounds of economics, sociology, anthropology, and demography. Efforts were made to encapsulate what they identify and do not identify about what leads to women's empowerment, and its values for growth and poverty reduction. It is imperative like an objective itself because it gives the ways to achieve a better gender equality. However, it can be predicted that women's empowerment will be used as a tool in fighting against poverty (Esteve-Volart, 2004; Mayoux, 2000).

On the same note, Kabeer (1999) built up the dimensions of women's empowerment by means of three-dimensional theoretical structures: (a) resources like an element of the prerequisite of empowerment; (b) agency like a phase of practice; and (c) achievements like a determinant of products. The study indicates that the obvious factors of women's empowerment are family organization, matrimonial benefit, financial independence, freedom of mobility, and lifetime understanding of work participation in the modern sector. In comparison, other researchers have evidently disagreed that autonomy is not equal to empowerment, emphasizing that autonomy involves sovereignty while empowerment may be attained in the course of inter-

connection with spouse (Govindasamy and Malhotra, 1996; Kabeer, 1998; Malhotra and Mather, 1997). Stine and Karina (2003) clarified that the term “empowerment” is a process of development by which the disempowered individuals and groups gain the power to manage their lives and the aptitude to create planned life choices. Likewise, the researchers highlighted that the economic elements of empowerment refer primarily to the capability of women's earning for a living. Mahendra (2004) considered the influences of economic participation, health and education on women's empowerment. Several researchers have tried to determine the women's empowerment with a diversity of indicators and magnitudes by different processes and techniques (Amin et al. 1998; Pradhan, 2003; Kishore and Gupta, 2004; Kabeer, 2005; Schüler, 2006; Klasen, 2006).

Malhotra and Mather (1997) considered, women's empowerment and the determinants of empowerment are the roles of women in household decision making and have power over financial affairs. Women's empowerment frequently leads to a better spending in education, shelter, and food nutrition for the entire family (Thomas, 1990, 1994; Duflo, 2003). The fundamental nature of mobility is a communal act to eliminate unfair inequitable performances. Jejeebhoy (2000) pointed out that, decision making power; mobility and access to resources are strongly related to each other than to child-related decision making, freedom from physical threats and power over resources. Kritz et al. (2000) employed a related approach by constructing an index of the gender circumstances in four communities by means of different indicators like spouse's age variation, proportion of wives' in day-do-day work, freedom of mobility and age of women who control how to utilize income. Desai and Thakkar (2007) discussed women's political participation, legal rights and education as the main instruments for empowerment. Figueras (2008) pointed out that the consequences of female political representation in parliament, planning, and policy making in India. They concluded that politician's gender and social position do matter in planning and strategic decision making. Datta and Sen (2003) included a description of political empowerment as they assert “achievement of the capability as well as the acceptance of desired approach by women in order to implement their powers more efficiently and proficiently, for their own progress in particular and of the society in general”. Some other studies have also revealed that women are deprived of political powers and have inadequate control on their labour and incomes (Koda, 1985; Mbilinyi, 1980).

Lusindilo (2007) elucidated that the environmental conditions like educational qualifications, matrimonial position, religion, region of residence and age group are the factors that contribute in women's low involvement in socio-economic and political actions. A majority of Pakistani women are undergone by heavy workload, limited mobility, a little access to education, health care, and role in decision making at household levels (Khawar and Farida, 1987). Education provides the basis for full promotion and improvement of the position of women that has presently been recognized as an elementary tool of development plans (Dauda, 2007). On the same note, Sen and Drèze (2002) contradict about the door-steps of ignorance and poor education forms. The authors revealed the significance of women's employment and education for the enhancement of women's status as their socio-economic empowerment can positively influence the growth. Various studies determined that education has a positive association with women's empowerment and the basic schooling for girls and enrolment rates are important to trim down gender disparity in education (Sathar and Lolyd, 1994; Sathar and Kazi, 2000; Rafiq, 1996; Chaudhry, 2007; Chaudhry and Rehman, 2009). If a woman is educated, the whole family and society can reap its benefits. The trend of examining women's empowerment as the means to achieve aspirations can bring economic growth in country (Jahangir, 2008).

Data and methodology

The study used a cross-sectional data; collected through a survey conducted by Applied Economics Research Centre (AERC) with the title “On the Subordination and Empowerment of Women in Pakistan”, in all four provinces of Pakistan. Strata Sampling technique was employed to collect the data from 464 households. The compilation and data analysis are done by using MS-Excel and SPSS (20.0). The empirical estimation is performed in two stages; primary attempt was to determine and comprise the descriptive statistics of women’s empowerment indicators. By employing diverse extent of economic and household decision making, mobility and political participation four indices are computed individually. Scores of each index were summed up to develop a cumulative index of women’s empowerment. In the second stage, linear multiple regressions analysis was used to ensure the sway of chosen socio-economic and demographic variables on women’s empowerment. Cumulative Index of Women’s Empowerment (CIWE) is considered as the dependent variable. The following linear specification is used.

$$CIWE = \beta_0 + \sum \beta_1 X_i + \mu_i \dots \dots \dots (1)$$

Where CIWE is the cumulative index of women’s empowerment and X_i is a vector of chosen socio-economic and demographic determinants and μ_i is a stochastic disturbance term.

Computation and Measurement of Cumulative Index of Women’s Empowerment

The Cumulative Index of Women’s Empowerment (CIWE) is a weighted compound of four indicators of women’s empowerment. The quantitative data of each indicator is combined in such a way to obtain a comprehensive socio-economic and political index of women’s empowerment. These indices include economic decision making index (edmi), household decision making index (hdmi), mobility index (mbi) and political participation index (ppi).

The economic decision making index measures the degree of women’s participation regarding economic matters at an individual level, jointly with her husband, or jointly with other household members. Women’s economic participation is an elementary for stimulating women’s rights and allowing them to have control over their lives which put forth the influence on society. Economic empowerment raises women’s access to economic resources and better prospects for employment, economic services, and improves aptitude for market information. Thirteen variables in computing economic decision making index are described in Table-1. First, the responses are calculated on 3 point rating scale by means of score 0 represents ‘all decisions are made by male alone’, 0.5 represents ‘decisions made by male with involving woman’ i.e. ‘jointly’ and 1 represents ‘decisions made by women alone’ in economic affairs of everyday life particularly for food/kitchen items. Secondly, 1 represented ‘joint decisions’ and 2 represented ‘decisions by women alone’ in monthly expenditure. Thirdly, 1.5 represented ‘joint decisions’ and 3 represented ‘decisions by women alone’ for large and occasional expenditures.

Table 1. Measurement of economic decision making index of women

Type of Economic Decisions		Who Decides? (%)		
		Male	Jointly	Woman
Every Day Regular Economic Decisions				
1.	Purchases of everyday food items	8.6	30.3	61.1
2.	Purchases of everyday non-food items	14.0	33.4	52.6
Monthly Economic Decisions				
1.	Rent of house	55.9	17.9	26.2
2.	Bills of electricity, water and gas	66.3	16.6	17.1
3.	Fees of child and other related expenditure	42.5	26.6	30.8
4.	Purchases of normal clothes	6.9	20.6	72.6
5.	Purchases of clothes for special occasions	11.1	27.1	61.9
6.	Spending on marriages or celebrations special occasion	17.2	37.4	45.3
7.	Purchases of gift for friends or relatives	11.1	33.1	55.8
8.	Household's saving and its utilization	22.5	42.9	34.6
Occasional Large Economic Decisions				
1.	Purchases of jewelry	15.2	28.6	56.2
2.	Buying and selling of land	47.4	47.3	5.3
3.	Buying and selling of property	49.9	40.7	9.4

Utilizing 13 sustaining variables, a compound index is calculated (ranged from 0 to 27) to assess women's participation in economic decision making process.

$$\sum_{i=0}^{n=27} = \text{edmi}$$

Household decision making refers to the degree of women's ability to participate in formulating and executing decisions on domestic affairs, in co-ordination with other family members. Women's participation in decision making is an indication of their household powers and a fundamental part of women's empowerment. The household decision making index measures the extent of woman's participation in household decisions regarding children's education, family planning and conflict resolutions. Six variables for the computation of household decision making index are described in Table-2.

Table 2. Measurement of household decision making index of women

Type of Household Decisions		Who Decides? (%)		
		Male	Jointly	Woman
Daughter's Education Decisions				
1.	Sending female child to secondary school	38.8	38.5	22.7
2.	Sending female child to other village or city for higher education	42.9	40.3	16.8
Family Planning Decisions				
3.	Family planning	16.5	73.8	9.7
4.	Family planning methods	18.1	71.9	10.0
Settlements of Disputes Decisions				
5.	Settlement of dispute of general nature within household	38.2	36.8	25.0
6.	Settlement of dispute of special nature within household	48.9	37.2	14.0

The responses are measured on 3 points rating scale, same as described in economic decision making index. By using the all six questions, a composite index was designed (ranged from 0 to 9) to evaluate women's involvement in household decision making.

$$\sum_{i=0}^{n=9} = \text{hdmi}$$

Mobility refers to the freedom of women to move for their essential needs either alone or escorted by some family members within or outside the village/neighborhood. To advance a society, certainly, freedom of mobility is essential for woman to take part in all fields of life. The mobility index includes a chain of questions that asked to women if they had gone to visit different places like hospitals, banks, markets and attending of weddings /ceremonies within or outside the villages. The mobility index was calculated by using the responses related to the permissions our respondents have for outside home visits. For this purpose, a 3 point rating scale was used where 0 'represented not allowed to go', 0.5 represented 'allowed to go with some adult male, along with other adult female or along with children', and 1 represented 'allowed to go alone.' The details are described in Table-3. By using eleven questions, an amalgamated index has developed (ranged from 0 to 11) to weigh up women's freedom of mobility.

$$\sum_{i=0}^{n=11} = \text{mbi}$$

Table 3. Measurement of mobility index of women

Purpose of Visit	Cannot go	Can go along with children, adult males & females	Can go alone
1. Outside of nearly homes for socializing visit	11.0	30.9	58.1
2. Visit to nearest other area within city	4.9	53.2	41.8
3. Attend community social group meetings	81.8	6.5	11.8
4. Visit to hospital or doctor within village or neighborhood if she is ill	1.1	69.9	29.1
5. Visit to hospital or doctor outside village or neighborhood if she is ill	3.5	80.9	15.6
6. Visit to nearby bank within village or neighborhood	64.4	13.6	22.3
7. Visit to bank outside village or neighborhood	71.8	17.2	10.9
8. Shopping within village or neighborhood	9.6	65.2	25.3
9. Shopping outside village or neighborhood	21.2	67.5	11.3
10. Ceremonies or weddings within village or neighborhood	1.1	73.9	25.0
11. Ceremonies or weddings outside village or neighborhood	8.3	81.5	10.2

Political empowerment of women is one of the key issues in women's empowerment. It refers to the knowledge of political system and ways of access to it, family support for political engagements, exercising the rights to vote, activities related to electoral process like voting, campaigning, holding party offices and contesting elections. Nevertheless, the democratic collective efforts and women's strong political representation has increased their visibility in public arena, and it increases the position and modification in

social outlooks towards gender roles in governance. The political participation index is based on a set of four questions. This index is a complex of two sub-categories. First is a category of mobility index, with whom the respondent is allowed to attend political meetings (Table-4A). Second category relates with the involvement of respondents in electoral activities, measured by constructing an indexed variable, containing 3 questions (Table-4B). Two point rating scale is used in all 3 questions where 0 represented answer in 'No' and 1 represented answer in 'Yes' for casting of vote in the last elections held. Meanwhile, 0 represented answer in 'No' and 2 represented answers in 'Yes' for casting of vote with free will and 0 represented answer in 'Yes' and 3 represented answer in 'No' for casting of vote with the influence of family. The total sum of scores of a respondent to all 4 questions ranged from 0 to 7.

$$\sum_{i=0}^{n=7} = \text{ppi}$$

Table 4A. Measurement of political participation index of women regarding mobility

Purpose of Visit	Cannot go	Can go along with children, adult males and females	Can go alone
Attend political meetings	93.9	1.7	4.4

Table 4B. Measurement of political participation index of women regarding vote casting

Decision about vote	Yes	No
1. Did you vote in the last election?	36.0	63.4
2. Did you vote with your free will?	60.3	39.7
3. Has anyone ever tried to influence your decision to vote?	16.0	83.3

By using 34 questions of 4 indices, a multifaceted index of women's empowerment is designed whose value ranges from 0 to 54. Each and every woman is categorized into 1 of 3 groups on the basis of her average scores. Women having scores (0-18) are categorized as "low level of empowered." Women with scores (19-36) are considered to have a "moderate level of empowerment" and women with scores (37-54) responses are considered to have a "high level of empowerment." Figure-1 depicts the level of women's empowerment in Pakistan.

$$\sum_{i=0}^{n=54} = \text{CIWE}$$

Chosen socio-economic and demographic variables of women's empowerment

Women's empowerment is well-explained by age, as the age is an aspect of continuation phase that affects woman's socio-economic status. The age of woman (14-85) is taken directly (continuous) and hypothesized that old-aged women are more empowered than younger one, while expecting a positive link between these two. Matrimonial position of woman plays a vital role in determining women's empowerment so a positive association is expected. The dummy variable is calculated by taking the value 1 if woman is married (living with husband) and 0 otherwise (single/divorced/widowed /unmarried).

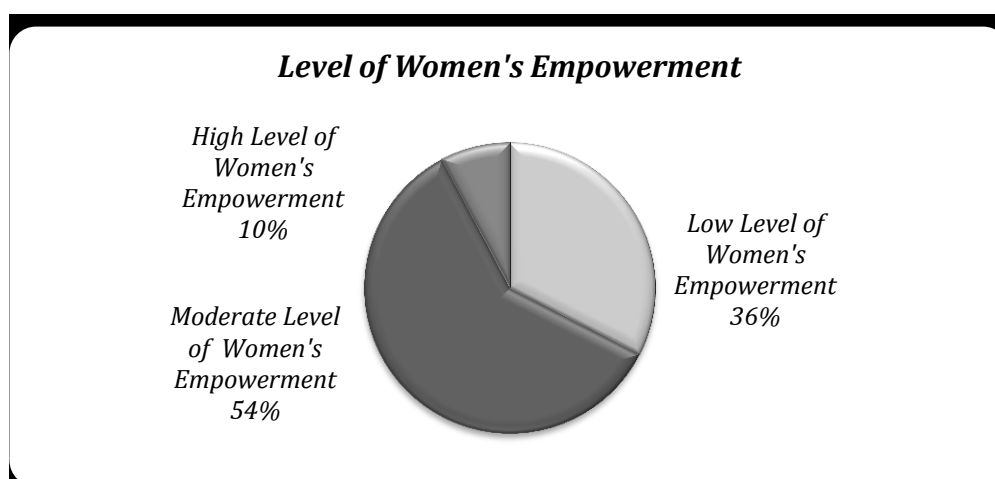


Figure 1: Graphical representation of women's level of empowerment in Pakistan

In majority of developing countries, male-heads of the family are responsible for the family management. In general, it is considered a social norm, while female management is neither acknowledged nor accepted. Women's empowerment is to be linked inversely with partner's control if domestic decisions are made by males only by keeping women behind.

Women's empowerment is described by the total number of the children. It is apparent that larger the size of household, lesser the woman liable to participate in the socio-economic and political processes that indicates a less empowerment. Inverse relationships are expected for these variables.

Household structure is another communal aspect that decides women's empowerment. Generally, in joint/extended families⁴ bigger panoramas of consideration are controlled by the oldest of household's unit. On contrary to this, in nuclear families⁵ these features are not usually found; women can afford to work independently for all economic and household activities. A dummy variable is used for household's system, it show '1' if woman lives in a joint household's system and '0' otherwise, an inverse relationship between joint household's system and women's empowerment is expected.

Education is another pre-requisite for empowering women in every fields of life. Education provides an additional probability of attaining improved perceptions and thoughtfulness. Therefore, it enhances self-assurance for performing social, political and economic actions. A proxy is used to measure the years of education i.e. from grade 1 to 16, and higher.

In addition, women's empowerment absorbs educational credentials of closed relations i.e. parents and spouse. The schooling of mother is being incorporated to observe the appealing upshots of mother's education on empowerment; a positive sign is expected for this variable.

Hijab⁶ (veil) plays an essential role in woman's character especially in Muslims' dominated societies. It allows women to move outside with full freedom and security, and encourages them to participate in socio-economic activities. The dummy variable is used for hijab, which takes the value of '1' if woman observes hijab and '0' otherwise. Higher level of empowerment is expected among women who do not

⁴Extended households comprise of mother and father, their progeny, and the progeny's spouse and their offspring in single house.

⁵A household consists of parents and their children only.

⁶A screen is normally used to restrain women from strangers in Muslim societies.

practice strict hijab and enjoy freedom of mobility for elevating their socio-economic status in their dynamic surroundings; an inverse relationship is forecasted.

Work status is a direct route towards women empowerment as it not only raises the work force but nurtures the economies in the long run too. Working women are more socio-economically empowered than the household women. It has studied from various countries that raising the allocation of domestic earning, commanded by women, in course of their personal incomes and cash transfer, modifies expenses to facilitate offspring.

Woman's access to income advances her economic and household decision making powers. It is proved in existing body of knowledge that income in women's hands is mostly allocated towards the education, nutrition and health of children. The dichotomous values are used for income of woman, it takes the value of '1' if woman earns income and '0' otherwise, and we expect a positive sign for this variable.

Access to economic credit is an effectual instrument to assist women by providing monetary services. Small admittance to credit is often looked to be a principal obstruction to the development of women's economic status. The variable is measured by computing a dummy variable and it is hypothesized that credit from any financial institution improves women socio-economic and political position which leads to a high level of empowerment. Bank accounts, advance socio-economic empowerment and assure the proficient contribution in decision making and a positive sign is expected. Household's assets perform very important role for families in shielding against jeopardizes and facing certain monetary shocks. An index of household's assets has made by providing dissimilar weights to a variety of assets. Weights are assigned according to the worth of assets such as '1' is given to silver, motorbike and home appliance ownership, '2' to gold and car ownership while '3' is assigned to land and property ownership. It is hypothesized that women who have more household's assets will enjoy higher level of economic empowerment and a positive relationship is expected.

Household's investments in different saving schemes elevate women's endowment in profits making schemes and assist them to establish the social links. Household's investments in different savings schemes and the potential benefits create the chances of prosperity. It is expected that household's investments in different saving schemes can provide the evidences for higher level of empowerment.

An index of time management is also computed by aggregating the total number of hours spent on house chores including cooking and washing utensils, washing clothes, cleaning house, caring for children, sewing embroidery/handicraft and entertainment of guests. The excessive burden of household activities reduces the time to make own life choices; hence a negative relationship among the hours of work at home and the women's empowerment is expected.

The vicinity plays a considerable role to influence women's empowerment. Due to availability of better paid services, and education and health facilities, urban women have a more projection to contribute in decision making than rural women. A dichotomous value is taken as '1' if woman lives in urban area and '0' otherwise.

Access to social media is another substantial factor for empowerment as women who used to have media exposure in terms of her knowledge base and awareness by using the digital media and print media are more aware about their powers. Media access is computed by making a dummy variable which takes the value of '1' if woman has access to any type of media and '0' otherwise, and a positive relationship is expected for this variable.

Findings and discussion

After summing up the average scores of individual woman of our survey respondents, it is observed that a majority of women in Pakistan have a moderate level of empowerment (about 54%). While the higher level of empowerment shows a merely 10% and a lower level of empowerment is about 36%. The empirical results revealed that a mean value of empowerment index is 22.73 with a standard deviation of 9.38. The detailed descriptive statistics of variables, used in this study can be examined in Table-5.

Table 5. Descriptive statistics of chosen socio-economic & demographic determinants of women's empowerment

Explanatory Variables	Frequency	Percent	Mean	Stand: Dev	Min	Max
Age of women			32.01	14.24	14.00	85.00
Matrimonial position of women			0.59	0.50	0.00	1.00
Married	818	58.1				
Not married	590	41.9				
Total no of children			2.65	2.487	0.00	15.0
Household's ownership			0.93	0.23	0.00	1.00
Male	1322	93.9				
Female	86	6.1				
Household structure (joint/nuclear)			0.49	0.50	0.00	1.00
Yes	700	49.7				
No	708	50.3				
Level of Education			8.02	5.23	0.00	17.00
Illiterate	266	19.1				
Primary (1-5)	308	22.1				
Secondary (6-8)	113	8.4				
Matriculation (9-10)	238	17.1				
Intermediate (11-12)	161	11.6				
Bachelor Degree (13-14)	188	13.9				
Master or above (15-16+)	120	8.6				
Practice of hijab			0.41	0.49	0.00	1.00
Yes	588	41.9				
No	814	58.1				
Work status			0.35		0.00	1.00
Working	480	34.1				
Not working	928	65.9				
Access to economic credit			0.04	0.21	0.00	1.00
Yes	66	4.8				
No	1318	95.2				
Household's bank account			0.43	0.49	0.00	1.00
Yes	606	43.3				
No	793	56.7				
Household's assets			6.09	2.32	0.00	12.00
Yes	1401	99.5				
No	7.0	0.5				
Household investments in different saving schemes			0.61	0.48	0.00	1.00
Yes	867	61.6				
No	541	38.4				
Time allocation index			6.123	3.344	0.00	27.00
Household's area of residence			0.69	0.46	0.00	1.00
Urban	973	69.1				
Rural	435	30.9				
Household's access to social media			0.79	0.40	0.00	1.00
Yes	1107	79.5				
No	286	20.5				

The multiple linear regressions by using ordinary least squares (OLS) are applied to discover the effects of selected socio-economic and demographic factors on women's empowerment. The regression results show that overall model is significant, detailed results are reported in Table 6 and the discussion on findings is given following table 6.

Table 6. Regression results of summative index of women's empowerment on chosen socio-economic & demographic factors

Explanatory Variables	Coefficients
Demographic Factors	
age of women (agew)	0.094 (5.309)***
matrimonial position of women (mpw)	2.476 (4.663)***
household ownership by husband (hhoh)	-5.333 (-6.880)***
no. of children (nchild)	-0.106 (-1.78)*
household structure (hhs)	-1.812 (-4.785)***
Social Variables	
education of women (eduw)	0.100 (2.170)***
woman's mother's education (meduw)	0.100 (1.835)**
practice of observing hijab (wh)	-1.860 (-4.941)***
Economic Variables	
work status of women (empw)	0.999 (2.157)***
income of women per month (incomw)	0.101 (3.942)***
access to economic credit (crdit)	2.941 (3.432)***
household's bank account (hhba)	1.942 (4.645)***
household's assets (hha)	0.080 (1.78)*
household investments in different saving schemes (hhsav)	1.018 (2.529)***
Other Variables	
time management (tm)	-0.127 (-2.220)***
household's area of residence (hhpr)	1.902 (4.023)***
household's access to social media (hhme)	2.343 (4.786)***
Constant (C)	15.020 (13.009)***
R- squared	0.495
Adjusted R- squared	0.475
F- statistic	50.908

*Note: Figures in parenthesis are t-values, * significant at 0.10 level of significance, **significant at 0.05 level of significance and ***significant at 0.01 level of significance*

The maturity of women brings empowerment as our findings suggest that the age of women is significantly positively affect women empowerment. It reflects the fact that in conventional societies like Pakistan, old-aged women get more prestige and domestic powers while capturing the roles of wife/mother and mother-in-law (in case of married), and sister/sister in law etc. (in case of single). Interestingly, this study confirms that marital status of women have a significant effect on empowerment. It also negates the male-chauvinism which usually prevails in Pakistani society where male dominance gives them opportunities to grab a lion's share from their boyhood. Also, the coefficient explains that a married woman is empowered more than twice the unmarried women (coefficient value = 2.46), keeping other things constant.

Regarding the influence of male-head on women's empowerment, it is significant and negatively associated with women's empowerment (-5.33), implying that patriarchal societies provide authorities to male-head to take household decisions in autocratic manners, without the involvement of women at home. Similarly, number of children has a negative effect on woman empowerment because more children mean a busy life for woman with less time to practice her authority and empowerment. Also, an increase in

household size decreases the empowerment by 10%. A negative coefficient (-0.106) explains that in urban periphery of Pakistan, a majority of married couple used to live in a nuclear family rather than joint family system. Increasing a family size might compel them into a joint family system where woman seems less empowered than the one who lives in a nuclear family. It is also confirmed by the coefficient of joint family system (-1.81) which is significant and negatively associated with women empowerment.

Social Factors

Education plays a vital role in bringing the beneficial adjustment amongst the women and structured them up to date in terms of perceptive, skills and potential to face and undertake different socio-cultural problems. The coefficient of mother's education showed a positive and statistically significant predictor as it increases the women's empowerment by 10%. This positive association shows that if the mother is educated she will surely be focused on the literacy of her daughters which in turn raises aptitude, skills and empowerment of women. Women's practicing of hijab, remained an essential element of daily life for various peoples and symbols of their traditions and customs. The coefficient (-1.860) shows that women who do not observe hijab are more empowered as compared to those who do so and are substantially less empowered. It is also observed that exercising of strict hijab hampers women's partaking in various economic aspects of life and eventually affects the level of their empowerment.

Economic Factors

It is reported that working women had higher economic status as compared to non-working women, which is in accordance with the results obtained, and certainly it would be a positive change in Pakistani society. In addition, working woman plays dynamic roles in productive and reproductive activities and also shares earnings to household that results an admiration and position in family. A one percent increase in women's income causes a 10% increase in their empowerment. The indicator of credit is positive and statistically significant, and the value of coefficient (2.941) shows that women who availed credits are more economically empowered than those who do not. An easy access to credits for women can increase their self-worth and a high level of empowerment, leading to a better economic sovereignty and safety, which not only gives them the possibility to help their family but society as well. Household's bank account proved to be a good predictor as it reduces financial dependence and increased control over resources that ultimately lead women's empowerment.

The coefficient's value (1.942) shows that household's bank account boosts women's economic decision making power to a great extent. The coefficient of household's assets is positive and statistically significant for women's economic empowerment. One percent increase in household's assets leads 8% increase in economic decision making of women. Ownership of household's assets such as land, property, jewelry and vehicles also increase women's efficiency in economic activities and interpret high returns in the form of income, welfare, happiness and comfort. The coefficient of household's investments in different saving schemes (1.018) is statistically significant and shows that household investments in different saving schemes increase women's empowerment to a great extent. It advances socio-economic status of women and gives them security to a well-organized contribution in the procedure of decision making. Savings provide many benefits to women including financial security during economic crises that strengthen them to take loans.

Other Factors

Time management shows a negative and significant influence on women's empowerment and the coefficient value (-0.127) depicts the fact that large household's size reduces additional opportunities in life. Household's area of residence is also a significant factor that affects women's economic empowerment. The coefficient (1.902) shows that urban women are considerably more empowered than rural women. The existing circumstances confirm that women's socio-economic and political status has also improved in urban areas of Pakistan. The access to education, media, health facilities, freedom of mobility, less rigidity in communities for exercising hijab and better employment opportunities make urban women more liberated and confident to participate in industrial endeavors. Household's access to social media is also a significant determinant of women's empowerment and the value of coefficient (2.343) shows that access to social media causes immense improvement in women's empowerment. The media is an essential source of learning and source of latest technologies, ideas and knowledge. It gives awareness by bridging with external world and shows the prospects to make women more empowered.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

On the basis of empirical results, it is concluded that a vast majority (about 54.1%) have a moderate level of woman empowerment, 35.9% have a low level and merely 10% have a high level of women empowerment. The positively significant factors include Age, education, mothers' education, working status, income, access to credit, bank account possession, acquisition of assets, household investments, vicinity, and awareness through media access. While, negative but significant factors are marital status, number of children, type of family system, male family head, Hijab (veil) observe, and time management, for women's empowerment.

The policy prescription is surrounded around the education of women because a high level of female education provides a rock-solid base to resolve major issues related to mother and child. It has been a fundamental issue in Pakistan that urban women are far more educated than rural women due to an innate socioeconomic structure. A rural woman is more deprived than urban woman; therefore, it is a need of time to focus the education and socio economic conditions of a deprived class (rural woman) in order to enhance a level of gender equality in Pakistan. Here, we recommend, that the government should use all machineries to increase the awareness of women empowerment. The use of media (electronic and print) could be a thrashing step to pace up the process of public awareness that will eventually create an educated class of women. It is also suggested that media can play an essential role to change the existing position of women in all spheres of life by publishing special and regular reports on gender affairs to raise awareness about their legal, social and political rights. It is the need of time to create a class of educated and empowered women who can actively participate in economic growth of Pakistan.

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

A comparative study of ethnic identity among Azerbaijani speakers in the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan

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Abstract

In 1828, Azerbaijan was divided between the Persian and Russian empires through the *Turkmenchay* treaty. From 1920, the northern part was joined to the Soviet Union as the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan, until its independence in 1991. Having been governed by the Soviet Union for a long time, residents of the Republic of Azerbaijan are strongly influenced by Russian culture, while residents of Azerbaijan provinces of Iran have been under the influence of Persian culture, literature and politics. This article, inspired by Edward Said's definition of "otherness", argues that the perception of "others" has developed differently for the Azerbaijani identity in these two geopolitically separated areas. North Azerbaijanis define their ethnic identity and nationalistic movements as a reaction and in opposition to Armenians. Iranian Azerbaijanis, on the other hand, live in peace with a large Armenian diaspora, and thus instead define their identity by emphasis on their rights under Persian governance. Using the constructionism theory of Stuart Hall, the paper argues that Azerbaijani identity has been redefined in two Southern and Northern forms in a fluid and contingent way of "becoming" rather than "being". An ethnographic observation of the everyday lives of the two ethnic groups showed that other than history and language ties, the vast range of cultural, economic and political differences have shaped two different ethnic identities. Interviews with the recently increasing number of tourist visitors to both South and North Azerbaijan demonstrated that the two have a pessimistic perception about one another and believe that their own path towards modernization is the right one, but not the other. Nationalistic movements among Iranian Azerbaijanis represent a struggle to overcome discrimination, and in extreme cases, a demand for secessionism. They cannot, however, conceive of themselves in unification with the Republic of Azerbaijan either. In conclusion, I suggest a redefinition of Azerbaijani identity as two entities sharing a common language and history.

Keywords: Azerbaijani, Ethnic identity, Identity construction, Iranian Azerbaijani, Otherness, Republic of Azerbaijan.

Introduction

Two consecutive wars between Persian and Russian Empires, ended in signing the two treaties of *Gulistan* and *Turkmenchay* in 1813 and 1828, respectively. These treaties, which were major defeats for the Persian Empire, caused a tragic division between the large Azerbaijani populations on the two sides of a new border. Some contacts continued between the peoples of the disjointed areas, but this stopped with North Azerbaijan's incorporation into the Soviet Union in 1920 and the formation of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic (Swietochowski, 1995). After that, the setting up of a system of border guards made it too difficult for people to pass through the border, and any attempt to communicate with people from non-socialist countries was subject to severe punishment (Matthews, 1989:195). Thus, until 1991 when the Soviet Union collapsed, there were almost no relations between the Azerbaijani people on the two sides of the border. In such a desperate situation, many despondent poems and dramas about the virtually insurmountable border were written on both sides.

After the proclamation of independence in September 1991, the Republic of Azerbaijan and Armenia entered a bloody war over the disputed Nagorno-Karabakh region. Even after the ceasefire in 1994, both

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countries have continued to claim the region, and this contentious conflict has caused enormous hatred between citizens of the Republic of Azerbaijan and Armenia. Following the war, the Republic of Azerbaijan was divided into two separated parts, disjointed by Armenian territory. As Armenia disconnected the routes to the enclaved part, the residents of Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic were isolated from the mainland. This separation has caused major problems for these citizens, who have had to pass through Iran to reach the other part of their homeland, which is troublesome and costly.

In 2015, the population of the Republic of Azerbaijan was estimated at more than 9.5 million, 91.6% of which belonged to Azerbaijani ethnicity (Population census 2015). On the other side of the border with Iran, Iranian Azerbaijanis comprise the largest population of ethnic Azerbaijanis in the world. Being the dominant ethnicity in the Northwest of Iran, they live in three provinces of East and West Azerbaijan and Ardabil (Figure 1). They are the largest minority in Iran, comprising about 24% of the total population, with many living in other Iranian provinces. Many cities including Zanjan, Qazvin, and Hamadan have a large Azerbaijani population. Some Azerbaijanis have migrated to the Iranian capital Tehran, and other nearby cities such as Karaj, since long ago. In smaller numbers, they live in other Iranian provinces such as Kurdistan, Gilan, Markazi and Kermanshah (Shaffer, 2002: 221-225). There is still an intensive debate among Persian and Iranian Azerbaijani elites on how Iranian Azerbaijanis should be called. However, Persians and Azerbaijanis themselves commonly use the term “*Turks*” to refer to Iranian Azerbaijanis (pronounced as *Tork* in Persian). The term “*Azeri*” is not considered as correct by many academic scholars, but may be used by Iranians in formal conversations (Kasravi, 1946).



Figure 1. Iranian Azerbaijanis in northwest provinces of Iran. (Source: Geography from GMMS 2011, Global Mapping International Language Locations from World Language Mapping System 2011)

This study focuses on the conflicts and tensions surrounding the imagined and articulated identity among Azerbaijani people. To that end I will draw on the understanding of identity formation in cultural studies, particularly as described by Stuart Hall, and a broad spectrum of constructionist views applied to the analysis of ethnicity and nationalism. I shall first present a brief theoretical summary in order to situate my study within the methodological practice of constructionism and the intellectual tradition of cultural studies.

Methodology

The primary data for this paper was collected in three demographically diverse regions, including the northwest of Iran, especially the city of Tabriz, various cities in the Republic of Azerbaijan and some cities in Iran with a dominant Persian population including Tehran, Karaj and Qom, where many Azerbaijani diaspora live. Being born and raised in the city of Tabriz, which is the most populated Azerbaijani city in

Iran, I had been searching for the origins of my ethnicity on the other side of the border. However, most of existing literature on the ethnic identity of Iranian Azerbaijanis has been influenced by a strong Iranian nationalistic view. Beyond the dominant political presumptions and common historical speculations, there is a lack of ethnographic research studies on this issue. Therefore, I needed to first discover the perception of ordinary people about their identity and what they believed they shared with the so-called “co-ethnics” living on the other side of the border.

Starting from October 2009 until April 2012, while living in Tabriz and also as a sojourner to the Republic of Azerbaijan, I collected the primary data for this paper as a participant observer. In the Republic of Azerbaijan, by making friends in public places like universities, museums and bars, I gradually entered into the family and social life of indigenous people. In the beginning, they would usually guide me in the city and introduce me to historical and cultural places, but over time I was permitted into their everyday life, staying in their homes as a guest and participating in their marriage, mourning or religious ceremonies. Sometimes, I would stay and participate for more than a week in local marriage ceremonies as a close friend. Often, I came to know many people from various social classes through snowball sampling. During this period, I conducted qualitative interviews with many Azerbaijanis of different ages including some who had never crossed the border of Iran as well as tourists, sojourners, and businessmen who regularly traveled to Iran. The interviewee’s ages ranged from 20 to 70 years old. In most cases, I first built a friendly connection with the younger participants, interviewed them, and then asked them to introduce me to the other members of their family and acquaintances. While it was not difficult to find a way to enter into an Azerbaijani family circle, being a single young boy, I did not have any chance to interview young girls due to cultural norms. During my short stay in their houses, the female members of the family rarely showed up.

However, in Azerbaijan of Iran, as an indigenous researcher, data collection was much easier for me. I interviewed many people in Tabriz, in the same age range of 20 to 70 years old, as well as several members of ethnic/nationalistic movements in Azerbaijan of Iran. Being a part of the society, I did not face any limitation in collecting data from female participants in Tabriz except for a few traditional religious families. During data collection, one of the best places to find interviewees was the visa application queue in front of the building of consulate general of the Republic of Azerbaijan in Tabriz. I interviewed many people there, like businessmen, students who were studying at a university in the city of Baku (capital city of the Republic of Azerbaijan) and some tourists who had never traveled there before. From July 2012 to June 2013, I lived in Tehran, and was in close contact with Iranian Azerbaijanis who migrated there more than 30 years before. In Tehran, too, it was easy to arrange interviews with Azerbaijani ethnic people I knew or found in Azerbaijani populated neighborhoods. Iranian Azerbaijanis living in Persian dominant cities were eager to talk about their identity issues. I interviewed various people about their ethnic conflicts as diaspora living in Tehran. I also traveled to some nearby cities like Karaj and Qom to observe the circumstances of Azerbaijanis there.

After that, for one more year until the end of 2014, I returned to Tabriz to make contact with the flood of medical tourists from the Republic of Azerbaijan who travelled from Baku and other cities to Tabriz. Acting as an Iranian guide for some of them, I would follow their treatment procedures in Tabriz. Whether in informal daily conversations or in formal interviews, I would ask questions about their perception of the ethnicity of Iranian Azerbaijanis.

Theoretical Framework: Cultural research can challenge the relatively stable, coherent and unitary notion of ethnic identity. Cultural studies have conceived identity formation as relational, contextual and never fully formed but always under transformation. Frantz Fanon first introduced to ethnic studies the idea of identity as relational through the psychoanalytic concept of the “others” when he recalled how the gaze of the ‘other’, a white child pointing her finger at him and telling her mother “look, a Negro!”, framed him as a ‘black’ man (Fanon, 1967). A similar situation has existed for Iranian Azerbaijanis since the Pahlavi dynasty when the ‘other’ groups started using the derogatory term of “*tork donkey*” to refer to them, ascribing a

stereotyped feature of dumbness to Azerbaijanis.

Edward Said maintains that *“European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient”* adding that European cultural hegemony established itself by positing a European identity superior to all others (Said, 1979). Said explains the notion of ‘otherness’ by considering social identity through the construction of opposites and ‘others’. The actuality of others is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from ‘us’; far from a static thing then, the identity of self or of the ‘others’ follows a historical, social, intellectual, and political process as part of a contest which involves individuals and institutions in all societies. Unlike the *“naïve belief in the certain positivity and unchanging historicity of a culture, a self, and national identity”*, Said observes insightfully that *“human identity is not only not natural and stable, but constructed, and occasionally even invented outright”* (Said, 1979). In the following parts, I shall discuss how the notion of ‘otherness’ has been established so differently for Azerbaijani ethnics in different parts of Iran, compared with the citizens of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Stuart Hall for his part draws on Fanon and Said as well as Marx, Freud, Derrida, Gramsci, and Althusser, among others, to conceptualize identity as fluid, relational and contingent (Hall, 1996). To engage in the question of culture and power, domination and resistance, cultural studies complicate identity as a matter of becoming rather than being, an arbitrary closure, and an *“invention”* always created under social pressure. Our identity is not inexorably tied to our past, real or imaginary; rather, it is subject to the continuous play of history, culture, and power. There is no single, stable, or homogenous ethnic or national identity. It is contingent and structured by social formations (Hall, 1990).

I shall argue in the following sections that Hall’s explanation of fluid identity could illustrate the current social and cultural variations between three different *“Turk”* ethnicities living in Turkey, Iranian Azerbaijan and the Republic of Azerbaijan’s citizens. The descriptive view of everyday life in various Azerbaijani and Turkish cities, and people’s perception of being Turk is far different in these areas, especially when compared with the three countries referred in this paper. I will argue that the view of contemporary nationalistic movements, especially in the city of Tabriz, which aim to define Azerbaijanis and Turks as a holistic nation is in contrast with people’s perception in everyday life in different Turk-Azerbaijani areas, since culture, politics and the definition of *“otherness”* in each Azerbaijani area is far different from others.

Yuet Cheung (1993: 1216) defines ethnic identification as *“the psychological attachment to an ethnic group or heritage, an affiliative construct, where an individual is viewed by themselves and by others as belonging to a particular ethnic or cultural group”*. An individual can choose to associate with a group especially if other choices are available and thus centers the construct in the domain of self-perception (i.e. Iranian, Azerbaijani or Turkish ethnicities in the case of Iranian Azerbaijanis). Affiliation can be influenced by racial, natal, symbolic, and cultural factors (Cheung, 1993).

The image and perception that one has from his group identity is not innate but shaped gradually and through his lived experience. Each society has its own system of group identity. In some societies, family connection is emphasized more in shaping the identity, while in others geographic connection (place of origin) or religion is emphasized more. Which factor becomes the most dominant and significant in shaping the identity is largely dependent on various circumstances (Smith, 1991).

In the modern world, usually the most important group identity is the country of citizenship. This identity type is associated with legal rights and responsibilities under the constitution of the country. In the complicated process of nation-building in every country, many factors affect the final formation and geographic-population coverage of each nation. This is why many transnational human groups have existed. Where the drawn *“national borders”* had been determined by many factors, even accidents in some cases, once the *“border”* was drawn, the system would follow the government’s direction. Gradually the *“border”* would become significant not only administratively but also economically and culturally (Tiankui, Sasaki and Peilin, 2013). In the last part of this paper, I have discussed about how the nation-building process of the post-Soviet Azerbaijan and post Islamic revolution Iran have influenced their Azerbaijani speaking citizens.

Findings and Discussion

Otherness for Iranian Azerbaijanis: For most Iranian Azerbaijanis questioning their own self-conceived ethnic identity has been a significant and difficult issue in identity formation. During my research travels to non-Azerbaijani dominant cities of Iran, or while living in Tehran, I could barely remember anyone who did not react to my Azerbaijani accent while speaking to them in Persian as my second language. It appeared as if Persians needed to choose a certain stance on this widespread ethnic group. Almost all people in the capital would somehow react to Azerbaijani speaking people. The most common reaction would be to recognize the odd accent and ask which Azerbaijani city one is from, or to use some metaphors in a sarcastic way to express their view of “how dumb or intelligent” Azerbaijani people are. It seemed that everyone needed to somehow react “differently” when they met Azerbaijanis; most of the time, they started a conversation by saying how good, hospitable, and intelligent ethnic Azerbaijani are, but after feeling more intimate, they might move the dialogue to some sarcastic description of Azerbaijani people. In extreme cases, during arguments between two Persian and Azerbaijani persons, it was common to hear the ethnic slur Turkish (Azerbaijani) people. Iranians, I spoke to, usually call Azerbaijani people as “*Tork*” and some may even question whether Azerbaijani ethnic people are truly Iranian. In everyday language of Persians, “*Tork*” is a sarcastic metaphor for a dumb or stupid person. This metaphor has become so popular that sometimes even Azerbaijani people too, may use it when a friend makes a funny mistake.

Facing such ethnic harassment has caused many Iranian Azerbaijanis, especially those living in Tehran and other Persian speaking cities, to be highly sensitive about their ethnic identity. Although Persians living in different cities of Iran have their own local accent in speech, they are considered as belonging to “us” by other Persians.

Otherness for the Republic of Azerbaijan’s citizens: A significant feature that distinguishes Iranian Azerbaijanis from those of the Republic of Azerbaijan is their paradoxical attitude towards Armenians. Following the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict between the Republic of Azerbaijan and Armenia, from the late 1980s to 1994 the citizens of the Republic of Azerbaijan assume Armenians as their sworn enemy, who committed atrocities in Karabakh city. However, Iranian Azerbaijanis never considered that war as their own, and have hosted a quite big Armenian diaspora living in peace for a long time in the city of Tabriz. Armenians live in one of the famous and rich neighborhoods of the city. Although their culture, religion, ethnicity and “blood” are far different from other citizens of Tabriz, they have been treated well in this city for a long time. Therefore, one of the major critics of Azerbaijani people in the Republic of Azerbaijan is questioning why Iranian people and government, especially their “brothers” in Iran who knew about the atrocities, keep good relations with Armenia and Armenians, their most hated enemy (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Nagorna Karabakh region: The conflicted area between the Republic of Azerbaijan and Armenia

Every time I asked my Armenian friends whom I knew for a long time since high school or university, they expressed their satisfaction with how Tabriz citizens treated them as members of a diaspora in the city. However, this causes Azerbaijanis from the Republic of Azerbaijan to look down on their “brothers and sisters” in Tabriz. They believe that even if Iran’s government has good relations with Armenia, Iranian Azerbaijanis should not let them stay in Azerbaijani speaking territories. Iranian Azerbaijanis sometimes travel to Armenia for pleasure and to enjoy more public freedom; however, Azerbaijanis living there despise such behavior. When they want to make closer friends with Iranian Azerbaijanis, they commonly ask them whether they have been to Armenia or not. If the answer is “yes” they commonly decide not to have a close friendship. Even in political relations between Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan, the issue of Armenia plays a significant role. Whenever Iran wants to share cultural events or enhance economic relations with Armenia, the Republic of Azerbaijan’s government reacts by downgrading its relations with Iran.

Since Armenia closed the routes to a separated part of the Republic of Azerbaijan territory after the war, people of the smaller part, Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic, became isolated. Thus they feel the effects of politics in their everyday life much more than the residents of the larger country. In my first trip to Nakhchivan in 2007, I was surprised when a young student asked me if he could find some Armenian girls in Tabriz to rape because he hated all Armenians. In another case, I met a medical student who wanted to become a military doctor to serve in a probabilistic future war between the two countries. In contrast, many Armenians in Iran settled mainly in Tabriz and Isfahan among other Iranian cities a long time ago, built some churches in conservative *Shia* cities of Tabriz and Isfahan, and enjoyed a peaceful life for many years. In Tabriz, they are even famous for being an honest, truthful and hardworking minority.

Otherness for Turkish people: It has been a subject of debate for a long time whether or not Azerbaijani people, in Iran or the Republic of Azerbaijan, are originally Turks. Recently, especially after Turkey sped up the process of modernizing the country, while Iran and Azerbaijan are still lagging behind, Azerbaijani people in both the Republic of Azerbaijan and all the widespread diaspora tend to consider themselves of “Turkish ethnicity”. There is a similar sentiment among Turkmen and Uzbek people. Some historical debates suggest that all Turks including Turkish people, Azerbaijanis, Turkmens and even some ethnic groups in eastern China used to belong to a larger nation that was once called “Turkistan”. They are thus searching for a way to prove that originally they were of the same ethnicity.

However, since Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan were not under the Ottoman Empire for a long time, this left a gap between them and the Turks living in contemporary Turkey. The current demography in most Eastern parts of Turkey is dominated by the Kurdish ethnicity which is far different from Azerbaijanis as well as other ethnicities in Iran. This fact has resulted in a situation where Iranians and Azerbaijanis find a completely different culture and language in the area across the Turkish border. Thus, there is a vast geographical area, occupied by Kurds, between Azerbaijanis and Turkish people belonging to Turkey (Figure 3). However, most Turkish citizens call Azerbaijani people as their brother, sharing the same blood and ethnicity with them.

While in a close relationship with many Turkish citizens, especially in Istanbul, I found few people who knew that a large Azerbaijani diaspora live in Iran. For Turks in Turkey, there is not much difference between Azerbaijanis in Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan; they find both groups of ethnic Azerbaijanis very close to themselves, and as speaking in a dialect of Turkish. However, in contemporary politics, Turks face serious conflicts with Kurdish residents of Turkey, and the most important issue for them is defending their territorial integrity and ethnicity against Kurdish secession. One could see significant discrimination against Kurdish people in Turkey, similar to ethnic discrimination against Azerbaijanis in Iran. Even though Turkish citizens respect their Azerbaijani brothers, they seem reluctant to participate in any nationalistic movement to support Iranian Azerbaijanis or against Armenia in favor of the Republic of Azerbaijan. Aiming to join the European Union as soon as possible, they want to look to the West rather than get involved in another ethnic conflict in Iran or the Republic of Azerbaijan. We may interpret their attitude

towards Azerbaijanis as neither rejecting nor accepting them. Instead, the nationalistic movements in Turkey define themselves as anti-Kurdish with the purpose of having a pure Turkish territory, but not aiming to have a united territory with Azerbaijanis or other ethnic groups who consider themselves originally Turks.



Figure 3. Kurdish inhabited areas in four nearby countries: Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. (Source: CIA fact sheet)

As Edward Said points out on defining ethnicity with the concept of “otherness”, one could see that three different “others” exist for the Turkish-Azerbaijani ethnicity. The Republic of Azerbaijan citizens define their ethnic identity as being different from Armenians. Iranian Azerbaijanis define their ethnicity under domination by Persians in Iran, and Turkish citizens shape their ethnic interest in response to the Kurdish threat, eager to define themselves as Europeans rather than Asians. So the three ethnic groups are fighting on three different fronts to gain an identity while each front seems to be independent from the others. Sometimes one ethnicity appears even to be helping the other groups’ enemies in so called conflicts of “us against them”.

Cultural fission, shaping different ethnic identities under Persian and Russian domination: During frequent travels to the Republic of Azerbaijan and while in contact with Iranian tourists there, I realized that Iranians usually were asked lots of questions about various cultural and political issues in Iran. Once I was in a wedding ceremony of a friend in Nakhchivan, thinking about differences in wedding customs and ceremonies in Tabriz and Nakhchivan, when the DJ played a “Persian song” for me as their “dearest Iranian guest” and asked me to perform a “Persian dance” for them. I was very surprised, since we always define ourselves as Azerbaijani rather than Iranian; when I am in a non-Azerbaijani city in Iran in a wedding, I am asked to perform an Azerbaijani dance. One could easily see that even though citizens of the Republic of Azerbaijan call Iranian Azerbaijanis as their brothers and sisters, they still believe that Iranian Azerbaijanis are Iranians who follow the Persian culture, not Azerbaijani.

The complete separation of Iran and Azerbaijan since 1828 after the treaty of Turkmenchay and spending more than seventy years under the domination of the Soviet Union has radically influenced the culture, language, religion and social values of people in the Republic of Azerbaijan while a similar situation occurred for Iranian Azerbaijanis under Persian rule. Nevertheless, sharing the same language and folklore plays a significant role in keeping the ties strong between them. In the following part, I am going to look at some of these similarities and differences between the two cultures.

Language is of central importance to ethnic identity, and it has been argued that language can work to prime either the original or host cultural identities (Hong et. al, 2000). Azerbaijani language spoken in Republic of Azerbaijan has gone through hard times switching from one writing system to the other. With changing the script three times, from traditional Arabic to Latin, from Latin to Cyrillic, and going back to Latin again, reflects an identity crisis caused by the changing social and political situation in the country.

Each of these changes was applied either voluntarily or under political pressure to shape the national identity of the country closer to the neighboring states. Yet these changes had benefits as well as challenges to the cohesion of Azerbaijani identity. Safizafteh (1998) describes the significant influence of these transformations on the identity of Azerbaijanis as: *“How can you speak about the identity of a people whose alphabet has been changed four times in the last seventy-five years?”*

Following independence, the Republic of Azerbaijan changed their alphabet from Cyrillic to Latin aiming to get closer to Turkey, both culturally and politically. These consecutive changes between different alphabets have led to a recreation and reformation of many Arabic rooted words in these two languages. However, since both countries have their education in their own language, gradually they have set a standard to spelling of different words from Arabic. Moreover, they have already set a standard for words which were pronounced with different accents in different geographical areas.

In Iranian Azerbaijan, the situation is far more complicated in terms of language and identity and quite unique. They speak in Azerbaijani, write in Persian and cite prayers in Arabic. However, their multilingual living has been challenged both internally and externally with either-or choices in the name of national identity or ethno-national consciousness (Safizadeh, 2013). Iranian people are educated in Persian using the Arabic script as in most other Islamic nations like the Ottoman Empire and Azerbaijan of the Russian empire up to 1928. However, Iranian Azerbaijanis never changed their script to Latin, even during a one year of declared independence from Iran under the name of Azerbaijan People’s Government from 1945 to 1946. Even today in Iran, the few books and magazines published in Azerbaijani, use Arabic alphabet. Iranian Azerbaijanis and especially the young generation receive no academic education in their mother tongue, so naturally they are confused when it comes to written communications. During my interviews, I found out that the situation has become more complicated since the rise of social media; they use computers with Arabic alphabet which lack specific characters in Turkish or Azerbaijani such as: “Ç Ğ İ Ö Ş Ü”. That is why they use English letters instead, but since there is no unified set of rules, nowadays, some Iranian Azerbaijanis prefer to speak in their mother tongue and write in social media fully in Persian to avoid any confusion. Moreover, since more vowels are used when writing with English letters compared to Arabic, it is easier to use English letters to show how a word is pronounced. This in turn can cause other problems such as emergence of different written versions of a single word due to different local accents.

In spite of all these confusions, differences and difficulties, both ethnic groups in North and South Azerbaijan can still understand each other easily, even though their language has been highly influenced by the Russian, Persian and Arabic languages, respectively. This can be seen as an important cultural link between them.

Hammond (1988) cites Durkheim noting that religion is a derivative of social circumstances that creates an enabling environment for involuntary acceptance of a way of life, especially as a consequence of group membership. For instance, people are made to manifest their sense of unity and belonging as a result of group membership through participation in rituals, ceremonies, belief systems or orientations and behavior towards symbols and objects perceived to be sacred and treated with sense of awe and wonder. Azerbaijanis both in the north and south follow the Shi’a branch of Islam; however, following the fall of the Soviet Union, a specific kind of vernacular Islam has been shaped in the Republic of Azerbaijan which is distinct from the Iranian version (Aliyeva, 2013). Such differences play a critical role on identity formation among Iranian Azerbaijanis who are known as conservative Shi’a Muslims in Iran, and are strongly influenced by the Shi’a definition of the post Islamic revolutionary Iran. Tabriz is one of the most conservative religious cities of Iran while Azerbaijanis of the Republic of Azerbaijan are not sensitive about Islamic regulations after being governed for a long time by the Soviet Union which discouraged religion. The Republic of Azerbaijan is still a secular country after independence. Few people in Baku or other cities of Azerbaijan would not drink alcohol because of Islamic rules. Their women, especially the young generation, rarely wear Hijab. There are mosques in cities and rural areas; however, their main usage is mostly for mourning and to conduct funeral ceremonies. People in their everyday life rarely go to mosque, except for a few clergies. During the month of

Ramadhan, restaurants are open and only a few people fast. However, in Tabriz, as well as other Azerbaijani cities of Iran, the majority of people are strictly religious. Most families are concerned about their women's Hijab. If someone wants to drink alcohol, even if they have a chance to find it in Iran where the use of alcoholic drinks is prohibited, they drink in private with some close friends to avoid social persecution.

In home decoration, fashion and clothes, and wearing of makeup, Iranian Azerbaijani women think that people in the Republic of Azerbaijan are lagging behind the modern world. They rarely follow the media of North Azerbaijan unless for some nostalgic films or songs, since they consider them as socially immature and pre-modern, while those in the Republic of Azerbaijan have the same conception about Iranian Azerbaijanis. I had several discussions with the young generation from Baku who judge Iran as a barbaric country ruled by Islamic clergies. They think that Iranians have no freedom, but their own country is secular and is a much better place to live compared with Iran.

For me, before my frequent travels to the Republic of Azerbaijan, it was quite obvious that I was from a minority ethnicity with roots in the Republic of Azerbaijan. My mindset completely changed, however, when I travelled many times to the Republic of Azerbaijan and faced many differences in culture, politics and everyday life customs between the two. Interaction with neighboring countries through traveling is one of the most influential components of cultural assimilation for ethnic groups (Berger and Huntington, 2002). Since 2008, the Iranian government has not required visa from citizens of the Republic of Azerbaijan; so many Azerbaijani people are travelling to various Azerbaijani cities in Iran, mostly for medical care. Nowadays if one goes to any hospital or famous clinic, one will find at least some travelers from the Republic of Azerbaijan. Since there are not sufficient health services and good doctors in the Republic of Azerbaijan and the cost of treatment is higher in their home country than in Iran, they prefer to travel to Tabriz to find good doctors who speak their language, and to access inexpensive and high quality surgery or medication. However, they usually complain that Iran subsidizes treatment just for "Iranians" and not for "foreigners". Although the treatment cost for Azerbaijanis is officially set by municipality at twice the usual fee of Iranians, most doctors charge foreign patients even up to five times more than Iranian nationals.

Most Azerbaijanis are well aware of this issue and always complain about being cheated by ordinary people, doctors, in restaurants, hotels, by taxi drivers, exchange shops and almost by everyone, despite being their "brothers". Most of them hire some driver/guide for a whole day from the border areas, who knows their dialect better than people in Tabriz, to help them translate in Persian or even in Azerbaijani language, as their language includes some Russian words. I interviewed some of them in a hotel in Tabriz where they expressed that for them it's more economical to be charged by an escorting taxi driver for their whole trip in Tabriz rather than being charged by individual drivers. Azerbaijanis from Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan, while expressing complements and suggesting that they belong to the same ethnic group, same blood, and are brothers and sisters, still do not regard the "other" one as truly brother or sister.

The first sojourners from Iranian Azerbaijanis to the Republic of Azerbaijan were some university students. Some rich Iranian Azerbaijani families, whose children failed to pass the difficult entrance exams of Iranian universities in engineering or medical sciences, send their children to rather expensive, low rank and low level educational universities in Baku and Nakhchivan which do not require an entrance examination for Iranians and foreigners. These students are well aware of the fact that the Iranian Ministry of Education will not recognize their diplomas as valid and they have to pass some requirements to get an equivalent valid diploma in Iran; however, they choose to study there since it is a good way to shortcut the entrance examination to dentistry or medicine or engineering in Iran. I have friends who are studying in those universities and usually do not want to speak about the situation in their universities, but when I asked from their Azerbaijani classmates, they told me that their professors take bribes to grade the students. They complain that to be a good student is not a matter of studying well, but of paying more.

Iranian students there commonly complain that they are being cheated everywhere for being foreigners. They say that their landlords usually charge them more by bringing some unreal excuses. Taxi drivers or shopkeepers do not treat them well either. Iranian tourists, whether Azerbaijani or Persian, mostly complain

that the Republic of Azerbaijan is a country with a bureaucratic system based on bribery. During my own travels to the Republic of Azerbaijan, I was asked several times to pay a bribe to police for no reason. Sometimes when passing across the border, custom officers would ask passengers to pay a large amount of bribe; otherwise they would not have the permission to enter the country. The police are especially too strict with foreigners. I heard from people in front of the Republic of Azerbaijan consulate in Tabriz how people from Tabriz had been cheated everywhere. No one recommends traveling to Baku with your personal car since most probably the police would stop the car asking for bribes, and if one resists, he may get a large fine without having broken any laws.

Nation-building influences Azerbaijani people both in the north and south: Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, new political discourses have arisen in all the emerging republics emphasizing cultural norms, values and locality. This suggests that the development of the new nations and states in the area involves the reconstruction of cultural, political and ethnic space, which is a characteristic of the twentieth century nation-state formation. In case of the Republic of Azerbaijan we could track the nation-building process in manipulating their language, dominance of ethnic Azerbaijani citizens of the nation and being anti-Armenian as the main symbols of national identity building in post-Soviet Azerbaijan.

In Iran, the cultural rights and political activities of the ethnic minorities has been severely oppressed for a long time. In the absence of mainstream distinct political movements, it is difficult to gather all Iranian Azerbaijanis under one united definition. In an anthropological approach, I asked some elderly Iranian Azerbaijanis how often their everyday life was affected by Azerbaijani identity in the early years of Islamic Revolution and during the 8 years of Iran-Iraq war period. Most ordinary Azerbaijani ethnic citizens, either in Tehran or in Tabriz, described themselves as under the full influence of Iranian nationality. Especially during wartime, Azerbaijani soldiers and commodores fought bravely and gained lots of praise from the government. The war helped the sense of Azerbaijani identity merge with Iranian national identity.

Iranian Azerbaijanis have played an active role in both the process of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and during the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988). In this era, the Iranian government used the concept of defending the nation against Iraqi invasion to create a national identity for all Iranians, regardless of their ethnicity. However, after the new independent Azerbaijan was established, Iranian Azerbaijanis took a different attitude towards this new political situation. Some political groups gained power through the support from north Azerbaijan and nationalistic movements. I interviewed some elderly nonpolitical citizens to explore their perception on their national identity. Many of the interviewees didn't feel that Azerbaijan needs to be independent from Iran; however, they believe that their right to learn their mother tongue at school should be recognized by the Iranian government. Some others felt that nothing had changed for them as an Iranian Azerbaijani. They never thought of joining the northern part since they believe that the land had belonged to them for a long time and they are quite comfortable in the current situation.

As mentioned in this paper, although Azerbaijanis in Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan do not have such a good relationship in their daily contacts in recent years, some nationalistic movements have grown among Iranian Azerbaijanis. However, their situation has changed dramatically over recent years. Two decades ago most Azerbaijanis might have preferred to speak Persian even in Tabriz, but the use of Azerbaijani language has now become commonplace, displacing Persian in most of the predominantly Azerbaijani areas of northwestern Iran. Ordinary Azerbaijanis in Tehran and elsewhere do not hesitate to speak in their native tongue, showing pride in their ethnic identity. Importantly, demonstrations for ethno-linguistic rights have become more frequent in Iranian Azerbaijan. Although they are often violently suppressed by the police, with the demonstrators routinely subjected to imprisonment, they still continue. Separatist flags of Southern Azerbaijan are occasionally displayed visibly overnight in Tabriz and other cities of Iran's Azerbaijan, along with posters advocating Azerbaijanis right to education in their native tongue. Some specialists like Atabaki (1993:182) have claimed that Iranian Azerbaijani speakers have lost their identity among Iranians, especially in recent years.

As a result of the imposed restrictions on any politicized expression of Azerbaijani identity, the focus of Azerbaijanis has since shifted to the realm of sports. The Tabriz-based *Tractor-Sazi* football club has earned massive support of ethnic Azerbaijanis across Iran, breaking all nationwide attendance records. Many thousands of Azerbaijani fans accompany the *Tractor-Sazi* football team to its matches, occasionally waving Azerbaijani flags and shouting politically-flavored slogans ranging from moderate demands to establishing school teaching in Azerbaijani, to emphasize on their distinct ethnicity:

“*Haray, Haray men Turkem; Azerbaijan bizim di, Afghanistan sizin di*” (Hey, lookout, I am Turkish”; “Azerbaijan is ours, Afghanistan is yours), explicitly supporting Azerbaijani separatism: “*Yashasin Azerbaijan, Kor olsun dushmanimiz; Tabriz, Baki, Ankara, biz hara farslar hara?*” (Long live Azerbaijan and down with those who dislike us, Tabriz, Baku, Ankara – our path is different than that of the Persians).

This, in turn, has contributed to growing tensions with the Persian fans, whose racist slur of “*Torke Khar*” (Turkish donkey) is returned by Azerbaijani fans: “*Fars dili, it dili*” (Persian dogs), which often results in violent clashes, especially during *Tractor-Sazi*’s matches with Teheran-based teams, *Persepolis* and *Esteghlal*. On 27 July 2010, following a match marked by mutual rounds of racial insults, *Tractor-Sazi* football club’s Azerbaijani fans engaged in violent clashes with the ethnic Persian fans of the Tehran-based *Persepolis* football team and Iranian police. During the clashes, dozens of fans were injured, and police jailed dozens of predominantly Azerbaijani fans. Concerned over the dramatically growing scope of Azerbaijani nationalism aired during *Tractor-Sazi* games, the authorities started to limit the number of predominantly Azerbaijani supporters that were allowed to attend the games (Souleimanov, 2011).

Mass demonstrations by ethnic Azerbaijanis protesting the drying up of Lake Urmia in northwestern Iran, the Middle East’s largest water reservoir and the third largest saltwater lake in the world, recently struck the cities of Iranian Azerbaijan. Environmental protests have been on the rise since August 2011 following the Iranian parliament’s refusal to accept an emergency rescue plan for reviving Lake Urmia, a lake that has the status of a UNESCO biosphere reserve. Regardless of the environmental issue, political secessionist and nationalist movements are using Lake Urmia and *Tractor-Sazi* club issues to make their point.

Conclusion

As discussed in the first part about the various forms of “*otherness*” for the three different Turkish ethnicities, it appears that there are three different ethnicities in differing geographical areas. The “*others*” for the Republic of Azerbaijan are Armenians; for Iranian Azerbaijanis they are Persians, and for Turkish citizens they are Kurds and Westerners.

One may object to this argument claiming that the same situation applies to Kurds in nearby areas, as they are surrounded by Persians, Arabs and Turks. Therefore, they also might be interpreted as having four different ethnicities of Iraqi Kurds, Iranian Kurds, Turkish Kurds and Syrian Kurds. I will respond that Kurds were not separated for a long period of time. Since the Republic of Azerbaijan for a long time was under the territory of the Soviet Union, it was totally separated from the main diaspora in Iran and those in Turkey; they have lost many cultural ties with the other areas. Thus, nowadays, it is doubtful that by sharing the same history and language, Azerbaijani-speaking people from Iran, Azerbaijan, and Turks of Turkey may still share the same ethnic identity under different political governance. Kurds, however, have always preserved their unity during different regimes in each of these four countries. Moreover, unlike the Azerbaijanis, Kurds have a hero leader, Abdullah Ojlan, currently in jail in Turkey, who is respected by all Kurds of those areas. Also, all of “*others*” for Kurds are non-friendly to them all, whether they are Persian, Turk, or Arab of Iraq or former Syria; Kurds are fighting in all four fronts. However, in the case of

Azerbaijani people, Armenians live in peace in Tabriz while they are considered enemies in northern Azerbaijan; northern Azerbaijanis do not hate Kurds or Persians.

The other reason is the geopolitical situation of Azerbaijanis in Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan. The border between these two areas in most parts is a river called Aras, which is quite wide and deep, making it very difficult to illegally cross the border. However, Kurdish areas consist of hills, rocks and caves which make it easy to commute illegally between the borders and establish some militias to cooperate in the fight against four different countries.

To explain the currently powerful nationalistic movement in northwest of Iran, especially in Tabriz, one can relate to Stuart Hall's theory of *constructionism*. Constructionism does not dictate one single approach towards the study of ethnicity and nationalism. Constructionists in general, however, put emphasis on contingency and the flux of ethnic and national identities. They perceive ethnicity and nationalism within the realm of social and political processes, as a product of human agency and a creative social act. If *primordialism* sees ethnicity and national identity as natural, fixed, homogenous and inevitable, constructionism perceives ethnic and national identities as contingent, heterogeneous, and subject to change, as the product of human interaction, history and politics (Hall 1990).

As it was discussed, being under the governance of different states has affected south and north Azerbaijanis differently. Therefore, there is a vast gap in the perception of different nationalist groups about a united Azerbaijani nation and the ordinary people's viewpoints in the Republic of Azerbaijan and Turkey about becoming a united nation. People in their everyday lives are complaining that the "other" brothers and sisters are cheating on them, and their own nationality and their own people are much better than the others. In this situation, nationalistic movements among Iranian Azerbaijanis do not seem to help with building a united Azerbaijan and secessionism, but appear as a movement against the central government in the hope of gaining some basic rights for the Azerbaijani ethnic minorities.

While people in these two territories do not trust each other and do not accept the other one as "us", how could one define these people as belonging to the same ethnicity? It may be the time to redefine our perception that the same ethnicity is not based on sharing the same history but rather on contemporary culture. Living a long time under the rule of the Soviet Union versus Iranian governance, Azerbaijani people are no longer the same; thus we can define two Azerbaijani ethnicities. The concept of ethnicity is fluid and subject to change; beyond a shared language and past history, it's difficult to find other cultural and political similarities between the two groups especially among the younger generations.

Nationalistic movements, nowadays, are using Azerbaijan and Turkish flags to invite people to demonstrate against the current Iranian regime. However, the people and government of the Republic of Azerbaijan and Turkey seem to be reluctant to support these movements. Therefore, nationalistic movements, as Hall points out, are thinking in the *primordialism* way. Some argue that Azerbaijan is one nation since people share the same language and ancient, not contemporary, history. However, Azerbaijan is no longer a single entity. The contemporary culture, social situation, politics and everyday life of people in these two countries are far different. Taking the constructionism view, we might redefine a new identity to these two currently different nations. By accepting that people in these two areas do not like and trust the "others", and their cultural roots and political trends have developed differently over a long period of time, we may split the Azerbaijani ethnicity into two different groups who are not the same ethnicity anymore: Iranian Azerbaijanis and Azerbaijan's Azerbaijanis.

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

Integration-oriented product development management in Japan - an application of product-customer matrix to KAO -

Seiichi Fujii¹ and Geunhee Lee²

Abstract

In this study, Product-Customer Matrix is suggested after a thorough literature review on the concept of value, in order to investigate how Japanese manufacturers have built their development management while emphasizing program integrative management. For the analysis, KAO Corporation, a Japanese leading company in the household goods industry was chosen as a case study. A series of analyses was conducted, such as situation analysis, situation comparison between 50 years ago to present, a comparison every ten years, and a comparison with other companies after having KAO's products categorized into different quadrants in the Product-Customer Matrix. As a result, KAO's business model that boosts the synergy effect between B-to-B Processed Products market and B-to-C Completed Products market has been clarified. Moreover, it is also determined that KAO has established its development management in accordance with its' wide variety of product group characteristics in the B-to-C Completed Products market.

Keywords: New business creation, Product-customer matrix, Program integrative management, Value integration.

Introduction

In the environment of the Japanese manufacturing industry, every single change has its own ambiguity, such as the development of information technology, the rise of the global market, and meta-national management aiming for the aggregation of resources scattered around the world. Uncertainty has been increased by the inherent complexity of these changes that are related to and are affected by each other. Due to such changes, consumers who now can gather, process, and send information at low-cost, which had been overwhelmingly dominated by companies, have acquired the means to enhance their own superiority. For this reason, totally new needs have emerged and various new businesses such as Google, Yahoo, and Rakuten have appeared in the information industry. Along with the creation of new industries, the importance of new business creation in the existing manufacturing industry has been pointed out before, such as in Kim and Mauborgne's Blue Ocean Strategy (2005) and Christensen's importance of radical innovation (1997).

In the research of project management, this kind of new business creation often starts from the program integrative management. The program integrative management in Project & Program Management is a concept of integrating multiple projects with a wider and higher point of view. This management seeks value in a process of chain reaction, after having insight from the project cycle (i.e., scheme model, system model, and service model) and utilizing the knowledge and know-how as a program. The goal of this type of value seeking activity is to pursue business value creation as a result of several new products and service development. Regarding this kind of business value creation, the movement of reconsidering the very definition of value has been pursued in each field of research. Service-Dominant Logic (hereafter, S-D Logic) (Vargo and Lusch 2004) in the field of marketing and Invisible Value (Kusunoki 2006) or Non-functional Value (Nobeoka 2010) in the innovation field are good examples that clearly explain the movement.

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Such a debate on the definition of new value in Japan has been led directly by the loss of direction in the Japanese manufacturing industry, along with the stagnation of the Japanese economy. Although the long-term downturn (i.e., the so called Lost 20 Years following the Lost 10 Years after the collapse of bubble economy) has continued, however, not all companies necessarily experienced the stagnation. There are also some prominent companies that lead the respective business industries. Some of these companies have kept a big advantage in the industry, moved ahead of the ‘follower’ companies, and continue business value creation activities.

Therefore, this study aims to determine the development management that successful companies have under the concept of a new definition of value in program integrative management. First, existing research will be reviewed regarding new concepts of value creation. Based on the findings from the literature review, a framework for further analysis will be presented. Secondly, a company (i.e., KAO Corporation) for the analysis will be selected in order to examine how the framework works for the company. Finally, both academic and practical implications for future study will be suggested.

Literature review on value creation

Program integrative management is composed of mission profiling that makes up the scenario in the long-term perspective, architecture management that designs and embodies the scenario from the module, and program strategic management that decides the best among the alternatives. Program integrative management ranging from the start of the entire process to the end (i.e., scheme model, system model, and service model) has a role to integrate the value of multiple projects over a long period of time. The integration of the value is not only for economic benefits, but also for the value of knowledge and competitiveness. Among them, the most important value is customer value. In recent years, a new debate about value has been active in both the marketing and innovation fields.

New proposal for customer value in the innovation field:

Researchers have set the research themes that can contribute to their domestic industries such as services research in Northern Europe, industrial goods marketing research in the Scandinavian countries, and financial research in the United Kingdom and the United States. In Japan, since the manufacturing industry’s contribution to the economy has been high as a whole, the research on value creation which is a major challenge of manufacturing companies has been carried out in recent years. According to Nobeoka (2010), product development and manufacturing no longer lead directly to value creation. Although most Japanese manufacturers have aimed for ‘High Performance High Cost’, it has become a mere ‘Pursuit of Customer Value Fantasy’. Positioning the value that has been pursued as a functional value, customers at present have begun to focus more on subjective non-functional value.

The value that customers want from the product is represented by the sum of the non-functional value and functional value, and in that case, the co-creation between customers and company is required. Also, manufacturing technology of an integral type that many Japanese manufacturers are good at is suitable to create a non-functional value that is important, especially for automobiles and home appliances manufacturers. Moreover, Nobeoka (2010) divides product development into two steps (i.e., understanding the customers as the first stage and planning and development stage to make the non-functional value as the second stage) and indicates that the criteria of non-functional value between industrial goods and consumer goods are different. In consumer goods, “self-expression value and external value” and

“attachment value and internal value” must be embedded in product development as a source of non-functional value, and this is why the second stage is important in this case. In industrial goods, on the other hand, the proposal of a product that can further increase the possibility of value creation (i.e., benefit and added value) of business customer is required. Therefore they should provide products or solutions in the position of their business customer at the first stage. Many aspects of the non-functional value presented in Nobeoka’s study (2010) overlap with those of what Kusunoki (2006), described as “value without dimension.”

In the first place, for the definitions of the value in this field, Pitelis (2009) states that there are two different concepts as value creation and value capture which are highly influenced by internal and external system making inside an organization, and there are also customers’ economic value and the systematically recognized value. This definition of value can be interpreted that the created value can be distributed among various players such as customers, even competitors, or suppliers involved in the value creation. That is, it can be regarded as a wider social value creation and value distribution.

Such a change of the direction of value creation in the manufacturing industry is also related to the fact that the main player of innovations has changed. As von Hippel (2005) and Ogawa (1998) discuss on information stickiness, it should be noted that the new movements of value creation activities are different from the traditional manufacturer-led value creation activities, or innovation activities. They reveal that information to solve the problem and to create new value lies deep inside the users themselves who have the problem, and the users cost their endeavors, time, and money to deliver the problem to product providers who they believe have the solutions. The information stickiness means the impediment that users have when communicating to others and the users themselves become the main constituents for innovation to solve this impediment by their own will. Von Hippel (2005) and Ogawa (1998) first argue about the industrial goods, or the B-to-B products between users and providers, but Ogawa (1998) later expands the study to B-to-C area. The study dramatically overturns the existing idea that traditional innovation is caused and achieved by product and service providers in the manufacturing industry (Ogawa 1998). This new movement is also widely witnessed in innovation activities such as the SPA that distributors cause, the development of private brand products, and “Makers Revolution” where individual innovation happens using information technology or 3D printers, for example. It clearly shows that the entity to determine the value begins to disperse (Anderson 2012).

New proposal for customer value in the marketing field:

It is the S-D Logic proposed by Vargo and Lusch (2004) that seeks to change the traditional concept of value fundamentally. They think customers as consumers are the center-piece and claim that value-in-context that occurs when a customer uses and consumes goods, is more important than the traditional value-in-exchange. In this case, customers perceive the service that encompasses the goods of traditional tangibles and the services of intangibles. It is totally different from the Goods-Dominant Logic (hereafter, G-D Logic) in the point that the subject of value judgment is the customer. At the same time, the application scope broadens. Thus, S-D Logic emphasizing the value-in-context is a broader concept of value-in-exchange which is important in G-D logic. Under this idea, value is created with the customers in the consumption process and determined by the customers through the usage, that is, value co-creation and co-production (Lusch and Vargo 2008). In other words, the customers (i.e., consumers or users) participate in value co-creation actively and positively and form their own value-in-context.

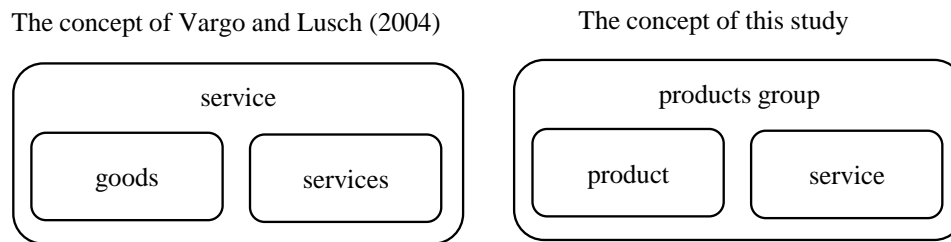


Figure 1. Comparison between the concept of Vargo and Lusch and this study
[provenance: modified previous articles by authors (Vargo and Lusch 2004)]

It should be noted that, in order to avoid confusion in the comparison with Vargo and Lusch's idea of "goods as the tangible and service as the intangible" (Vargo and Lusch 2004), this study adopts the conventional way of representation (i.e., product as the tangible, service as the intangible, and products group as the sum of product and service) as shown in Figure 1.

Before S-D Logic appeared, as a part of the genealogy, there was a discussion of service management or marketing. The discussion was conducted mainly on something excluding products as tangible goods and services as intangible goods, and was intended to highlight the unique management different from traditional products. For instance, Grönroos (2008) clarifies the difference between product and service arguing that product has the characteristics of tangibility, homogeneity, the separation of production, distribution, and consumption, materials, production in a factory, imperishability, and possibility to transfer the ownership, while service has the opposite (i.e., intangibility, heterogeneity, simultaneity of production, distribution and consumption, production by seller and buyer, perishability, and impossibility to transfer the ownership). He also states that the relationship with customers is also important because of the characteristics of simultaneity and perishability. As such, the discussion on service has been developed, while closely involved in the relationship marketing that puts emphasis on the customer relationships. According to Minami (2005), relationship marketing occurs and develops based on industrial goods marketing research in the 1980s and service marketing research mainly in Europe, then in the 1990s entered the American distribution researchers. In this development, Webster (1994) stresses that relationship marketing of consumer goods is different from relationship marketing of industrial goods. It is one of the reasons why consumers are only considered as customers in S-D Logic, while the logic is also expected to be adaptable in explaining industrial goods.

However, S-D Logic has several challenges in addition to the lack of empirical research due to the short period from its introduction despite its usefulness for providing the new concept for value. For example, Muramatsu (2010) indicates the three directions that can be used when the classification is done; according to 1) "the will of the subject" respecting how much consumers ask for the co-creation, 2) how much the company as value co-creator consider "the importance of customer value", and 3) what mechanism companies and consumers use to go through the "value co-creation process."

Knowledge obtained from literature review:

The new trends related to value have been explored using Nobeoka (2010) in the innovation field and Vargo and Lusch (2004) in the marketing field. It was common that they both have a clear separation between consumer goods and industrial goods. It is also determined that the original definitions of value were

different since they put greater emphasis on social value in the first place. But more emphasis was placed on internal organizational value creation activities in the innovation field believing that customers are the ones who determine the value in the marketing field. However, the necessity to start from the definition of customers' value is also recognized in order to capture the organizational value even in the innovation field in recent years, thus, the directions of both fields are consistent in this regard. The value-in-exchange of the S-D Logic is close to the functional value of Nobeoka (2010), when value-in-context corresponds to the non-functional value. Further, behind the circumstance where direction transformation of value occurs, we witness the rise of consumers beginning to have power by the remarkable development of information technology and their even more diverse values.

For example, Muramatsu (2010) argues that S-D Logic should be refined pointing out that there are various types of consumers in terms of individual value consumption under the consideration of the relationships among consumers' knowledge, skill, or its intention and capability. As shown in Table 1, he defines a consumer who affords all with high level of knowledge and skills as a self-sufficient person and a consumer who entrusts all to the organizational knowledge and skills as a producer, while putting a typical consumer in between. Alternatively, in accordance with the strength of intention and the level of ability (i.e., knowledge and skill), Muramatsu (2010) also presents four types of consumers (i.e., Type 1: Weak Intention and High Ability, Type 2: Strong Intention and High Ability, Type 3: Strong Intention and Low Ability, and Type 4: Weak Intention and Low Ability) in order to show that efforts for value co-creation are different. This indicates that there are various ways of getting involved in the process of defining and consuming value.

Table 1. Consumer type by their intention and ability
[provenance: modified previous articles by authors (Muramatsu 2010)]

		Intension		Type 1: Weak Intention and High Ability Type 2: Strong Intention and High Ability Type 3: Strong Intention and Low Ability Type 4: Weak Intention and Low Ability
		strong	weak	
ability	high	Type 2	Type 1	
	low	Type 3	Type 4	

More specifically, for example, if the goods are something in the consumer goods category such as pens or sugar, its base is too wide for a company to get involved in value-in-context actively and its buyers also do not wish producers to get involved, or even deny them to do so. In the case of industrial goods as well, buyers determine the application and value-in-context in response to their own situations, when the goods are such things as glue or screws that anyone can easily obtain for a low price at any time. In the innovation field, whether selecting the voice type to continuously conceive of the B-to-B relationship in a long-term context, or choosing the exit type to immediately end the relationship if there is any problem with the other party, this becomes an important strategy (Helper and Sako 1995). In the case of the exit type, value-in-exchange is considered more important than value-in-context. On the other hand, if knowledge and skills of the provider are considerably high and significantly different from those of the buyer (e.g., medical, cargo transport, and insurance), the buyer will be forced to become a type 3 or type 4 and focus on value-in-context.

Framework of analysis

Definition of Product-Customer Matrix

As we consider the new concept of S-D Logic, it was found that there need to be two types of classifications. One is the relationship of value between the producer and the buyer in case whether value-in-exchange or value-in-context is strongly required. When the value-in-exchange is strongly required, the buyer hopes transactions to end soon by the exchange, which is the concept of traditional G-D Logic, then wishes to freely explore value of his own accord. On the other hand, when value-in-context is strongly required, buyers actively perform creative activities and determine the ultimate value for products and services provided by producers.

Another type of classification is that of the relationship between the buyers and the providers of value, which dramatically changes depending on whether the customer is a mere consumer or an enterprise in the marketing field or in the innovation field. For this reason, previous studies have not discussed this tangent point much, since the two have been considered completely different. However, on the other hand, there are many large Japanese manufacturing companies that provide consumer goods, such as automobiles and home appliances as well as industrial goods. In innovation studies, it is an important decision-making aspect of technology management for consumer goods companies whether to choose “make or buy” (i.e., making decisions of developing and producing the core key components or units internally or not) or to choose “sell or not-sell” (i.e., making decisions of selling the developed products or not) (Nobeoka 2006). When thinking about the value creation activities of Japanese manufacturers, it is impossible to miss the relationship between consumer goods and industrial goods, or the synergy of those if represented more actively, in program integrative management focusing on value integration. Also, it is meaningful to incorporate industrial goods in the sense of finding the direction of development and challenges of S-D Logic.

Therefore in this study, we divide the products group of value providers into the Product-Customer Matrix (Figure 2). The horizontal axis represents the characteristics of the products group divided into "Completed Products" and "Processed Products". The term "Completed Products" in this case means when buyers are reluctant to co-produce or co-create since they only use the product to achieve the goal, stress the exchange, and do not have any tangent point with producers after they have obtained the product group. On the other hand, the term “Processed Products” means when buyers are eager to have some relationship with producers, emphasizing the context, and actively participating in value co-creation and co-production activities before and/or after they have obtained the product group.

Section of Products Group Section of Customer	Completed Products	Processed Products
BtoB for Companies	general-purpose POS, general-purpose Production Equipment, Business Automobile, etc.	Components, Units, Parts, etc. for attaching to Completed Products
BtoC for Consumers	Private Automobile, household Appliances, Foods, Ballpoint pen, etc.	Additional Parts, Customized Parts, etc.

Figure 2. Product-Customer Matrix [provenance: partially modified previous articles by authors (Fujii 2010)]

The vertical axis indicates "B-to-B for Companies" and "B-to-C for Consumers" as a customer segment. This reflects the fact that the differentiation between consumer goods and industrial goods has been clear in both marketing and innovation fields. However, the distinction in this figure does not intend to "consider separately after clarifying the difference" as in the traditional studies, but to "think actively the synergy of two sections", which is different with the conventional way of thinking.

The upper left quadrant of the matrix in Figure 2 represents a place where buyers do not add anything new after the purchase and use the product for the production activity as producers in order to offer the product group to the following buyers. The product group includes general-purpose POS systems, general-purpose production equipment, and commercial automobiles. The upper right is the product group with which buyers actively perform creative activities by adding something new and use them for production activities after the purchase, including parts and units as typical examples. The lower left includes automobiles and pens which are consumed for the achievement of the objectives of their own after purchase. Finally, the lower right represents the product group such as additional parts and customized products which are used to perform consumption activities, actively adding something new by buyers in order to achieve the objectives.

Research Methods

The goal of this paper is to analyze how long-term value creation activities of industry leaders have been performed and to suggest a future plan for program integrative management. Therefore, it is necessary to obtain long-term information for the investigation. Thus, this study adopts the method of using financial information, such as annual reports and securities reports that companies publish. The securities report is available because it has been published since 1961. It is also meaningful to use the securities report because of the provision of certain restrictions regarding the items by regulatory agencies, the ease of comparing among companies due to the uniformity of the contents, and the rapid development of laws. Furthermore, the effectiveness of the methodology has been already presented in several previous studies (e.g., Bowman 1976; Staw 1981; Kida 2006).

In this securities report, there is an item called "1) Consolidated Financial Statements" in "5-accounting status" where the segment information is located as well as the performance of the previous year(s) and the year of the company. This also contains the names of the key products and services as well as the performance of each business segment. By investigating the contents over a long-term period, it is possible to see how the main product and service have been changed during that time. In addition, another item: "1- summary of financial results" in "2- business conditions" can be used to check the self-analysis on products with high sales and newly developed products each year. Also the names of products and services that are planned to be developed for the future can be found in "3- challenges" and "6- research and development activity" in "2- business conditions". Mainly using this securities report as public information, this study also collects other supplementary public sources such as annual reports supplementing financial information, the company's webpage, magazines, and new papers.

After gathering the products and services in the long term, they were plotted in the Product-Customer Matrix (Figure 2) to analyze the contents and the evolution. In particular, since the goal of this study is to analyze how development management has been taken emphasizing program integrative management, it is

important to investigate the relevance of the four quadrants, that is, how the value and utility were integrated with each other having a synergy effect.

Analysis and results

Target company and period

KAO Corporation has been chosen as a target company. The procedure to select the company is as follows. First, with the overall view of the Japanese industry as understood through the 2013 industry map issued by Hitotsubashi Research Institute (2012), we investigated each industry-wide scale and the sales volume of each company. Then, we accessed corporate information database services "eol" provided by PRONEXUS Co., Ltd., and identified each company whose sales volume is the largest in its respective industry. The database service "eol" is a powerful tool to search securities statements, semiannual reports, sales reports, etc. of domestic listed and non-listed companies, helping to compare the company attribute information and industries. This also made it possible to grasp other industries that are not listed in the 2013 industry map, which further expanded the scale of industry than planned in the beginning. In addition, after obtaining the securities statements of the company and comparing the rival company presented by "eol" and the 2013 industry map by Hitotsubashi Research Institute, we picked up other companies in the industries and procured the financial statements of these companies.

For the next step, a comparison of sales volume of 10 industries (i.e., housewares industry, apparel industry, pharmaceutical industry, housing equipment industry, consumer electronics industry, confectionery industry, instrument industry, automobile industry, liquor industry, and housing industry) was conducted. As a result, the criteria for a leader company was set for a company whose sales scale was twice or larger than that of the second tier company and below for a period of more than 10 years. The selected companies were KAO in the household goods industry, TOTO in the housing equipment industry, YAMAHA in the musical instrument industry, and TOYOTA in the automotive industry. Among these, KAO Corporation was chosen as the target company, due to its detailed product description in the securities report over many years, the easiness to obtain the other materials related to the products, and the easy and direct access to the company employees to listen to their opinion, leaving three other companies behind for the future studies. Although the securities statements data can be obtained from 1961, the data from 1962 to 2012 was used for this study since the most recent data available is from the 2012 fiscal year at this time.

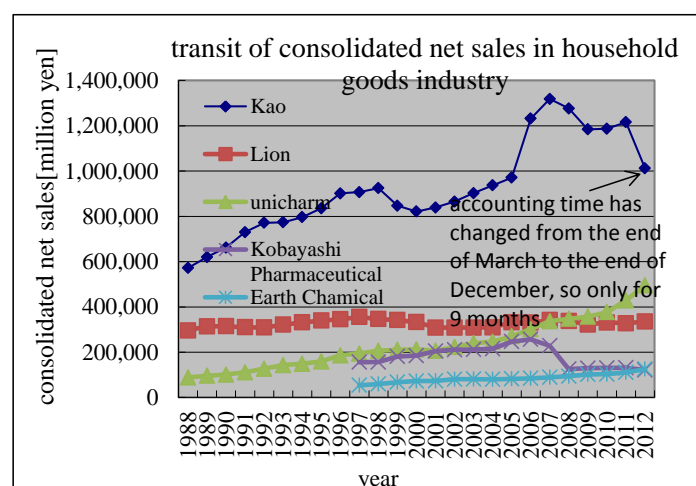


Figure 3. Comparisons of consolidated net sales in articles of daily use field [provenance: made by author]

The company is well known for its advanced marketing strategies (e.g., distribution and advertising) with the daily necessities products such as soap, shampoo, and detergent, which have grown with the development of the Japanese chemical industry. In addition, it has challenged many environmental issues, thus has a strong influence on the whole industry. As a result, in terms of the amount of sales as shown in Figure 3, it has always led the industry over the last 25 years.

Analysis: Program integrative management of industry leader KAO Corporation

Status of the fiscal year 2012:

The data from the fiscal year 1962 (from April 1, 1962 to March 31, 1963) to the fiscal year 2012 (From April 1, 2012 to March 31, 2013³) of KAO Corporation has been plotted into the Product-Customer Matrix.

From FIGURE 3, representing the fiscal year 2012, it can be noted that the specific weight of the lower left quadrant is overwhelmingly high. In addition, the products groups of B-to-B for companies are mainly born from the chemical business belonging to the upper right quadrant. In other words, the synergy of the arrow from the upper right to the other quadrants is strong as shown in the figure. KAO started its business producing soaps, a consumer product, but has grown the business, learning the technology and development of chemical products by riding on the development of the chemical industry in Japan. The share of R&D expenses related to chemicals is almost equal to the share of sales, while the share of the capital investment in chemical business such as fatty alcohols, fatty acids, and surfactants is slightly higher.

The fact that the chemical business is large-scale in nature, by the process production using equipment, that it has a top share in chemical products in the world, and that it has focused on the chemical business historically, can be conceivable reasons, but on the other hand, it also indicates that the business focuses mainly on the accumulation of capability such as know-how and technology that can be obtained by the mass production. Thus, it can be thought that by continuously developing and producing products that belong to the upper right quadrant, the company intends to have a synergy of R&D or production capacity inputting products to the other quadrants on ongoing basis. Arrows shown in Figure 4 explain that the capability developed in the right upper quadrant as the core technology, has expanded to different products that are located in the other quadrants. This synergy is a strategic movement that can be referred to as “Core Technology Application Synergy”.

Section of Products Group Section of Customer	Completed Products	Processed Products
BtoB for Companies	home care products for business, cosmetics by counseling etc.	commercial-use edible fats and oils, fatty alcohol, fatty acids, surfactants, fragrance and aroma chemicals, toner/toner binder etc.
BtoC for Consumers	self-selection cosmetics, beverages, sanitary napkins, baby diapers, bath additives, laundry detergents, kitchen cleaning products. etc.	cooking oil, refill, paper products for vacuum cleaner, cosmetics by counseling etc.

Figure 4. Product-Customer Matrix of KAO in 2012 [provenance: made by author]

³ Since KAO changed the fiscal year system, the fiscal year 2011 is from April 1, 2011 to March 31, 2012 and the fiscal year 2012 is from April 1, 2012 to December 31, 2012. After this, the fiscal year 2013 is from January 1, 2013 to December 31, 2013.

Comparison of 50 years

KAO's net sales for the 50 years prior to 2011, as in Figure 5, shows a stagnation since the mid-1999's, but has increased sales almost consistently over the long term. The evolution of this business expansion was analyzed from the perspective of the Product-Customer Matrix.

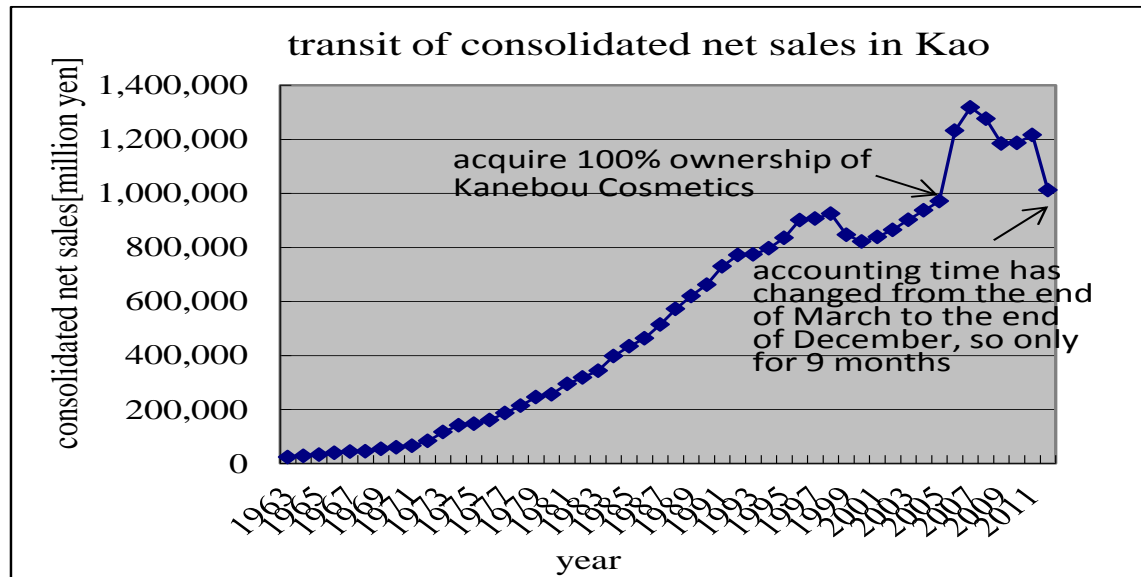


Figure 5. Transit of consolidated net sales for 50 years since 1962 [provenance: made by author]

From the comparison of Figure 4 showing the 2012 fiscal year and Figure 6 showing the 1962 fiscal year, the following can be drawn for the 50 years preceding 2011; 1) products for business use have appeared in the upper left quadrant, 2) product line of the lower left quadrant is substantial, 3) the lower right quadrant also shows the improvement of products, and 4) the turnover of products such as fragrance or toner binder can be seen in the upper right quadrant. Particularly remarkable is the adequacy of the lower left quadrant. It is noticeable that the company has developed each consumer brand and goods that can penetrate deeply into society, such as laundry detergents, household cleaners, cosmetics, bath salts, facial cleansers, body cleansers, dishwashing detergent, beverages, disposable diapers, and sanitary products. Additionally, business-use product development of these commercial products has also been made. It can be considered that KAO could establish a new distribution structure based on the acquisition of new customers in B-to-B and B-to-C businesses. The changes in product groups indicate the transition of the business model.

Section of Products Group Section of Customer	Completed Products	Processed Products
BtoB for Companies		glycerin, fat acid, surface acting agent, chloroethene plasticizer
BtoC for Consumers	soaps, laundry detergent	cooking oil

Figure 6. Product-Customer Matrix of KAO in 1962 [provenance: made by author]

Changes every 10 years:

Figure 7 shows the Product-Customer Matrix of every 10 years from the fiscal year 1962. As noted in the comparison of the 50 years prior to 2011, the active new product introduction to the B-to-C Completed Products in the lower left and the turnover of B-to-B Processed Products market in the upper right is noticeable. According to the published information from KAO, there are the laundry detergent “Zabu” in 1960, the shampoo “Merit” in 1970, the residential detergent “Magiclean” in 1971, the sanitary napkins “Laurier” in 1979, the facial washer “Biore” in 1980, the cosmetics “KAO Sofina” in 1982, the bath salts “Bub” in 1983, the disposable diapers “Merries” and the body cleansers “Biore u” in 1984, the residential cleaning tool “Quickle Wiper” in 1994, the edible oil “Econa cooking oil” in 1999, and the beverage “Healthy green tea” in 2003 as new input to the B-to-C Completed Products market. On the other hand, there is also a Completed Product such as a floppy disk, which is rare case.

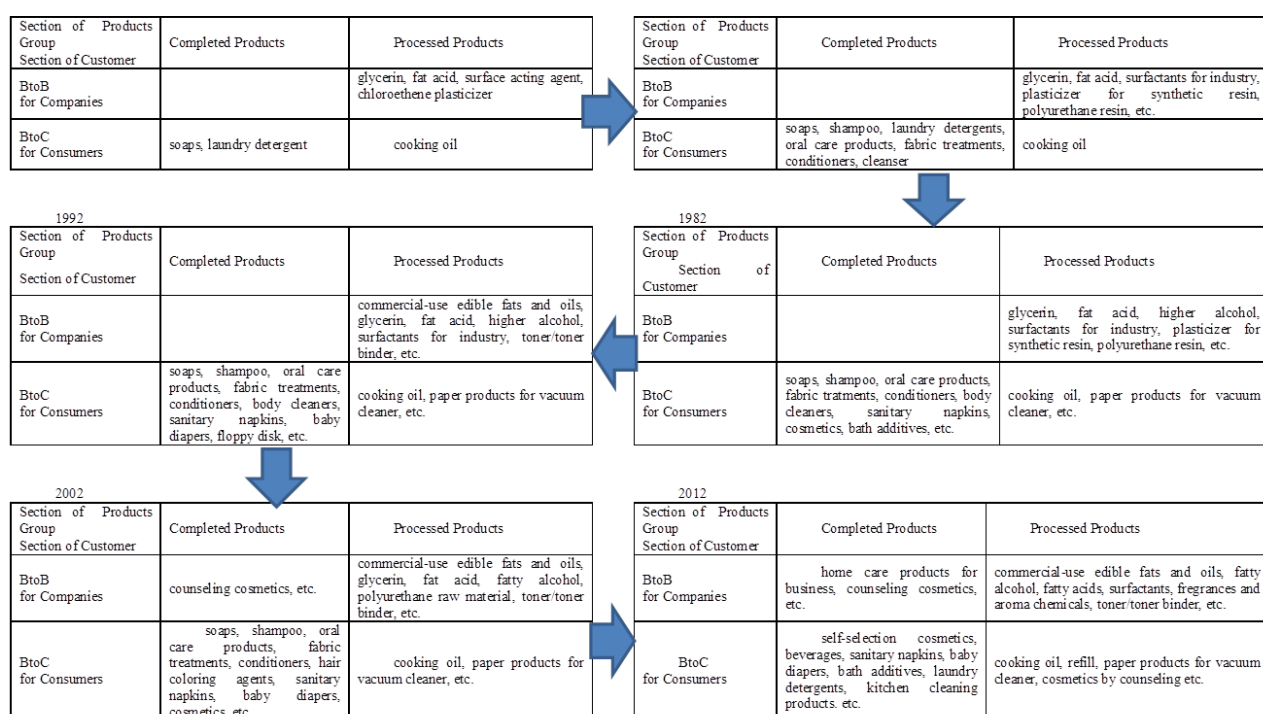


Figure 7. Transit of Product-Customer Matrix in each decade since 1962 [provenance: made by author]

Further, in the B-to-C Processed Products market, although glycerin and fatty acid have become the main products of the business over the long term while polyurethane resin, raw materials, or vinyl chloride among the plasticizer are not easily found, such products as toner or fragrance have also become the new main product group in the last 10 to 20 years.

In addition, KAO often carried out a review of the product category with the replacement or enhancement of product groups. Although the company only had small categories of four that cannot be called as an original business (i.e., soaps and detergents, oil and fat products, surfactants, and plasticizers) at the beginning of 1962, it later divided its categories into two as household products and industrial products after the 1970s. In the 2000s, the categories were divided into three groups: household products, industrial products, and cosmetics business. As seen in Table 2, however, the segment information has been reported since 2009 with four categories as beauty care business, human health care business, fabric and home care

business, and chemical business. The classification of these can be considered as its clear intention about future product development, although KAO itself announces that it is customized based on their customers' standpoints.

Table 2. Major products by reportable segment [provenance: quote from News Release 2013 by KAO⁴]

Consumer Products Business	Beauty Care Business	Cosmetics	Counseling cosmetics, self-selection cosmetics
		Skin care products	Soaps, facial cleaners, body cleansers
		Health care products	Shampoos, conditioners, hair styling agents, hair coloring agents
	Human Health Care Business	Food and beverage products	Beverages
		Sanitary products	Sanitary napkins, baby diapers
		Personal health products	Bath additives, oral care products, men's products
	Fabric and Home Care Business	Fabric care products	Laundry detergents, fabric treatments
		Home care products	Kitchen cleaning products, house cleaning products, paper cleaning products, commercial-use products
Chemical Business		Oleo chemicals	Fatty alcohols, fatty amines, fatty acids, glycerin, commercial-use edible fats and oils
		Performance chemicals	Surfactants, plastics additives, superplasticizers for concrete admixtures
		Specialty chemicals	Toner and toner binder for copies and printers, ink and colorants for inkjet printers, fragrances and aroma chemicals

Comparison with other companies

Figure 8 is YAMAHA's Product-Customer Matrix for the 2012 fiscal year, whose main product is musical instruments. The figure indicates that the lower left, B-to-C Completed Products market is the core quadrant.

Section of Products Group Section of Customer	Completed Products	Processed Products
BtoB for Companies	commercial online karaoke equipment, routers, conferencing systems, factory automation equipment etc.	semiconductors, automobile interior wood components, plastic parts, etc.
BtoC for Consumers	pianos, digital musical instruments, string instruments, percussion instruments, golf products, etc.	music schools, piano tuning, music entertainment business, resorts facilities, etc.

Figure 8. Product-Customer Matrix of YAMAHA in 2012 [provenance: made by author]

⁴ Note the website of KAO, "Product History: KAO Corporation" (August 8, 2013)

The most remarkable characteristic of YAMAHA is the strong relationship between the B-to-C Completed Products market and B-to-C Processed Products market. Particularly the music school was a very important business in order to disseminate musical instruments to every household from the 1960s to the 1980s. Currently, the music school has diverse programs such as special classes for the elderly, mainly the baby-boomer generation, online schools, English schools, and schools for caregivers.

Also, the know-how related to communication technology and information technology obtained by the electronic musical instrument has contributed to new product introductions in the B-to-B Completed Products market and production technology, such as wood processing, is utilized to mold automotive interior parts. By comparing KAO and YAMAHA, the difference between the positioning of a core business has produced completely different Product-Customer Matrixes.

Summary

KAO's Product-Customer Matrixes have been analyzed in terms of the most recent one, a comparison of the 50 years prior to 2011, a change every 10 years, and a comparison with other companies. As a result, it has been clarified which area is the core, how synergy is obtained, how the deployment of business has been done, and what kind of business characteristics we can find. These patterns obtained by the core technology and core markets have become the *raison d'être* (i.e., reason for existence) of the company, strongly affected by a product that became the main product of business from the beginning of the company's establishment. Meanwhile, it was determined that product lines are small in the B-to-B Completed Products market, yet there is the possibility of new business development by considering the product development in this area in the future.

In addition, it is determined that reconsidering the meaning of Completed Products and Processed Products is necessary, while classifying different products into the matrix due to the characteristic of the KAO's product group related to the value-in-exchange and the value-in-context by customers. For example, in the case of beverages, it is positioned in the lower left quadrant, that is, B-to-C Completed Products. Consumers typically buy and drink a beverage and do not seek any tangent point with the provider, in this case KAO. However, the situation is slightly different in cases of laundry detergents and fabric treatments. There is the big difference in accordance with the motivation, know-how, and skills of consumers about the product. In case of the laundry detergent, for example, a single male who lives alone would put the laundry in the washing machine, add the laundry detergent without thinking, and dry the laundry in the room. However, in the case of a female who wants to wash her precious dress at home, would take a different pattern. She might take actions after a careful investigation of the fabric and the level of dirtiness, and a thought of how to use the laundry detergent under what conditions. A housewife with a large family would also attempt to achieve her goal of washing after the thoughts of what to wash with, how much detergent to use, and how hot the water should be. In fact, a variety of notes are written on the packaging boxes of laundry detergent, such as material of clothes, the ingredients and the risks, the amount of water for the type of washing machine, and pre-processing.

When a consumer uses a product in the wrong way and has a bad result, then the consumer would think the problem comes from the laundry detergent and might not lay a hand on it again. Also, consumers have various situations that change all the time. Under such circumstances, consumers would want to cast various questions to providers or manufacturers. How the company corresponds to those questions could

affect the sale of the laundry detergent. For this reason, KAO has established the "Kao Communication Center" and has tried to smoothly address consultations with its consumers. This communication center is linked with the "KAO Echo System" in the company, not only used to answer their consumers rapidly, but also used to distribute information internally for the next product improvements as the needs for new products. As an example of the famous product improvement that was born in the function of this center, the company developed a container for shampoo and conditioner that has convex superior portion on only the top of shampoo for those people who are visually impaired. This idea has spread as a standard correspondence in the industry at present, by means of KAO.

If the example of laundry detergent is applied to the discussion of S-D Logic, there are cases where the consumer as purchaser pursues the value-in-exchange or where he or she seeks value-in-context that can be used to co-create and co-produce with manufacturers. It might depend on the consumer himself, or the circumstance where the consumer is placed. Based on these discussions, Figure 9 can be drawn considering whether it is the Completed Products strongly seeking value-in-exchange or the Processed Products strongly seeking value-in-context, using the characteristics that KAO's B-to-C products group has. Some only strongly require the value-in-exchange, while others seek a wide variety from value-in-exchange to value-in-context by a wide range by the consumer of situation.

While responding to its customers' needs making the product's package correspondingly when the value-in-exchange is strong, KAO establishes a system internally to support consumers who seek the co-creation or co-production after their purchase. This movement corresponding to the characteristics of products is the way of development management that has been cultivated, while continuously introducing new products in the B-to-C Completed Products market over the long term.

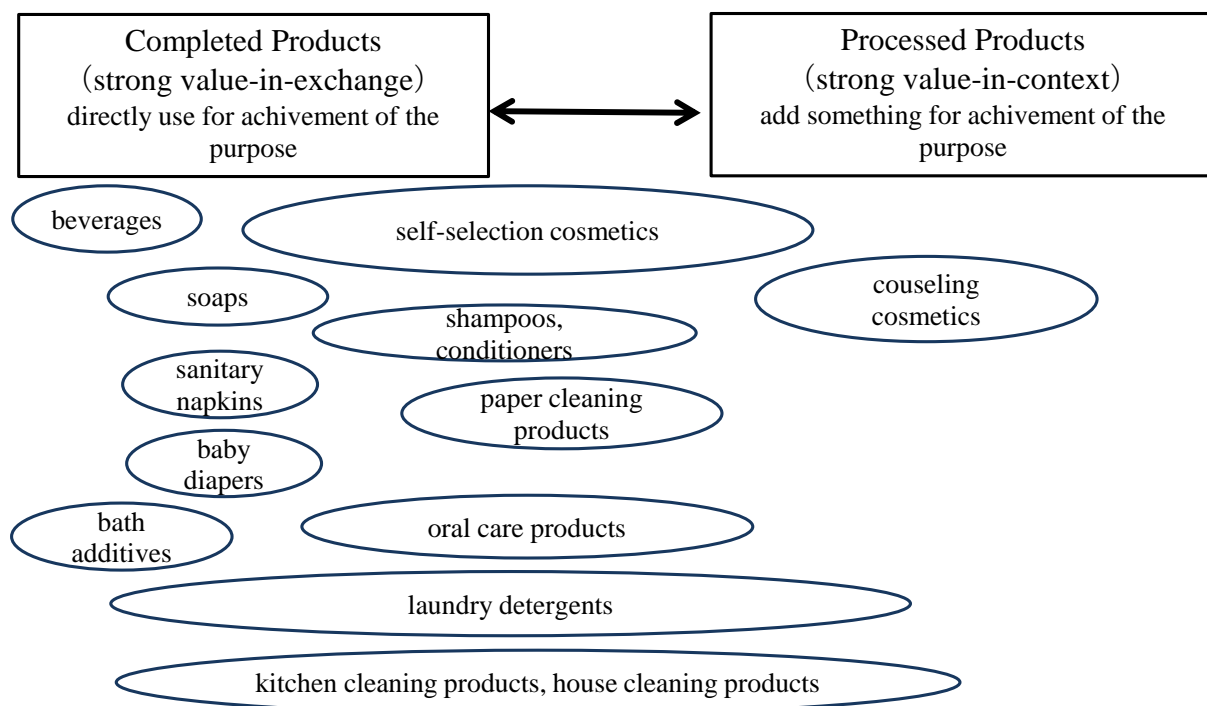


Figure 9. The characteristics of KAO's B-to-C products group [provenance: made by author]

Discussion and Conclusion

At first, this study reviewed an advanced concept regarding value in order to analyze how Japanese manufactures have built development management while emphasizing value integration. Secondly, a Product-Customer Matrix was developed that incorporates these value concepts. Then, after choosing KAO Corporation, a leading company in household goods industry as an example, the product groups of KAO were plotted in the Product-Customer Matrix using public information such as securities reports. Also, management development related to product development of KAO has been revealed through the current situation, the comparison between the current period and fifty years ago, the consideration on change every 10 years, and the comparison with other companies. The revealed result clearly shows KAO's business model thoroughly injecting the know-how and technologies developed in B-to-B Processed Products market into B-to-C Completed Products market over the long-term continuously. In addition, it is also understood that as the possibility of future business development, there are less number of products in B-to-B Completed Products market. Moreover, this study finds that products group positioned in the KAO's B-to-C Completed Products market may have a wide range of properties from the Completed Products to the Processed Products depending on purchasers', or consumers', motivation, knowledge, skills, or the circumstances that they are in. And, KAO has built the development management corresponding to this breadth.

There are three remaining challenges. First, although this study only focused on KAO, there were three other companies, TOTO, YAMAHA, and TOYOTA. Comparison analysis was performed in the part of this paper using YAMAHA as an example, but was not sufficient. It is believed that by applying this framework to the three remaining companies, the potential for business and new patterns of business models in the future of the respective companies can be drawn. Next, although the result drawn from KAO's Product-Customer Matrix is something that can be referred to as "Core Technology Application Synergy", there was another type of synergy found from YAMAHA. This synergy is important in development management integrating value, thus it will be also meaningful to explore the synergies that are common to several companies. Finally, since sometimes it is difficult to distinguish whether some products are Completed Products or Processed Products, or whether value-in-exchange or value-in-context, it is necessary to consider how this problem can be solved and reflected in the Product-Customer Matrix. To do so, it is required to investigate the characteristics of each product in more detail. This is also one of the limitations of this study.

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ORIGINAL RESEARCH:

観光まちづくりの現状と阻害要因 ―行政担当者を対象にしたアンケート調査結果の報告 (A report on the present status and impediments to tourism-based community development: the perspective of municipalities)

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Abstract

This paper is part of a project supported by the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science and reports on tourism-based community development. The study identifies the present status and impediments to tourism-based community development. The data for this study was collected by means of a structured questionnaire administered to government officers who were closely involved in tourism-based community development. The questionnaire also allowed respondents to make comments. Among the 1963 questionnaires administered, 798 valid questionnaires were obtained. Of the respondents, 95.9 percent answered that they were involved in tourism-based community development practices and 61.2 percent answered that they had started tourism-based community development since 2004. The study found that tourism resources conservation was the most popular activity of the administrative officers while securing financial resources was their least important activity. Respondents differ in terms of self-evaluation: While 39 percent of government officers report that the number of tourists has increased; 25.1 percent disagrees with this claim. The most important impediments to tourism-based community development include accessibility to areas of tourist attractions, lack of planning, gap in the understanding about the importance of community based tourism between government officers and local people, lack of coordination among groups involved in tourism-based community development, difficulty of branding community based tourism (optional tour) and securing independent finance.

Keywords: Impediments, Municipalities, Present status, Self-evaluation, Tourism-based community development.

1. はじめに

観光を通したまちづくりを意味する観光まちづくりの実践は、現在、日本各地で展開されている。観光研究においても、観光まちづくりは主要な研究テーマの一つになっており、数多くの研究業績が蓄積されている。しかし、従来の観光まちづくり研究においては、ケーススタディーや成功例を元にした実践的マニュアル化が主流になっており（西村編 2009；十代田編 2010）、観光まちづくりにかかわる地域内外の多様な主体の関係性やその間で生じる軋轢や葛藤、そして交渉の詳細には十分な関心が払われてきたとは言えない¹⁾。勿論、観光まちづくり研究において、すでに上述した問題は指摘されてきたが（須藤 2006；野田 2013；四本 2014）、成功事例の提示及び実践的マニュアル化を目指す研究動向は続いている。他方では、近年に日本各地の観光協会の観光まちづくりの取り組みの実態に関する報告はあったものの（日本観光振興協会 2012）、観光まちづくり実践の全体像に焦点を当てる研究が蓄積されていないことも観光まちづくり研究の課題であるといえよう。

そこで、本研究では、政令指定都市の区を含む、全国の都道府県、市町村の観光まちづくりにかかわる行政担当者を対象に観光まちづくりの現状と自己評価、阻害要因に関するアンケート調査をおこなった。先述した観光まちづくり研究におけるマニュアル化の傾向は、観光まちづくり

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の政策化の影響によるものであり、従って行政側にのみ焦点を当てることは十分な分析視角とは言えないことは確かである。しかしながら、行政が観光まちづくり実践の重要なアクターの一つであることに変わりなく、行政担当者の視点を行政側の言説として捉えることも観光まちづくりの全体像を理解するためには必要な研究課題であると考え、本稿では、自治体が捉えた観光まちづくりの取り組みの現状と自己評価、そして阻害要因に関する単純統計分析の結果を報告する。

2. 調査の概要

2014年4月から8月にかけて「観光まちづくりにおける阻害要因に関する実証的研究」のアンケートの構成に関する議論を行い、関連する書籍、文献を参照しながら、①観光まちづくりの取り組みの詳細と自己評価、②観光まちづくりの阻害要因、③観光まちづくりへのかかわり方、④観光まちづくりに関する自由記述、の4つの内容に区分した上で、其々の内容におけるカテゴリ設定と詳細な質問項目を決めた²⁾。例えば、観光まちづくりの取組内容に関しては、観光資源の保存と活用、新たな魅力と市場づくり、観光地の特性の把握、観光地のブランド形成、将来ビジョンの策定、滞在のための仕組みづくり、観光推進組織の実行力向上、観光財源の確保にカテゴリ分け及び質問項目を決めた。一方、観光まちづくりの阻害要因は、観光地の特性把握、将来ビジョンの策定と関連組織の巻き込み、新たな魅力づくりと市場創出、組織と人材、人間関係、ブランド形成、財源の確保の小区分を試みた。なお、観光まちづくりの取り組みの詳細に関しては、複数回答可とし、観光まちづくりに対する自己評価と阻害要因の質問項目には、5段階評価法を用いた。

その後、同年8月下旬に日本全国の地方自治体（都道府県庁、区、市町村）の観光まちづくりの関連部署」という宛てに、政令指定都市の区を含む、全国の都道府県、市町村の1963箇所アンケート用紙を郵送した。郵送する際には、アンケートに加え、調査依頼書を作成し、立命館アジア太平洋大学の承認を受けた。そのなかに、回答の締め切りを9月末まで設定していることも記載し、約2か月の間に回答して返送できる期間を設けた。10月中旬頃まで計799部（住所不在で戻ってきた1通を含む・有効回答は798部）が回答され、回答率は40.65%であった³⁾。その後は、返答されたアンケート内容をSPSSに入力する作業を行った⁴⁾。

3. 回答に関するまとめ

まず、アンケートの回答の内的整合性はCronbachの α 係数を算出したところ、自己評価（14項目）、阻害要因（46項目）、それぞれ0.881、0.906となり、妥当な値が得られた⁵⁾。回答した地方自治体の行政区分を見ると、都道府県庁が22件（有効パーセント：2.8%）、区が21件（2.6%）、市が376件（47.4%）、町が310件（39.1%）、村が64件（8.1%）、不明が5件あった。地域別にみると、回答数が最も多かったのは、79件（79/190）の北海道だったが、回答率で見ると、71%の（15/21）佐賀県が最も高く、次に岩手県（22/34、65%）、石川県（13/20、65%）と続く（別紙の図11参照）。

（1）観光まちづくりの取組みの現状

まず、観光まちづくりに取組み始めた年であるが、有効回答480（欠損値：318）の内、2005年が47件で最も多く、次に2012年の31件、2011年と2013年が29件、次に2006年が28件、2004年が27件、2010年が26件の順であり、小泉内閣の下、観光まちづくりの政策化が行われた2004年以降の割合が63.5%であった⁶⁾。一方で、回答のなかには、1877年、1906年、1916年、1940年、1945年が各1件、そして1950年代から内発的発展論が広がった70年代の終わりまでの間に観光まちづくりがすでに始まったと捉える行政関係者も65件と少なくないことが分かる⁷⁾。実際、安村（2006）が指摘しているように、観光まちづくりの成功事例として知られている多くの事例は1970年代半ばからその実践が始まったとされるが、それ以前から観光まちづくりは始まったと捉える行政関係者もいることは、観光まちづくりという概念が非常に幅広い認識で捉えられ

ていることが伺わせる。

観光まちづくりに取り組んでいるかどうかに関する質問（複数回答可）に対し、33 件が取り組んでいないと答えており、回答した 798 の有効アンケートのなかで取り組んでいるのは 765 件になり、95.9%が観光まちづくりに取り組んでいる。

取り組んでいない自治体が挙げた主な理由は、一）観光資源が乏しい、二）観光まちづくり政策を持っていない（ベッタタウンである、原子力発電による振興等があり必要性を感じない等）、三）組織がない、四）人員が足りない等であった。

行政以外に観光まちづくりの活動をおこなっている団体があるかどうかについては、703 件（89.3%）がそのような団体があり、84 件（10.7%）がなかった（欠損値：11）。したがって、約 9 割の地方自治体で行政以外に観光まちづくりを実践している団体がある。その中身をみると、観光協会が 568 件（80.8%）で最も多く、商工会議所が 307 件（43.7%）、地域住民組織が 205 件（29.2%）、NPO が 191 件（27.2%）、旅館組合が 111 件（15.8%）、その他が 90 件（12.8%）であった。

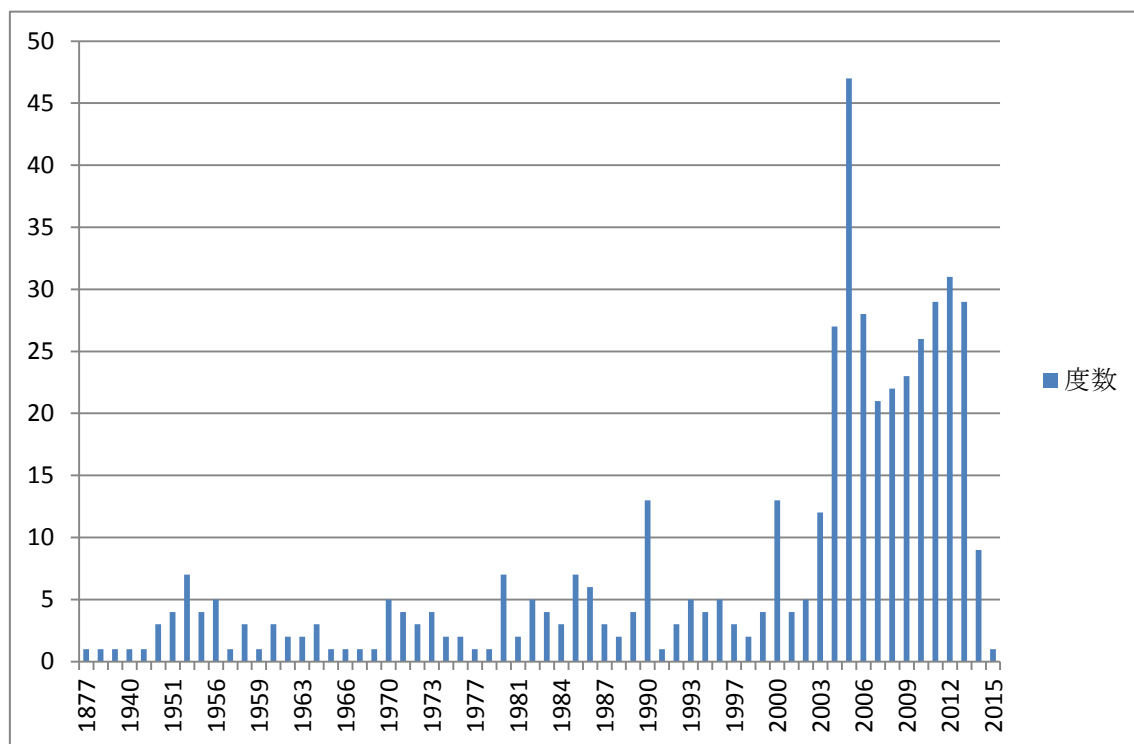


図1 観光まちづくりの始まった年度

(2) 観光まちづくりの取り組み内容

次に、行政として具体的にどのような観光まちづくりの取り組みをしているのかという選択肢の質問（複数回答可）に答えてもらった。この 8 項目の選択肢とその中のサブ項目は観光まちづくり関連の文献調査により拾い出し、分類したものである。

取り組みが多い順に、①観光資源の保存と活用（460 件、60.1%）、②新たな魅力と市場づくり（452 件、59.1%）、③観光地の特性の把握（443 件、57.9%）、④観光地のブランド形成（415 件、54.2%）、⑤将来ビジョンの策定（369 件、48.2%）、⑥滞在のための仕組みづくり（340 件、44.4%）、⑦観光推進組織の実行力向上（308 件、40.3%）、⑧観光財源の確保（155 件、20.3%）、という回答であった。

この結果から見ると、観光資源の保存と活用、新たな魅力と市場づくり、観光地の特性の把握、観光地のブランド形成の 4 つの取り組みには半分以上の行政が取り組んでいることが確認で

きる。また、将来ビジョン策定や滞在のための仕組みづくり、観光推進組織の実行力向上にも約4割の行政がかかわっている。一方、観光財源の確保は取組みのなかで最も低く2割を切っている。

以下、上に挙げた8項目の観光まちづくりの取組みのそれぞれについてさらに詳細に見ていく。

①観光資源の保存と活用の取組みの中で、具体的な活動で多い順に、観光施設の整備（277件、60.2%）、自然環境の観光資源化（275件、59.8%）、地域の生活文化の維持（98件、21.3%）、住民主体の町並み保存（98件、21.3%）、田んぼなどの環境保全（71件、15.4%）、施設の用途転換による観光活用（55件、12%）、マイカーや駐車場規制等の交通管理（34件、7.4%）、資源の適正利用の地域ルールづくり（23件、5%）、観光資源の運用モニタリングの仕組み作り（21件、4.6%）、その他（29件、6.3%）という回答であった。

②新たな魅力と市場づくりの詳細は、まちあるき開発（258件、57.1%）、観光イベント創出（233件、51.5%）、伝統的な祭りの維持復活（207件、45.8%）、外国人観光客誘致（170件、37.6%）、旅行会社と連携（152件、33.6%）、生活文化の観光資源化（151件、33.4%）、グリーンツーリズム推進（145件、32.1%）、観光圏の組織化（95件、21%）、MICE誘致（71件、15.7%）、エコツーリズム推進（63件、13.9%）、芸術祭開催（41件、9.1%）、高齢者や障害者観光客の誘致（30件、6.6%）、新たな地域文化創造（23件、5.1%）、その他（35件、7.7%）であった。

③観光地の特性を把握する取組みの具体的な中身は多い順に、宝探し（226件、51%）、観光統計分析（189件、42.7%）、生活・文化・歴史の調査（156件、35.2%）、施設・インフラ調査（132件、29.8%）、観光客の市場調査（116件、26.2%）、自然調査（85件、19.2%）、観光地評価と方向性策定（75件、16.9%）、その他（14件、3.2%）であった。

④観光地としてのブランドを形成する取組みの詳細は実践の多い順に、メディアを通じての発信（294件、70.8%）、ウェブサイトなどの開設（276件、66.5%）、ご当地キャラの開発（198件、47.7%）、ブランド戦略の策定（102件、24.6%）、ブランドコンセプトの設定（92件、22.7%）、自地域に対する評価と競争優位性の把握（72件、17.3%）、ブームを生かした観光まちづくり（63件、15.2%）、ブランドの維持管理主体構築（38件、9.2%）、その他（21件、5.1%）となっている。

⑤将来ビジョンを策定する取組みの詳細は、観光計画策定（230件、62.3%）、地域産業活用（198件、53.7%）、官民協働推進（166件、45%）、住民が誇りを持てる地域づくり（146件、39.6%）、交流人口目標設定（101件、27.4%）、観光インフラ整備（96件、26%）、住民主体のまちづくり組織発足（72件、19.5%）、観光まちづくりの可能性の調査（57件、15.4%）、観光理念づくり（54件、14.6%）、Uターン・Iターンの推進（53件、14.4%）、その他（9件、2.4%）であった。

⑥滞在のための仕組みをつくる取組みの具体的な内容は、着地型ツアーの推進が251件（73.8%）、発地側への情報発信は179件（52.6%）、地域住民との交流企画は83件（24.4%）、生活文化の滞在プログラムは69件（20.3%）、滞在型施設の開発は54件（15.9%）、地域の公共施設サービス開発は35件（10.3%）、その他は26件（7.6%）であった。

⑦観光推進組織の実行力向上の具体的な取組みは、ガイドやリーダーの養成が153件（49.7%）、観光協会と行政の棲み分けは134件（43.5%）、外部資源の活用は129件（41.9%）、地域おこし協力隊の活用は87件（28.2%）、観光まちづくりの研修参加は55件（17.9%）、コーディネート育成は51件（16.6%）、まちづくり担当組織との連携は49件（15.9%）、住民リーダーの活用は38件（12.3%）、まちづくり会社（組織）結成は33件（10.7%）、若手組織の結成は26件（8.4%）、観光カリスマの活用は21件（6.8%）、観光地経営専門家の育成は4件（1.3%）、その他は13件（4.2%）であった。

⑧観光財源の確保の具体的な取組みは、国のまちづくり支援事業の活用が103件（66.5%）、観光収入などの獲得が58件（37.4%）、個人などの寄付による観光対象の整備が22件（14.2%）、その他が9件（5.8%）であった。

(3) 観光まちづくりの自己評価

地域のまちづくりが順調かどうかについては、順調であると思う自治体は 2 割、順調でないと思うのも 2 割、そして、約 5 割の自治体がどちらともいえないと考えている。観光客数の増加に関しては、増加していると認識している自治体は 39%あり、増加していないと思う自治体は 25.1%あり、増加していると考える自治体のほうが多い。しかし、観光収入の増加、観光関係税収の増加、観光関係雇用創出、移住の増加においては、増加していないと思う自治体のほうが増加していると認識する自治体よりも多くなっている。

上記の経済的な項目に対し、地域住民の関心増加、地域住民が誇りを持つようになる、地域住民が地域に貢献しようとする、地域住民同士の交流増加、地域住民が元気になる、地域の認知度の向上、自治体に好意を持つ外部の人の増加などの地域に対する愛着心や結束を示す項目では、肯定的な評価のほうが否定的な評価よりも多かった。

さらに、観光まちづくりに関する自己評価の平均値を高い順から整理すると、「地域住民が地域に貢献しようとする」「認知度の増加」「自治体が好きな外部の人の増加」「地域住民が誇りを持つように」「地域住民の関心増加」「地域住民同士の交流増加」「観光客数の増加」「地域住民が元気に」「地域のまちづくり順調」「まちづくり団体増加」「観光収入の増加」「移住の増加」「観光関係雇用創出」「観光関係税収の増加」になる。

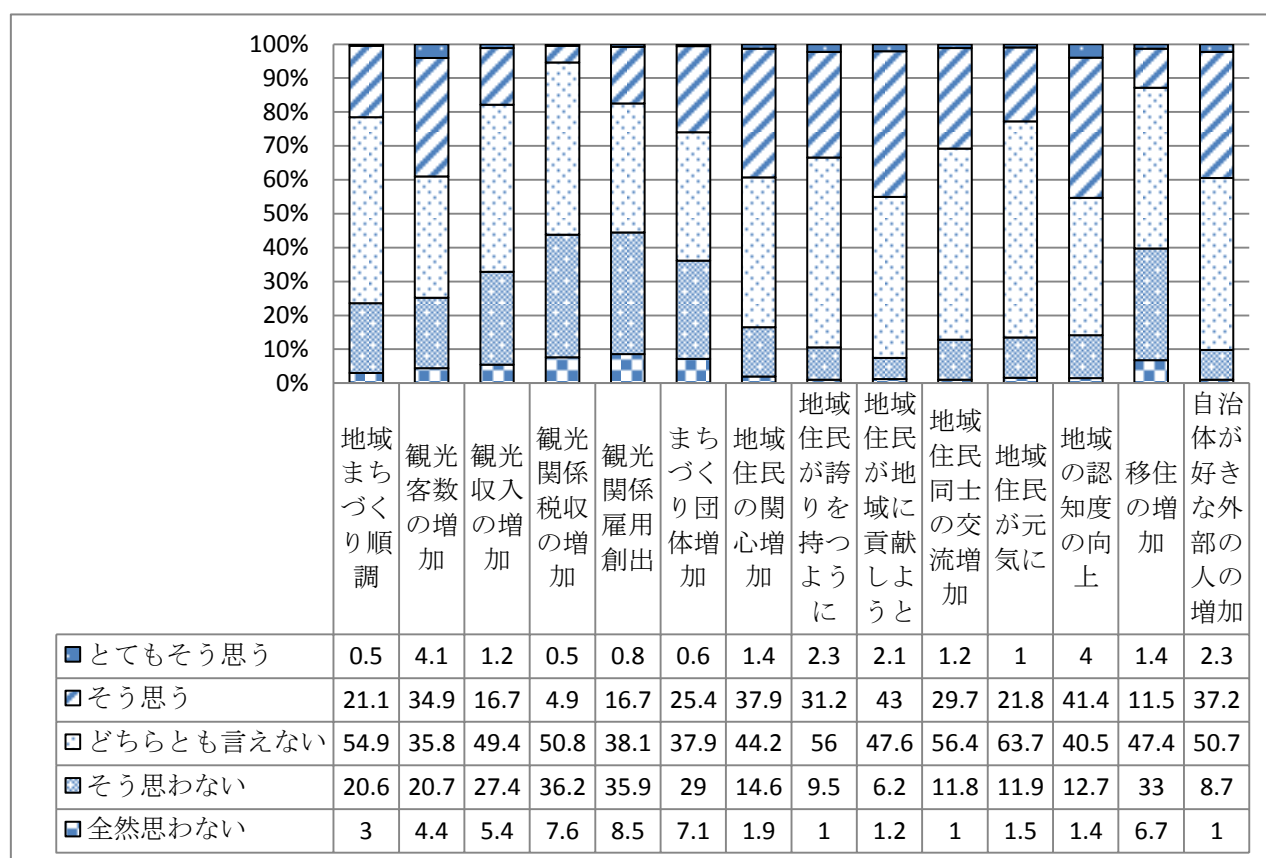


図2 観光まちづくりに関する自己評価（有効パーセント）

全体的に数値化しにくい項目、例えば「地域住民が地域に貢献しようとする」「地域住民が誇りを持つように」「地域住民の関心増加」「地域住民同士の交流増加」等が高い評価を受ける一方、「観光関係税収の増加」「観光関係雇用創出」「観光収入の増加」「まちづくり団体増加」に関して行政担当者はあまり評価していないことが確認できる。とりわけ「観光関係税収」「観光関係雇用」が具体的に何を指すかという曖昧な側面を帯びることも低い評価につながった要因とも解釈できるが、平均値の比較だけでは分析できることは限られることも確かである。

表1 自己評価尺度の項目分析

質問内容	平均値	標準偏差	歪度 ⁸⁾	尖度 ⁹⁾	有効度数
地域住民が地域に貢献しようと	3.3864	0.68654	-0.506	0.682	779
認知度の増加	3.3385	0.80167	-0.386	-0.04	780
自治体が好きな外部の人の増加	3.3107	0.70512	-0.301	0.365	779
地域住民が誇りを持つように	3.243	0.6937	-0.135	0.512	782
地域住民の関心増加	3.2221	0.78103	-0.475	-0.092	779
地域住民同士の交流増加	3.181	0.6854	-0.224	0.292	779
観光客数の増加	3.1347	0.93811	-0.299	-0.465	787
地域住民が元気に	3.0885	0.65763	-0.203	1.021	780
地域のまちづくり順調	2.956	0.74502	-0.287	0.094	773
まちづくり団体増加	2.8342	0.91003	-0.187	-0.719	784
観光収入の増加	2.8085	0.81686	-0.103	-0.068	778
移住の増加	2.6799	0.81648	0.068	0.085	781
観光関係雇用創出	2.6534	0.88141	0.058	-0.527	779
観光関係税収の増加	2.5451	0.72772	-0.167	0.204	776

(4) 観光まちづくりの阻害要因

本研究では観光まちづくりの阻害要因についても文献調査をもとに7つのカテゴリーに分けた。それらは、①観光地の特性把握、②将来ビジョンの策定と関連組織の巻き込み、③新たな魅力づくりと市場創出、④組織と人材、⑤人間関係、⑥ブランド形成、⑦財源の確保の7つである。以下、それぞれのカテゴリーにおける阻害要因のサブ項目を見てみる。

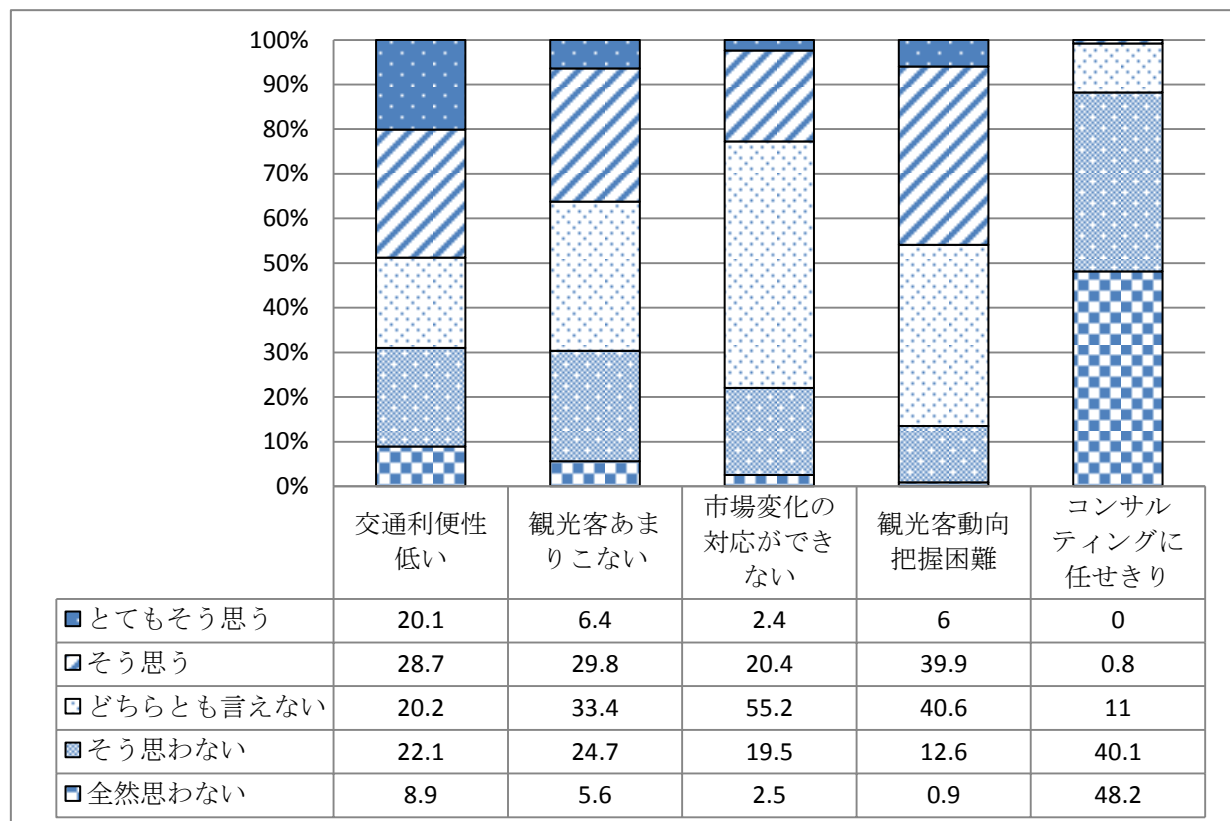


図3 観光地の特性把握における阻害要因（有効パーセント）

① 観光地の特性把握における阻害要因に関する内容のなか、まず、「観光客の動向把握が難しい」ことが阻害要因になっているかどうかについては、そう考える自治体が 45.9%であり、そう考えない自治体は 13.5%に過ぎなく、動向把握が難しいことが観光まちづくりの阻害要因として認識されていることが見て取れる。一方、「コンサルティングに任せきり」を阻害要因と捉える行政担当者が 0.8%に過ぎないことが確認できる。先述の項目の結果と合わせると、観光客の動向把握は困難であるが、コンサルティングに任せきりの体制は取っていない、あるいはコンサルティングに任せきりの体制があったとしてもそれを阻害要因とは捉えていない傾向があると解釈できる。

なお「交通利便性が低い」ことを阻害要因として捉える自治体は約 5 割を占め、そうではないと捉える自治体約 3 割を上回っている。他方で、市場の変化に対応ができないことが観光まちづくりの阻害要因であると考ええる自治体は 2 割であり、そう考えない自治体も同じく 2 割ある。観光客があまりこないことが阻害要因であると思うかどうかに関しても、「とてもそう思う」（6.4%）、「そう思う」（29.8%）が、「そう思わない」（24.7%）、「全然思わない」（5.6%）を若干上回ったが、大きな差は見られない。

② 将来ビジョンの策定と関連組織の巻き込みにおける阻害要因に関する具体的な内容を見ると、まちづくりのビジョンが不明確であることが阻害要因になっているかどうかに関しては、「どちらとも言えない」が 34.9%、「とてもそう思う」が 7.3%、「そう思う」が 29.9%となっている。

「全然思わない」が 2.8%、「そう思わない」が 25.1%であるので、まちづくりのビジョンの不明確さを阻害要因と考える自治体のほうが若干多い。まちづくりのビジョンに関連することだが、近年、平成の大合併の弊害が報告されている。ところが、この市町村合併の影響で地域アイデンティティが作れないことが阻害要因になっているかどうかについては、「全然思わない」（30%）、「そう思わない」（38%）が、「そう思う」（6.3%）、「とてもそう思う」（1.4%）を大きく上回っており、市町村合併によるアイデンティティの不在をまちづくりの阻害要因として捉える行政担当者は少ないことが分かる。

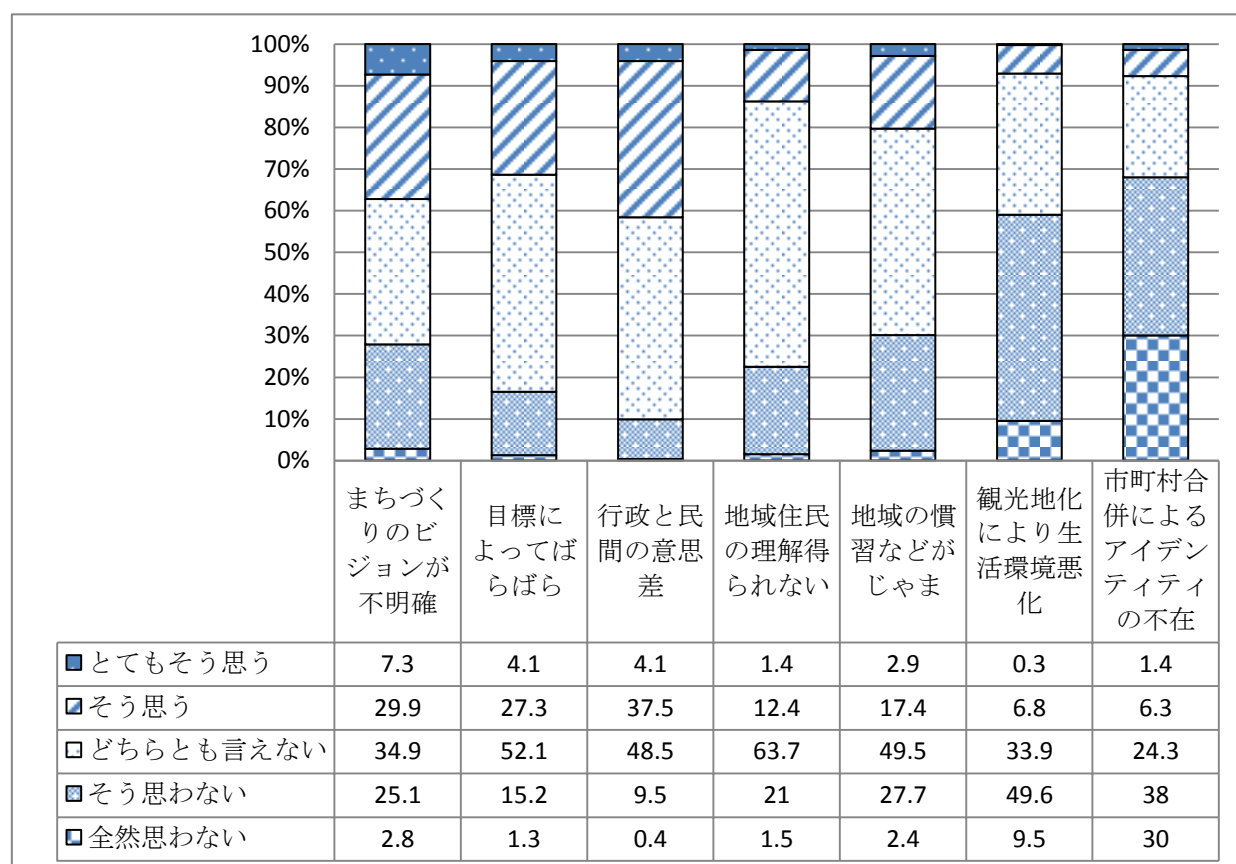


図4 将来ビジョンの策定と関連組織の巻き込みにおける阻害要因（有効パーセント）

観光まちづくりに関わる団体の目標がばらばらである事が阻害要因になっているかどうかについては、阻害要因になっていると考える自治体が、そう考えない自治体よりも多い。また、行政と民間の意識の差が阻害要因であると認識する自治体は41.6%にのぼる一方、そのように認識しない自治体は9.9%に過ぎない。観光まちづくりにおいては、民間と行政が意識をすり合わせていくメカニズムが必要になってくる。

他方、「地域の慣習などがじゃま」と「観光地化により生活環境悪化」を阻害要因と捉えていない行政担当者は其々30.1%、59.1%で、そう思う行政担当者（20.3%、7.1%）を上回った。とりわけ、「観光地化により生活環境悪化」は観光地化が進むことによる弊害として指摘されてきたが、行政担当者は観光まちづくりの阻害要因としてあまり認識していないことが分かった。

③「新たな魅力づくりと市場創出における阻害要因」に関する回答を見ると、観光資源の見つけ方がわからないことが阻害要因と考える自治体は19.8%で、そうでない自治体は48%にのぼる。なお、魅力ある自然資源、人文資源、複合資源がないことが阻害要因であると捉えない自治体は、其々65.4%、59.4%、53.5%で、そう思う自治体20.8%、21.5%、24.7%を大きく上回っている。しかし同時に、約20-25%の自治体が自分たちの地域にはそれらの資源がないと考えていることも確認できる。

一方、「外部主導のため賛同が得られない」と「過剰投資」を阻害要因に関しては、「そう思わない」「全然思わない」の合計が両方とも7割を超える一方（其々73.5%、72.7%）、「そう思う」「とてもそう思う」の合計は、其々1.3%、3.8%で、阻害要因として両項目はあまり認識されていないことが確認できる。

他方、観光の魅力を作り出す努力が足りないことが阻害要因だと考える自治体はそのように考えない自治体よりも多い。特定の観光資源への依存度が高いことが阻害要因かどうかに関しては大きな差が見られない。

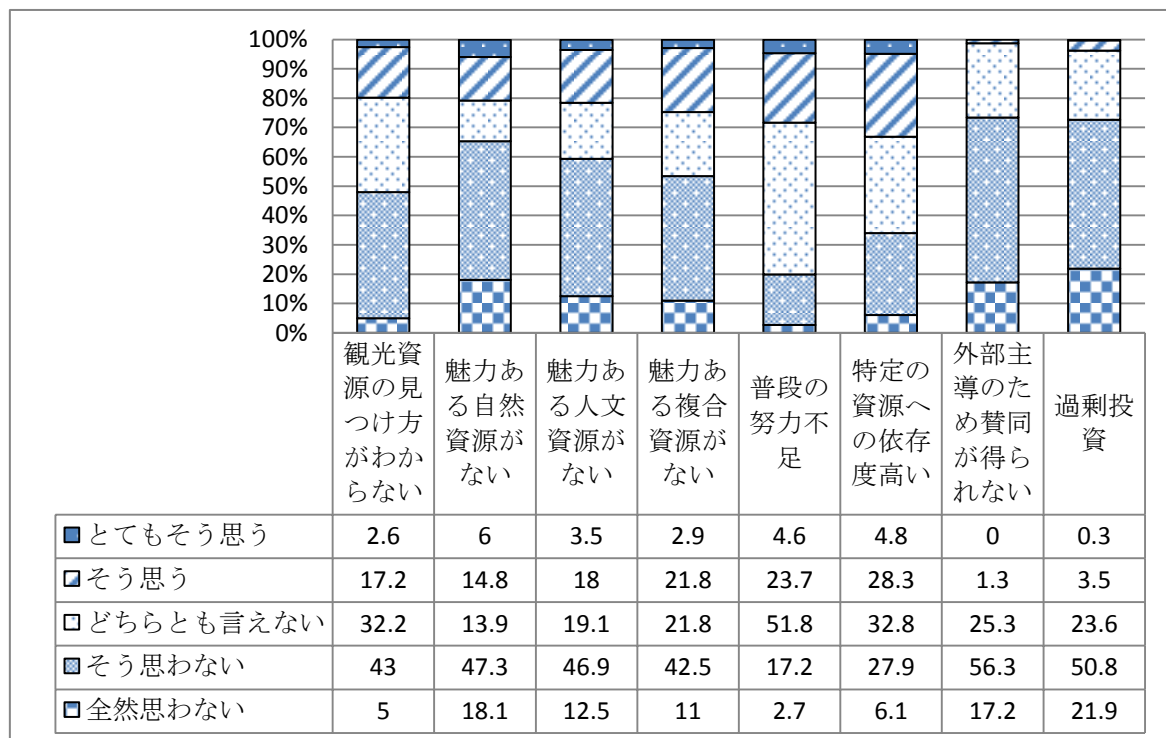


図5 新たな魅力づくりと市場創出における阻害要因（有効パーセント）

④ 組織と人材における阻害要因に関しては、まちづくり団体間に葛藤があると行政と民間の協働がうまく機能しないは、両方とも「どちらとも言えない」が5割を超える一方、「とてもそう思

う」、「そう思う」の合計と、「全然思わない」、「そう思わない」の合計がそれぞれ約 2 割を占めて、大きな差が見られなかった。

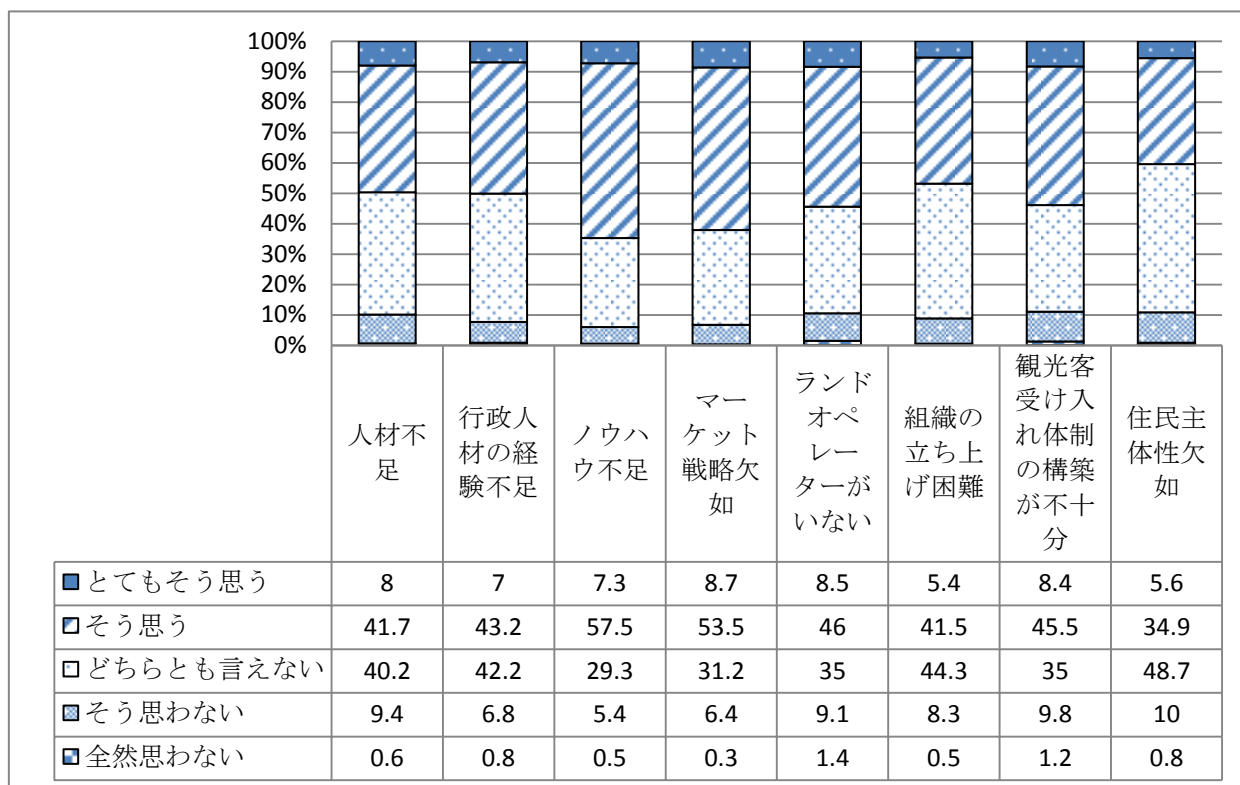


図 6 組織と人材における阻害要因（その一）（有効パーセント）

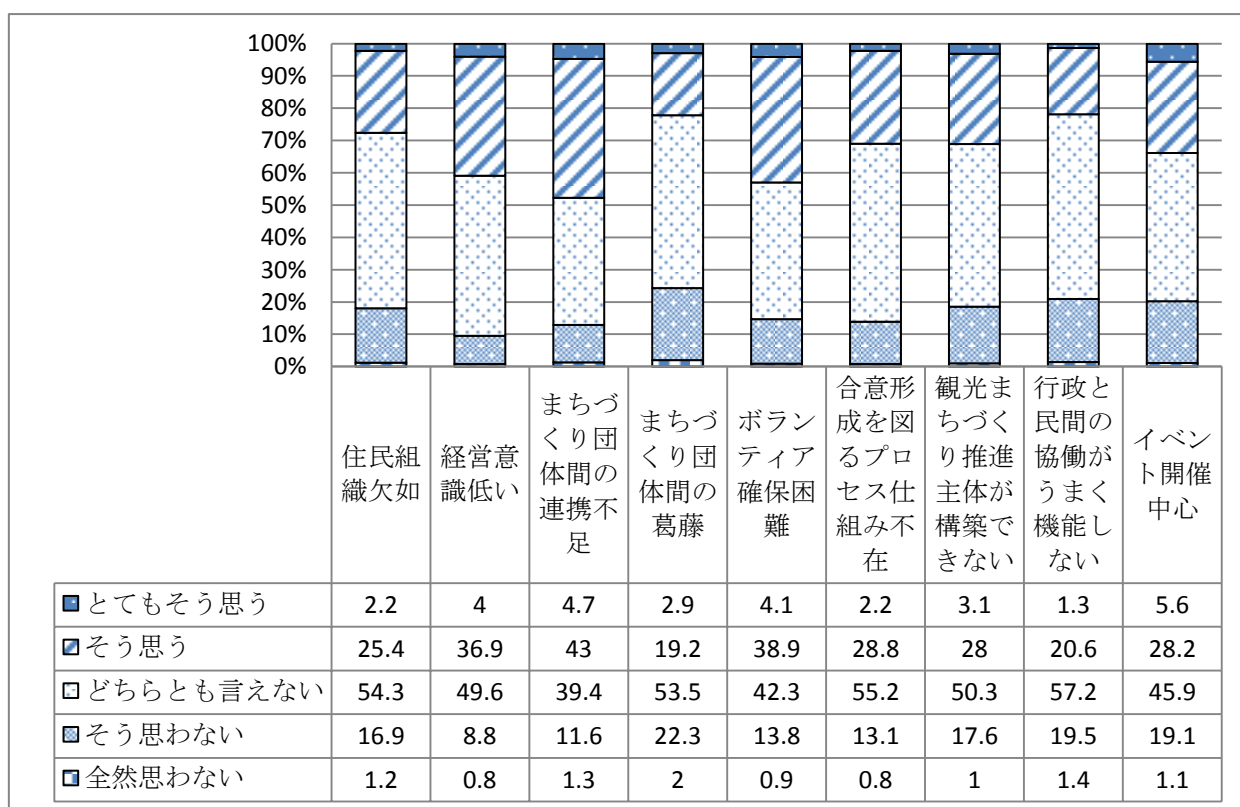


図 7 組織と人材における阻害要因（その二）（有効パーセント）

次に、地域リーダーなどの人材不足、行政人材の経験不足、地域マネジメントのノウハウ不足、マーケット戦略の欠如、ランドオペレーターがいない、地域マネジメント組織の立ち上げの困難、観光客受け入れ体制の構築が不十分、住民の主体性欠如の 8 つの項目が阻害要因かどうかについては、それら全ての項目において、「とてもそう思う」、「そう思う」の合計は 4 割以上、「全然思わない」、「そう思わない」の合計はだいたい 1 割以下であり、これらの不足が多く自治体で観光まちづくりの阻害要因になっていることがわかる。

また、「まちづくり団体間の連携不足」「ボランティア確保困難」「経営意識低い」を阻害要因として捉える自治体が其々 47.7%、43%、40.9%を占める一方、そう思わない自治体は 12.9%、14.7%、9.6%と少ないことが確認できる。

⑤人間関係における阻害要因の回答を見ると、複雑な人間関係が観光まちづくりの阻害要因と考える自治体は 32.3%あり、そう思わない自治体の 18.7%を上回る。逆に、利益配分の問題による葛藤や地域のリーダーからの横槍が阻害要因であると考える自治体は両方とも 10%台前半で、そう思わない自治体は 30%以上である。しかし、人間関係における阻害要因では全ての項目において、「どちらとも言えない」と答えた割合が約 5 割を占めていることから、人間関係を観光まちづくりにおける阻害要因として捉えるにはやや困難であることも分かった。

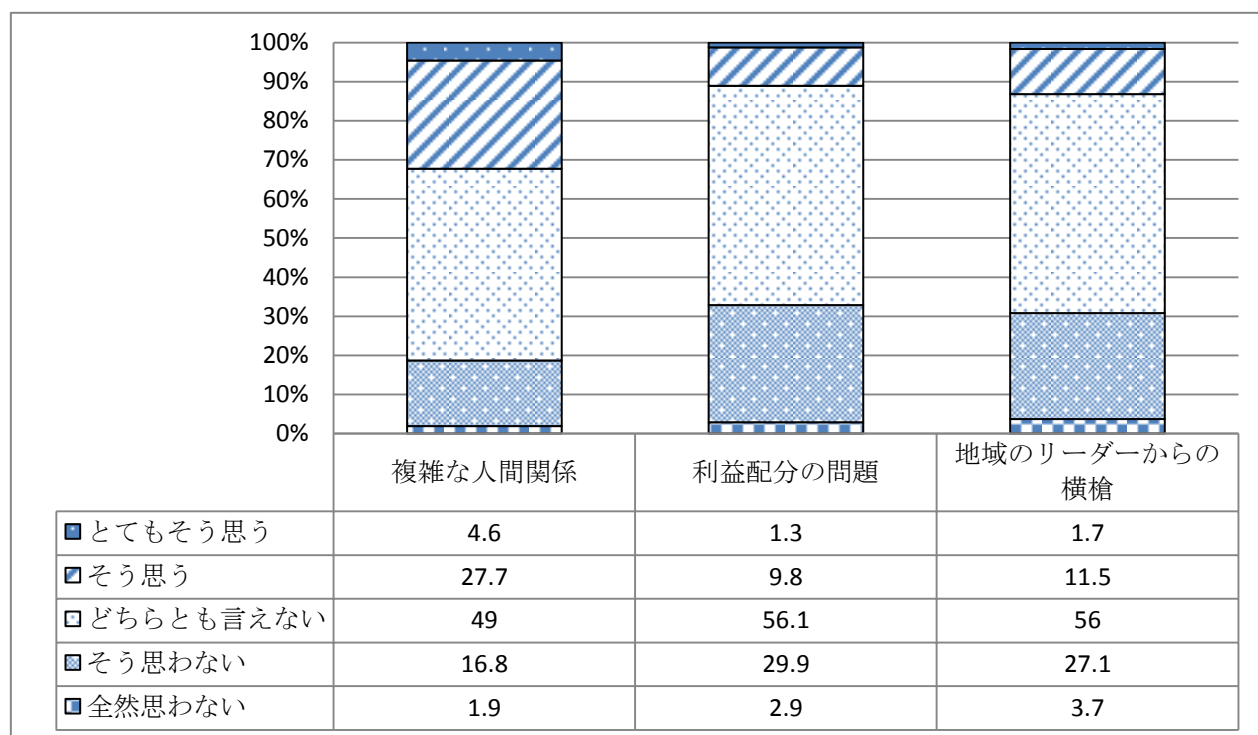


図 8 人間関係における阻害要因（有効パーセント）

⑥ブランド形成における阻害要因の回答を見ると、消費者視点の商品づくりが難しいことと着地型旅行商品のブランド化が難しいことが阻害要因であるかどうかについては、両方とも 5 割前後の自治体が阻害要因であると考えている。それらが阻害要因ではないと考える自治体は 10%以下に留まる。ブームを生かしていく方法がわからないことが阻害要因かどうかについては、37.8%の自治体が阻害要因だと考え、13%の自治体がそうではないと考えている。

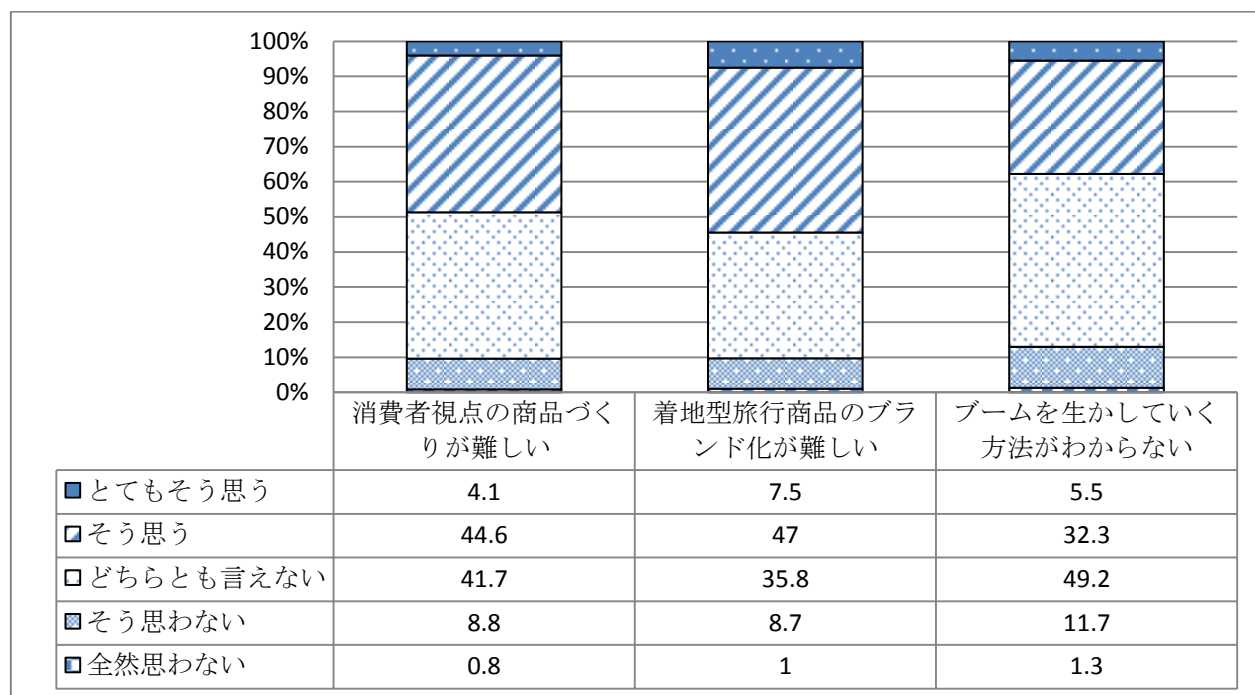


図 9 ブランド形成における阻害要因（有効パーセント）

⑦財源の確保における阻害要因においては、地方自治体の財政的困難、独自財源確保が難しい、国からの補助金獲得が難しいという全ての項目で、それらを阻害要因と考える自治体のほうがそうではない自治体を上回った。とりわけ、前者の二つの項目においては、「そう思う」「とても思う」の合計が、それぞれ 67.5%、72.6%で約 7 割の行政関係者がそれらの項目を観光まちづくりにおける阻害要因の一つとして捉えていることが確認できる。

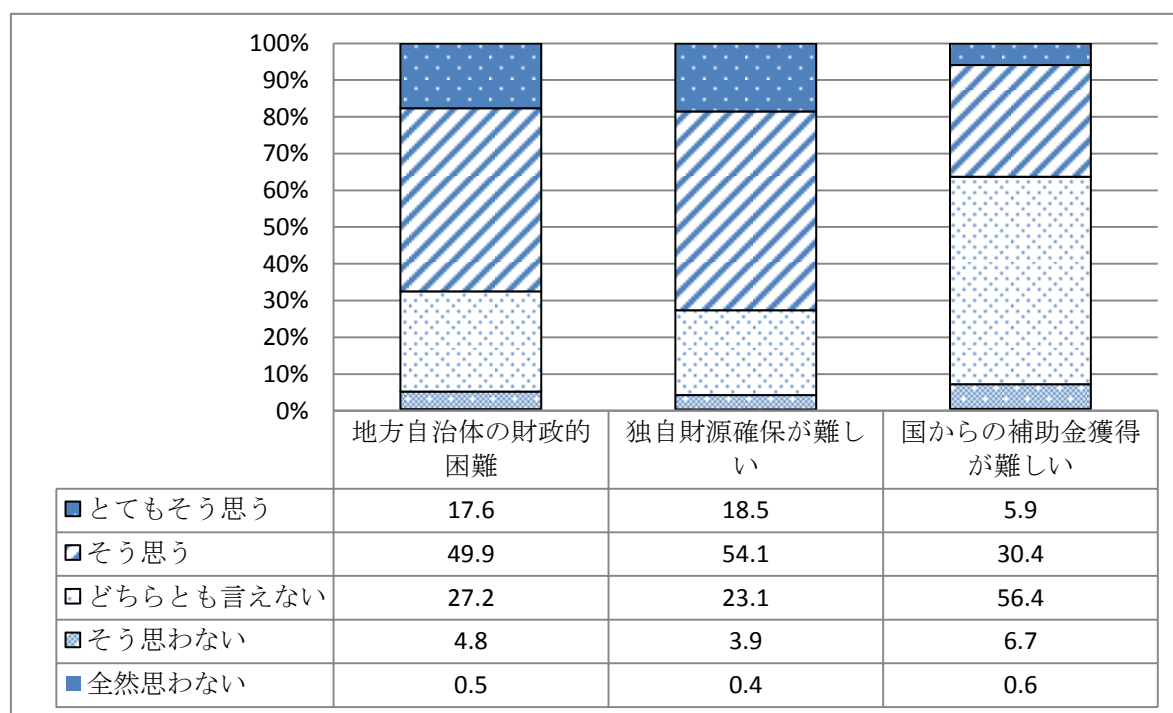


図 10 財源の確保における阻害要因（有効パーセント）

阻害要因尺度の項目の平均値を高い順から整理すると、「独自財源確保難しい」（平均値：3.86）、「地方自治体の財政的困難」（3.79）、「ノウハウ不足」（3.66）、「マーケット戦略欠如」（3.64）、「ランドオペレーターがいらない」（3.51）、「着地型旅行商品のブランド化が難しい」（3.51）、「観光客受入体制の構築が不十分」（3.5）、「行政人材の経験不足」（3.49）、「人材不足」（3.47）、「組織の立ち上げ困難」（3.43）と続く。さらに「消費者視点の商品づくり難しい」（3.42）、「観光客動向把握難しい」（3.38）が続くが、平均値の上位の項目を見ると、財政、経営、人材、体制づくり等に関する項目を阻害要因として挙げる自治体が多いことが確認できる（表2を参照）。

表2 阻害要因尺度の項目分析

質問内容	平均値	標準偏差	歪度	尖度
独自財源確保難しい	3.86	0.768	-0.491	0.382
地方自治体の財政的困難	3.79	0.803	-0.406	0.122
ノウハウ不足	3.66	0.714	-0.618	0.714
マーケット戦略欠如	3.64	0.741	-0.411	0.159
ランドオペレーターがいらない	3.51	0.829	-0.438	0.197
着地型旅行商品のブランド化が難しい	3.51	0.797	-0.415	0.186
観光客受入体制の構築が不十分	3.5	0.828	-0.388	0.053
行政人材の経験不足	3.49	0.757	-0.214	0.211
人材不足	3.47	0.799	-0.175	-0.106
組織の立ち上げ困難	3.43	0.742	-0.161	0.026
消費者視点の商品づくり難しい	3.42	0.741	-0.373	0.143
観光客動向把握難しい	3.38	0.813	-0.215	-0.188
まちづくり団体間の連携不足	3.38	0.801	-0.393	0.013
行政と民間の意識差	3.35	0.725	-0.062	-0.036
住民主体性欠如	3.35	0.766	-0.026	0.083
経営意識低い	3.34	0.726	-0.129	0.219
国からの補助金獲得難しい	3.34	0.718	0.238	0.473
ボランティアの確保が難しい	3.31	0.793	-0.236	-0.226
交通便利性低い	3.29	1.26	-0.221	-1.065
ブームを生かしていく方法がわからない	3.29	0.793	-0.055	0.139
合意形成を図るプロセス仕組みがない	3.19	0.709	-0.045	0.17
目標によってばらばら	3.18	0.781	0.036	0.135
イベント開催中心	3.18	0.944	0.097	-0.278
複雑な人間関係	3.16	0.825	-0.021	0.013
まちづくりのビジョンが不明確	3.14	0.968	0.02	-0.653
観光まちづくり推進主体が構築できない	3.14	0.775	0.01	-0.117
住民組織欠如	3.11	0.739	-0.018	0.11
普段の努力不足	3.1	0.83	0.006	0.224
観光客あまりこない	3.07	1.011	-0.089	-0.636
市場変化の対応ができない	3.01	0.773	-0.28	0.355
行政と民間の協働がうまく機能しない	3.01	0.713	-0.034	0.227
まちづくり団体間に葛藤	2.99	0.784	0.136	0.231
特定の資源への依存度高い	2.98	1.001	-0.033	-0.689
地域住民の理解ない	2.91	0.667	0.076	1.044
地域の慣習などがじゃま	2.91	0.812	0.228	0.065
地域のリーダーからの横槍	2.8	0.751	0.049	0.579
利害配分の問題	2.77	0.715	0.104	0.595
観光資源の見つけ方がわからない	2.69	0.901	0.442	-0.348
魅力ある複合資源ない	2.63	1.032	0.34	-0.758
魅力の人文資源ない	2.53	1.034	0.541	-0.485
魅力の自然資源がない	2.43	1.124	0.732	-0.305
観光地化による生活環境悪化	2.39	0.761	0.286	-0.036
市町村合併によるアイデンティティの不在	2.11	0.955	0.604	-0.1
外部主導のため賛同得られない	2.11	0.682	0.108	-0.288
過剰投資	2.09	0.78	0.404	0.02
コンサルティングに任せきり	1.64	0.704	0.761	-0.147

一方で、阻害要因尺度の項目の平均値を低い順から整理すると、「コンサルティングに任せきり」(1.64)、「過剰投資」(2.09)、「外部主導のため賛同が得られない」(2.11)、「市町村合併によるアイデンティティの不在」(2.11)、「観光地化による生活環境悪化」(2.39)、「魅力のある自然資源がない」(2.43)、「魅力ある人文資源がない」(2.53)、「魅力ある複合資源がない」(2.63)、「観光資源の見つけ方がわからない」(2.69)と続き、外部主導の開発や市町村合併に伴うアイデンティティの不在、観光地化による諸課題、さらに人文・自然・複合資源及び、観光資源の見つけ方を阻害要因として挙げる自治体は少ない。とりわけ、資源に関するすべての項目(自然・人文・複合資源の不在と観光資源の見つけ方がわからない)の平均値が低く、それらは観光まちづくりにおける阻害要因としてはあまり認識されていないと解釈できる。

(5) 観光まちづくりへのかかわり方について

最後に、回答してもらった行政関係者の部署の観光まちづくりへのかかわり方に関する質問に対しては、行政として主導的にかかわる(①)が264件(39.5%)、裏方として民間を支える(②)が277件(41.4%)、両方(③)が128件(19.1%)であった。さらに、以下のような記述も見られた¹⁰⁾。

他方、上記の項目以外の観光まちづくりの阻害要因に関する自由記述の項目にも多種多様な回答が見られたが、大まかに「人口・高齢化・若者の流出」「地域的特性・観光インフラの不足」「行政の積極的不足」「組織・人材」「東日本大震災関連」「国際政治」「観光概念・捉え方、議論の場の不足」「観光まちづくりの必要性を感じない」にまとめられる。

「私は観光協会の事務局長を兼任している」、

「広報・宣伝や、旅行会社に対する商品造成の働きかけなどには積極的に関与する一方で、地域資源を生かした観光地としての魅力づくりや受け入れ体制づくりの面では、民間事業者や市町村(観光協会)を支える立場をとっている」、

「本来は②(裏方として民間を支える)が理想である」、

「場合による」、「ケース by ケース」、「どちらも必要です」、「使い分け!どちらも大事」、

「どちらも言えない」、

「「観光まちづくり推進計画」に基づくプロジェクトの業務遂行」、

「県としては、市町村民間など、地域支援を行うことが役割であるが、広域観光振興のため、主導することもありえる」、

「民間組織(民間を主体とした)が中心となり、行政が裏方になるのが理想ですが、現実的には行政がメインになっている」、

「今後、観光協会を法人化して、協会と協力しながら観光推進に努める」、

「①(行政として主導的にかかわる)①、②(裏方として民間を支える)〇

(動き出すまでは①。)動き出せば②(裏方として民間を支える)」、

「本来的には②(裏方として民間を支える)が望ましいと考える」、

「観光協会の設立や、コンサルタントの導入」、

「中間(本来は②が望ましいが、現状そうもいかない)」、

「*理想としては、②だと思うが、当市ではまだまだ民間が育っていない」

「現在は①(行政として主導的にかかわる)に近いが将来的には②(裏方として民間を支える)へ近づけたい」

上記の自由記述からは、行政と民間という明確な区分が困難なケースや場合によって役割が変わるというような答えがある一方で、行政としては民間を支援する立場を理想とするが、現状はそうではないという返答が確認できる。実際上記で取りあげた記述以外にも、将来的ビジョンとして行政による民間への支援(裏方として民間を支えること)を掲げる地域が多数を占めた。

(6) 何をもって観光まちづくりは成功といえるかに関する自由記述

観光まちづくりの成功に関する捉え方を自由記述方式で行政担当者を書いてもらう項目の回答は、「経済効果」「活性化」「人口」「地域イメージ」「地域の魅力・環境」「地域住民の誇り・幸福」「観光客の満足」「住民と観光客の両方の満足」「主体・推進体制」にまとめること

ができる。とりわけ、「経済効果」に関連する記述が最も多く見られ、経済波及効果に対する行政側の期待を垣間見ることができる¹¹⁾。また「地域住民の誇り・幸福」「主体・推進体制」に関する回答も多数あった。また、上記のカテゴリーを複合的に繋ぐ回答、とりわけ既存の観光まちづくり研究における定義に類似する内容を記した回答も少なからず、行政側としての公式な回答としての一面も見られた。

(7) 観光まちづくりに関する自由記述¹²⁾

記述のなかには、アンケートに対する行政担当者の理解しにくかった点に対する指摘、観光まちづくりを行う上で感じる様々な難しさ、助言を求める声も多数あった。さらには、別紙で取り組みを紹介する内容のパンフレットや資料を送付してくれた自治体も少なくなかった¹³⁾。

4. 今後の研究の方向性

観光まちづくり研究では、これまで成功例の紹介や成功例をもとにした実践モデルの構築などが中心に研究され、日本の観光まちづくり実践の全体像を明らかにしようとする研究はなされてこなかった。本研究はその全体像を捉えようとした試みの一環として、全国の地方自治体の行政担当者が捉える観光まちづくりの取り組みの現状と阻害要因を究明しようとした。本稿はデータの提示と簡略な記述分析にとどまったが、相関分析をはじめ、分散分析、因子分析、回帰分析等を行うことで、観光まちづくりの現状、自己評価、阻害要因とそれらの関係性を解明する必要がある。また行政側に対するインタビューなどさらなる調査を進めつつ、もう一つのアクターである民間の観光まちづくりの実践の全体像と行政と民間の関係性を明らかにすることが求められる。

付記

本稿は、日本学術振興会の科学研究費助成（課題名：「観光まちづくりにおける阻害要因に関する実証的研究」、2014 年度、基盤研究 C、課題番号：26380734、研究代表者：四本幸夫）を受け、その研究の一環としておこなった行政担当者を対象にしたアンケート調査結果を報告するものであり、観光学術学会第 4 回大会（2015 年 7 月 5 日、阪南大学）にて口頭発表した内容を含んでいる。アンケートの回答にご協力頂いた行政の方々、そして観光学術学会大会で貴重な意見を頂いた、須藤廣先生、遠藤英樹先生、松永貴美氏に感謝申し上げたい。

注

- 1) 民俗学の領域では、2000 年前後まちづくりにおける地域内外のアクター間の軋轢や葛藤に焦点を当てる研究が見られる（芝村 1999；安藤 2002）。
- 2) とりわけ、日本交通公社によって提示された観光地経営のための 8 つの視点を参考にした（日本交通公社編 2013）。
- 3) 盛山（2004）によれば、郵送でのアンケート調査では返送率は約 2 割であるが、本報告の返答率が 4 割を超えた理由は、対象が行政側であったこと、そして挨拶文で調査結果をまとめた報告書を回答者の E-mail に添付し送付することを記入したことにあると考えられる。
- 4) 統計処理においては、当時立教大学大学院観光学研究科博士課程後期課程に在学し、現在は韓国の済州大学でグローバル済州観光専門創意人材養成事業団研究員として勤めている李彰美氏の協力を得た。
- 5) 村上（2006）は、Cronbach の α 係数が 0.8 以上の場合、内的整合性は問題ないと捉える。
- 6) 観光まちづくりに取り組みの広がり、観光まちづくりをテーマにした研究の増加と相関関係にある。森重（2015）は、国会図書館と CiNii において「観光まちづくり」をキーワードとする文献の推移をグラフで呈示しており、そこからは 2000 年以降の観光まちづくり研究の増加傾向を確認できる。

- 7) 返答されたなかには「1005 年」という回答もあったが、観光まちづくりの開始年度として捉えるには困難であると判断し分析には含まなかった。
- 8) 歪度は、測定値の分布が一方に偏り、左右に歪んでいるかどうかを示す指標であり、絶対値が大きいほど分布が歪んでいる（すそが長くなる）ことになる。さらに負の値の場合は左側に、正の値の場合は右側に歪んでいる形状となる（中村・西村・高井 2014 : 178）。
- 9) 尖度は、測定値の分布の尖り具合を示す指標で、絶対値が大きいほど平均のあたりにデータの分布が集中する尖った分布となり、小さいほどデータが広く散らばった扁平な分布であることを示す（前掲）。
- 10) 当項目における自由記述を求めていなかったが、アンケートの空欄に記入があったものを整理した。
- 11) 回答には、「経済効果」、「地域にお金がおちる」、「観光消費額」、「誘客（入域客の増）や経済効果」のような記述が見られた。
- 12) 「観光まちづくりに関することであれば、どのような内容でも結構です。ご意見お聞かせ下さい。」と観光まちづくりに関する自由記述を求めた。
- 13) さらに記述の途中で線を引き、記述内容を削除したケースもあった。自己評価や阻害要因に関する項目にも二重チェックの痕跡が見られることを踏まえると、これらのアンケートは担当者一人で回答したというより、行政として承認の上アンケートが返答された可能性が高いと推測される。

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BOOK REVIEW:

Local ownership of peace building in Afghanistan: Shouldering responsibility for sustainable peace and development by Chuck Thiessen

Reviewer: Abdul Tamim Karimi¹

After the collapse of the Taliban regime in 2001 and the invasion of international security forces, Afghanistan has experienced enormous international peace building intervention (such as huge amounts of aid) for the purpose of security, stability, restructuring of political and economic processes, rehabilitation of infrastructure, and community development. The main objective of *Local Ownership of Peace Building in Afghanistan: Shouldering Responsibility for Sustainable Peace and Development* (Plymouth, United Kingdom: Lexington Books) by Chuck Thiessen (2014) was to investigate the possibility of local ownership of peace building activities in Afghanistan.

Thiessen, a scholar and practitioner of international peace building in war-torn countries, has consulted for several international and local organizations in Afghanistan and managed a variety of peace building projects in several countries. According to Thiessen, actual partnership and cooperation to empower Afghan leaders and actors are significant in order to salvage the country's worsening state and to achieve a sustainable and positive peace in Afghanistan. In the book, Thiessen points out two questions, forming the basic argument:

- Why are international and local Afghan groups and individuals still struggling, ten years after the 2001 foreign invasion of Afghanistan, to define and implement an effective strategy that leads to significant advances in local Afghan control over peace building prioritization, project design, and evaluation?
- What can be done to bolster efforts at ensuring increased and literal Afghan ownership over peace building activities?

To answer these two questions, this publication is divided into six chapters and is discussed accordingly. The first chapter briefly introduces the topic of local ownership and peace building in the context of Afghanistan and addresses the problems with adopting local ownership, such as the lack of political motivation to hand over control of local ownership of peace building from foreign partners to domestic counterparts. Additionally, due to increases in grants, government counterparts are known to be corrupt or incapacitated, therefore the dilemmas and struggles faced by both counterparts remain undocumented and undefined. Moreover, this chapter discusses the significance of the research on this topic for the current situation in Afghanistan.

Chapter two focuses on the theory of peace building and discusses the theoretical changes and practice of peace building through the intervention of the international community. Moreover, this chapter explains two rival versions of peace building theory; the first set of theory is considered as “(neo) liberal peace building”, which is the actual peace building practice in Afghanistan and holds liberalization as a remedy for conflict. Based on a survey of peace building theory and practice, four broad (neo) liberal peace building priorities are revealed and discussed: (1) security and demilitarization; (2) political transition; (3) social and economic development; and (4) reconciliation, justice, and social rehabilitation. The second set of theory is considered as “(neo) liberal emancipatory peace building”, which is much more critical in tone that pushes on alternative peace building paradigms, and the emancipatory peace building tenet is fundamental for local ownership.

The third chapter mainly discusses the context and history of local ownership of peace building in Afghanistan, and mentions that the current international intervention is certainly not an isolated event, but

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the push for local ownership is tied up to the history of conflict in Afghanistan. Therefore, peace builders have to learn lessons from Afghan history regarding the challenging task in creating sustainable peace; and to investigate the contextual factors, such as geography, divided population, central authority and Islam, gender and society, and a tribal social system and loyalty that have been unchanged over the centuries. These factors have served to shape the current state of Afghan society.

Chapter four investigates the debate about foreign ownership of peace building in Afghanistan. The author collected the voice of foreign peace builders and actors through interviews, investigating the possibility of Afghan ownership of peace building. The author suggests a strong justification in the role of foreign organizations and troops in Afghanistan for the continuation of foreign engagement in the ownership of peace building. Moreover Thiessen in this chapter identifies four dilemmas that must be creatively addressed for reforms by international actors to achieve Afghan ownership.

Chapter five explores the debate of ownership of peace building from the angle of the Afghan government and civil society. Both stated that the ownership of peace building is necessary for them, and that ownership should be handed over from the international community to the government. Finally, chapter six addresses and responds to numerous dilemmas raised in both chapters 4 and 5 in terms of achieving ownership over peace building in Afghanistan.

The strength of this book is that, the author has interviewed both local and foreign peace building actors, who are working in Afghanistan and describes their point of view and demonstrates the right route of increasing local ownership. In addition to sharing the perspectives of the participants (peace building staff) in the appropriate peace-building role, the author discussed the eight areas of struggle for Afghan ownership, as illuminated by the foreign participants. The eight areas are: (1) donors and peace building policy and practice; (2) ineffectiveness of aid and wasted money on project costs; (3) sidelining the Afghan government; (4) inappropriate stance toward the local; (5) meddling by regional nations; (6) ineffective capacity building; (7) distorted post intervention work environment and economy; and (8) abuses by NATO military forces. On the other hand, the author stated the significant role of the Afghan government in the peace-building program, though the local participants offered up critiques of the Afghan government structure and processes that highlight several factors serving as barriers over peace building. The five struggle areas are described as low capacity, rampant corruption, inadequate government reach, ineffective leadership and decision-making, and ineffective government structures.

The above-mentioned struggles are very important issues that need to be changed and strengthened for the realization of Afghan ownership over peace building. In fact, it has been more than ten years since the invasion of international security forces in Afghanistan, but still the peace building practice is led by foreigners and not well developed in the country.

Although the book has several strengths, there are some points that have not been discussed well. First, the book is missing the context and experience of other war-torn countries faced with such a situation over the creation and transformation of local ownership and responsibilities for sustainable peace building and development, which would be helpful for the reader. Second, in the last chapter of book, the author designs a holistic system as policy recommendation. The elements are 'inclusive advisory committee to restructure the system, system of education to empower the Afghan leaders and people, system of advocacy to transform international-local and civil society-government relationship, and conflict resolution process' to deal with conflict on the journey of Afghan ownership of peace building. They might need further description in order for the reader to understand how they could expedite the journey toward Afghan ownership of peace building in Afghanistan.

Overall, the abovementioned shortcomings in the book do not undermine Thiessen's discussion. This book is quite informative and well-structured as mentioned earlier; the goal is to investigate perceptions of Afghan ownership over the peace building areas. Moreover, the book emphasizes the voice of both local and foreign peace building actors in order to identify the right way to ensure increased local ownership.

Notes for Contributors

Submission of papers: Submissions for review of papers relating to the peoples, societies, and cultures of the Asia Pacific region are welcome, including both the eastern and western shores of the Pacific and its islands. Papers should preferably be submitted electronically to RCAPS at rjaps@apu.ac.jp as email attachments. When submitting articles electronically, please send files in the Microsoft Word format (Word 97 or later). Please include all figures and tables in grayscale, a 150-200 word abstract and about 4-6 keywords. Papers should be in English but a limited number of Japanese papers, with a comprehensive English abstract, may be approved for publication. Authors are responsible for preparing any figures, diagrams, tables, etc. in a form ready to be printed, and for clearing any copyright permission.

Length: As a general guide your manuscript should not exceed 8,000 words in length, given the number of articles competing for space in most issues.

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Books:

McCourt, Kathleen. 1977. *Working Class Women and Grass-Roots Politics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

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<http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/economy/fta/strategy0210.html> (accessed 17 March 2005).

Foreign titles: References to titles using Japanese script may be accepted for papers submitted in Japanese but for English papers, titles should be transliterated into Roman script using Hepburn, Pinyin or other appropriate recognized systems for transliterating Asian languages. Long vowels in Japanese should be marked with circumflexes or macrons (if available). Translations in English should be provided wherever possible, e.g:

Kuwayama, Takami. 1996. "Genchi' no jinruigakusha: Naigai no Nihon kenkyû o chûshin ni"

["Native" anthropologists: With special reference to Japanese studies inside and outside Japan]. *Minzokugaku Kenkyû* [The Japanese Journal of Ethnology], 61(4): 517-542.

Names: Japanese and Chinese names should usually be given in the normal Japanese and Chinese order with the family name first, followed by the personal name. The major exception is references to published works in which the Western order has been used.

日本語論文執筆要領

創刊以来、Ritsumeikan Journal of Asia Pacific Studies では、主に英語で書かれた論文を刊行してきましたが、日本語による論文も積極的に受け付けることになりました。

Ritsumeikan Center for Asia Pacific Studies (RCAPS) が所属する立命館アジア太平洋大学では、教学の部門において、英語によるレポートや卒業論文を執筆するにあたり、アメリカ心理学会 (American Psychological Association、以下 APA) が定める書式にしたがって、本文、注、参考文献を執筆することを推奨しています。日本語によるレポートや卒業論文についても、APA スタイルを日本語に置き換えたものを推奨しています。こうした教学上の方針と合致させるためにも、Ritsumeikan Journal of Asia Pacific Studies では、英語論文は全面的に APA スタイルに依拠し、日本語論文は APA スタイルを日本語に置き換えたものに依拠する方針を立てました。

学術雑誌の質は、論文が示す研究内容だけでなく、雑誌全体の体裁が整っているかにも左右されます。本誌の体裁や表記を統一し、読者にとって読みやすいものとするため、執筆および投稿の際、以下の執筆要領に留意してください。

1. 原稿の作成

1.1 原稿の分量は、行頭、行末、空行などの余白を含めて、30,000 字以下を目安にしてください。40 字×30 行で作成し、計 25 ページが目安となります。

1.2 原稿は未公開のものに限ります。他誌に掲載済みのものだけでなく、他誌で審査中のものも二重投稿と見なし、掲載不可とします。

1.3 原稿はパソコンで作成してください。マイクロソフト社製 Word で読み取り可能なフォーマットを歓迎します。

1.4 パソコンによるページレイアウトの設定は、A4 判、横書き、上下左右に 30mm 以上の余白、40 字×30 行、フォント・サイズ 11 ポイント前後にしてください。

1.5 英文要旨については、英文校閲の専門家による修正を行うことがあります。

2. 文章の表記

2.1 引用などで必要な場合を除き、原則として常用漢字、現代かなづかいを用いてください。

2.2 句点はマル（。）、読点は点（、）を使ってください。

2.3 数値にはアラビア数字、固有名詞や概念には漢数字を使ってください。

（例）1990 年代、126 件、第二次世界大戦

2.4 漢字で表記できない外国の固有名詞はカタカナで表記し、必要に応じて初出時の直後、カッコ内に原綴りを記してください。

（例）アンダーソン（B. Anderson）

2.5 パソコンの機種依存文字は、文字化けの原因になるので避けてください。たとえば、ローマ数字の II, IV, IX などは特殊文字を使わず、I, V, X などアルファベットの組み合わせで入力してください。

3. 原稿の構成

3.1 原稿は以下の構成をお願いします。

- 1) タイトル（日本語）
- 2) 氏名（日本語）
- 3) キーワード（日本語、5 語前後）
- 4) 本文（注は脚注を使用）
- 5) 謝辞（必要な場合のみ）
- 6) 参考文献
- 7) タイトル（英語）
- 8) 氏名（英語）
- 9) キーワード（英語、5 語前後）
- 10) 要旨（英語、500 語程度）
- 11) 図版・表など（文章の原稿本体とは別のファイルで準備してください）

3.2 本文を区分する場合、章は I、II、III…、節は 1、2、3…、項は(1)、(2)、(3)…などの数字を用いてください。数字の後ろに点は付けません。章見出しはその前後に 1 行分の空行を、節見出し以下はその前に 1 行分の空行を入れてください。

4. 図版・表などの作成

4.1 図版（写真、地図などを含む）・表などは文章の原稿本体とは別のファイルで準備し、1 点ずつ、作成者名（あるいは写真の撮影者名など）、図版・表ごとの通し番号、説明をつけてください。

4.2 図版のファイルは、JPEG、PNG、もしくはPDF形式で作成してください。

4.3 図の見出しは図の下、表の見出しは表の上につけます。

5. 注の付け方

注は本文下部に掲げる脚注方式とします。文中につける注の番号は上付きで(1)、(2)、(3)……とします。

(例) 一般に学術論文における注の付け方には脚注方式と後注方式がある⁽¹⁾。

6. 本文での引用・参照（直接引用と間接引用）

6.1 短い引用（1～3行程度の直接引用）は、かぎカッコを使用します。著者名を地の文に示す場合には、著者名（出版年, p.ページ数）「……」とします。著者名を地の文に示さない場合には、引用をとじるかぎカッコの後ろに、（著者名, 出版年, p.ページ数）を記します。

(例 1)

田辺（1995, p.196）は「人類学的に個人の宗教性を問題にすると、その社会における人、個人あるいは自己といった概念を明らかにすると同時に、さらにそれらが、資本主義的な社会関係においていかに変化してきたかという問題を抜きにして論ずることはできない」と批判している。

(例 2)

この場合の「領有」とは、「すでに存在する諸表象のなかからつごうのよいものを選択的にえらびとりみずからのものにすることによって、あらたな文化的主体を構築する作業」（林, 2001, p.27）を意味している。

6.2 長い引用（4行以上の直接引用）は、インデントの機能を用いて行頭を2文字下げにし、前後を1行ずつ空けます。

(例)

そして、フェザーストーンが言うように、後者のグローバル・マーケティング戦略はジャパナイゼーションに新たな意味を付与したのである。

もしジャパナイゼーションという語が何らかの意味を持つとしたら、それは土着化、グローバリズムという概念をもとにした市場戦略に関してのことである。それは統一化された商品やイメージを押しつけるのではなくローカル市場の需要に即したものを提供しようとするものだ。この戦略はローカリズムのスローガンを掲げようとする世界中の多国籍企業の間でポピュラーな戦略にもなっているのだ。

(Featherstone, 1995, p.9)

次章で論じるように、このようなジャパナイゼーションをグローバリズムに短絡的に結びつける議論は説得力に欠けるだけでなく、日本のナショナリスティックな言説と共謀的に作用してしまう危険性がある。

6.3 引用（直接引用）せず、参照（間接引用）する場合も、上記 6.1 と同様に出典を記します。すなわち、著者名を地の文に示す場合には、「著者名（出版年, p.ページ数）」とします。著者名を地の文に示さない場合には、参照した箇所（著者名, 出版年, p.ページ数）を記します。

(例 1)

川中（2005, p.54）によれば、民主化後のフィリピンでは、自由主義的な経済改革が進む中で、利益表出の機会を持たなかった貧困層が「ポピュリスト」を支持するようになり、これが中間層の間で民主

主義への不信を強めているという。

(例 2)

他方、トクヴィルの市民社会論に対しては、市民社会における支配と抵抗、支配的な新自由主義との親和性を看過しているというグラムシ的視座からの批判がある (Hedman, 2006, p.5; Mercer, 2002, p.11)。

6.4 ページを記載する場合は、原則としてすべての桁を省くことなく記載します。

(例) pp.3-10, pp.71-75, pp.97-118, pp.100-106, pp.213-223

6.5 文献全体を参照している場合、ページの記載は省略できます。同一著者の複数文献を参照する場合には、出版年を半角セミコロンで区切って並べます (セミコロンと出版年の間に半角スペース)。同一著者への参照が続く場合でも *ibid.* は使用せず、著者名を繰り返します。

6.6 共著の場合には、3 名以下であれば著者名を列挙し、4 名以上であれば第 2 著者以降を省略します。

(例) (生田, 松澤 2000)、(和田ほか 1995)、(Gommans and Leider 2002)、(Hefner, Lyon and Lucas 1983)、(Greenberger et al. 1954)

7. 参考文献の書式

7.1 参考文献の目録を本文末尾に掲げます。見出しは「参考文献」とします。配列は、原則として著者名 (または編者名。共著の場合は筆頭著者名) のアルファベット順とし、同一著者に複数の文献がある場合には、さらに出版年順とし、2 つめ以降は著者名の代わりに全角ダッシュ 4 個「————」で表示します。同一著者に出版年が同じ文献が複数ある場合には、1997a, 1997b… などとして区別します。

7.2 必要に応じて、日本語文献、英語文献などと言語ごとに分けたり、「一次史料」「未公刊文書」「新聞」などを一般の参考文献から分けたりする工夫は可能です。日本語文献を独立させる場合、配列は原則として著者名 (または編者名。共著の場合は筆頭著者名) の 50 音順とします。

7.3 欧文文献のファースト・ネームは、APA スタイルに従い、原則としてイニシャルで表記してください。また、第 1 著者 (編者) 名は氏名を倒置させて、ラスト・ネーム、ファースト・ネームとしますが、第 2 著者 (編者) 以降の氏名は倒置させません。

7.4 日本語、英語以外の言語による文献の記載は英語文献に準じますが、著者名のファースト・ネーム、ラスト・ネームなどの配列は、各言語の慣習にしたがってください。

7.5 欧文文献の雑誌名は、他分野の読者にもわかるよう、原則として略語ではなく、フルで表記してください。煩雑さを避けるために略語を使う場合は、略語一覧をつけてください。

7.6 参考文献目録の表記の基本は、以下のとおりです。下線部はイタリックにします。APA スタイルに従うため、書名は文頭と固有名詞以外、語頭を大文字にはしません。

1) 欧文・単行本・単著

著者ラスト・ネーム, 著者ファースト・ネーム. (出版年). 書名. 出版地: 出版社.

(例)

Anderson, B. (1998). *The spectre of comparison: Nationalism, Southeast Asia, and the world*. London and New York: Verso.

2) 欧文・単行本・共著（複数）

and は& としません。第 2 著者以降の氏名は倒置しません。

第 1 著者ラスト・ネーム, 第 1 著者ファースト・ネーム and 第 2 著者ファースト・ネーム ラスト・ネーム. (出版年). 書名. 出版地: 出版社.

第 1 著者ラスト・ネーム, 第 1 著者ファースト・ネーム, 第 2 著者ファースト・ネーム ラスト・ネーム and 第 3 著者ファースト・ネーム ラスト・ネーム. (出版年). 書名. 出版地: 出版社.

(例)

Hollan, D. W. and J. C. Wellenkamp. (1994). *Contentment and suffering: Culture and experience in Toraja*. New York: Columbia University Press.

3) 欧文・単行本・編者（単数）

編者ラスト・ネーム, 編者ファースト・ネーム, (Ed.) (出版年). 書名. 出版地: 出版社.

(例)

Harris, I. (Ed.) (1999). *Buddhism and politics in twentieth-century Asia*. London and New York: Pinter.

4) 欧文・単行本・編者（複数）

第 1 編者ラスト・ネーム, 第 1 編者ファースト・ネーム and 第 2 編者ファースト・ネーム ラスト・ネーム, (Eds.) (出版年). 書名. 出版地: 出版社.

Gommans, J. and J. Leider (Eds.) 2002. *The maritime frontier of Burma: Exploring political, cultural and commercial interaction in the Indian Ocean world, 1200-1800*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

5) 欧文・雑誌掲載の論文

APA スタイルに従うため、雑誌名だけでなく、巻もイタリックにします。

著者ラスト・ネーム, 著者ファースト・ネーム. (出版年). 論文名. 雑誌名, 巻 (号), 論文の最初のページ論文の最後のページ.

(例)

Jory, P. (2000). Books and the nation: The making of Thailand's national library. *Journal of the Southeast Asian Studies*, 31(2), 351-373.

6) 欧文・単行本（論文集・予稿集など）掲載の論文

編者の氏名は倒置しません。

著者ラスト・ネーム, 著者ファースト・ネーム. 出版年. 論文名. In 編者名 (Ed.), 書名 (pp.論文の最初のページ論文の最後のページ). 出版地: 出版社.

(例)

Bronson, B. (1999). Patterns in the early Southeast Asian metals trade. In I. Glover, P. Suchitta and J. Villers (Eds.), *Early metallurgy, trade and urban centres in Thailand and Southeast Asia* (pp.63-114). Bangkok: White Lotus.

7) 和文・単行本・単著

著者氏名（出版年）『書名』出版社.

（例）

中島岳志（2005）『ナショナリズムと宗教：現代インドのヒンドゥー・ナショナリズム運動』春風社.

8) 和文・単行本・編者（複数）

第1編者氏名，第2編者氏名編（出版年）『書名』出版社.

（例）

生田真人，松澤俊雄編（2000）『アジアの大都市3 クアラルンプール，シンガポール』日本評論社.

9) 和文・雑誌掲載の論文

著者氏名（出版年）「論文名」『雑誌名』巻（号），論文の最初のページ論文の最後のページ.

（例）

玉田芳史（1996）「タイのナショナリズムと国民形成：戦前期ピブーン政権を手掛かりとして」『東南アジア研究』34(1), 127-150.

10) 和文・単行本掲載の論文

必要に応じて、書名のあと、丸カッコ内にシリーズ名などを記します。

著者氏名（出版年）「題名」編者氏名編『書名』（必要に応じてシリーズ名など）（pp.論文の最初のページ論文の最後のページ）出版社.

（例）

内田隆三（1996）「知の社会学のために：フーコーの方法を準拠にして」井上俊ほか編『知の社会学／言語の社会学』（岩波講座現代社会学 5）（pp.35-66）岩波書店.

11) 欧文ウェブサイト

マイクロソフト社製 Word の場合、URL のハイパーリンクを削除してください。見やすさを考慮して、URL の直前で改行を入れてもかまいません。

著者ラスト・ネーム，著者ファースト・ネーム（もしくはサイトの管理運営組織名）.（記事執筆年（もしくはデータの公開年））. ページ名. サイト名. Retrieved on Month Date, Year, from URL

（例）

National Institute of Statistics of Cambodia. (2014). Agriculture Census 2013. *National Institute of Statistics*. Retrieved on October 7, 2015, from

<http://www.nis.gov.kh/index.php/en/nis-event/2-ac2013-released.html>

12) 和文ウェブサイト

マイクロソフト社製 Word の場合、URL のハイパーリンクを削除してください。見やすさを考慮して、URL の直前で改行を入れてもかまいません。

著者氏名（もしくはサイトの管理運営組織名）（記事執筆年（もしくはデータの公開年））「ページ名」『サイト名』年月日アクセス. <URL>

(例)

外務省 (2015) 「国・地域：タイ王国、基礎データ」『外務省ホームページ』2015 年 10 月 7 日アクセス<<http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/area/thailand/data.html>>

13) PDF 形式でしか公開されていない文献 (欧文)

マイクロソフト社製 Word の場合、URL のハイパーリンクを削除してください。見やすさを考慮して、URL の直前で改行を入れてもかまいません。

著者ラスト・ネーム, 著者ファースト・ネーム. (出版年). 文献名 (必要に応じて、シリーズ名など). Retrieved from URL

(例)

Lee, J. 2013. *Myanmar pivots awkwardly away from China* (ISEAS Perspective 2013/64). Retrieved from http://www.iseas.edu.sg/documents/publication/iseas_perspective_2013_64_myanmar_pivots_awkwardly_away_from_china.pdf

編者がいる文献の一部を記載する場合には、単行本掲載の論文の書き方にしがいます。

著者ラスト・ネーム, 著者ファースト・ネーム. (出版年). 論文名. In 編者ファースト・ネーム ラスト・ネーム (Ed.), 文献名 (必要に応じて、シリーズ名など)(pp.論文の最初のページ-論文の最後のページ). Retrieved from URL

(例)

Mori S. and Yamagata T. (2009). A note on income and poverty of persons with disabilities in Metro Manila. In Mori S., C. Reyes, and Yamagata T. (Eds.), *Poverty reduction for the disabled in the Philippines: Livelihood analysis from the data of PWDs in Metro Manila* (IDE Joint Research Program Series, No.151)(pp. 145-157). Retrieved from http://www.ide.go.jp/English/Publish/Download/Jrp/pdf/151_03.pdf

14) PDF 形式でしか公開されていない文献 (和文)

マイクロソフト社製 Word の場合、URL のハイパーリンクを削除してください。見やすさを考慮して、URL の直前で改行を入れてもかまいません。

著者氏名 (出版年) 『文献名』 (必要に応じて、シリーズ名など) <URL>

(例)

崔博憲 (2013) 『日本の新しいニューカマー：東南アジア出身の外国人研修生・技能実習生を中心に』(京都大学グローバル COE「親密圏と公共圏の再編成をめざすアジア拠点」ワーキングペーパー一次世代研究 No.99)<https://www.gcoe-intimacy.jp/images/library/File/working_paper/New%20WP/WP_NextGenerationResearch_99_SAI2010_abstract.pdf>

編者がいる文献の一部を記載する場合には、単行本掲載の論文の書き方にしがいます。

著者氏名 (出版年) 「論文名」編者氏名編『文献名』 (必要に応じて、シリーズ名など) (pp.論文の最初のページ-論文の最後のページ) <URL>

岩井美佐紀 (2012) 「ベトナム農村における住民組織：メコンデルタ「新経済村」の集落に焦点を当て

て」重富真一・岡本郁子編『アジア農村における地域社会の組織形成メカニズム』（アジア経済研究所調査研究報告書 No.413）（pp.1-27）＜[http://](http://www.ide.go.jp/Japanese/Publish/Download/Report/2011/pdf/413_ch2.pdf)

www.ide.go.jp/Japanese/Publish/Download/Report/2011/pdf/413_ch2.pdf>

15) 英字新聞の記事

マイクロソフト社製 Word の場合、電子版では URL のハイパーリンクを削除してください。見やすさを考慮して、URL の直前で改行を入れてもかまいません。

記者名. (発行年月日). 記事名. 紙名, pp.記事の最初のページー記事の最後のページ.

記者名. (発行年月日). 記事名. 紙名, Retrieved on Month Date, Year, from URL

(例)

Cowell, A., et al. (2010, April 19). Authorities criticized over handling of air crisis. *The New York Times*. Retrieved on April 20, 2010, from

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/20/world/europe/20ash.html?hp>

16) 日本語の新聞の記事

マイクロソフト社製 Word の場合、電子版では URL のハイパーリンクを削除してください。見やすさを考慮して、URL の直前で改行を入れてもかまいません。

記者名 (発行年月日) 「記事名」『紙名』 pp.記事の最初のページー記事の最後のページ.

記者名 (発行年月日) 「記事名」『紙名』 アクセス年月日 <URL>

(例 1)

著者名不明 (2010 年 4 月 18 日) 「文化変調：政策貧困 細る博物館」『朝日新聞』 pp.1-2.

(例 2)

安部順一 (2010 年 4 月 16 日) 「政権交代で、消えゆく ETC」『読売新聞』 2010 年 4 月 19 日アクセス

<<http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/column/politics/20100416-OYT8T00850.htm>>

17) 日本語、英語以外の言語による文献

英語文献に準じますが、書き方は各言語の慣習にしたがってください。

以上