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BREASTFEEDING IN PUBLIC: THE INTERSECTION OF BIOLOGY AND SEXUALITY

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Abstract
Breastfeeding is an infant feeding method recommended by health practitioners. Many women see it as an advantageous infant feeding method. Moreover, they perceive it as their right to provide the best for their children, and it has been legally protected. Unfortunately, not everybody looks at breastfeeding in public in a positive light. The United States of America is the bastion of individual rights. Ironically women who exercise their right to breastfeed in public often experiment objections from others. Those who protest against breastfeeding in public argue that the act is inappropriate as it involves breasts. Indeed, breasts have two functions: biological and sexual, but breasts' sexual function often overshadows their biological function. The objection to breastfeeding in public puts women in an uncomfortable position that is fraught with disagreements. According to the theory of intimate citizenship, multiple voices regarding breastfeeding in public breed conflict. There is a tension between personal concerns of breastfeeding mothers and the discomfort of some elements of the public. In addition, there is a silent agreement that breastfeeding mothers are expected to resolve these competing needs.

Keywords: breastfeeding, intimate citizenship, public

Introduction

In the United States of America, individualism is an important part of the social landscape. Individualism refers to the concept of individual sovereignty, which gives utmost importance to an individual's will, bound by other individuals' rights (Illievski, 2015). It implies that while individual rights are important, others' rights are equally prominent and should be respected. Individual freedom is one of the key characteristics of a society that adopts individualism as an ideology (Ali, Krishnan & Camp, 2005).

Breastfeeding is encouraged by health practitioners and organizations (United Nations Children's Fund, 2018). However, it is a suggestion, not a mandatory policy for parents. Therefore, breastfeeding is an individual choice. Ideally, other people should respect the decision of mothers to exercise their freedom to choose.

The country legalizes and supports breastfeeding as breastfeeding in public is legal in all states of the United States of America (Haller, 2018), but certain quarters of the society reject it. The fundamental reason for different opinions related to breastfeeding in public is rooted in how different social groups regarding human sexuality. The quarters of the society that rejects breastfeeding in public believe that breastfeeding in public is inappropriate as it might show some parts of the mother's breasts—considered taboo to be seen in public. In relation to this concern, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) publishes an annual survey on public acceptance of breastfeeding in public. A recent survey shows that 10.53% of the respondents say that mothers should have no right to breastfeed in public, while 21.45% neither agree nor disagree (SummerStyle, 2019). This percentage is relatively low, but the objection to breastfeeding in public persists from one year to the other. This opinion is the root of the persistent rejection of breastfeeding in public.

Numerous researches about breastfeeding in public explain why it has become controversial. The rejection of breastfeeding in public is concerning diverse social values in the United States. The rejection ranges from denoting breastfeeding as sexual to giving disapproving gestures (Mathews, 2019). A part of the American society believes that breastfeeding in public is inappropriate even though it is legal. This is because breast milk is a bodily fluid, which according to the Western cultural belief, should be 'contained' and the breast is considered sexual (Dowling et al. 2012; Hurst, 2012; Carathers, 2017; Mathews, 2019; Sheehan et al., 2019; Woolard, 2019). These researches discuss breastfeeding within the context of conflicting social norms. In essence, the controversy of breastfeeding in public is a representation of the conflict between two different individual choices in a public place. Some people have a tacit understanding that breastfeeding is a personal act, and thus it has to be kept private. This article will draw a connection between personal and public domains by employing Plummer's (2001) theory of intimate citizenship. In reference to the notion of the public place, previous research refers to it as one kind. However, there are many types of public places, and people perceive breastfeeding in public differently depending on the public places they are located in. This article will also analyze different types of objections to breastfeeding in diverse public places.

Plummer (2001) writes that public places are the meeting point of diverse social and cultural backgrounds. It is only logical that sometimes these differences do not align with one another. These incompatible viewpoints can even end up in a collision course. Plummer (2003) suggests that there is a relation between the personal and the political. The term 'political' refers to power contestation in a public sphere. In connection with Plummer's (2003) theory, Warming and Fahnøe (2017) add that the most private decision that a person makes could have a strong public implication. Personal belief plays a very important role in women's decision on whether to breastfeed in public. The different elements of the public will either accept or reject that personal decision

Personal belief is nurtured through a series of lifetime socialization processes. Social experiences, activities, and interaction with others shape someone's beliefs, which later influences one's individual attitude and behavior (Mead, 1972; Macionis, 2017). In the socialization process, family, schools, peers, and the media play pivotal roles in introducing societal norms and values to the younger generation. The way people perceive the appropriateness, or the inappropriateness, of breastfeeding in public is one of the results of the socialization process.

The discussion of breastfeeding in public must include the debate on what constitutes the public sphere. According to Smyth (2018), a space is not merely a place. Each space has embedded meaning, namely the meaning that results from a process. The process includes the initial purpose of building a public space. This objective is then strengthened by the repeated activity conducted in that space. There is a widespread unspoken expectation that breastfeeding is done discreetly in a private space. As a consequence, the social construction of breastfeeding in public is that of a challenge to the widely accepted norms (Domosh & Seager, 2001).

Method

The purpose of this article is to understand women's experiences with regard to breastfeeding in public. The research used a qualitative approach to see the perception of those who reject breastfeeding in public about the practice. This article uses women’s stories about their experiences when challenged when breastfeeding in public. These stories are published by USA Today (2019), an online news website with a high readership. The stories are collected and selected to meet this article's main criteria: breastfeeding in public and must describe women’s experience of being rejected when breastfeeding in public. The articles are coded numerically according to the sequence of publication. They are then coded under categories: *place*, *objector*, *objecting reason*, and *reaction*. The *place* shows where the breastfeeding in public is challenged, *objector* shows who demonstrate the objection, *objection reason* highlights why the objector shows their objection to breastfeeding in public, and *reaction* describes how the objection makes the breastfeeding women feel. After being coded, it would be easier to see why a part of society disregards breastfeeding in public and this article would draw a clear link between the personal and the public.

Finding and Discussion

Choosing to breastfeed and performing it wherever and whenever necessary is an individual right that is guaranteed by all states in the United States of America. Ideally, women should face no problem exercising this right, but reality proves different. A part of society still believes that breastfeeding in various public spaces is unacceptable, especially in church during a service, in restaurants, stores, public transit, park, plane, and public bathroom. Ballard (2019) publishes a survey on how the respondents think about breastfeeding in public. According to his survey, more people believe that breastfeeding in public is either somewhat or completely unacceptable.

Table 1. Percentage of respondents who have negative responses to breastfeeding in public (adopted from Ballard, 2019)

Public Places	Somewhat Unacceptable (%)	Completely Unacceptable (%)
Public bathroom	6	7
Plane	9	9
Park	11	11

Public Transit	13	14
Store	15	15
Restaurant	15	17
Church Service	14	19

From Table 1, we can see that people place a different level of inappropriateness of breastfeeding according to the type of the public place. This finding is in line with Smyth's (2018) argument that each place has a perceived and conceived meaning.

Indeed, this percentage is relatively low compared to the majority that has a positive response to breastfeeding in public. However, this relatively low percentage is enough for us to indicate that there is a problem within society. Those who experience unjust treatment when performing breastfeeding in public deserve a friendlier environment that could appreciate breastfeeding women's freedom of choice. Therefore, to complement the survey above, it is necessary to capture women's personal experiences when breastfeeding in public. Their stories have been documented by USA Today as follows:

Table 2. Identity of articles portraying the stories of breastfeeding in public

Code	Title of Article
Article 1	Mom fights back after being asked to breastfeed in private space at elementary school (Longhi, 2019)
Article 2	Video shows breastfeeding mom confront woman who tells her: 'That's disgusting' (Longhi, 2019)
Article 3	Nursing mom gets booted from water park; officer says she can't sit with both breasts out (Haller, 2019)
Article 4	Breastfeeding mom asked to 'cover up' at pizzeria. She 'politely declined their offer' (Ruland, 2019)
Article 5	Dutch airline says breastfeeding policy is to 'keep the peace' after mom asked to cover up (Ali, 2019)
Article 6	Mom settles breastfeeding lawsuit with church that said she could 'cause men to lust' (Daugherty, 2019)

Table 3. The reasons for objection of breastfeeding in various public places

Code	Place	Objector	Objecting Reason	Reaction
Article 1	Education facility (elementary school)	Schoolteacher and principal	The schoolteacher and principal asked the breastfeeding mother to move to a more private space because they want to "protect" other students so that the students do not need to see a breastfeeding scene as it is not all age-appropriate. Moreover, the principal questioned whether breastfeeding is allowed to be done in public	The breastfeeding mother refused to move to a private area as it is not in line with the law The breastfeeding mother felt offended, then posted her disappointment through a video on Facebook

Article 2	Store (Shopping center)	Another female shopper/ passer-by	A passerby shouted to a breastfeeding mother, “that’s [breastfeeding] disgusting,” She also added that “the men over there are looking at you” and “my child is allowed to play without seeing that”	The breastfeeding mother responded to the passer-by, “it doesn’t matter what they [men] think". Then, she added “I am allowed to be here”
Article 3	Public leisure/health facility (swimming pool)	Pool’s lifeguard and manager, then called out a police officer	The pool’s lifeguard accompanied by a police officer rudely asked the breastfeeding mother to cover up. If not, they would ask her to leave the swimming pool area as it is mentioned that it is the rule of the pool	The mother said that "I’m completely appalled and heartbroken at the comment the officer made to the manager,"
Article 4	Restaurant	Another patron and the manager	A patron complained about a mother who was breastfeeding in the restaurant. Then, to settle this situation, the manager offered the breastfeeding mother a blanket to cover-up	The breastfeeding mother declined the offer. Later, she also posted what she experienced on her Facebook. In her online post, she claimed that the restaurant owner referred to her as selfish, but the restaurant owner denied her accusation.
Article 5	Public transportation	A flight attendant, supported by the flight management	The flight attendant wanted to maintain the comfort of other passengers from a possibly uncomfortable situation caused by breastfeeding. Should the event occur, the flight attendant would have to deal with it The flight management stated that breastfeeding is allowed, but the other passengers’ comfort must	The breastfeeding mother wrote a complaint online and felt embarrassed as asked to cover up when breastfeeding

			be respected too. Therefore, the mother was expected to cover her breast when breastfeeding	
Article 6	Worship Place (church)	The Naz – Brighton Nazarene Church (Pastor and church staff)	Previously, the church applied a lawsuit against a mother who breastfed in the church area. It is because the pastor and church staff believe that her action of breastfeeding her child in public was immodest and it could sexually arouse men in the church.	The breastfeeding mother and family felt compelled to leave the Church to avoid future embarrassment and shame. The breastfeeding mother finally settled the lawsuit. The church apologized and updated the breastfeeding policy in the church

The stories above show that objections to breastfeeding in public can occur in a variety of places. The reasons for the grievance vary depending on the public place. Similarly, there are different ways to convey the complaints, from asking the mothers to move to a more discreet area or room, asking the mothers to cover up so that their breastfeeding activity would be less visible to verbal confrontation by using an offensive remark. However, those stories share similar features: (1) Most of the objectors are acquaintances or perfect strangers; (2) It is always the mother who is asked to fit the 'rules' for the others; (3) The reasons for objections reveal a contestation on personal belief about breastfeeding in public; Furthermore, all objectors have more power than that of the breastfeeding mother. They are the school principal, church pastor and staff, pool manager and police officer, and flight managerial and restaurant crew who have the authority to run their business as they deem fit. Even the passer-by, whose identity is unknown, verbally humiliates the breastfeeding mother. This reveals that she—the passer-by—feels that she has the right to judge, monitor, and govern the breastfeeding woman, ignoring the fact that they are complete strangers.

The role of the stranger in breastfeeding in public

Often in the experience of women who breastfeed in public, we could find that their breastfeeding is objected to by someone they barely know. The woman in Article 1 might know both the principal and the schoolteacher mentioned. In Article 2, the breastfeeding mother encounters a stranger she has never met before. However, her objection is the most *hostile* compared to those experienced by the other mothers in the other articles.

Based on these data, we could infer that *stranger* has a role in governing breastfeeding in public. Stranger's negative reaction toward breastfeeding women in public could disrupt breastfeeding continuity. Boyer (2018) claims that strangers' negative reactions to breastfeeding women in public contribute to a mother's reluctance to continue breastfeeding. They eventually stop breastfeeding. Breastfeeding mothers think a lot about how people react to them in public. Even though breastfeeding is their right and is legally protected, breastfeeding mothers need assurance from the general public that what they are doing is acceptable. The negative feeling generated from strangers' disapproval makes breastfeeding women feel uncomfortable or even embarrassed. The hostility towards breastfeeding mothers can also affect other mothers who are thinking about breastfeeding their babies. They may opt not to breastfeed their babies since they are unwilling to stand the wrath of strangers.

The emotion of being disapproved in a public place is important to be pointed out because "emotions work to create the very distinction between the inside and the outside, and that this separation takes place through the very movement engendered by responding to others and objects" (Ahmed, 2004, p: 28). The aversion to mothers who breastfeed in public conveys a silent but strong message that they do not belong to a place where they happen to be in. Breastfeeding mothers in public are accused of disrupting the comfort of others by *failing* their duty to breastfeed only in a prescribed space (Boyer, 2012). Those breastfeeding mothers are indirectly classified as the others who are not part of the place where they are. Moreover, in many cases, this othering of breastfeeding mothers in public generates the impression that they are the ones trespassing the code of conduct in public places. Legally speaking, it is the right of breastfeeding women that is violated.

Expectations to the mothers

When a conflict occurs, the one who is expected to resolve the problem is the breastfeeding mother. They are perceived as the *source* of the conflict, as portrayed in Article 1 to Article 6 above. The perception that breastfeeding women cause conflict in public places is attributable to the exposure of their breasts. Therefore, breastfeeding in schools, churches, stores, and other public places is considered inappropriate. The main reason for this way of thinking is that women's breast has paradoxical ambiguity (Gripsrud et al., 2019).

The ambiguity of breasts could be observed in popular culture (as in popular narratives, films, fashions, and advertisements of popular products) and in everyday life. Women's breast is adored, and their beauty is acknowledged, even used as an attraction to gain more audience. However, the breast in everyday life is censored as it might cause mischief because the breast is regarded as a sexual symbol in most Western societies. Eventually, there is a belief that women are perceived as seductive temptresses to the male transgressor (Stepien, 2014). Woolard (2019) states that the cultural belief causes surveillance directed at women's bodies as women's sexual body is regarded as potentially deviant. Indeed, this is an unfair judgment directed towards women, but it shows that women are often less advantaged in society. As a result, society tends to monitor women more than it does to men. Webb et al., (2019) argue that surveillance of breastfeeding women includes how much breast is visible in various social situations. It somehow implies that the problem lies within women's bodies. People would expect women to dress with a certain dress code in certain places, like in a school, worship house, or office. It implies that women should behave in a certain manner to be considered appropriate.

A similar situation happens in the case of breastfeeding in public. The ones who are often asked to behave considerately are the women, instead of those who object to breastfeeding in public. Szymanski et al. (2011) believe that the negative attitude directed toward breastfeeding is caused by the objectification of women in the entertainment industry. It limits the perception of society on the breasts as women's body parts that have a sexual function. Society neglects the fact that women's breasts also have a biological function as a source of mother's milk which is much needed by babies. As a result, when there is a conflict involving *breasts,* as in the breastfeeding in public, it is usually the mother who is expected to resolve the problem, for example by moving to a more discreet place or covering her breast and her baby when breastfeeding.

Personal beliefs as the source of conflict in breastfeeding in public

The clash of personal beliefs is the real cause of controversy related to breastfeeding in public. Plummer (2001) suggests that multiple voices representing people's personal life in the public are not in sync, hence the conflict. Article 2 above clearly portrays how two personal belief collides with one another. In a public place like a store, the objector said that breastfeeding in public is *disgusting,* as the men who happen to be in the vicinity may see the exposed breast. *O*ther objectors would only allow their child to play without seeing such *disgusting* public breastfeeding on display (Longhi, 2019). Therefore, it could be inferred that the objectors believe that breastfeeding should not be visible to the public eyes. Their perception of breastfeeding in public is related to how they are exposed to beliefs related to breastfeeding.

The more someone is exposed to the positive image of breastfeeding, the greater the likelihood that the person will have a positive attitude towards breastfeeding. Asiodu et al. (2017) state that early breastfeeding experience as a child—either being breastfed by their mother or witnessing relative breastfeeding—affects their current belief and preference in the feeding method. They will be more likely to choose to breastfeed. This is because engaging in breastfeeding or being familiar with breastfeeding is a social experience that could shape one's identity. Indeed, as Macionis (2017) suggests that social experience is a lifetime process. This is because they are a wide variety of agents of socialization from whom someone learns about different societal values. The agents of socialization include family, schools, peers, and media. If a child is exposed to breastfeeding in the family and beyond then learns that breastfeeding brings more benefits for both parent and child, s/he would likely prefer breastfeeding to another infant feeding method. S/he would also give a positive response when witnessing women who are breastfeeding in public. On the other hand, if someone is exposed to a negative image or attitude toward breastfeeding, s/he would be more likely to choose an infant feeding method other than breastfeeding. Moreover, that person would feel uneasy toward women who breastfeed in public, possibly believing that breastfeeding is inappropriate as it uses sexual breasts.

The objector in Article 2 is not the only one to make her personal beliefs public. A patron requesting the restaurant manager to ask the breastfeeding mother to cover up in article 4 and the flight attendant in article 5 shows that their different actors who contest the appropriateness of breastfeeding in public. Unfortunately, all of them directly ask the breastfeeding mothers to do something about the discomfort of others, rather than request those who are bothered by breastfeeding in public to move to a different spot

Breastfeeding in church areas is considered inappropriate. Smyth (2008) states that a place is not merely a place. Every place has meaning attained to it through a conceived and perceived process. A church is a sacred public place where the main activities conducted in church constitute of praying, singing gospel, religious preaching, and other religious activities. These activities shape people’s idea that the visitors must conduct themselves properly. Breastfeeding in this area would be considered problematic because it involves breasts which are culturally associated with the sexual body parts. Breasts are in contrast with the perceived meaning of church. Consequently, in article 6, the pastor and church staff addressed the breastfeeding mother as immodest and can sexually arouse men.

Conclusion

Intimate citizenship emphasizes the connection between the personal and the political. Personal beliefs contribute to people’s attitudes towards breastfeeding in public. This is because one's personal background shapes one's perspectives, including how they perceive breastfeeding in public. This article highlights the objections directed at breastfeeding in public, mostly done by strangers, who believe that such action is too vulgar. The objectors also believe that they have the *power* over the breastfeeding women, so subsequently, they *correct* the conduct of the breastfeeding women. Therefore, breastfeeding women would behave in accordance with society's standard of appropriateness. This attitude is fueled by the two functions of breasts, biological and sexual. The objectors tend to focus on the sexuality of the breast and fail to see their biological function. This tendency is attributable to the perception of breasts as a sexual symbol in most Western cultures, including the United States of America. The sexualization engenders the governance of women who breastfeed in public

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IRANIAN YOUTH'S IDENTITY POLITICS: COSMOPOLITAN ASPIRATIONS, SELF-REPROACH AND LIVED EXPERIENCES OF BELONGINGNESS TO THE NATION

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Abstract
Constituting more than one-third of the country's population, young generation in Iran are also a subnational group who have their own unique experiences of living in Iran and distinct way of defining themselves as Iranian. This has given rise to Iranian youth's identity politics, evinced by nationwide student-led uprisings and social movements throughout the past decade. Identity politics in this sense is specified as the ways in which the young Iranians reflect on their everyday experiences in order to make sense of their belongingness to the nation. The aim of this study, however, is to elucidate the ambiguities surrounding the youth's identities through conducting a series of focus group discussions with the most mature segment of this age group who were selected from middle-class residents of Tehran. The findings ultimately unravelled cosmopolitan aspirations, self-reproach and some other identity-making aspects of these young people's lives.

Keywords: focus group, identity politics, Iranian youth, lived experiences, social movements

Introduction

Soon after Islamic Revolution in 1979, Iran underwent a sudden political, economic and social change through which it turned from the West's major ally into an internationally isolated nation (Borszik, 2016). Accordingly, in the course of more than four decades, the fundamental shift in Islamic Republic of Iran's (IRI) international relations, particularly in regard to the West, has resulted in a series of grave consequences for the nation, affecting almost every aspect of people's lives in Iran (Milani, 2018). The magnitude of such devastating effects on the country was exacerbated even more with eight years of Iran-Iraq war which began shortly after Islamic Revolution and lasted up until 1988. Throughout these years, however, IRI has been capitalising on both repressive and ideological state apparatuses to reaffirm its legitimacy to rule over the nation (Golkar, 2016). In line with such efforts, the state-controlled social institutions, including mainstream media, have been incessantly engaged in construction of a homogeneous identity based on Islamic, revolutionary and anti-West ideology in order to ensure the continuity of the theocratic regime through solidarity of the nation (Amirpur, 2017). The regime's relative success in establishing an Islamic state, however, was enabled through netting the support of the majority of people who up until mid-1990s had retained a revolutionary spirit and a warring attitude against a West-backed enemy, Iraq (Chubin, 2019).

In this way, the period of post-war was the beginning of a gradual societal shift partly for the waning collective mood of unity, comradeship and fanaticism, and partly due to the entrance of the world into a new era of globalisation. Perhaps the most remarkable transformative aspect of the globalisation at this point was the advent of the new forms of transnational media such as Internet and satellite TV, and their rapid expansion across the country during 1990s. In essence, these new means of mass communication had their impacts on the people of Iran by bringing about an abundance of unfettered information and entertainment contents, liberating people from the state-run national media's monopoly. Also, in tandem with such developments, a plethora of political and popular cultural contents with generally anti-regime disposition flooded the free-to-air satellite TV and various Internet-related websites and platforms (Alikhah, 2018). This in turn, marked a defining moment for people of Iran as they were able to access to a different narrative about the nation's history as well as alternative meanings of Iranianness (Marandi & Tari, 2017; Matin, 2020).

Nonetheless, the culmination of these social, political, and technological transformations during the last decade of the twentieth century coincided with the emergence of young generation in Iran. Being born between early 1990s to about mid-2000s, these young people are now almost 15 to 29 years old, and are predicted to constitute one-third of the 84 million population of Iran by 2020 (Roudi, Azadi, & Mesgaran, 2017). Also known as Iranian youth, the young generation is seen to be a distinctive subnational group with members who claim to have their own specific norms, values and unique experiences of living in Iran and being Iranian (Khosravi, 2017). Such uniqueness is seen by many to have its roots in youth's disconnectedness with revolutionary culture, as well as concurring their formative years with post-war era and the life-altering circumstances of this hectic period, the most significant of which was arguably the accessibility to the global media (Tajmazinani, 2017).

The youth's distinctiveness in this way, was remarkably manifested in various social and cultural practices, and their increasing radical political participation (Rivetti, Rivetti & Yurova, 2020). This is perhaps most evident in youth's burgeoning online activism and other emancipatory campaigns, along with the nationwide social movements and uprisings which have primarily been organised and spear-headed by young dissidents throughout the past two decades (Khazraee & Losey, 2016; Mohammadi, 2019). These observations, alongside the youth's self-proclaimed definition for their Iranian selves vis-à-vis the Islamic identity construct imposed by the state, therefore, have given rise to this subnational group's identity politics: the youth's struggle over the meaning of Iranianness, and the ways they perceive /express themselves in relation to their belongingness to the nation.

Against this background, the present study argues that since Iranian youth are (or perceive themselves as) members of a distinctive subnational group with unique norms, values and worldviews, they are also likely to have their own specific way of reflecting on and defining themselves as Iranians. As part of their identity project, then, such largely experiential self-perception has emerged as a meaningful source for youth to compare/contrast themselves with 'others' while preserving their national belongingness. In this context, 'othering' involved the youth's construction and identification of self (as a subnational social group) and others, through attribution of differentiating characteristics to either in-group or out-group members.

This study, therefore, aims to shed some light on Iranian youth's identity politics through exploring some of the salient aspects of their identities, particularly those based on their lived experiences. Here, 'identity politics' follows Lawler's (2015) expanded definition of the term, focusing more on banal and everyday form of identity-making that produces and reproduces (sub)national identities (Billig, 1995) in the context of 'others' who are seen to stand outside such identities. Furthermore, a 'salient aspect of identity' in this study is specified as what young generation perceive to matter to them the most at specific point in time, particularly those beliefs, attitudes and experiences that set them apart from older generations. The term 'lived experiences', however, is referred to these individuals' personal knowledge about and experiences of social world gained through their direct and first-hand involvement in everyday events.

In this view, besides critical role of the politics of identity in advancing social change, any inquiry into Iranian youth's identities seems to be of paramount importance, precisely because young people comprise the largest segment of Iran's population, and have the highest potential for shaping the future of the country (Bakhtiari, 2020; Khan-Mohammadi & Kaveh, 2019). Moreover, the qualitative approach of this study was set to unravel some of the youth's deeply embedded perspectives often not accessible by means of survey and statistics. This is in particular important since the existing knowledge about youth within the circles of Iranian social science is largely built on positivist paradigm and quantitative research which have often sought generalisiblity rather than getting into the roots of social problems (Ghaneirad & Gholipour, 2009; Rahbari, 2015).

Identity and Identity Politics

The questions like 'Who am I?' and 'Where do I belong?' have taken up an unprecedented level of immediacy and complexity in modern times (Papastergiadis, 2000). The 'self', as he further noted, is now the site of such intense cultivation while one's "place of origin is a determining force in our destiny". Identity in this sense refers to the ways individuals think about themselves as 'a people' and how they think about others, as well as imagining how others might think about them (Kidd & Teagle, 2012, p. 7). Lebow (2012) distinguished between concept of identity and practice of identity, considering the latter the understandings of individuals of themselves and their behavioral implications. Such understandings, he suggested, have three physical, social and reflective dimensions. An individual's physical body that differs from others including appearance, abilities and limitations that help shape his or her live and react to others and their perspectives upon his or her. The individuals' social understanding of themselves that comes from their social relations with others and their positions in society. The reflective dimension is a product of consciousness which enables people to grasp their distinctiveness from, and similarities with others.

Such sociological perspective, therefore, focuses on everydayness of identity, and considers it as an ordinary performance produced by individuals' self-making processes alongside their positions in the social systems (Goffman, 1969). Parallel to this, Giddens (1991) coined the term 'identity project' to suggest that identity is not static, but it is a development process and a movement towards, rather than a conceived destination. It is through this view that Giddens thought of the complexity of identity whereas the more resources available for construction of the self, the more aspects of identities we weave around our 'selves'.

Since 1980s, however, there has been a 'veritable discursive explosion' around the concept of identity (Hall, 1996). It was during this time that identity emerged as a political struggle, and became a central theme in cultural studies (Barker, 1999, p. 2). Hall (1996) pointed to the 'impossibility' and 'political significance' as two differing ways of understanding identity. Impossibility of identity, as he argued, refers to the western notion of the totality of a person who owns a fixed and stable identity. In this view, individuals are regarded as unified agents with a universal and static identity. In contrast, cultural studies view on identity holds that an individual's self is made up of multi-layered and shifting identities. It was within this 'unstable identity' perspective that the political significance of the concept of identity was highlighted (Hall, 1996). Such anti-essentialist view on self within the cultural studies, therefore, featured identity politics "as a forging of 'new languages' of identity with which to describe ourselves" (Barker, 2004, p. 95).

Identity politics has often been described as the tendency of the members of a particular race, gender, ethnicity, age or religion to politically organise around a special interest merely with the intention of advancing such interest without concern or regard for any larger group or collective. This does not necessarily mean the reinforcement of a certain group identity, as some social movements have been the result of breaking away from dominant identity towards the acknowledgement of the individuals' identities. Bernstein (2005) traced back the formal use of the term identity politics to 1979 when social scientists began to use the phrase to label the certain activist groups who challenged the societal perspectives and description of how they perceived themselves. In later decades, identity politics was broadened to mean collective actions usually with activist or violent nature around issues of nationalism and ethnicity (Bernstein, 2005).

In the words of Wiarda (2014, p. 148), identity politics simply means 'the quest to belong', though it can be more formally described as "political attitudes or positions that focus on the concerns of sub-groups in the society". Identity politics, as he further elaborated, is a form of "activism or status-seeking" pursuits involving various social, cultural and political categories. Identity politics, therefore, concerns "the self-interested perspectives of self-identified societal interest groups . . . in ways that people's politics are shaped by these narrower (non-national) aspects of their identity" (2014, p. 148). In a strictly political sense, the term is described as political activities which involve struggles over the right forms of political, legal and constitutional recognition and tolerance towards identities of individuals belonging to various social or cultural (sub) groups (Tully, 2003). Identity politics, from a more cultural standpoint, refers to the "collective sensibilities and actions" originating from a distinctive worldview (or experiences, interests, and struggles) within a society as a response to the majority's worldview that has a tendency to overpower, subsume or erase such distinctive worldview (Hale, 1997).

Moreover, Identity politics has been conceptualised as "contestations of theory and interpretation about particular identity groups and in opposition to the dominant or majority population" with the aim of exploring the "discursive dependence on the ever-evolving constructions" discrete categories of identity (Fraser-Burgess, 2018). Identity politics, as noted by Arthur Asa Berger (2018, p. 189), is the strong passion and intense desire that social groups have about their own problems, situations, and needs. Identity politics for Chris Barker (2004) is about "making and maintenance of cultural rights" for those within a society or culture who strive to make identity claims. In terms of restoring justice and equality in a democratic society, identity politics also aims at changing culture and behaviour in ways that will have real benefits for the people involved. Identity politics, as Francis Fukuyama has observed is a natural and inevitable response to injustice which in recent years has resulted in "welcome changes in concrete public policies that have benefited the groups in question, as well as in cultural norms" (2018, p. 83). In recent decades, however, there have been some developments that emerged to explain the identity politics' implications for recognition of a certain group among other groups in various societies around the world, in addition to its critical role for social change in those nations (Parekh, 2008).

Methodology

In this study, focus group discussion (FGD) was preferred over other methods mainly due to 'group effect', allowing the data to emerge in the form of spontaneous conversations between participants, with minimum interference of a moderator. Here, the group effect was in particular vital for generating the necessary data, since the study dealt with young people's everyday experiences which were more likely to be revealed through unaffected and ordinary interactions between members in each group.

The recruitment of the research participants was based on a purposive sampling approach that aimed to provide an in-depth account about the under-investigation phenomenon through interviewing only a number of information-rich individuals (Liamputtong, 2011). This was carried out through snowball sampling technique wherein existing subjects provided referrals from people they knew, such as friends, relatives and colleagues, as long as they fitted the nomination criteria. The criteria required candidates to be 25-29 years old, Shiite, middle-class residents of Tehran, with no affiliation with Iranian political system. In this way, the candidates' age, religion membership and even political connection were relatively easy to confirm. However, estimating the participants' social class required extra effort which involved looking into the initial information provided by the referees at the preliminary nomination stage, to see if such descriptions qualify these individuals as middle class or not. The inclusion criteria protocol which was developed for this category considered factors such as the candidates' residential area (e.g. northern districts, inner city and southern districts respectively represent upper class, middle class, and under class), and the income of their families between \$10 to \$100 per person per day (Farzanegan, 2021).

Since the purpose of the FGDs was to explore some of the less-known aspects of individuals' identities which not had been adequately addressed before, the interview guide was designed with minimum structure to let up on participants and thereof allow the emergence of varied and new ideas (Kitzinger, 2020). The topics for discussions were chosen carefully to allow the participants to start thinking about and reflecting on their sense of belonging to the nation as well as their everyday experiences of living in Iran and being Iranian.

Each topic was introduced by asking a general question and then giving the members some time to mull it over, while listening to their responses and observing their nonverbal interactions in order to present the probes and follow-up questions appropriately and at the right time. These interrogation techniques allowed to get a better sense of what individuals were exactly trying to communicate, since their initial responses to the general questions were hardly clear, detailed and meaningful.

The arrangement of the topics to be discussed as well as the wordings of the interview questions were tested out and fine-tuned during a pilot study with a group consisting of 2 males and 2 females. The pilot study also proved to be useful for evaluating the group characteristics such as size and diversity. As such, the focus groups with 4 members were found to be manageable without compromising 'group dynamics', not to mention the inconveniences that having larger groups would bring to the host. Conversely, the pilot study provided some clues about unproductivity of the mixed groups, since gender relations between members seemed to sway the participants' opinions and way of speaking. That is to say, at times male participants seemed to play with words and alter their views in order to appear 'cool' or sophisticated. In the same vein, the female participants occasionally united against male peers to signal 'girl power' which influenced their overall responses to the questions. Following these observations, and in order to remain sensitive to the local culture and also to be considerate towards the hosts' expectations, it was decided to have homogeneous groups in terms of gender, each consisting of four members. The decision on the number of the groups, however, was based on data saturation wherein the continuation of the FGDs did not yield any new ideas.

Furthermore, due to the current political climate in Iran where people are generally hesitant to openly talk about their experiences and reveal their views in public or in formal settings, the FGDs were informally conducted in host participants' homes. A consent form was designed and copies of it were given to the participants at the outset of each session to read and sign if they were willing to take part in the focus groups. The form was also included a section informing the participants about the nature of the research and the ways in which its findings would be used in future. Also, each participant was assigned with a pseudonym to protect their confidentiality and anonymity. Each focus group lasted about 90 minutes and they were voice-recorded in their entirety. Finally, the discussions were fully transcribed, and then were translated from Farsi to English.

The analysis began with reading through the transcripts of each focus group and in a topic-by-topic order to get a general sense of what participants are saying. This was followed by coding each text segment, starting with the shortest or easiest to access ones. Coding required paying attention to the main idea being conveyed within a text segment and then assigning a single code to it accordingly. After assigning about 18 code labels to the entire text database of 250 pages, the codes were listed and then grouped in order to eliminate the overlaps and redundancies, resulting in emergence of 7 major themes. These themes, then, reflected the range of ideas associated with the participants' perceptions and everyday experiences of being Iranian.

Limitations

As a qualitative study there are a number of limitations most of which are inherent to its non-probability sampling approach. This, ultimately, prevents the generalisation of the study's findings to the large and diverse population of the youth in Iran. Nonetheless, both demographic and geographic inclusion criteria within this sampling framework present the two main limitations of the study. In this way, choosing middle-class Tehranis for investigation, as the most relevant group, was primarily due to the feasibility considerations, including time and resources involved in the research. Furthermore, the decision to limit the sampling population to only 25-29, rather than 15-29 year-olds, was based on the idea that participants with any greater age difference are less likely to use the same vernacular, linguistic terminologies and communication styles (considering the urban Iranian culture). Similarly, reducing the geographical scope to the middle-class dominated areas followed the rationale of enhancing group homogeneity, and therefore, encouraging group interaction and dynamics which are essential for generating the quality data (Stewart & Shamdasani, 2014, p. 44). Moreover, Tehran has long been the country's heartbeat of culture, commerce and politics, with middle-class Tehranis being an indicator for cultural, political and economic traits across the nation (Basmenji, 2013; Ghaffari, 2020). In addition to this, the capital city's middle-class population have often been the protagonist in political activism and social movements (Bagheri, 2018).

Findings

Desire to join the world

At certain point during the interviews, the participants were taken by surprise when they were asked "How would you describe who you are as an Iranian if you were to introduce yourself to the people from other countries?", as if they had never taught about such matter before. In response to this question, however, the participants tried to rely on their imagination in order to say something about themselves in such hypothetical situation. In so doing, they came up with various answers, many of which were vague, abstract or uncertain, but others provided some clues about how they regarded themselves as Iranians. Ali from male Group 6, for example, said:

> I'd say anything positive about Iran. I'd tell them that our civilisation is one of the earliest in the world. I'd tell them that we are friendly people and despite all the shortcomings and disreputableness of our government, at least we have peace and security in our country.

Whereas the comments like the one above suggested the participants' strong desire to be known as a peaceful and unthreatening nation, their further elaborations held Western media responsible for the current negative image on Iranians. Other participants in this group, for instance, said:

> What could be heard about Iranians is not positive at all. They [Western countries] even made films about Iranians to destroy our image. First thing I'd do is to convince them [people of the world] that what they show about Iranians are not true at all,especially younger people are totally different from what's shown in there. They should know that nothing's wrong with us or our culture. Yet, I rather not to say anything about our government! (Hesam)
>
> I'd even talk proudly of our religion . . . I'd talk about politics too, and try to show them that the created image of Iran by the West is false. Iranians are peaceful people, and the new generation cares about connection with the world. (Saleh)

Expressing their resentment against demonising depictions of Iranians across the world's major media networks, the respondents believed that it was time for other nations to begin questioning the validity of such misleading representations. Implied in their comments also was the aspiration that Iranian youth deserve global recognition as a dissident generation who did not elect the current government in Iran, and therefore, have no association with authorities and their wrongdoings. The participants' responses, in this way, can be explained in the historical context and throughout the years that followed the Islamic Revolution when Iran-US relationship came to an end. This alone, was the single major political shift that brought about a series of devastating circumstances for the nation, not to mention the recent crippling international sanctions that exacerbated the Iran's already secluded status (Peksen, 2019). Parallel to this, global media corporations have relentlessly attempted to construct a biased image of the nation (Ebrahemifar, 2019), often making no distinction between young and old generations, or undiscerningly confusing 'government' with 'people' when using the word 'Iran'. Ultimately, the participants' discussions at this point showed that the reverberation of the world's negative views on Iran has particularly been felt by young generation who more than ever care about being known as unthreatening and peaceful people with a hope of becoming the citizens of the world.

Considering migration

Next to the discussion around the topic of defining the self as Iranian, when the participants were asked whether they would consider migration, they almost readily began to respond as if they had frequently thought about such matter before. As exemplified in the following conversations between members of the male Group 6, the participants conceived of migration as a solution to their presumably depressing situation:

> I won't leave Iran to live somewhere else forever, maybe just for a short while to earn some money, and experience 'real' life at least for a while! (Hesam)
>
> If some of my friends and family can followed me, I'd definitely consider it! (Amir)
>
> Well, if this was the case everyone would go! [All laugh] Personally, I'd consider living in another country, only temporarily, just to improve my

> financial condition and of course to see how the life feels beyond the walls! (Saleh)

What these comments bring to light the most is the participants' both current pressing financial problems, as well as their overall sense of desolation caused by boredom of living within the nation-state boundaries that keep them away from the rest of the world. In this way, migration looks like a valid option for the participants, as overwhelming restrictions imposed by authorities together with other social problems like unemployment, inflation, and economic recession continue to make it more and more difficult for many people to prosper in Iran (Kazemi, Baghbanian, Maymand, & Rahmani, 2018). In this view, contemplating migration is more prevalent among the youth since they are, on the one hand, feeling uncertain and insecure about their future in Iran, and on the other hand, more likely to be engrossed by the aspects of the Western way of life (Khosravi, 2017). That being said, despite the participants' general preoccupation with migration, they regarded being in the company of family and friends the only worthwhile belonging that held them back from leaving Iran for good. In other words, expressing such feelings might be construed as an overwhelming sense of despair and hopelessness among youth, since other than kinship, they cannot imagine any other meaningful reason for spending the rest of their lives in Iran.

Nonetheless, as the nation currently undergoing a more serious political and economic turmoil, while migration for many young people remains a relevant idea to improve their lives (Kamal & Hossain, 2017), for others it is way to repudiate the legitimacy of the Islamic regime's rule (Larsson, 2018). In consequence, then, it can be said that similar to their desire to join the world, as their responses to the previous topic suggested, the youth's reflection on migration presented just another dimension of these young people's cosmopolitan aspiration; the tendency to go beyond the restricted view on reality of life and as part of their commitment to move towards an imagined global culture.

We are all know-it-alls

In response to the question "What are some of the common traits among Iranians that distinguish them from other nations?", the first characteristic that the participants strongly agreed on was being 'know-it-all'; a quality that describes Iranians as people who consider themselves expert in every subject. The general essence of this kind of perception can be seen in the conversations of the participants in male Group 5:

> It's true that we Iranians are all doctors and philosophers! I don't know why we are all like that but maybe it is in our genes. One talks about everything, knows about anything, and finally concludes in his/her own way. It's rooted in our culture . . . our excessive friendliness. (Reza)
> Well, when we talk, we close our ears. I just wait for the moment when it's my turn to prove my own point, regardless of whether or not I have enough knowledge about that subject. (Peyman)
> We don't really care what others' point is. We just want to show that we know more and understand better than others do. (Mehdi)

In the same way, the participants across female groups attributed 'know-it-all' as a common feature among Iranians:

> Iranians always try to say that they know more and better than others: "I know everything but others know nothing, they are all wrong, they don't understand and I am the only one who understands it all". This is partly because of our inquisitive nature that we all share; the one that makes us interfere in others' lives . . . I think Iranians are inherently too warm and friendly, and being all-know-it-all is one of the consequences of the overshoot of such seemingly positive traits. (Forouz, Group 4)
>
> Unfortunately, it's bitter fact about us. We all know it all, and we all think that we know everything very well. (Elham, Group 3)

The notion of Iranians' hospitality, warmth and cordiality has long been recorded in various travelogues and ethnographic accounts (Simpson-Hebert, 1987; Bar, 2004). From the participants' point of view, however, these positive traits have evolved over time into a rather conceited and narcissistic mannerism. Nevertheless, as the group members openly admitted that such attribution is indeed an inconvenient truth about the whole nation, at times they seemed to be uneasy to direct such criticism toward themselves. This in turn, implied that although these individuals did not try to detach themselves from the nation's dominant culture, they felt mortified for inheriting such negative attributions, hence, willing to leave off this customary but not-so-honoured common trait. Consequently, the participants' reproachful attitude towards this seemingly long-existing national characteristic, seem to serve them as a sensible strategy to dissociate themselves from some aspects of their predecessors' tradition, in exchange for illuminating a contemporary and progressive dimension of their identities.

Our judgmentalism

Continuing the discussions around the common national traits led to the emergence of another major theme, describing Iranians as people who tend to criticize others and their behavior or moral standards. The following conversation between members of the male Group 1 provides a glimpse into how these individuals perceived 'judgementalism' as another negative, and yet significant mannerism that they believed to persist across generations in Iran:

> We are all one hundred percent judgmental! That's something we've grown with. We've lived with these norms since our childhoods. The environment in which people grow up has great impact on who they become. Even those Iranians who claim never judge people, unconsciously do it all the time. Unfortunately, it's part of who we are. (Hamed)
>
> We all know that judging others is wrong, but somehow, we all still do it. (Ashkan)
>
> Iranians are famous for doing that, since antiquity these traits have been reflected in Persian poetries, proverbs and satires. It's like when we don't understand something, we make thousands of comments about it, unlike Westerners who don't make comments on things that don't concern them.

> The act of judging others is atrocious, it's sort of ridiculing people . . . such a trait is specific only to Iranians. (Yashar)

What is quite clear in above conversations is that the participants do not seem to be pleased to carry on those ancestral legacies that are considered undignified, at least by today's universal standards of morality. Similar dispositions were also noticeable among female participants, as they expressed their disapproval of judgementalism, while regarding it as an inseparable part of being Iranian:

> We judge others in regard to everything, even about those things that don't concern us. I mean, we tend to pass judgments about other people's face, outfit, behaviour, and everything else. Although, making comments on others' behaviours could be a bit justifiable, being overly critical on other things is not right, especially things that don't concern us. (Elmira)
> The idea that Iranians are judgmental is true . . . yes, we do judge others. All of us do it. It is something innate, not in our hands. (Elham)

As reflected in all these comments, the participants tried to indirectly distinguish themselves from their ancestors, not by excepting themselves and pretending to be unjudgmental, but by implying a desire to put an end to the continuity of such presumably inherited trait. In this way, detaching themselves from unfavourable aspects of tradition, particularly in the cultural globalisation context where differences are becoming less critical, was just another self-reproach strategy employed by these individuals to reflect on their identities without denouncing their belongingness to the nation.

Oddness of freedom

Focusing the discussions more on the group members' experiences of everyday life, the first and foremost matter that the conversations were drawn to, was the problem of lack of freedom in Iran. The discussion around this topic began when the moderator asked the participants to talk about their day-to-day struggles which might be particular to the young people in Iran. In response to this, each participant reflected on lack freedom in Iran from their own specific point of view and sometimes shared their personal stories in this regard, however, what they ultimately pointed to was their discontentment to the overwhelming restrictions that they had to face on an everyday basis. Ashkan from male Group 1, for instance said:

> You see, young people thirst for freedom. Because there's no freedom in Iran, young people cannot harness their energy or utilise their talents. We want to be free to choose what to do. We are not even allowed do those basic things that are considered normal in other countries.

Likewise, the participants' conversations across both male and female groups suggested their strong belief against numerous restrictions in Iran which have particularly divested women from their ordinary rights. For example, some of the members of female Group 4 stated:

> Well, women cannot sing or play musical instruments in Iran. That's a truth. There is no future for female singers or musicians. Many Iranian women leave their homeland just to pursue their goals since there are so many restrictions even for things as trivial as singing and dancing. (Negin)
> We have too many restrictions in here. For most of us, Iran is a cage because we cannot pursue our dreams or realise our talents. We cannot even choose what to wear. (Saeideh)

Despite their apparent authenticity, these statements did not come as a surprise, since there have been mounting reports on human rights violation and restrictions on civil liberties in Iran throughout the past few decades (Parsa 2016; Bozorgmehri 2017). Nevertheless, after the moderator posed some follow-up questions, a rather less-known idea came into view, suggesting that freedom is an odd, or perhaps misunderstood concept among Iranian youth:

> When we think about freedom the first things that enter our minds, are drinking alcohol and removing women's hijab. We rarely talk about freedom of speech and belief. You see, the art and culture are heavily controlled in Iran, but do we really care enough about such things? (Nima, male Group 1)
> We inherently want to be like modern nations where there's no restriction in obvious things such as our choice for clothes and hairstyles. But we don't know the true meaning of freedom, because we only see those kinds of trivial things in Western shows and movies. (Reza, male Group 5)

Although in making their points, the participants frequently referred to "true meaning of freedom", they did not provide any clear explanation about it. Indeed, by using the term, they only tried to emphasize two main ideas: the young Iranians' limited experience of freedom as well as the pervasiveness of restrictions in Iran, especially in those aspects of life that are not so obvious to ordinary people. The point to note here at this point of discussion is the participants' belief about the oddness of freedom for the young people in Iran. In their views, this was mainly because of the young generation's limited abilities to act and speak freely while witnessing obvious aspects of liberty in Western world mainly through their routine access to the transnational forms of media. Ultimately, these reflections point to the participants' exclusive perspectives on freedom; the ways in which being free is imagined by the youth and the extent to which such imaginations might resonate with the standards of living in the democratic societies.

Disappointment in national media

The next issue that the participants frequently referred to, when they were asked to talk about their everyday struggles that could only be experienced in Iran, was their disappointment with national media. Mainly criticizing IRIB (Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting), the largest media organization in the country, for lacking creativity, entertainment, and quality contents, the participants regarded heavy censorship and regulations, as well as the authorities' reluctance to capitalize on productions that do not serve the state's political agendas. This idea was captured in the conversations of the members in female Group 1:

> The fact is that our own national media doesn't have anything to offer . . . (Parisa)
> It is not about being Iranian or limitation of resources; producers' hands are tied! (Fatemeh)
> They [media content producers in Iran] don't have the relevant and up-to-date knowledge and facilities, too. (Mohaddeseh)
> You don't have many options . . . either this one or that one. Obviously, no matter how much you try to be creative within this framework, you cannot satisfy your audiences. You cannot talk about certain subjects for the fear that they might become political or religious issues which might go against their [authorities'] doctrines. There's no such a thing in other countries because they believe in everyone's rights, and recognise everyone's beliefs and opinions. (Parisa)

Whereas the media are doubtlessly one of the most indispensable aspects of modern life, they are also indicators of the political system and cultural practices in a society (Thompson, 1995). The inadequacies of national media, as reflected in the conversation above, highlights the government's authoritarian approach to control the media in Iran, especially through regulating national media and deciding what contents to be consumed by the people. The participants' disappointment in national media, therefore, can hardly be taken as only the reflection of these individuals' deprivation of entertainment, since those needs are in one way or another met through their access to alternative media. Rather, it is more of the youth's distinct way of expressing dissidence and defiance against the state's hegemonies, and hence, presenting themselves as a generation that besides seeking institutional transformation, aspires recognition of their cultural rights.

Generational gap

At certain points during the group interviews, the participants spontaneously stepped up to make a comparison between the circumstances of their lives with older generations', in order to get their ideas across, particularly at times when they were trying to emphasize their goals and purposes in life:

> I admire our parents and grandparents' generations. I feel they lived a better, healthier and more fulfilling life, than us. We will grow old in misery, full of regrets of not fulfilling our wishes. The older generations lived on their beliefs. Nowadays we hardly have faith in anything! We have no life or religion and no future or even past. (Reza, male Group 5)
> We feel empty, suspended in the space . . . neither here nor there, a big question mark! We call ourselves Muslims, but we drink and resent hijab. Obviously, social media, Internet, satellite TV and other modern technologies responsible for disparity between young and old. (Ali, male Group 6)

As exemplified by the comments above, the participants' seemingly wistful admiration for their ancestors for supposedly having a simple, purposeful and fulfilling life, served them as a way to reflect on their living condition in Iran. This is clearly shown in their talks awash with a number of pessimistic terms such as "grow old in misery", "no life or religion", "no future or even past", as they tried to paint a gloomy picture of the young people's everyday life in Iran. Once again, such self-reflections functioned to show the participants' discontentment with the circumstances of living in Iran, and the disjointedness they believed to exist between young and old generations. Along these lines, by considering the strong influence of modern communication technologies on widening the generational gap, they also pointed to the young generation's substantial dependency on various forms of new media, which in one way or another distinguishes them from older generations.

Conclusion

The current unsettling social and political condition in Iran can perhaps be best described as an ideological battleground for winning the majority's consent about what it means to be Iranian. This provocative climate has largely been shaped by Islamic regime's increasing confrontation with the West's cultural imperialism throughout the past three decades or so, and in response to the intensification and expansion of the globalisation forces, particularly the developments in transnational communication systems (Pahlavi & Ouellet, 2020). The beginning of this period (early 1990s) also witnessed the gradual diminishing spirit of comradeship and revolutionary values especially among younger people who did not see themselves part of the Islamic Revolution nor directly dealt with the consequences of Iran-Iraq war. The emergence of the young generation during this era was remarkable since they have shown less resilience than their precursors towards the state's hegemonies. The youth's changing attitudes and increasing resistance against the Islamic identity construct, therefore, have discursively projected into these young people's perceptions and experiences of being Iranian, which in one way or another have given rise to their identity politics.

The present study, however, was an attempt to throw some light on these young people's identity politics through investigating a few members of this social group who had a more or less similar demography and living circumstances. In so doing, the research took an interpretive (meaning-centred) approach to explore these deep-seated dimensions of the participants' identities which are presumably less accessible by means of surveys and statistics. As such, the in-depth group interviews revealed some of the least known but critical aspects of the participants' identities: cosmopolitan aspirations and the desire to end their disconnectedness with the rest of the world which has thus far brought them a great deal of despair and emptiness. Sense of self-reproach presented another dimension of their identities as they had to deal with Iranians' time-honoured but unfavourable notions such as being know-it-all and judgemental, particularly in the contemporary context of global culture. Tapping into the participants' other experiences, some of the most salient aspects of their identities came into view: the oddness of freedom for the youth as they hardly had the opportunity to experience liberty, the dissatisfaction with national media which was seen to be more of an ideological state apparatus than the media for quality content for the people, and finally, the inter-generational gap which they perceived to exist, disjointing them from their traditionalist predecessors and ancestral culture.

These results demonstrated how the participants built on everyday problems and dilemmas of life to shape their moods, attitudes and feelings, and how their identities are formed around basic needs for security and self-esteem as well as the desires that flow from them. This experiential based identity, as LaCapra (2006) noted, should neither be idealised nor demonised merely on grounds of whether it is beneficial in some ways or is a source of political ills of the modern world. Instead, identity should be seen as modes of being with others, ranging “from the actual to the imagined, virtual, sought-after, normatively affirmed, or utopian” (LaCapra, 2006, p. 228). In this view, and as argued here, identity may be mobilised as a resource for political claims and recognition, not only in explicitly political sense (as in policy-making and public-government affairs), but more prevalently in everyday and banal uses of identity (Billig, 1995). These more pervasive forms of identity, as this study showed, are to be found in the embodied habits of social life; the often unnoticed, taken-for-granted and ordinary talks and practices of both belongingness and disassociation.

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SEPARATENESS AND CONNECTEDNESS: A STUDY OF WAR NARRATIVE IN VAN BOOY'S *THE ILLUSION OF SEPARATENESS*

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Abstract
Simon Van Booy, an emerging British novelist, continues to write about war but narrows it down to the separateness and connectedness of war in his novel *The Illusion of Separateness*. Van Booy takes advantage of a series of narrative strategies to create the illusion of separateness at the surface level, but at the deep level of the novel, he reveals that war makes people closely connected with each other, which can be seen in the interlaced, elliptical character relationship diagram of three generations. Therefore, this study, drawing on narrative theory, endeavors to investigate Van Booy's war writing in *The Illusion of Separateness* and explore how the writer uses narrative devices to emphasize the natural elements of war, namely separateness and connectedness. By expounding on these elements and the war narrative in this novel, we can see Van Booy's unique thinking on war and also have a deeper understanding of war.

Keywords: connectedness, separateness, Simon Van Booy, *The Illusion of Separateness*, war narrative

Introduction

Simon Van Booy (1975) is an emerging British novelist in recent years. His collection of short stories, *Love Begins in Winter*, won the Frank O'Connor Award in 2009. In 2013, he published his second novel, *The Illusion of Separateness*. It presents the devastation and soldiers' psychological trauma due to World War II and emphasizes the separateness and connectedness of war.

Van Booy gets his inspiration from the true story of his wife's grandparents Bert and Annett Knapp (Hustvedt & Van Booy, 2011, p. 24). After Bert gets married, he joins the US Air Force and suddenly disappears on the battlefield. A few months later, his wife receives a telegram from him saying that he will be back soon. In *The Illusion of Separateness*, the couple are John and Harriet Bray. Van Booy also arranges for John to go to the battlefield and send a message of peace to his wife.

After a period of suffering, he finally reunites with his wife. Another protagonist in the novel is named A (Mr. Hugo after the war, hereinafter referred to as Mr. Hugo). He joins the Hitler camp. The two major characters' encounter on the field. After John threatens Mr. Hugo with a gun, the two turn to share food and leave with their backs to each other. Through the two main lines of John and Mr. Hugo, Van Booy connects scattered characters, creating an intertwined elliptical character relationship diagram, so as to maximize the separateness and connectedness of the war.

At present, there are only some book reviews and an article on the novel. From the perspective of eco-criticism, Colăcel (2014, p. 39) maintains that Van Booy's *The Illusion of Separateness* "revisits Ian McEwan's 2001 *Atonement*" and these two novels "share a common language of social and moral responsibility which has something to do with the nature-writing frame of reference". In a book review, Leber (2013, p. 32) says that "[t]his short and deceptively simple novel, which affords the pleasure of discovering its well-wrought patterns, is likely to grow in stature as it lingers in memory". Although scholars have noticed that it is "a fractured but fine-tuned narrative revealed through the sum of its pierced-together parts" (Kania, 2013, p. 34), critics have ignored that Van Booy used this ingenious narrative technique to highlight the separateness and connectedness of war. Therefore, based on the theory of narrative time and narrative space, this paper intends to explore Van Booy's war writing in *The Illusion of Separateness* and investigate how the writer uses narrative devices to strengthen the separateness and connectedness of war.

Theoretical Framework

The method applied in this essay is close reading, which is helpful for us to discover the narrative devices utilized by Van Booy to stand out the separateness and connectedness of war. And the theory that will be used in this paper is narrative time and narrative space, the two "components of the basic conceptual framework for the construction of the narrative world" (Bridgeman, 2010, p. 54).

In *Narrative Discourse*, Genette (1980, p. 33) discusses narrative time. He mentions that story time is "the time of thing told", "the time of the signified" and narrative time is "the time of the narrative", "the time of the signifier". When the temporal order of succession of the events in the story differs from the pseudo-temporal order of their arrangement in the narrative, there appear anachronies or nonlinear narrative time phenomena, which can be subdivided into analepses and prolepses. Analepsis refers to "any evocation after the fact of an event that took place earlier than the point in the story where we are at any given moment" (Genette, 1980, p. 40). Prolepsis means "any narrative maneuver that consists of narrating or evoking in advance an event that will take place later" (ibid.).

In terms of narrative space, it is defined in *Dictionary of Narratology* as the "place or places within which the situations and events represented [...] and the narrating instance(s) occur" (Prince, 1987, p. 88). Gabriel Zoran is believed to construct a relatively systematic and complete structure of space in "Towards a Theory of Space in Narrative" (1984). In accordance with this Israeli scholar's opinion, space in narrative in the vertical dimension can be categorized into three levels of spatial structure, namely topographical level, chronotopic level, and textual level. Topographical space refers to "space as a static entity" (Zoran, 1984, p. 315). It is the equivalent of physical space which is put forward by Lefebvre. Both of them mean the natural space in which people live. The chronotopic space refers to "the structure imposed on space by events and movements, i.e., by spacetime" (ibid.). And the textual space means "the structure imposed on space by the fact that it is signified within the verbal text" (ibid.).

Findings and Discussion

Separateness of War

In *The Illusion of Separateness*, Van Booy makes the characters scatter in the cities of the United States, Britain, and France – Los Angeles, New York, Long Island, Manchester, and St. Peter's Island. John goes to war-torn France and his wife lives alone in the United States. Similarly, Mr. Hugo joins the army and goes to France, parting with his father. The war not only leads to the separation of husband and wife and that of father and son but also causes the disintegration of families. It is worth noting that in order to strengthen the separateness of war, Van Booy constructs the separation of stories and that of characters in the aspects of time and space.

On the one hand, Van Booy uses the device of analepsis to write the separateness of war in *The Illusion of Separateness*. In the novel, Van Booy extends the story timeline from 1939 to 2010, covering characters' lives during World War II and more than 50 years after the war. But Van Booy does not use linear chronological order to write the story in his novel. Instead, he divides the novel into 15 chapters, and the time point of each chapter falls in a specific year. The time point of the first chapter is 2010, and the last chapter is 1944. In between, there are 1981, 1968, 1942, 2005, 1939, and 2009. It can be seen that the work is in flashback from the big framework. In addition, Van Booy's favor of analepsis can also be seen in the characters' narratives. Taking John's narrative as an example, six chapters center on John:

Chapter 4: John will go to the battlefield in 1942;
Chapter 6: John parachutes from a fighter in 1944;
Chapter 7: a flashback of John's encounter with his wife in 1939 and his hard military training before joining the war;
The following three chapters follow the 1944 incident in Chapter 6. In Chapter 8, John sees some strangers and flees immediately;
Chapter 10: John confronts Mr. Hugo;

> Chapter 13: a flashback of John's sense of guilt after killing a bird when he was 7 years old. Then the author follows the end of Chapter 10, telling that after John inserts a gun into Mr. Hugo's mouth, the two choose to live in peace.

For one thing, it can be seen that these six chapters about John do not appear in succession. Van Booy inserts other characters' stories in between. As a result, the writer strengthens the fragmentation and separation of the story. For another, the only continuous three chapters (Chapters 6, 7, and 8) are also fragmented in terms of content. We can infer that chapter 8 is connected with Chapter 6, but the author chooses to use the device of flashback in Chapter 7 to separate John's landing with a parachute from his escape, which further exaggerates the separateness of war. In addition, at the beginning of Chapter 13, Van Booy first mentions John's deep sense of guilt after killing birds during childhood. Then, the author makes the narrator continue telling the confrontation between John and Mr. Hugo. On the one hand, the story in flashback or "punctual anachrony" (Bal, 2017, p. 80) provides the reason why John gives up killing the enemy. On the other hand, Van Booy interrupts the climax of the novel by inserting the episode of killing birds, dividing the confrontation of the enemy on the battlefield into two halves. For readers, this technique of interruption makes them more deeply aware of the separateness of war.

Mr. Hugo, another soldier in the novel, is the protagonist in three chapters, namely chapters 2, 9, and 15, which are respectively located at the beginning, middle, and end of the novel. Compared with those chapters named John, these three chapters about Mr. Hugo are far apart and look fragmented and highly separated. It is noteworthy that Van Booy also uses the technique of analepsis in these three chapters.

> Chapter 2: Mr. Hugo meets Danny in 1981;
> Chapter 9: Mr. Hugo is treated, recovers in the hospital, and returns to the hospital as a janitor in 1948;
> Chapter 15: Mr. Hugo confronts John on the battlefield in 1944, picks up Martin, and is mistakenly shot by soldiers, resulting in the loss of half of his face.

It can be seen that Van Booy divides Mr. Hugo's story into three parts. According to the natural sequence of the story, it should be the sequence of chapter 15, chapter 9, and chapter 2. However, Van Booy goes the opposite way and takes advantage of the device of analepsis to place Mr. Hugo's war experience in the final chapter of the novel, which greatly endows it with significance. At the same time, the author also reveals that everything results from one war.

Against the real historical background of World War II, Van Booy not only highlights the separateness of the story by skillfully dealing with the relationship between story time and narrative time but also constructs a complex and separated spatial structure to stand out the separateness of war.

As mentioned above, Gabriel Zoran constructs a relatively systematic theory about space form in narrative in his article. According to Zoran's view, topographical space can be a series of opposing spatial concepts (such as inside and outside, village and city). It can be divided up in accordance with the modes of existence of its units (such as divine world and human world, reality and dream). In *The Illusion of Separateness*, Van Booy creates the opposing modes of existence, such as reality and dream. The novelist tends to blur the boundary between reality and dreams. Taking Mr. Hugo's dream as an example, after describing that Mr. Hugo sees Danny home, the author leads the readers into Mr. Hugo's dream but does not tell the readers that it was a dream. Readers will be confused at first reading, but then they will realize that this is only Mr. Hugo's dream. In his dream, Mr. Hugo witnesses Danny and his mother being forcibly separated by the police, and Danny's mother is killed. In this episode, Van Booy secretly arranges a coincidence: in reality, Mr. Hugo is a Nazi party, adhering to separating Jews from other races. In his dream, Mr. Hugo witnesses the heart-piercing separation of the black mother and son. With the help of this dual separation, the author has greatly strengthened the separateness of war.

The second level of the vertical dimension of Zoran's narrative space is the chronotopic space, which refers to the spatial structure formed by the events and movements in the narrative, including synchronic relations and diachronic relations. The former refers to the interrelationship of the objects at any narrative point, in motion or in rest in the text, while the latter refers to the movement of the plot in a certain direction. The synchronic relationship provides a good perspective for interpreting the contrast between the motion and the rest constructed by Van Booy. In *The Illusion of Separateness*, Mr. Hugo and John are in motion during the war, especially in the period of self-protecting. Their running state is in sharp contrast to the static state of the native French. Taking Mr. Hugo's escape as an example, since he separates from John, he receives help at a peasant woman's house and gains food from an enthusiastic woman in a restaurant, but he has to separate from them in the end. As for John's escape, he is treated at peasant Paul's house and escapes the interrogation of the enemy in a barbershop, but he is also forced to separate from them in the end. Therefore, it's fair to contend that Van Booy spends a lot of time describing their escape journey in order to highlight the separateness of the war.

The cause of World War II was Hitler's propaganda that he wanted to establish the great Germanic empire. He claimed that all Slavic peoples - Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians - should be excluded and exterminated first and labeled them as "subhuman" (Bourke, 2001, p. 120). In addition, anti-Semitism is an integral part of fascism, and Holocaust is "an integral part of World War II" (Lassner, 2009, p. 179). When the European war broke out, Hitler warned that the consequences of the war would be the extinction of the Jewish nation in Europe. The result of war is also multi-dimensional separation. In order to maximize the separateness of the war, Van Booy uses a series of narrative techniques in *The Illusion of Separateness* and coincidentally constructs the separation of the story, the sense of separation of space, and the forced separation of characters at the aspects of time and space.

Connectedness of War

As the title "The Illusion of Separateness" suggests, the separateness of war written by Van Booy on the surface of the novel is an illusion. In fact, in the depth of the work, the author skillfully reveals the connectedness of war. In his works, Van Booy often uses weaving techniques to connect the characters. For example, in his first novel, *Everything Beautiful Began After* (2011), Van Booy connects three young people who are trapped in the past through a series of coincidences. While in *The Illusion of Separateness*, Van Booy connects characters with the grand historical background of World War II, highlighting the connectedness of the war.

In 1929, the Hungarian writer Frigyes Karinthy proposed the "small world theory". He "suggested that any two persons are distanced by at most six friendship links" (Backstrom, Boldi, Rosa, Ugander, & Vigna, 2012, p. 33). Stanley Milgram also conducts an experiment which demonstrates that "taken randomly two people in the United States, these are separated by a chain of relationships involving six acquaintance links" (Roveri, Carcaterra, Molinari, & Pepe, 2020, p. 2-3). Coincidentally, in *The Illusion of Separateness*, there are six characters in chapter titles. Van Booy arranged the six characters to connect with each other, forming an intertwined elliptical character relationship diagram. As the Kirkus review (2013, p. 224) says: "Unlike the author's previous works, this novel doesn't emphasize romance, but the author retains an abiding interest in interconnectedness".

But Van Booy does not explicitly point out the relationship among the characters. On the contrary, he uses some narrative skills to invite the readers to infer the relationship network of the characters. The most important technique is to change the narrative perspective. Professor Dan Shen (2019, p. 224-225) mentions in *Narratology and the Stylistics of Fiction* that the shift of point of view can create suspense. In *The Illusion of Separateness*, Van Booy creates suspense and a sense of mystery squarely by changing the perspective. When the narrator introduces John's opponent in the penultimate chapter, the author does not arrange for the omniscient narrator to play the privilege of knowing everything but uses John's limited perspective to call Mr. Hugo the enemy. Similarly, in the last chapter of the work, when introducing Mr. Hugo's opponent, the author also gives up the omniscient perspective and adopts Mr. Hugo's limited perspective, without directly stating that the enemy is John. Only after reading through the novel can we readers suddenly realize it turns out that Mr. Hugo and John are enemies. At this time, we admire the author's ingenious layout and exquisite narrative techniques. This also echoes the title of the novel: everything is just an "illusion of separateness" since the two people who seem to have no connection have already been secretly connected through the war.

In addition to shifting the narrative perspective to delay the disclosure of the relationship between characters, Van Booy also takes into consideration the choice of words and sentences and the layout of the text. In the first chapter of the novel, when talking about the relationship between Martin and Mr. Hugo, the author mentions that “a disfigured person gave it to others in Paris a long time ago” (Van Booy, 2013, p. 14). The personal pronoun “it” prevents the reader from directly understanding the truth. If Van Booy uses the personal pronoun “he” here, the reader will know the relationship between Martin and Mr. Hugo at the beginning. However, the author uses the technique of defamiliarization to make readers ignore this key information in his “hypnotism”. In the second repetition, the author points out that Martin “was given to his mother by a man he can’t even imagine” (Van Booy, 2013, p. 19). Using the vague phrase, “a man”, Van Booy once again conceals the relationship between Mr. Hugo and Martin from the readers. In addition, in the first chapter, the author describes that when Mr. Hugo hears the song hummed by Martin on the verge of death, he is familiar with it. But the author does not further explain the familiarity here. It is not until the last chapter of the novel that the author expounds that Mr. Hugo sings this song to appease Martin who is crying in his infancy. Although Van Booy secretly uses the acoustic image to connect the two characters who have not been seen in decades, the span between the first chapter and the last chapter prevents readers from easily discovering the connection between the characters through the image of the song.

Moreover, the author also uses a cover-up to lead readers to draw a preliminary character diagram. In the first chapter, the author arranges the narrator to explain that Martin is kind-hearted and often brings food to the homeless, and the disfigured man (i.e. Mr. Hugo) is one of the homeless. Reading here, the reader will simply think that the relationship between Martin and Mr. Hugo is limited to this - the helper and the recipient. But in the last chapter, the author breaks the reader’s cognition and points out the truth: Mr. Hugo saves the baby Martin in the war. As a result, Van Booy creates a circular reciprocating structure: Mr. Hugo saves Martin in the war, Martin sends food to Mr. Hugo when he becomes a tramp, and Mr. Hugo finally dies in Martin’s arms. As the book review says: “At first glance, clues to what’s happening seem uncomfortably scattered; at second glance, the story snaps together beautifully” (Hoffert, 2013, p. 105).

What’s more complicated is that on the basis of interweaving the elliptical character relationship diagram, Van Booy arranges the characters to form three generations through the war: John, Mr. Hugo, and Anne-Lise are the first generation; Martin, the representative of the newborn in the war, is the second generation; Danny, Amelia, and Sébarstien, as representatives after the war, are the third generation.

The first generation who participate in the war witness its cruelty, endure the psychological pressure beyond the limit and suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder, which brings serious sequelae to the body and mind. “The Second World War, perhaps more than any war before it, raises the question of how war can be held in the mind when the mind itself is under siege” (Stonebridge, 2009, p. 194). As for John, his mind is under siege of the war. John thinks he is indirectly responsible for his granddaughter’s blindness because he wishes he could be blind so that he could avoid witnessing the devastation and destruction of the war. In addition, Van Booy arranges for John to scream in the middle of the night. John can open his heart and face life calmly only after talking with other veterans. Likewise, Mr. Hugo keeps reminding himself that he has committed heinous crimes and is hated by the world. Mr. Hugo repeats three times “I was one of those, remember – one of those: hated” (Van Booy, 2013, p. 73, 76, 79). This repetition highlights Mr. Hugo’s inner suffering and post-war regret. To make matters worse, Mr. Hugo often has nightmares. As mentioned earlier, he dreams that his neighbor Danny and his mother are forcibly separated by the police, and Danny’s mother is shot dead. The image of the gun reminds Mr. Hugo that he has also shot and killed people on the battlefield and committed the evil act of forcibly separating people. In addition, the author points out that Danny and his mother are from Nigeria, that is, they are black. In the novel, the author mentions many times that Danny and his mother have repeatedly suffered malicious abuse and racial discrimination. On the one hand, the author suggests that the incident of Mr. Hugo’s joining Hitler’s camp is similar to the white police’s separating the black mother and son: the span of 30 years has not extinguished the white people’s sense of racial superiority, and they still commit evil deeds on the battlefield or in daily life. This similarity conveys the author’s idea: be it war or racial discrimination, white people with a sense of superiority is committed to separating themselves from the inferior. But separation is only an illusion because all mankind is closely related and connected. The author constantly reminds readers that our sense of individuality is wrong. To some extent, we are all part of a larger whole.

As a representative of the newborn in the war, Martin is the link between the first generation. Martin connects Mr. Hugo to Anne-Lise. At the critical moment, Mr. Hugo hands Martin to the woman next to him. The woman is Anne-Lise. In addition, Martin who is born in the war is a brand-new life, who brings infinite hope to the war-wounded generation: Mr. Hugo hopes that he can stay away from the battlefield and live a simple life with Martin. It is worth noting that Martin is Jewish. Although the author does not specify Martin’s racial identity, he implies it through a series of images related to Jews. For instance, Martin has been circumcised and we know “[f]or Jews, circumcision is a religious requirement” (Rosen, 2010, p. 1124). Another piece of evidence is the yarmulke and “[t]he yarmulke is one of the most familiar external markers of Jewishness” (Milligan, 2013, p. 71). In the novel, many guests wearing yarmulkes attend Martin’s adult ceremony, which indicates that Martin is a Jew. Martin’s Jewish identity renders the story complicated. On the one hand, as a Jew, Martin is the target of the Nazi massacre, but he is saved by Mr.

Hugo who was a Nazi, and brings hope to Mr. Hugo. On the other hand, as the representative of newborn babies on the battlefield, Martin symbolizes the continuation of life and reveals the relevance of life.

As postwar representatives, the third generation, Danny, Amelia, and Sébarstien, have not personally experienced the cruel, ruthless World War II, but they are committed to showing the public about the war. Danny is a cutting-edge director and his third film titled *Ste. Anne's Night* is a great success. As can be seen from the title of the film, this is about the heroic deeds of Martin's adoptive mother Anne-Lise. Although Danny doesn't know Anne-Lise and hasn't witnessed her heroic killing of the enemy and defending the country in the name of Sainte Anne in the war, Danny still completes his mission and introduces the heroine to the public. Similarly, Amelia devotes herself to the exhibition of the photos lost by soldiers on the battlefield. As a blind person, she is mainly responsible for enabling other blind people to perceive the story in the photo, allowing them to touch and smell the objects with the same material as that in the photo, and telling them about the discoverer of the photo.

In addition, the author arranges for Sébarstien to donate a photo for Amelia's exhibition. He finds the picture in the wreckage of a plane behind the village. Coincidentally, the woman in the picture is Amelia's grandmother, John's wife. John forgets to take the picture away before parachuting. Miraculously, it is still intact after the plane crashes. This is the author's intention to specially arrange the transmission of war relics among the characters, so as to make the connection between the characters. When talking about the function of coincidence, David Lodge (2011, p. 150), a British novelist and literary theorist, says, "[c]oincidence, which surprises us in real life with symmetries we don't expect to find there, is all too obviously a structural device in fiction". Through this structural skill, Van Booy strengthens the connectedness of war. The meaning of life also lies in finding connections, just like John who is always "trying to make connections" (Van Booy, 2013, p. 109).

Significantly, Amelia names the exhibition "THE ILLUSION OF SEPARATENESS". Here, Van Booy points out again that separateness is an illusion, because no matter where we are, we are closely connected and never separated. "Each and every man is at the same time separate from his fellows and related to them" (as cited in Lang-Takac & Osterweil, 1992, p. 277). As Van Booy quoted in his inscription the words of master Thich Nhat NaNH: "we are here to awaken from the illusion of our separateness."

It can be seen that on the basis of the elliptical character diagram, the author sets up three generations to skillfully connect the soldiers, the newborn in the war, and the figures after the war. In both horizontal and vertical dimensions, the characters of the novel are interrelated with each other. The generation who participate in the war do not want to talk about the war. Most soldiers are unwilling to talk to their relatives and friends about what they saw, heard, and did in the war.

Anne-Lise refuses to admit that she is a heroine. John wouldn't tell anyone about his war experience. Similarly, Mr. Hugo refuses to mention whether his disfigurement is related to the war. While the third generation of characters in the novel tried to tell the war story. This weaving technique reflects the author's commitment to conveying his thinking: Although the war is cruel, it closely connects people and guides people to reflect on history, face the present and embrace the future.

Conclusion

In *Mrs. Dalloway*, Virginia Woolf sets the story of Clarissa and Septimus as two parallel lines. They never know or meet each other. It was not until the last dinner that Woolf lets Clarissa know of the stranger's death. Thus, the two parallel lines are related: Septimus's suicide makes Clarissa reflect on life and death and face her own existence. In *The Illusion of Separateness*, Van Booy's arrangement is more complex. He arranges six characters to act as six independent points of the novel, which are distributed in each chapter of the work. In the narrative progression, the author connects the six characters through the two main lines of John and Mr. Hugo to form an intertwined elliptical character relationship diagram of three generations. Through the analysis of Van Booy's narrative technique, we find that the author specially writes the story as a fragment, and shows the separateness and connectedness of the war through the separation and reunion of the main characters. Van Booy does not personally experience the war and has no direct memory of World War II, but he shoulders the responsibility to write war with the conscience of the writer and continues the motif repeatedly presented in world literature.

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THE FACE BEHIND THE ZOOM: WHAT MATTERS?

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Abstract
Since Covid-19 pandemic, Zoom has been adopted by many as an online platform to facilitate learning. This article addresses students' (dis)agreement to how they perceive their faces in Zoom; whether it is technically a matter of either on-or-off video mode; of insecurities, of any psychological impacts, and of the notion of face as good name or reputation. A survey by means of Google form was organized in the last two meetings of two courses in the odd semester of academic year 2021-2022 to elicit students' responses to any of Likert-based five scales of (dis)agreements to 16 statements concerning face in Zoom. 122 ELESP USD students of the third and fifth semester responded to this survey. Data were analyzed and interpreted by means of percentage of agreements. The findings reveal that the notion of face in Zoom is initially and in majority agreed as a matter of being in either on-or-off video mode which depends on the stability of internet connection. Next, being in on-or-off video mode is largely bound to whether there is any obligation to be so. The majority agree also that not showing face in Zoom allows them to do side work apart, and prevents matters of privacy from being exposed. The majority also agree that one's face in Zoom reflects psychological aspects such self-pride and honor, dignity, consideration, tact, poise, and perceptiveness. Preference to being on-or-off-video mode is also a matter of not exposing one's state of insecurities, and is concerned with the notion of face as a representation and approval of self-reputation or good name.

Keywords: face, face threatening acts (FTAs), on/off-video mode, Zoom

Introduction

Covid-19 pandemic has drastically changed many aspects of how learning is to keep going. Learning is to be fundamentally redefined and reorganized in new ways and aspects, modes, methods, locus and locality, and modes, among others. Instead of physically attending classes at schools or campuses, during the pandemic students are to attend classes mostly or entirely at home. Even though condition has improved significantly recently, many are still cautious and worried about their well-being. In such a condition, Zoom as a platform for video conferencing provides a choice for mediation and facilitation to guarantee that learning keeps progressing. At the current state pandemic lingering, the use of such a platform now is a matter of necessity (Bothra, 2011). Zoom is preferred over others by a good number schools, universities, and institutions because of its simplicity of installation, high quality of audio and video, and the absence of connection drop-out (Leung et al., 2021). It also gains widespread acceptance due, among other, to its relative ease of use, cost-effectiveness, data management features, and security options (Archibald et al., 2019). Therefore, Zoom-mediated online learning amidst the pandemic is intended to maintain good teaching and effective learning process to the students even in facing an emergency situation (Rameli et al., 2021). Zoom and other online platforms gain more ground as commonly agreed upon as readily available alternatives of organizing learning activities and of extending of students' presence and participation in the learning activities by way of video-audio mode. This is just one mentioning that annual Zoom meeting minutes have increased by 3,300% from 97 billion to 3.3 trillion in 2021 (Wiederhold, 2021). In Sanata Dharma University (SDU), Zoom platform has been adopted institution wide since 2019 as the official video conferencing platform in line with learning management system (LMS).

Despite its widespread welcome, however, there are a number of drawbacks or negative effects of Zoom on students' learning experience and their motivation (Serhan, 2020). Zoom fatigue (Bothra, 2011; Shoshan, 2021), principally caused by "digital eye strain"(Florell, 2020, p. 37 in Wong, 2020) becomes common phenomenon. In terms of interactivity, Zoom sessions turn to be more psychologically demanding than a face-to-face contact, reduce ability to interpret body language and cues, difficulties of detecting humor and irony, of relaxing into a natural to interpret body language and cues, of detecting humor and irony and of relaxing into a natural conversation and, of making some individuals becoming more dissatisfied with their appearance and a loss of self-esteem (Williams, 2021). Further study also finds that non-verbal mechanisms of mirror anxiety, feeling physically trapped, hyper gaze, and cognitive load in producing nonverbal cues were significantly positively related to Zoom fatigue (Moralista et al., 2022). Such fatigue is partly attributable to a number of conditions, such as looming heads, staring eyes, a silent audience, and millisecond delay (Morris, 2020). In addition to cognitive load, Zoom fatigue is also attributable to nonverbal factors, such as eye gaze at a close distance in front of computer screen, computer screen as an all-day mirror, and reduced mobility (Bailenson, 2021). Another study shows, however, that only very few technical factors were scientifically proven to contribute to fatigue or stress (Raake et al., 2021). Tips to combat Zoom fatigue have been suggested such as activity switching, online small groups, and asynchronous lectures (Toney at al., 2021). Aside from technological and technical factors, other questions may further be raised such as whether uses of online media contributes to social anxiety, self-concept and self-esteem (Kong et al., 2021), and enhance or displace communication (Stevic et al., 2021).

Zoom basically mediates how human or social encounter is to keep going face-to-face. Face, in this regard, is understood based on Goffman's concept of a positive social value claimed by oneself in a particular contact, or, one's good showing (Goffman, 1967; Thomas, 2013). Goffman's notion of face is operationalized as values of face in terms of pride and honor, dignity, consideration, tact and poise, and perceptiveness (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2006). By definition, each of these values is, respectively, about formal reserve or seriousness of manner, continuous and careful thought on what is being the focus, a keen sense of what to do or say in order to maintain good relations and being drawn up into readiness, and responsiveness to sensory stimuli and feelings (Merriam Webster, 2022).

Based on Goffman's notion of face, Brown and Levinson propose the concept of face threatening act (FTA) in dealing with politeness. FTA is basically about individual's feeling of self-worth or self-image or polite behavior; self-esteem, the wants to be liked, admired, cared about, understood, listened to; face and FTAs are matters of freedom for self-approval and freedom from imposition (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Face is also concerned with understanding of self-other relationships (Thomas, 2013; Bhatia, 2000 in Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003; Kedveš, 2013). As Zoom is an extended virtual form of a social encounter, where one's face represents his or her virtual and visual presence, the notion of face and FTA matter individually and socially. When one joins in Zoom, there is awareness of virtual-social context and an inherent awareness what and how to take part in the given Zoom-mediated communication. It is concerned with one's communicative and sociolinguistic competence concerning when to speak, when not and as to what to talk to about with whom, when, where, in what manner (Hymes, 1972). As Zoomed-encounter is an extension of physical face-to-face encounter, it bears, to a great extent, characteristics of social-physical encounter. Zoom platform-based classes are, therefore, never void of the very nature of social dimension in which matters of FTA also count. Studies of FTAs in Zoom show that students exercise positive politeness strategies (such as greeting, gratitude, address term) and negative politeness strategies (like apology and mixing language) (Sembiring et al., 2021). Another study finds that in video conferences, there is reduced richness of social cues compared with face-to-face meetings as a source of exhaustion; that talking blindly with silent others heads to super frustration, if they are even there (Shoshan et al., 2021). In Zoom, therefore, politeness clearly matters, and, apart from efficiency and other advantages, such an online-mediated social encounter cannot be as humanly and socially rich as a direct face-to-face one.

This article specifically addresses the concern of how, in Zoom platform-based classes, students perceive the very notion of face. It is principally about students' awareness of what face reveals in Zoomed online classes with reference to Goffman's concept of face and Brown and Levinson's notion of FTA.

Method

The students' notion of face was investigated by means of Google form online survey posted on USD official LMS of two subjects, namely Introduction to Linguistics and Grammar 5, in the last two meetings (in November-December of 2021/2022 academic year). The survey consists of sixteen statements, the first five (1-5) statements of which address their (dis)agreement to the choice of being on/off video Zoom as a means of showing/representing their face. The second five (6-10) statements address the students' psychological viewpoint of themselves in the light of Goffman's psychological concept of face, 'face' being in the ritual dynamics of a rule-governed moral order which is called 'polite behavior' (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003). Here, face is understood relative to Zoom-mediated social interaction.

Hence, a Zoom class is, by default, a forum of social interaction between the lecturers and students and among students themselves. The statement no. 11 to (dis)agree is of particular concern about the students' feeling of whether they feel (in)secure when their faces are in Zoom. The remaining five statements (12-16) are concerned with what their face, in either on-or-off video mode, bears to their socio-relational dimension in the online class, particularly concerning Brown and Levinson's notion of face as a signal of their reputation or good name. Students were asked to decide their choice of the degree of agreement to each of 16 survey statements. All the sixteen statements to respond is scaled and weighted, ranging from totally disagree, strongly disagree, agree, strongly agree to totally agree (TD, SD, A, SA, TA), respectively weighted from 1(the lowest) to 5 (the highest) (Johnson & Morgan, 2016). Data were analyzed and interpreted mainly on the basis of percentages of agreement by 5-point Likert-type.

Finding and Discussion

There were 122 students who responded to the survey. Of these, 73 (59,8%) were third semester students taking the subject of Introduction to Linguistics), while 49 (40,2%) were of the fifth semester taking Grammar 5. Based on Likert scale and percentage calculation, the total number and the percentage of agreement ranges from the lowest, 320 (52,45%, to statement no. 13) to the highest, 511 (83,77%, to statement no. 2). Almost all the ranges of agreement were responded, except statement no. 7 and 8. To these two statements, there were no responses to the option of totally disagree (TD). Responses in general range between the two scale of Agree and Strongly Agree, the only exception being responses to the option of Totally Agree to statement no. 2 (54 responses, the highest among the other four scales of agreement to this statement).

Table 1. Responses, Scales, Weights and Percentage of Agreements

SN	Statements	Scale, weight, and number of agreement to each statement (N = 122)					Total score of agreement	Percentage of agreement
		TD 1	SD 2	A 3	SA 4	TA 5		
1	In the Zoomed classes, my concept of FACE is that it is a matter of being ON or OFF cam/video.	2	8	66	37	9	409	67,04%
2	In the Zoomed classes, my being ON or OFF cam/video depends on the internet connection stability.	2	3	19	44	54	511	83,77%
3	In the Zoomed classes, my being either ON or OFF	4	17	43	50	8	407	66,72%

	cam/video depends on whether or not it is obliged to by the host (lecturer).							
4	In the Zoomed classes, my being OFF cam/video makes it possible to do side jobs or work apart from the currently ongoing class meeting.	6	29	38	27	22	396	64,91%
5	In the Zoomed classes, my being OFF cam/video is meant not to let the messy background visible on the screen.	6	20	27	44	25	428	70,16%
6	In the Zoomed classes, my being ON-cam/video expresses my pride and honor.	2	4	44	47	25	455	74,59%
7	In the Zoomed classes, my being ON-cam/video expresses my dignity (formal reserve or seriousness of manner).	0	6	35	60	21	470	77,05%
8	In the Zoomed classes, my being ON-cam/video expresses my consideration (continuous and careful thought on what is being the focus).	0	5	41	51	25	462	75,73%
9	On my being ON-cam/video in Zoom, my FACE expresses my tact and poise (a keen sense of what to do or say in order to maintain good relations and being drawn up into readiness).	2	5	46	51	18	444	72,78%
10	On my being ON-cam/video in Zoom, my FACE expresses my perceptiveness (responsiveness to sensory stimuli) and feelings.	1	7	43	54	17	445	72,95%
11	My being OFF cam/video in Zoomed classes is visually meant not to expose my insecurities (state or feeling of anxiety, fear, self-doubt, or lack of certainty or safety).	5	18	33	45	21	425	69,67%
12	My being ON-cam/video in Zoomed classes is a matter of saving my face (face = reputation, good name).	17	39	42	17	7	324	53,11%
13	My being ON-cam/video in Zoomed classes is meant not to damage my face (face = reputation, good name).	15	39	48	17	3	320	52,45%

14	My being ON-cam/video in Zoomed classes is a matter of avoiding losing my face (face = reputation, good name).	11	37	55	15	4	330	54,09%
15	My being ON-cam/video in Zoomed classes is a matter of making my positive face to be liked or approved of by others.	12	26	48	29	7	359	58,85%
16	My being ON-cam/video in Zoomed classes is a matter of making my positive face appreciated by others.	9	25	43	35	10	378	61,96%

Notes:

1) SN: Statement Number
2) N (number of respondents): 122
3) Scale and weight of agreement: TD: Totally Disagree; (1); SD: Strongly Disagree (2); A: Agree (3); SA: Strongly Agree (4); TA: Totally Agree (5)
4) Minimum-Maximum scores of Agreement: (122x1=) 122 – (122x5=) 610
5) Interval (N/highest score): 122/5: 24,4
6) Range of agreement by percentage:

    Totally Disagree : 0%-24,3%
    Strongly Disagree: 24,4%-48,6%
    Agree : 48,7%-73,0%
    Strongly Agree : 73,1%-97,4%
    Totally Agree : 97,5%-100%

a. Responses to statements 1-5

Almost two-thirds of the student respondents (67,04%) express their agreements that when one’s face is to be on Zoom, it turns to be a technical optional matter of clicking and deciding to be either in on-or-off video mode. As such, it is a matter of technical-mechanical decision as Zoom provides such facilities to do so. Participating in a Zoom class is in either on-or-off video. Being present does not necessarily mean or entail that their faces are to be always on-video mode; off-video faces also give a sign of being present, albeit nonvisually.

When this finding is to be understood relative to statement no. 2, the decision to be on-or-off video depends very much on another indispensable precondition, namely, the internet connection stability (ICS). 83,77% student respondents agree that ICS really matters as it determines whether to be on-or-off-video mode. ICS is a decisive factor for one to be or not to be on-video mode. If the connection is unstable, the respondents’ decision to be on video mode matters seriously, and this in turns implies that preference is given to join the class in the off-video mode.

Being in either on-off-off video is also bound to whether there is any imposed obligation to be so. Nearly one-third of the student respondents (66,72%) agree that to be in either on-or-off video mode is determined by whether there is any obligation imposed on them (statement 3). This implies that it is very likely for student respondents to be optionally in the off-video mode on Zoom by the condition that there is no obligation imposed on them to be so.

Student respondents' agreements to the decision to be in the off- video mode also suggests that while attending a Zoom class, there is a chance for doing irrelevant side jobs or work apart of what is visually being on focus (64,91%). No further statements relative to this were given, but this may be attributed to, among others, release of tension and physical strain after spending too much attention, focus, and energy on the Zoomed class. Statement no. 5 was agreed upon by 70,16% (reasons of privacy; privacy is not to expose as it may trigger mental-psychological uneasiness and discomfort). Being off-video may also be attributed to whether the point-on-focus on Zoom is of no interest or relevance to the students at a given time. In brief, to be in either on-or-off video mode is bound to at least three factors, namely, the ICS, the absence (or presence) of imposition, and chances of doing irrelevant side work apart.

b. Responses to statements 6-10

Of the total 122 student respondents, above 70%, nearly two-third, admit, in their agreements that, in a Zoom-mediated class, face encounter, or being in the face of others', expresses fundamental human nature in relation to others. It is admitted therefore that, in the face of lecturers and other fellow students, individual student's face expresses his or her personal pride and honor, dignity, consideration, tact and poise, and perceptiveness. In other words, one's being in a Zoom class, be it in either on-or-off video mode, bears individual student's extent of seriousness, focus, and readiness, self-awareness, attentiveness, and a sense of being with and in the face and presence of others'. Everyone's self-worth is to be mutually acknowledged and credited in a balanced and proper manner.

c. Responses to statement 11

In Zoom on-video mode, the issue of insecurities needs special addressing. The survey result shows the percentage of agreement to this is 69,67%, indicating that being either in on-or-off-video, from emotional viewpoint, matters significantly. This partly reveals that, in addition to facilitating face to face encounter, being in the on-video mode for some time may entail emotional and psychological insecurities, such as the feeling of anxiety, fear, self-doubt, or lack of certainty or safety. On the one hand, being in the on-video mode, students virtually feel the sense of collectively being together in a given online classroom. On the other, however, they are also aware of being insecure in some respect, feeling isolated as in reality each is physically and practically apart from one another. The feeling of being insecure is partly attributable to this state and sense of isolatedness, not to mention the physical and facial strain in front of screen. Longer postural-facial strain related to Zoom fatigue may also contribute to this kind of feeling, heading to become distressed and less and less attentive on what is being in focus. To combat or not to disclose this feeling of insecurity, the choice of being in the off-video mode is ready at hand.

d. Responses to statements 12-16

To a great extent, an online zoomed class represents and mirrors a social encounter in which every individual student is fully aware of their presence. In such an encounter, they are also aware of how to behave properly in the face of others, in which keeping and saving one's own and others' good face or reputation matters substantially. Whenever and wherever one is present in a social encounter, be it physically or virtually, there is this socio-pragmatically inherent nature. Any Zoom encounter, therefore, is never void of this very notion of keeping and saving each other's face. As it is shown above, the percentage of agreement to the last five statements ranges around 50%-60%. This means that, as they join in a zoomed class, the concern of politeness regarding the inherent nature of FTA is knowledgeable and reasonable enough.

Responses to statements 12-16 are matters of confirming the extent of student respondents' agreement concerning the notion of face as an extension of their individual good name or reputation in the face of their fellow students and lecturers. In other words, showing their own faces on Zoom, by being in the on-video mode, is a matter of showing their own good reputation. The decision to or not to show one's own face on Zoom must therefore be based on this notion of keeping or saving one's own good name or reputation, for some particular reasons (partly attributed to statement no. 2, about ICS, no. 3 regarding the absence or presence of imposition, and 5, concerning prevention of not to expose messy background). In short, the socio-pragmatic basis of keeping and saving face or good name, or FTAs, in its literal sense and in terms of politeness, also underlies the respondents' decision to be in either on-or-off video mode. In the context of learning and life in general, a question worth questioning is, therefore: how can technology better enrich our lives? (Wiederhold 2021).

Conclusions

In Zoomed classes, the notion of face is, in part, initially and technical-mechanically understood and agreed as being in either on-or-off-video mode, and the either choice depends considerably on a number of factors, such as the stability of internet connectivity, the absence or presence of imposed obligation, chances of doing side work/job, and prevention to unnecessarily expose messy background. The decision to be in either on-or-off video mode in Zoom is also partly based on the emotional factors such as the feeling of insecurities. Student respondents also considerably agree that the notion of face in Zoom bears psychological state such as individual student's extent of seriousness, focus, and readiness, self-awareness, and attentiveness in the face of others. They also admit that when joining in a Zoom class, they are aware of being present in the face of others in which sociolinguistic awareness of keeping or saving face or good name, or FTAs, in its literal sense, underlies their decision to be in either on-or-off video mode.

All above implies that in Zoom platform-based classes, students' decisions to be in either on-or-off video mode are to be rationalized in terms, among others, formal-technical, personal-social, and emotional-psychological aspects. In such a platform, a class is an encounter which is in and by nature, virtually mediated, a preferred alternative in this lingering Covid-19 pandemic, and therefore cannot be fully identical to natural face-to-face one.

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(RE)EXAMINING POLITENESS CONCEPTS AND CONTENTIONS: IMPLICATIONS ON FILIPINO BRAND OF POLITENESS

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Abstract
Efforts have been made to characterize the Philippine brand of linguistic politeness but literature on the subject (including language power) remains scarce. In response, this paper (re)examines key concepts and contentions in politeness theory and attempts to draw pertinent conclusions in the way politeness in language is demonstrated in Filipino context. Discourse on politeness, spanning from its infancy (from Gricean maxims and Lakoff's politeness rules with references to Goffman's *face*) to its blossoming years' courtesy of Brown and Levinson is revisited as well as the ensuing arguments on the subject. Some implications particularly the universalness claims regarding politeness, as it is juxtaposed with Filipino politeness, are then drawn. A significant observation is that local experiences and practices contradict the universalness claim of western type of politeness. Uncovered are novel vistas on Filipino politeness as reflected in day-to-day and workplace situations. Finally, ingrained in the Filipino is a self-centered, multifaceted brand of politeness that is both face-saving and designed toward achieving material or non-material gain such as work security.

Keywords: face threatening acts, Filipino politeness, politeness, positive/negative face

Introduction

To assess the uniqueness of Filipino brand/s of politeness, it is crucial to revisit seminal works on the subject during its infancy and discussions that ensued thereafter. Indeed, all works relating to politeness inevitably have to consult Brown and Levinson's influential work on the subject beginning with their 1978 essay titled "Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena" which was republished as a monograph in 1987 titled Politeness: Some universals in language usage. As Meier (2004) correctly puts it, "It seems...that no matter where one arrives with politeness, one must begin with Brown and Levinson (cited in Arendholz, 2013, p. 58). Studies on politeness have always tended to lean toward western perspectives given the abundance of literature coming from trans-Atlantic researchers; no wonder politeness has been described as "one of the marshiest fields within pragmatics" (p. 54). A look at Filipino politeness is therefore a welcome addition to literature on Asian politeness concepts.

For several decades now, the study of politeness has never ceased to attract tremendous attention in pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and communication, leading to the politeness theory formulation. This concept, although a lot is credited to Brown and Levinson (1978 & 1987), finds its roots in Robin Lakoff's (1973) rules of politeness in conversation, which is also influenced by cooperative principle of Paul Grice (1965). Politeness is broadly defined as a way "to adapt" oneself "to different situations [and to behave] according to the expectations of the place" (Blum-Kulka, 2005, cited in Arendholz, 2013, p. 55). Applied in the context of social interactions, this characterization underscores observance of standards and conventions not necessarily for the sake of those rules but for the benefit of the interlocutors or perhaps the community involved. As Leihitu and Triprihatmini (2021) have correctly noted, politeness is of paramount issue in communication. It is tacit that being polite warrants appropriateness in both linguistic choices and para-linguistic behaviors such as tone of voice, pitch, and other non-verbal cues (Brown & Levinson, 1987) underpinning the avoidance of an offense (Lakoff, 1973). Stephen (2013) provides another perspective when dealing with politeness, describing it as "a means for courteous intercourse over contentious" issues, especially in highly formalized contexts like diplomacy (p. 1).

In their groundbreaking work, Brown and Levinson provide extensive discourse on politeness. Key features of their theory are the positive and negative faces, face threatening acts, strategies of politeness or ways of doing FTA's, and factors that affect or govern the use of such strategies. The face notion is a borrowed idea from Goffman (1960) although the Chinese are said to have had this concept a long time ago (Chang, 2008). According to Goffman, this represents one's public self-image which is intentionally projected in social interactions, and it can be lost. An essential issue in language use and communication is underscored here—that there is more to conversations than mere exchanges of ideas. For Goffman, how individuals are being viewed or perceived is an important component of interaction and may even dictate the rules of communication that people are willing to observe.

This paper revisits concepts and theories related to politeness and connects them with the way it is practiced in everyday life and in the workplace in the Philippines. Implications are then offered to highlight the uniqueness of the Filipino brand of politeness and the need to reconsider methodological approaches in politeness studies in Asian/Filipino contexts.

Theory

Re(examining) Cooperative Principle, Face, and Face Threatening Acts

According to Grice (1975), interactants are inclined to focus on the success of their communication by ensuring constant cooperation with each other, the very essence of his concept of cooperative principle (CP). The goal of such collaboration is to arrive at the same understanding or meaning between two interactants. As CP implies, communicators often desire to be on the same page, so they achieve their purposes. Additionally, this form of teamwork is pursued to avoid threatening or interfering in the personal rights, autonomy and wishes of the other speaker. CP is summed up in these words: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (p. 45).

Grice lists four maxims under his CP: quality, quantity, relation, and manner. Quality refers to truthfulness in conversation while quantity demands conversers to be as informative as required and avoid saying more or less. The relation maxim emphasizes on the relevance of information supplied, avoiding non-essential details in interaction, while the maxim of manner refrains from ambiguity, that is, both parties ensure clarity of the message and its meaning. Being truthful, informative, relevant, and clear is posited to be key to success in communication and also relates to the practice of politeness. The CP also seems to connect with the *face* concept. Grice believes that maintaining or projecting a good self-image entails truthfulness and giving of adequate information or non-obscuration of facts. One's responses must also be relevant to the issues raised. Finally, based on Grice's fourth maxim interactants must be clear, direct, and straightforward to protect one's face.

Lakoff (1973) also built on the preceding concepts, proposing the rules *Don't impose, give options, and e friendly*. Being polite in Lakoff's standpoint is avoidance of offense—the speaker making sure that their fellow interlocutor is pleased in their exchange. Compliance to these *rules of conversation*, as Lakoff labelled them, accounts to what she calls as pragmatic competence. These guidelines underscore the central role of politeness in social interactions. Although indebted to Grice, Lakoff veers away from the latter's emphasis on the pursuit of clarity in discourse, insisting that in dialogues, the sharing of ideas "is secondary to merely reaffirming and strengthening relationships" (Arendholz, 2013, p. 297). Conversely, sameness of meaning--achieved through cooperation and negotiation between two communicators as per Grice--is inferior to sensitivity to the sensibilities of interactants. In Lakoff's view, the transfer of a message and success in communication in general, although considered critical, are not as paramount as that of politeness. Observing the rules of politeness, as per Arendholz, "inevitably leads to the breaching of the rules of conversation, which is ultimately the reason why the CP is violated fairly regularly" (p. 58). This again relates to the concept of *face*.

The *face* notion is a borrowed idea from Goffman (1960), who believes that people are in the business of creating and maintaining a wholesome identity. This public self-image is intentionally projected whenever one is involved in social interactions, and it can be lost. Goffman raises an essential issue in language use and communication—that there is more to conversations than mere exchanges of ideas. For Goffman, how an individual is being viewed or perceived is an important component of interaction and may even dictate the rules of communication that he or she is willing to observe. Echoing Goffman's viewpoint, Brown and Levinson theorize that human beings are predisposed to keeping a good face, thereby ensuring that they subscribe to social conventions and people's expectations; otherwise, they destroy the wholesome public self-image that they want to project or maintain.

The face consists of two categories called positive face and negative face. A person's positive face is defined as "the want of every member that his (or her) wants be desirable to at least some other executors" (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 62). Alternatively, this face is the "positive consistent self-image or personality" that is maintained and claimed by individuals (p. 61). From a cultural or psychological position, it represents one's longing for appreciation and approval of the projected identity. As for the negative face, it is described as a person's desire for their actions to be unimpeded, meaning, that the rights to personal space and non-distraction are respected, because doing otherwise would be damaging to one's face or image. This means liberty to act and the absence of any forms of imposition from other adult members of society. If positive face expects affirmation, therefore, by putting the burden on the shoulder of the other party or the rest of the community to be accepting, negative face goes farther and requires more, necessitating non-interference. The latter focuses on independence and autonomy while the former anticipates connection and accommodation into a group or community.

In 1987, Brown simplified the face concepts, equating positive face with one's desire to be liked. Yearning to be related to or be ratified by others also constitutes this face category and doing the opposite could be construed as face-threatening. Negative face was simplified to mean the want of a person to be free from imposition, and any impingement will be tantamount to making FTA. Here, the positive and negative FTAs are delineated, the first constituting a negative injurious act by ignoring someone, and the second representing a negative FTA which is imposed upon others. According to Brown and Levinson, politeness is a universal characteristic of every language; it happens across all cultures. It is believed that people, regardless of their cultural backgrounds, follow politeness rules in the use of their language. This politeness is connected to the preservation of one's face, which is also thought to be universal. In short, communicators choose certain politeness strategies just so they protect their self-image. It is their assumption that many speech acts are injurious to this self-image because they are contrary to the face wants of either the speaker or the hearer or both, hence, they are avoided. In short, an FTA is an utterance (verbal or paraverbal) or behavior (including non-verbal cues) that is incongruent with the desires of the other. FTAs that affect the addressee's positive face include bad news, expression of disapproval, making complaints, airing some criticisms, and hurling some accusations. A hearer's positive face can also be threatened by the expression of factual and/or violent emotions, mention of taboo topics, and instances of interruptions. The negative face of the hearer can be threatened via confessions, apologies, orders, promises, and compliments. The speaker's positive face can be threatened, and this happens through his or her expression of apologies, acceptance of a compliment, breakdown of physical or emotional control, instances of self-humiliation, making confessions, etc. FTAs that may be damaging to the speaker's personal freedom include the expression of thanks, acceptance of thanks, offers, and compliments, as well as apologies, excuses, etc.

The Varying Degrees of Politeness in Brown and Levinson

Politeness is exhibited in varying degrees, from least polite to most polite. The level of politeness is connected to, if not determined by, the extent of directness of the utterance. Brown and Levinson's works denote that the more direct the interlocution, the lesser the degree of politeness; and the less direct the statement, the greater the degree of politeness shown. In other words, a less direct language is interpreted as polite or politer while a direct or very direct utterance is construed as impolite or the least polite. The politeness strategies, known as bald-on-record, positive politeness, negative politeness, and off-record politeness, are paralleled with the degree of politeness, level of (in)directness, and degree of closeness or quality of relationship as shown in the tables below.

Table 1. Politeness Strategies and Degree of Politeness

Politeness Strategy	Degree of Politeness
Off Record Politeness	Most polite
Negative Politeness	Very polite
Positive Politeness	Moderately polite
Bald-on record	Least polite

Table 2. Politeness Strategies and Level of (In)Directness

Politeness Strategy	Degree of Politeness
Off Record Politeness	Indirect to very indirect
Negative Politeness	Less direct
Positive Politeness	More direct than negative politeness
Bald-on record	Most direct

Table 3. Politeness Strategies and Degree of Closeness or Quality of Relationship

Politeness Strategy	Closeness/Quality of Relationship
Off Record Politeness	Very distant socially
Negative Politeness	Socially distant
Positive Politeness	Close
Bald-on record	Very close/Intimate

Off-record politeness

To avoid any hints of imposition, demands, or even requests on the part of the person being spoken to, off-record politeness is employed. For this to happen, the speaker utilizes an indirect or even very indirect language. Examples include giving hints, use of ambiguity or vagueness, irony, sarcasm or joking, resorting to metaphorical language, understating or overstating, contradicting, overgeneralizing, and giving incomplete utterances. This level of politeness is often used in interactions between individuals whose relationships, if they even exist, are formal and limited to their functions, say, in business or academe. Thus, it is possible, say, for students to use hedges, apologies, and other indirect phrases, to articulate themselves such as when make requests (Castro, 2018).

Negative politeness

Another strategy is negative politeness, also characterized by indirectness, but the relationship between the interlocutors may be closer in contrast to those who employ off-record politeness. Within this category, impositions, if they must be made, are minimized or trivialized, and the hearer's sense of space and privacy is taken into utmost consideration. Utterances may be awkward due to the social distance between the interactants. Use of question hedge, giving deference by use of address forms, indicating some reluctance, sounding apologetic, and pluralizing second person pronouns are some of the forms of negative politeness usage.

Positive Politeness

Positive politeness is described as the desire to belong to a community. This strategy can be demonstrated through such sub-strategies as avoiding disagreement, assuming agreement with the hearer, attending to their needs or situations, and hedging one's opinion which may be found offensive. There are other sub-strategies under positive politeness such as noticing or attending to the needs or preferences of others, exaggerating approval, interest, or sympathy, and seeking agreement by choosing favorable topics. A person who resorts to positive politeness may raise or assert a common ground in a dialogue, opt for the use of in-group identity markers such as address forms in a particular ethnic group and use of jargons, and avoid disagreement examples of which include hedging opinions, white lies, token agreement, and pseudo- agreement. Giving of gifts to hearer in the form of goods is another sub-strategy. At times this is shown through sympathy, understanding, and cooperation. Other forms of politeness strategies include using jokes, making offers or promises, being optimistic, asserting or presupposing speaker's knowledge of and concern for hearer's wants, including both speaker and hearer in the activity, giving or asking for reasons, and assuming or asserting reciprocity.

Bald-on Record

Considered as the most direct approach, bald-on-record is also regarded as the least polite because face-saving is not a concern. In short, interactants are not focused on their identities and are unperturbed by any instance of directness. It is typical in this strategy to do away with linguistic hedges as well as apologies. In fact, offense is often a non-issue because of the intimacy between the speaker and the hearer as in the case of family members, a married couple, best friends, etc. Consider the direct statement, *"Add some salt".* The sentence may indicate an intimate relationship between two parties so that redress is unwarranted. In similar scenarios, the chances of being threatened are slim if not totally absent, thus, choice of words is for functional reason and the emphasis is on semantics.

Brown and Levinson provide situations and specific examples wherein the bald on-record strategy is applied. These include offers, welcomes, and situations where the threat is minimized implicitly, task-oriented acts, situations with no threat minimization, urgency or desperation, and when efficiency is necessary. Other examples are showing little or no desire to maintain someone's face, and when doing the face-threatening act is in the interest of the other person. In bald on-record, there are no attempts whatsoever to elaborate or supply more than what is expected.

Ensuing Contentions: Politeness Principle, Conversation Contract, and Impoliteness

Leech (1983 & 2003), though relying on the politeness strategies, takes a slightly different direction in elucidating the politeness phenomenon. Rather than the usual dependence on Brown and Levinsonian idea of politeness, he postulates what he calls the Politeness Principle (PP). He reasons that politeness, as previously characterized, has no equivalent terms in other cultures, despite the assertion of its being universally applicable. Leech also argues that his PP is more useful since it can account for certain phenomena in pragmatics not addressed by Brown and Levinson. The PP is divided into six interpersonal maxims, namely, tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy. Each of these principles consists of two sub-maxims.

The tact maxim is composed of impositives and commissives, the former referring to expressions that intend to minimize cost to others while the latter are those that maximize benefit to the other interlocutor. The sentence, *"I wonder if I* *could disturb you for a moment"* is an example of tact impossitives that are the equivalent of negative politeness, which uses minimal impositions upon others. Tact commissives are comparable to positive politeness which seeks to attend to others' needs or interests. The example, *"Let me give you another drink"* illustrates this maxim. Under generosity maxim, one minimizes benefit to self (impositives) and maximizes cost to self (commissives). This is demonstrated through one's selflessness by giving more weight to the needs and welfare of others. Approbation maxim—composed of expressive and assertive—aims to minimize dispraise of others and desires to maximize dispraise of self. Said differently, the preferred route in interaction within the confines of this maxim is the expression of approval toward others while lessening or avoiding any show of self-preference.

Agreement maxim (in assertive), as Leech explains, is a means to minimize disagreement between self and others or maximize agreement between self and others. Efforts are made to maintain solidarity or cohesion, although it does not mean that disagreements are totally avoided. Instead, there is a desire to focus on agreeing rather than on opposing. Under sympathy maxim (in assertive), one minimizes antipathy between self and others or maximize sympathy between self and others. Simply stated, attempts are made to express compassion, and showing lack of concern or being unaffected by the situation is avoided or at least minimized.

Fraser (1990) goes even farther than Leech, offering his conversational contract view. Unlike Brown and Levinson, Fraser does not subscribe to the idea of intentionality in politeness. It is his belief that politeness becomes a default setting in interactions where conversers are governed by what he calls the *conversational contract* (CC), which binds interactants into a polite exchange. Fraser emphasizes the need to collaborate with a fellow rational participant for the purpose of achieving a mutual objective. Calling this "conversational mitigation" Fraser, 1980, p. 341), he adds, "During the course of conversation, there is always the possibility for an ongoing renegotiation of this conversational contract, an ongoing readjustment of just what rights and what obligations each has towards the other" (Fraser, 1980, p. 343).

According to Fraser, politeness, as a matter of norm, is presumed to be present in conversations even when interlocutors do not assert or expect it. Common among normal human beings is the desire to cooperate instead of violating norms. Further, politeness is characterized in a number of ways. First, to be polite one must abide by the relationships rules and avoid any infractions of the hearer's rights and obligations. Politeness is thus expected to exist in every conversation even though participants do not necessarily recognize someone as being polite – after all, this behavior is the norm. Culpepper (2011), of course, disagrees, arguing that depending in the power relations involved, some interactants, particularly those possessing greater influence would resort to impoliteness.

As shown in the preceding sections, there is an abundance of politeness concepts and contentions as well as studies on the subject (Walkinshaw (2007), with Grice starting the ball rolling without perhaps knowing it, with his cooperative principle, providing a significant groundwork for Lakoff's politeness rules. (One might argue, though, that the sociological discussions on face is the origin of politeness phenomenon, which may be so). Consequently, the latter's rules of conversation created a snowball effect, sparking further interest on politeness from social science experts and academics, notably America's Brown and Britain's

Levinson who broadened the ongoing discourse and debates on the subject. This paper now turns to politeness concepts in the context of the Philippines, and whenever necessary, it will attempt to critique its applicability in an oriental milieu.

Theory Application

Understanding The Many Facets of Filipino Politeness

After having presented an overview of the various and arguments regarding politeness and its derivatives, we now turn to their connections in the practice of politeness in the Philippines. Efforts have been made to characterize the Philippine brand of linguistic politeness but literature on the subject (including language power) has been found lacking (Labor, 2011). Therefore, further discussions on pragmatic politeness in the local context is not only a welcome addition but is a matter of necessity.

Different Politeness Approaches in the Philippines

Previous studies suggest that there is no one-size-fits-all formulation for Filipino politeness, a phenomenon that is as intricate as the myriads of customs, traditions, and practices found in this Asian archipelago. As Olazo (2012) argues, politeness among Tagalog speakers (those living in Manila and nearby northern and southern provinces) can never be equated with those of other regions such as the Bikolanos of southeastern Philippines. Hence, when dealing with Filipinos, researchers are faced with multiple variants of politeness distinct from each other depending on the region. Add to the distinctiveness of the many facets of Filipino politeness, investigators will be surprised to discover the seeming impoliteness of people living in the south (the Visayas region and Mindanao), where the dominant language Cebuano does not use the politeness markers *po*, *opo* and *oho*.

Day-to-Day Politeness: Sociological and Psychological Viewpoints

By nature, Filipinos are an indirect people whether at home or at work. It is just a way of life. Coming from sociological/anthropological view, Peña and colleagues (2006), connect the concept of smooth interpersonal relationship, a phenomenon that governs social behavior and interactions in the Philippine context, with linguistic politeness. They explain that to be and to remain polite, Filipinos practice *pakikisama* or "getting along with others, and ideally getting along 'well' with others" (para.1). This is expressed in their dealings with others as seen in various forms of deference such as the use of respectful language in everyday interactions in both formal and informal settings and various forms of indirectness. The educators observe:

> In its most basic sense, 'pakikisama' means going along with others. Its basic etymological source is 'sama' (to go with). A derived term is 'kasama' (companion; together with). In the social interaction context, 'pakikisama' means 'getting along with others', and ideally getting along 'well' with others. The first part of the term 'paki-' is also significant since it also happens to be the Tagalog affix for 'please'. It's as if the individual is being requested to 'please' get along well one's fellow human beings (para. 1).

In asking for favors, even among close friends and family members, aspects of *pakikisama* is very evident. To minimize imposition or the directness for example, it is normal for Filipinos to use the prefix *paki* (please) and is attached to a request or command term. The word is analogous to putting a big burden on someone else's shoulders or causing a major discomfort upon others. The prefix *maki* or *makiki* plus a request word is also used to avoid sounding direct or demanding (Peña, 2006). To illustrate, if one needs the salt to be passed, the utterance may be, "Paki-abot (po) ng asin" (Please pass the salt). Note that often, local interactants would be extra careful that besides using *paki*, they also insert the polite marker *po*, which is reserved for older people and people in authority. As seen here, this practice is manifested in so many ways in Filipino culture (Yabut, & Salanga, 2017). This linguistic behavior, as associated with Filipino politeness, has been noted by other local researchers. De Leon and Parina's 2016 study paid attention to how Filipinos complain in Tagalog and in English, and found that in their local language, participants tended to be indirect with the use of markers and enclitics. They stress that "Filipino has politeness enclitics, and since a complaint is considered impolite, devices, such as the use of Filipino enclitics are used to maintain the polite face of the complainee" (p. 204).

Filipino psychologists Carmen Santiago and Virgilio Enriquez also note the connection between pakikisama and other related concepts with behavior and language use. Aside from pakikisama, their model for Filipino psychology of interaction lists eight categories, namely, *pakikitungo* (transaction/civility with), *pakikisalamuha* (interaction with), *pakikilahok* (joining/participating with), pakikibagay (in conformity with/in accord with), *pakikipagpalagayan*/ *pakikipagpalagayang*-loob (being in rapport/understanding/ acceptance of), *pakikisangkot* (getting involved with), and *pakikiisa* (being one with) (Aquino, 2004, p. 107).

Formalities, Honorifics, and Politeness Markers

In Philippine sociological perspective, politeness is expressed in several ways such as the use of more formal terms or word endings that reflect respect in Japanese and Korean languages (Lee, 2018). Among Filipinos, use of honorifics is common. Examples are *kagalanggalang* (honorable), *minamahala/mahal* (dear or dearest), and *kapita-pitagan* (distinguished), addresses usually reserved for government officials and other titles and honorifics relative to one's achievements and titles (Claudio, 2010). In both formal and informal set-up, polite markers such as the words *po* and *opo* are used in many provinces such as Tagalog, Bikol, and Pampango regions north of Manila where these would be common (Gocheco, 2009). Among Bikolanos, in particular, the use of *po* and *opo* almost seem mandatory or automatic even in government meetings where English is the medium of communication (Meneses, 2018). Thus, the English-Filipino/Bikolano code-switching becomes a matter of norm in order to be respectful. The markers are used when addressing older people like parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles, strangers (usually adults), and others with significant positions in society as indicated by Meneses (2018).

Still in the same regions, it is normal to hear the polite addresses in the family like *kuya*, *diko*, and *sangko* for older brothers (*koya* in Pampango), *ate* and *ditse* for older sisters (*atche* or *atchi* in Pampango). Among Bikol speakers, kinship honorifics *manoy* and *manay* are common as an expression of politeness (Olazo, 2012). In the Ilocano-speaking northern Philippines and select areas in Mindanao, *manong* and *manang* are the equivalent terms for addressing an older brother or a male stranger and for an older sister or a female stranger, respectively, and are clearly signs of politeness. The same words are also adopted in many parts of the country and may be an expression of simple courtesy. As a point of comparison, a younger sister might say, "Ayabbanac man, manong" which means "Please help me, older brother" in Ilocano, and in this context, the use of *manong* is a clear indication of politeness. In greater Manila area, however, a person who asks a vendor, "Manong, magkano ito?" (How much is this?), is courteous but intimacy between the parties is non-existent unlike in the previous example where the use of *manong* is reflective of politeness due to the close relations.

Pluralization of Second Person Pronouns

It is also a common practice in the Philippines to pluralize second person pronouns, not only as a matter of norm, but more importantly as a matter of politeness, and this is common in many regions such as among the Tagalogs, Ilocanos, and the Pampangos. In the Tagalog-speaking regions in and around the National Capital Region and nearby southern provinces, for instance, a shift to the plural form of the second person pronoun *ka* (you) to *kayo* as well as *ninyo* instead of the singular *mo* (a variant of you) is common. The power relations between the speaker and hearer dictate the use of the plural form. The higher the position of the addressee, the more polite the approach employed. The more distant third person plural pronoun *sila* (they) and *nila (*them) are also used as a sign of respect. Interactions between friends wherein bald-on record is employed would include utterances like, "Kumusta ka?" (How are you?) or the shortened version *Kumusta?* instead of the pluralized *Kumusta (po) kayo* or *Kumusta (po) sila?* (literally, How are they?). For instance, instead of asking in a normal polite way, *Sino po kayo?* (Who are you?), one uses *Sino po sila?* (literally, Who are they?), indicating social distance and superiority of the addressee in terms of position, status, and age. This is similar to the use of *yu* (plural of you functioning as object pronoun) in place of *mu* which is the singular form in Pampango and in Ilocano (Batang & Sales-Batang, 2010).

Politeness Strategies in the Filipino Workplace Context

Formalities relative to Filipino politeness are also seen in the workplace. In his book *Working with Filipinos* (1999), F. Landa Jocano, one of the foremost social scientists in the country, provides significant insights on the way Filipinos manifest politeness in both behavior and language in the workplace (Agnir-Paraan, 2018). Jocano elucidates how local workers process or handle information. In communicating, Filipinos adopt unique styles, follow certain processes, and employ techniques proven to aid in achieving their goals. Although coming from anthropological perspective (as it applies in communication), Jocano has captured significant aspects of Filipino brand of linguistic politeness.

Jocano lists four communication styles in giving or sharing of knowledge known as *pagbibigay-alam,* and these are *pahiwatig* (to hint/to suggest), *pabatid* (to make conscious), and *kaalaman* (sharing information without hurting). In terms of process of communication, Jocano finds Filipinos at the workplace employing certain system called *pamamaraan ng pagkakakilala* (establishing ways to communicate) and these include *pakikiramdam* (feeling each other), *pag-uusap* (talking things over), *pagbibigayan* (giving way to each other), and *pagsasamahan* (consensus leading to group cohesiveness). In terms of communicative techniques, Filipinos use *pagsasangguni (consultation for insights)*, *paghihikayat (to attempt to persuade)*, *pagkakasundo (agreement)*, and *pagkakaunawa (understanding leading from agreement)*. All three strategies under processes, and to some degree, those under communication techniques, are reflective of linguistic politeness.

Pakikiramdam (feeling each other). This manner of communicating is a very indirect way of dealing with others in that the speaker refrains from verbalizing any information, even if it is overdue for transmission or is extremely crucial to be verbalized, for fear of offending the other party, leading to an unsuccessful communication. *Pakikiramdam* does not fit in any of the four politeness strategies of Brown and Levinson because in this practice, the speaker forsakes verbal dialogue, and if communication must exist, it is devoid of content that may be deemed offensive or that may affect future interactions and consequently the relationships at stake. For instance, a staff who must impose certain rules among peers, must employ *pakikiramdam* in various ways, such as determining the proper timing (e.g. when the workers are in a good mood). The person planning to make an imposition will refrain from doing so when employees are upset or are problematic. On a personal level, an employee will not borrow money from a colleague when the latter is very busy, not in a good mood, upset, or not feeling well. In short, the speaker knows that their communication will be pointless, unsuccessful, and even offensive.

Pag-uusap (talking things over). There is more to *pag-uusap* (conversation or talk), the second unique process in communication, than its commonly understood meaning. Sociologically speaking, the word implies an intentional dialoguing in order to shed light on pertinent matters or explain one's position, say, on a debatable issue. The goal is to avoid offense (i.e. a manager sending a reprimand memo) that can ruin boss-employee relationship. At the very least, *pag-uusap* is helpful in avoiding miscommunication and strained relations, the ulterior motive for politeness in this case—a scenario that results when parties involved are not on the same level of understanding due to opposing points of view. This also applies in interpersonal relationships such as between friends, who must rather 'talk' things through and listen to each other to be able to iron out any potential or actual misconceptions.

Pagbibigayan (giving way to each other). Another communication approach associated with Filipino politeness called *pagbibigayan* speaks of the idea of accommodation, such as paying attention to opinions and even criticisms. This is reminiscent of Leech's agreement maxim, which is about propagation of understanding or cohesiveness or avoidance or minimizing of dissenting expressions. When *pagbibigayan* is employed, it is more than just a mere give-and-take system, but of giving of a listening ear, or attention, of expression of understanding and solidarity. A table summarizing the use of work-related communication and politeness strategies as adopted from Jocano is provided. See Figure 1.

Pagsasamahan (consensus leading to group cohesiveness).The fourth method is called *pagsasamahan*, a way of gathering consensus so that cohesiveness is achieved. Jocano suggests that in a workplace context, employees will attempt to listen to various perspectives on certain issues to arrive at a unified decision. The intent is two-sided. In corporate context, it is to make workers feel included. The other viewpoint is connected to politeness concepts. In a way, that is being sensitive and polite because there is an attempt to avoid offense by consulting everyone.

The Self-Serving Form of Politeness: Debunking Brown and Levinson

As already stated, *pakikiramdam* is uniquely Filipino and/or Asians. It can be observed that the reason for *pakikiramdam* as a communication process or as a politeness strategy) is very self-serving, and in fact, it may be considered as a one-sided form of politeness. This is a lot different from the idea of politeness as Brown and Levinson have tended to generalize the concept and in a Western perspective.

Convenience and not Politeness. In the Philippine workplace (or day-to-day) scenario, the speaker resorts to the method out of convenience or for selfish gain, not primarily to avoid offense (as Brown and Levinson posit), but prevent two things from happening. First is embarrassment or shame (*hiya* or *nakakahiya*), when a request or communication is declined (e.g., borrowing cash), which entails losing one's face. Second is strained (office or interpersonal) relations, something that Filipinos dread due to their communal mindset (Reyes, 2015). Because of group-oriented psyche, Filipinos will do everything to preserve relationships.

Truth or Consequence. It is important to note that even in *pag-uusap*, the second method in office communication, one is not totally free unlike in western setting where one can present all the truth of a matter. Abandoning it and subscribing to the western way of presenting the facts can also lead to strained relations. In many instances, those who focus on being straightforward rather than being sensitive via limited or controlled utterances are disliked, avoided, and become unpopular; thus, it is preferred to be non-confrontational as much as possible (Worthington, et al., 2010, cited in Labor, 2011). By the way, one can be ostracized not only for being direct, but by merely revealing the facts. Regarding *pag-uusap*, the word used in this essay is *sensitive* rather *polite* because even if one is polite in confrontations, the very idea of the latter is enough cause of coldness and even separation. In short, one cannot even unveil the truth to avoid *hiya* or shame, an FTA involving the speaker's face in this case, or *nakakahiya* (embarrassing), an FTA involving the hearer. As a case in point, it would not be a surprise if Filipinos say *yes* when asked by a western acquaintance if they have already eaten because they would say so out of *hiya*. This reminds us of the use of indirect approaches in various speech acts among Asians. In Indonesia, for example, the refusal of offers such as drinks or food is done with tact and care to avoid offense (Wulandari, Hapsari, & Bram, 2018). This holds true among Thais who are known for their gentle ways and indirectness when making refusals (Boonkongsaen, 2013). When complaining, Thais are more careful than other nationalities such as Mexicans and Africans.

Ulterior Motives and Indirectness. It is obvious that in Filipino context—whether in the workplace or in many situations—politeness is employed because of ulterior motives. For instance, if a directive on reduced compensation due to an economic crunch needs to be cascaded, the manager will make attempts to determine the psychological and emotional status of the staff to ascertain their readiness for an offensive communication. No one in the Philippines would want to be a bringer of bad news for in could affect their image (face) and their work security. Thus, in this scenario, one considers the receivers of information so that they are loved, treated well, and/or given good reviews. It is apparent therefore that the Filipino brand of politeness, as Jocano implies, is a means to achieving material or non-material gain. In informal situations, such as when a person wants to borrow cash, it is a matter of norm to *makiramdam muna or pakiramdaman muna* (to test the waters first) to ascertain the most appropriate timing for revealing such a face-threatening act of borrowing money. In Brown and Levinson, the speaker considers the positive and negative face of the hearer --by avoiding imposition (e.g., the act of borrowing) -- and not restricting the freedom of the would-be lender. However, in the Philippines, the speaker goes beyond reduced imposition to non-imposition to the point of avoiding any communication or an utterance. Sometimes, people would resort to *paligoy-liguy* or beating around the bush, a practice that is employed in communication because it is such an embarrassment to be blunt or be straightforward (Mulzac, 2007). To reiterate, the intent is not to merely avoid offense or to save one's face but to achieve an ulterior or selfish motive. This form of politeness is uniquely Filipino and Asian.

While researchers may consider this as a form of politeness, this is but a manifestation of face-saving strategy as Locher and Watts (2005) have suggested, though a bit broader and unique. They write:

> In our understanding, politeness cannot just be equated with FTA-mitigation because politeness is a discursive concept. This means that what is polite (or impolite) should not be predicted by analysts. Instead, researchers should focus on the discursive struggle in which interactants engage. This reduces politeness to a much smaller part of facework than was assumed until the present, and it allows for interpretations that consider behavior to be merely appropriate and neither polite nor impolite. (p. 9).

The authors add:

> We propose that relational work, the "work" individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others, which includes impolite as well as polite or merely appropriate behavior, is a useful concept to help investigate the discursive struggle over politeness (p. 9).

Politeness, therefore, cannot always serve as the standard measuring stick in conversations and other forms of communication. Additionally, Filipinos would also avoid Grice's quantity and quality maxims. They may hide the facts and say no to a question if saying yes would cause an embarrassment to either or both interactants. Thus, the Filipino variety of politeness is rooted in self-centeredness and not altruism, but nevertheless aligns with the communalistic tendencies in order to belong and avoid ostracism.

This observation surfaced in an unpublished study on politeness and impoliteness in Filipino language television news interviews. In the study, the researcher found what he calls a "double-padded Filipino politeness" mixed with positive politeness and "pseudo off-record impoliteness" combined with "multi-layered politeness" (Santos, 2020, p. 31). This may as well relate to new developments that Rahardi talked about in a 2017 research on pragmatic phenomena or simply, it may be a reflection of the uniqueness of each culture, something that is exclusive in the Philippines. Indeed, as Correo (2014) and Olazo (2012) assert, the universalness of politeness as Brown and Levinson claim does not fully apply in Philippine linguistic context. This phenomenon requires further exploration by researchers coming from pragmatics/politeness, communication, sociolinguistics, and psychology. In the absence of such studies, the researcher sees and proposes a uniquely multi-layered Filipino linguistic politeness particularly present in TV news interviews. Additionally, when conducting politeness studies involving Filipinos, researchers must bear in mind that they are either dealing with multiple variants of politeness or a uniquely oriental brand of linguistic politeness not covered by Brown and Levinson.

Conclusion

There obviously are a number of criticisms and challenges to the politeness theory. For instance, utterances classified under bald-record strategy, which are characterized by straightforwardness, are being challenged. Goldsmith and MacGeorge (2000) argue that bald on-record politeness is useful in cases where giving pieces of advice is of necessity. In such contexts, minimization of FTA's is employed implicitly and without manipulation. The tandem even proposes that that politeness theory be modified. Influential academics also question the tendency to apply the politeness strategies in non-western contexts (Armaşu, 2012). In addition, others regard Brown and Levinson's model as inadequate because it does not take into account the intercultural differences (Mao, 1994). Redmond (2015) finds politeness theory to be weak in that it was based on an ideal person, without considering, among others, the reality of impulsiveness and irrationality. In short, people do not always plan what to say, and do not take into consideration what strategies to use in interactions. Redmond suggests that politeness or lack thereof is simply a natural occurrence, a result of a habit or practice.

As far as Grice is concerned, interactions are a matter of cooperation, and this is reflected in Filipino workplace communication in an attempt to save face or maintain a good face. The maintenance of a good image and the group-orientation among Filipinos are some of the motivating factors in employing all types of communicative strategies as per Jocano, all of which embodies a Filipino variety of politeness, and not necessarily of the concepts posited by Brown and Levinson. Lakoff's rules of politeness fit rightly in Filipino workplace communication-cum-politeness. Similarly, Jocano's formulations are consistent with Leech's politeness principle and Fraser's contention of politeness being a default setting, which is a reality in Filipino setting, whether at work or anywhere else. In light of the foregoing and the uniqueness of the Filipino brand of politeness, a modified politeness theory should be in the offing, perhaps one that fully captures what it truly means to be linguistically polite. But given the assertion that the Brown and Levinsonian theory does not fit well in Philippine politeness, it is high time literature on the subject accommodate, or at least acknowledge, the existence of a multi-faceted, self-centered variety of politeness that is uniquely Filipino as reflected in workplace context.

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USE OF THE WORD '*ANAK*' (CHILD) IN INDONESIAN FROM ECOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract
This article presents the results of research on the use of the word *'anak'* (child) in Indonesian compound words from an ecolinguistic perspective. The problem studied is whether the use of the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words has a relationship with the environment. When it shows a relationship with the environment, what type of environment will the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words refer to? Because the problem is studied from an ecolinguistic perspective, the theory used in this research is the theory of language concerning the environment. A language whose manifestation is in the form of grammatical units is assumed to designate a certain type of environment as its reference. The data of this research are in the form of compound words which contain the word *'anak'* in Indonesian. The data were taken from a primary source, namely the online version of the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (2015), and from a secondary source, namely the researcher's introspective data as a native Indonesian speaker. The data were collected by the referential method and analyzed by the referential equivalent method. The results of data analysis were presented with informal methods and formal methods. The results of this study indicate that the use of the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words refers to ten types of environment, namely (1) the family environment, (2) the educational environment, (3) the work environment, (4) the place environment, (5) the socio-economic environment, (6) the socio-ethical environment, (7) the animal environment, (8) the plant environment, (9) the natural environment, and (10) the artificial object environment. This finding is one of the pieces of evidence that language has a relationship with the environment.

Keywords: '*anak'* word, compound words, ecolinguistics, environment, Indonesian

Introduction
This article presents the results of research on the use of the word *'anak'* in Indonesian from an ecolinguistic perspective. What is meant by the use of the word *'anak'* is the combination of the word *'anak'* with other words to form a compound

word. For example, the word *'anak'* joins the word *'kandung'* (biological) to form *'anak kandung'* (biological child), the word *'anak'* joins the phrase *'sekolah dasar'* (elementary school) to form *'anak sekolah dasar'* (elementary school pupil/student), the word *'anak'* joins the word *'ayam'* (chicken) to form *'anak ayam'* (chick), the word *'anak'* joins the word 'sungai' (river) to form *'anak sungai'* (tributary). Thus, the object of this research is the use of the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words.

The word *'anak'* that combines with other words to form compound words can generate certain meanings. The word *'anak'* in '*anak kandung*' (biological child) contains the meaning of 'his own child'. The word *'anak'* in '*anak sekolah dasar* (elementary school pupil/student) expresses the meaning of 'pupil' or 'student'. The word *'anak'* in *anak ayam* (chick) expresses the meaning of 'small chicken'. The word *'anak'* in *'anak sungai'* (tributary) means 'branches of the river'.

This study aims to prove that language has a relationship with the environment. The relationship between language and the environment is the object of studies in ecolinguistics (Halliday, 2001) or language ecology (Haugen, 1972). Therefore, the use of the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words is studied from the perspective of ecolinguistics or language ecology.

In this study, the object of the study is part of the language, namely the use of the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words. In this case, the use of the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words is examined concerning the environment. The problem studied is whether the use of the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words has a relationship with the environment. When it shows a relationship with the environment, what type of environment will the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words refer to? For example, the word *'anak'* in *'anak kandung'* (biological child) has a relationship with the family environment, the word *'anak'* in *'anak sekolah dasar'* (elementary school pupil/student) has a relationship with the educational environment, the word *'anak'* in *'anak ayam'* (chick) has a relationship with the animal environment, and the word *'anak'* in *'anak sungai'* (tributary) has a relationship with the natural environment.

Discussions on the use of the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words are found, among others, in the book by Kridalaksana (1988; 1993), Chaer's book (1984), Echols' and Shadily's book (1994), Badudu (1981), and the online version of the Indonesian Dictionary (2015). Kridalaksana (1988; 1993) discusses the use of the word *'anak'* to study the combination of lexemes in Indonesian. The combinations of lexemes containing the lexeme of *'anak'* are listed and classified according to their grammatical meaning. In his work of an Indonesian dictionary of idioms, Chaer (1984) has also listed idioms containing the word *'anak'* and explained their meaning. In the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (2015), the online version also has a list of compound words containing the word *'anak'* and their respective meanings. In these books, the use of the word 'anak' in Indonesian compound words, of course, has not been discussed from an ecolinguistic perspective.

There have been articles that present research results on the use of words or lexicon from an ecolinguistic perspective, namely articles by Sibarani (2014) and Sinungharjo (2020). Sibarani (2014) examines 'bamboo' vocabulary in Batak Toba language from an ecolinguistic perspective. Based on the results of his research, Sibarani (2014) shows a list of vocabulary related to bamboo that is almost extinct in Batak Toba language.

Sinungharjo (2020) examines the biotic lexicon in music from an ecolinguistic perspective. The results of his research, among others, show that there is a relationship between musical genres and the combination of biotic lexemes. Biotic lexemes are more dominant in *dangdut* music. The use of biotic elements as the central element is found in popular music and rock music genres and the use of biotic elements as attributes is found in reggae, punk, and hardcore music.

In addition to the articles, there is also a thesis by Tarigan (2018) which describes the Karo language lexicon of nouns and verbs related to the rice environment in Rumah Pil-Pil Village and describes a picture of people's understanding of the noun and verb lexicon of rice. The results showed that the rice lexicon in Karo in Rumah Pil-Pil Village consisted of 5 groups, namely (1) the pre-planting stage lexicon, (2) the planting stage lexicon, (3) the post-planting stage lexicon, (4) the animal and plant lexicon related to rice, (5) the lexicon of processed rice in Rumah Pil-Pil Village. From the five lexicon groups, 118 noun lexicon and 50 verb lexicon were obtained. The number of the rice lexicon found in Rumah Pil-Pil Village is 168 lexicon. From the results of testing the understanding of the people of Rumah Pil-Pil Village on the rice lexicon, the results show that there has been a decreasing understanding of the lexicon in each age group of respondents, especially the adolescent age group. Respondents' understanding of noun lexicon at the age of 45 years was 97.7%, aged 21-45 years was 84.6%, and aged 15-20 years was 60.5%. Respondents' understanding of the verb lexicon at the age of 45 years was 98.6%, the age of 21-45 years was 82.6%, and the age of 15-21 years was 39.8%.

The use of the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words is studied from an ecolinguistic perspective, so the theory used in this study is the theory of language concerning the environment. The ecolinguistic paradigm includes a functional paradigm (Isodarus, 2022), namely the study of language in terms of language relations and other aspects of life. Ecolinguistics is the study of language concerning the environment (Wenjuan, 2017, Chen 2016). Language concerning the environment contains three concepts, namely language, environment, and the relationship of language to the environment. Language is a sign or symbol consisting of form and meaning. A language which consists of form and meaning is manifested in grammatical units, namely words, sentences, and discourse. In this study, the grammatical unit studied is the word, namely the word *'anak'* which is combined with other words to form a compound word.

The environment, in this case, includes the metaphorical environment, namely the language user, as proposed by Haugen (1972) and the non-metaphorical environment as stated by Halliday (2001). The environment is everything that surrounds human life. The environment includes the human environment, animal environment, plant environment, natural environment, and the environment of artificial objects. Each type of environment can still be broken down into more specialized types. The human environment, for example, can be detailed into the individual environment, family, school environment, work environment, place/location environment, socio-economic environment, socio-ethical environment, and so on.

The relationship between language and the environment can be explained through the semantic triangle proposed by Ogden and Richards (1989: 11). Ogden and Richards (1989) explain the relationship between symbols, thoughts, and referents. The symbol serves to symbolize the mind and therefore there is a direct relationship between the two. The mind points to the referent and therefore there is a direct relationship between the two. The relationship between symbols and referents must go through the mind, namely through references or designations, and therefore between symbols and referents there is an indirect relationship. The indirect relationship is shown by a dotted line. The following presents the semantic triangle of Ogden and Richards (1989: 11).

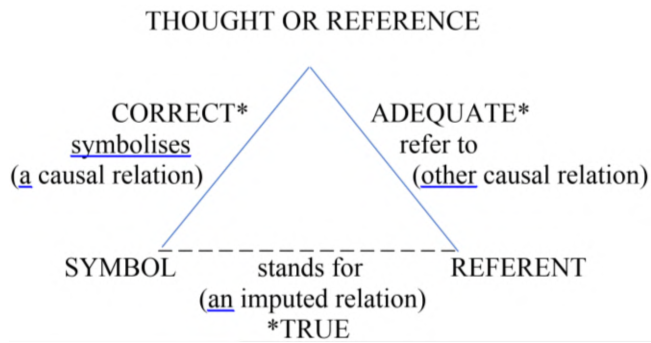

Figure 1. The semantic triangle by Ogden and Richards (1989:11)

The semantic triangle theory from Ogden and Richards (1989: 11) is adapted in this study to explain the relationship between language and the environment. In this study, what is meant by a symbol is a verbal symbol or language and the referent in question is the environment. The human mind is the axis of the relationship between language and the environment. It is the mind that connects language with the environment. Language and environment do not have a direct relationship. The indirect relationship is shown by a dotted line. The relationship between language and the environment must go through the mind. This is following the view that language is in the human mind (Subiyanto, 2013). The relationship between language, thought, and environment can be described in the following ecolinguistic triangle.

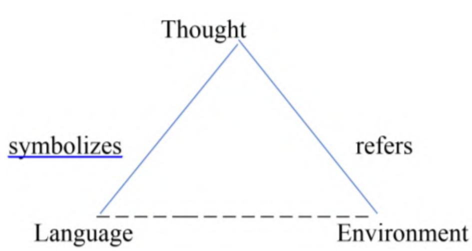

Figure 2 The ecolinguistic triangle

The relationship between language and the environment can be explained from two starting points, namely starting from the environment as a referent and starting from language as a symbol. If it departs from the environment, the environment is perceived by the mind through the senses to form a concept and then the concept is symbolized to form language. The symbolized concept is called meaning. Thus, a language, which consists of form and meaning, is formed. If it departs from language, the language element consisting of form and meaning refers to a certain environment.

In this study, the relationship between language and the environment starts from the elements of language that have been formed. The language element that has been formed is the word *'anak'*, which combines with other words to form a compound word. The word *'anak'* in the compound word expresses a particular meaning. The word *'anak'* is a compound word that expresses a particular meaning and has a relationship with a certain type of environment.

Method

The object of this research is the word *'anak'* in Indonesian. The research data are compound words that contain the word *'anak'*. The data were obtained from two sources, namely (1) from a book containing a list of compound words containing the word *'anak'* in Indonesian and (2) from a creative generation of the Indonesian language that researchers use daily. The data from the first source were taken from the online version of the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (2015). The data were obtained from a second source, which Botha (1981: 67) calls introspective data. This introspective data are compound words containing the word *'anak'* which is not found in the online version of the *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (2015).

Data collection from the first source was carried out using the method of listening or observation (Sudaryanto, 2015: 203), namely by listening to a list of compound words containing the word *'anak'* found in the first data source. The results of the listening are then recorded on the data card. Data collection from the second source was carried out using an intuitive method (Labov, 1972: 9), namely by generating the language competence of the researcher as an Indonesian speaker. In this case, according to Robins (1992: 9), the researcher is an internalist, that is, the researcher is also a speaker of the language being studied.

The data that have been collected are then classified based on the types of environment it refers to. The classified data are then analyzed using the referential equivalent method, which is a method that uses referents as a tool to prove certain lingual facts (Sudaryanto, 2015). This referential equivalent method is used to prove that the word *'anak'* in a certain compound refers to a certain type of environment. The results of the data analysis are presented using informal methods and formal methods. The informal presentation method is the formulation of the results of data analysis in ordinary words, even with technical terminology. The formal presentation method is the formulation of the results of data analysis with what is commonly known as signs and symbols (Sudaryanto, 2015: 241). With the formal method, the results of data analysis in this study are presented in a table.

Findings and Discussion

Based on the environment it refers to, the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words designates ten types of environment, namely (1) the family environment, (2) the educational environment, (3) the work environment, (4) the place/location environment, (5) the socio-economic environment, (6) the socio-ethical environment, (7) the animal environment, (8) the plant environment, (9) the natural environment, and (10) the artificial object environment.

The word *'anak'* which refers to the family environment generally means 'descendants'. The data for the word 'anak' which refers to the family environment are presented in table 1 below.

Table 1. The word *'anak'* referring to the family environment

No	Compound Words	Makna
1	*anak kandung*	his/her own child
2	*anak sulung*	the first child
3	*anak bungsu*	the last child
4	*anak tungal*	the only child
5	*anak kembar*	children (two, three, or more) born from the same womb in a pregnancy
6	*anak sapihan*	(newly) weaned child
7	*anak istri*	children and wife or family
8	*anak bini*	children and wife or family
9	*anak cucu*	children and grandchildren or descendants
10	*anak yatim*	a child who no longer has a father
11	*anak yatim piatu*	a child who no longer has a father and a mother
12	*anak tiri*	husband's or wife's inborn child who is not the result of marriage to the current wife or husband
13	*anak angkat*	a child who is given the cost of education by someone, but still lives with his parents
14	*anak asuh*	a child who is given the cost of education by someone, but still lives with his parents
15	*anak haram*	a child born from a relationship outside the marriage bond
16	*anak jadah*	children born from relationships outside of marriage bond
17	*anak emas*	the most loved child

The word *'anak'* which refers to the educational environment is found in the combination of the word *'anak'* and the name of the education unit, the combination of the word *'anak'* with the name of the level in education, the combination of the word *'anak'* with the type of education, the combination of the word *'anak'* and the word student. The word *'anak'* that refers to the educational environment generally contains the meaning of 'pupil' or 'student'. The data for the word *'anak'* which refers to the educational environment are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2. The word *'anak'* referring to the educational environment

No	Combined Words	Meaning
1	*anak taman kanak-kanak (TK)*	kindergarten pupil or student
2	*anak sekolah dasar (SD)*	elementary school pupil or student
3	*anak sekolah menengah pertama (SMP)*	junior high school pupil or student
4	*anak sekolah menengah atas (SMA)*	high school pupil or student
5	*anak sekolah menengah kejuruan (SMK)*	vocational high school student
6	*anak sekolah*	pupil or student
7	*anak kursus*	student taking a course
8	*anak madrasah*	madrasa (a college for Islamic instruction) student
9	*anak seminari*	seminary student
10	*anak kelas I*	student of the first grade
11	*anak kelas II*	student of the second grade
12	*anak kelas III*	student of the third grade
13	*anak didik*	pupil or student

In table 2, data numbers 1 to 5 is a combination of the word *'anak'* and the name of the education unit. Data number 6 to 9 includes a combination of the word *'anak'* and the name of the type of education. Data number 10 to 12 is a combination of the word *'anak'* and the name of the level in the education unit. Data 13 is a combination of the word *'anak'* and the word *'didik'* (educate).

The word *'anak'* that refers to the place/location environment is found in the combination of the word *'anak'* and the name of the place. The word *'anak'* followed by a place name usually means 'a child who comes from a particular area' or 'a child who lives in a particular area'. The data for the word *'anak'* that refers to the environment in which it is located are presented in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The word *'anak'* pointing to the place/location environment

No	Combined Words	Meaning
1	*anak Aceh*	a person coming from Aceh
2	*anak Bali*	a person coming from Bali
3	*anak Yogyakarta*	a person coming from or Yogyakarta
4	*anak Papua*	a person coming from Papua
5	*anak kota*	a person coming from a city
6	*anak desa*	a person coming from a village
7	*anak asrama*	a person living in dormitories
8	*anak kampung*	a person living in a kampong or village
9	*anak kos*	a person living in a boarding house
10	*anak jalanan*	a person living on the street

In table 3, data 1 to 5 are a combination of the word *'anak'* with the name of the place of origin. The combination of words 1 to 6 means 'children who come from….' The combination of words 7 to 10 means 'children who live in ….'

The word *'anak'* that refers to the work environment means 'people who work in', 'players', or 'subordinates'. The word *'anak'* that refers to the work environment is contained in the compound words presented in table 4 below.

Table 4. The word *'anak'* referring to the work environment

No	Compound Words	Meaning
1	*anak kapal*	officer on duty on the ship
2	*anak perahu*	ship's crew
3	*anak panggung*	performers in plays, drama, comedies, and so on
4	*anak komidi*	comedian, play performer, theatrical performer
5	*anak dabus*	player of dabus (Sundanese martial arts showing human abilities that are immune to sharp weapons, hard water, and others)
6	*anak dayung*	rower
7	*anak buah*	subordinate

The word *'anak'* that refers to the socio-economic environment is found in the combination of the word *'anak'* and the name of the parent's occupational background and the combination of the word *'anak'* with the name of the level of the parents' economic ability. The word *'anak'* that refers to the socio-economic environment generally means 'a child whose parents' status is …' or 'a child whose family's economic condition is capable or not.'

Table 5. The word *'anak'* referring to the socio-economic environment

No	Compound Words	Meaning
1	*anak pejabat*	A person whose parents are officials
2	*anak petani*	A person whose parents are farmers
3	*anak pedagang*	A person whose parents are traders
4	*anak buruh*	A person whose parents are laborers
5	*anak pengusaha*	A person whose parents are businessmen
7	*anak kaya*	A person whose parents are rich
8	*anak miskin*	children of poor parents
7	*anak mampu*	children of rich parents
8	*anak tidak mampu*	children from poor families

The word *'anak'* referring to the socio-ethical environment is found in the combination of the word *'anak'* and words that state the good or bad behaviour of a person. The compound word containing the word '*anak'* that refers to a socio-ethical environment means 'a child who behaves according to or not following societal norms.'

Table 6 The Word *'Anak'* Referring to the Socio-ethical Environment

No	Compound Words	Meaning
1	*anak baik*	a good child
2	*anak saleh*	a religiously obedient child
3	*anak nakal*	a child who behaves deviantly from social norms

4	*anak durhaka*	a child behaving against parental orders or God's orders
5	*anak brandal*	a child who behaves not in accordance with the norms of society
6	*anak kurang ajar*	a child behaving impolitely
7	*anak santun*	a well-behaved child
8	*anak penurut*	a child who obeys parental orders

The word *'anak'* that refers to the animal's environment is found in the combination of the word *'anak'* and the name of the animal. The word *'anak'* followed by the name of an animal usually means 'a small animal'. The data for the word *'anak'* that refer to the animal environment are in the combination of words presented in table 7 below.

Table 7 The Word *'Anak'* Pointing to Animal Environment

No	Kata Majemuk	Meaning
1	*anak kelinci*	a little bunny
2	*anak kucing*	a little cat
3	*anak harimau*	a little tiger
4	*anak sapi*	a little cow
5	*anak burung*	a little bird
6	*anak gajah*	a little elephant
7	*anak ular*	a little snake

The word *'anak'* that designates the plant environment is found in a combination of the word *'anak'* and the name of the plant or the name of the plant part. Data for the word *'anak'* that refers to the plant environment are presented in table 8 below.

Table 8 The Word *'Anak'* Pointing to the Plant Environment

No	Compound Words	Meaning
1	*anak daun*	leaf blade
2	*anak pisang*	small banana tree
3	*anak cabang*	twig

The word *'anak'* that refers to the natural environment is found in the combination of the word *'anak'* and the name of the type of natural environment. The word *'anak'* that refers to the natural environment generally means 'section' or 'branch'. Data for the word *'anak'* that refers to the natural environment are presented in table 9 below.

Table 9 The Word *'Anak'* Pointing to the Natural Environment

No	Compound Words	Meaning
1	*anak sungai*	river branch
2	*anak bukit*	smaller hill
3	*anak air*	gutter or ditch
4	*anak gunung*	a smaller mountain that appears near a larger mountain
5	*anak angin*	softer wind
6	*anak laut*	smaller sea

The word *'anak'* that designates the environment of artificial objects is found in the combination of the word *'anak'* and the names of artificial objects.

Table 10 The Word *'Anak'* Pointing to the Environment of Artificial Objects

No	Compound Words	Meaning
1	*anak kunci*	a key to open/unlock a lock
2	*anak tangga*	the part of the ladder that is used to stand on
3	*anak panah*	an arrow released with the bow
4	*anak meja*	drawer
5	*anak busur*	arrow
6	*anak timbangan*	weighing device as a measure of the weight of goods
7	*anak dacin*	stone (iron and so on) on a scale with a certain weight
8	*anak batu tulis*	stationery to write on slate
9	*anak batu*	cylinder shaped stone for crushing pepper (chili, spices, etc.)
10	*anak bedil*	bullet
10	*anak kalimat*	part of a sentence (clause) that cannot stand alone as a sentence' or 'bound clause'
11	*anak judul*	addition to the title of an essay or a writing
12	*anak bab*	part of the chapter in a writing
13	*anak baju*	underwear
14	*anak perusahaan*	a company part of a larger company

The word *'anak'* in the combination of these words means 'part'. The data for the word *'anak'* that refers to the environment of artificial objects are presented in table 10 above.

Conclusion

The conclusion from the data analysis in this study is that the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words refers to ten types of environment, namely (1) family environment, (2) educational environment, (3) work environment, (4) place/location environment, (5) socio-economic environment, (6) socio-ethical environment, (7) animal environment, (8) plant environment, (9) natural environment, and (10) artificial object environment. The results of this study have answered the research problem, namely whether the use of the word '*anak'* in a combination of Indonesian words has a relationship with the environment.

The word *'anak'* that designates certain environment contains certain meanings. The word *'anak'* which refers to the family environment means 'descendants'. The word *'anak'* which refers to the educational environment means 'pupil' or 'student'. The word *'anak'* that refers to the work environment means 'people who work in', 'players', or 'subordinates'. The word *'anak'* which refers to the environment in which it is located means 'person who comes from' or 'person who lives in'. The word *'anak'* which refers to the socio-economic environment means 'children whose parents are' or 'children whose socio-economic status is able/poor'. The word *'anak'* which refers to a socio-ethical environment means 'a child who behaves well or not well'. The word *'anak'* which refers to an animal environment means 'a small animal'. The child's word that refers to the plant environment means 'part'. The word *'anak'* which refers to the natural environment means 'part'. The word *'anak'* that refers to the environment of artificial objects also means 'part'.

The results of this study prove that the use of the word *'anak'* in Indonesian compound words can refer to various types of environments. The type of environment that the word *'anak'* denotes depends on the word it combines. The words they combine also affect the meaning expressed by the word *'anak'*. Furthermore, the results of this study further confirm the basic assumption in ecolinguistics that language has a relationship with the environment. The theory of the relationship between language and the environment will be stronger when more research is carried out on the elements of language from an ecolinguistic perspective.

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SUNDANESE INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE IN SINDANG BARANG CULTURAL VILLAGE – BOGOR

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Abstract
The Sindang Barang Cultural Village was formed by the descendants of customary holders who live in Bogor to revitalize Sundanese culture. This is useful for preserving customs so that people can continue to live the Sundanese way (using indigenous knowledge and sticking to local wisdom) even though they live in the modern era. This study aims to identify the Sundanese indigenous knowledge possessed by them. This study uses a qualitative thematic analysis approach to identify it. The results of this study indicate that the themes of indigenous knowledge owned by the society are village landscape, agriculture, natural signs, health, and batik. The village landscape has sub-themes landscape of land and building position. The sub-themes of agriculture are the type of paddy, fertilizer, planting time, magic guard, and granary. Natural signs have the sub-themes of changing days and signs of calamity and disaster. The sub-theme of health is herbs. Batik has a sub-theme of motifs and natural dyes. This study found that some of the indigenous knowledge about herbs and batik had been lost from the people's memory.

Keywords: indigenous knowledge, *sindang barang*, Sundanese

Introduction
The Sindang Barang Cultural Village in Bogor district is the result of the efforts of traditional holders to preserve the Sundanese culture inherited from their ancestors. This effort is important because Bogor is one of the archaeological heritage sites of Sundanese culture. Abah Etong Sumawijaya (the former leader of Sindang Barang) continued the ancestral efforts to maintain the Sindang Barang culture to stick to Sundanese customs until 1971. From 1971-2005 Sindang Barang did not have a traditional head. This caused concern for Abah Entong Sumawijaya's grandson, Achmad Mikami Sumawijaya. In 2006, he together with traditional leaders, elders, and the community agreed to establish The Sindang Barang Cultural Village so that Sundanese culture stay maintained. The village was inaugurated by

the Governor of West Java on September 4, 2007. Achmad Mikami Sumawijaya (Abah Maki) was elected as *pupuhu* (the new leader). *Pupuhu* is responsible for maintaining Sundanese wisdom and ensuring that people continue to use indigenous knowledge in their lives.

Masekoameng & Molotja (2019) argued that there is no single definition of indigenous knowledge (IK). IK is usually described as indigenous knowledge from the community, the knowledge that is still traditional, or local knowledge that is only owned by certain communities. Mazlan & Omar (2012) explained indigenous knowledge is usually stored in the memory of traditional leaders, elders, and people who are considered experts in certain customs. It has not been explored and documented. Indigenous knowledge of the Sundanese can be seen in the research of Wicaksana & Sumaryana (2018) exemplifying the knowledge of Sundanese in Baduy-Dalam. The community in this traditional village calls Orion *kidang* and venus as *Bintang Timur* (the eastern star). Orion or *kidang* is used to indicate the time to farm. Venus is east direction. The result of the study by Nikmatullah et al. (2019) shows that the people in Baduy-Dalam know herbs. There are 54 types of plants that they used to make medicine.

Based on those two research results, we argue that other villages also have local knowledge that represents Sundanese culture. We chose Sindang Barang Cultural Village because it is located in Bogor. Bogor's relationship with Sundanese culture is explained by Gultom (2018) that the name Sunda is listed on the Kebon Kopi II Inscription found in Bogor. Pusparini et al. (2017) said, since the 17th century Bogor has been the center of civilization of the Padjadjaran Kingdom. Bogor's position as a historical city has continued into the modern era. In 2012 the Ministry of Public Works and Public Housing of the Republic of Indonesia through the Directorate General of Spatial Planning and Indonesian Heritage Preservation Agency designated Bogor as one of the Heritage Cities in Indonesia. Nature and culture in Bogor are considered to have a history that represents one of the tribes in Indonesia, namely the Sundanese.

One of the places in Bogor that are considered sacred by the Sundanese is Sindang Barang. Abah Maki explained that the land which is currently used as The Sindang Barang Cultural Village was formerly a sacred place for the Sunda Galuh kingdom (12th century) during the reign of King Wisnu Barata. Sindang Barang's position as a sacred place is evidenced by the menhirs, dolmens, punden terraces, Jalatunda wells, and Sri Bagenda Park around this cultural village. The status of Sindang Barang as a sacred place persisted until the Sunda Galuh Kingdom changed its name to the Padjadjaran Kingdom (13th to 15th centuries). The palace for Dewi Kentring Manik Mayang Sunda (one of the wives of Prabu Siliwangi or King Padjadjaran) was built on Sindang Barang land.

Even though people currently live in the modern era, they have not abandoned Sundanese cultural values according to the teachings of their ancestors since the days of the kingdom. Based on the results of our survey, it can be seen that the Sindang Barang Cultural Village holds the collective memory of the Sundanese people about their identity. In this place, there are traditional houses, rice storage warehouses, and halls. Those traditional buildings were built according to the Sundanese rules. Some residents also grow herbs. They plant it in front or beside the houses. Another thing that reminds us of the identity of the Sundanese is the position of the village which was established in the highlands. The terraced land contour is the most suitable place to build a Sundanese village. This fact forms the basis of our argument that the Sindang Barang Cultural Village has indigenous knowledge that is typical of the Sundanese. Therefore, we are interested in research to identify the kind of indigenous knowledge.

Method

This study used a qualitative thematic analysis approach to identify indigenous knowledge in the Sindang Barang Cultural Village. According to Braun & Clarke (2013), qualitative research is research with data in the form of spoken, written, and image forms that is not intended for generalization. Qualitative research has thick descriptions of research results to interpret more local meanings. The Thematic Analysis (TA) approach is useful for identifying themes and patterns of meaning in the dataset according to the research question. The analysis is not shaped by theory but is shaped by the researcher's point of view based on epistemological principles without having to study theoretical constructions in depth.

Our data collection technique was carried out through direct visits. We saw the terraced land, traditional houses, herbal plants, batik, food storage warehouses, and paddy fields. We interviewed Abah Maki (*pupuhu*/customary leader), Abah Ukat (*kokolot*/elder), and Emak (one of the residents). The results of our observations are written in the form of a description of what is in the location (the land, houses, herbal trees, batik, warehouses, and fields). We also recorded the interview process. We copied the recordings of the interviews in written form. We read the texts from our observations and interviews repeatedly until we get the themes, sub-themes, and explanations. The results of our analysis are presented in the narrative. This is as stated by Braun & Clarke (2013) that the thematic analysis stages are reading data (textual or audio-visual data must be read, listened to, and watched many times), noting unique keywords, determining themes, defining the themes, creating subtheme map, explaining the subthemes, analyzing the relationship between the themes and subthemes, and displaying the results of the analysis.

Findings and Discussion

According to Gupta (2015), knowledge is part of a culture, created from various facts, and contains information. The knowledge that is identical to a particular culture, is traditional, and applies to local customs is known as indigenous knowledge (IK) that does not use written or printed learning media, is not created in the laboratory, and is not learned in formal education. It is created because of the long process of community interaction with nature. They recognize what is happening around them, and believe what they see and feel. Beliefs in the natural events they see are associated with religion. Although belief in the supernatural is sometimes perceived by modern society as a superstitious practice, indigenous peoples still regard the supernatural as a part of life. Indigenous knowledge is also owned by Sindang Barang as in table 1.

Table 1. *Sidang Barang* cultural village indigenous knowledge themes and subthemes

Themes	Subthemes	Brief Explanation
Village Landscape	the landscape of the village land	Forest, settlement, and paddy fields
	Building position	Customary leader’s house, meeting hall, paddy barn
Agriculture	Paddy type	*Ketan, cerei, sri kuning*, and *kewal*
	Natural Fertilizer	Salt used for fish preservation
	Magic guard	The Scarecrow
	Planting time	Based on day, month, and constellation
	Granary	Rice storage
Natural sign	Change of days	Late afternoon
	Signs of calamity and disaster	Animal sound
Health	Herbs	Fever Pain in the stomach Skin disease Toothache Bruises
Batik	Motif	Especially for the royal family, commoners
	Natural dyes	Leaves, fruit skins, flowers, and tree bark

Village landscape

The people in Sindang Barang have indigenous knowledge about the landscape following Sundanese customs. Customary leaders and elders always choose hilly locations as their territory. In general, they divide the territory into three positions (up, middle, and down). The upper part (such as the highest land or hilltop) is devoted to sacred places such as *human tupan* (forest prohibition), places of worship, and ancestral tombs. The middle position is a residential village (leader's house, meeting hall, rice barn, and residents' houses). Paddy fields, fields, farms, and ponds are in the lowest plains, usually next to rivers. An illustration of a village that is under Sundanese customs can be seen in Figure 1.

The landscape of village land

Figure 1. Illustration of Sundanese village

According to Abah Maki, the location of the Sindang Barang Cultural Village is by the principle of *warugan lemah* (good land layout according to the Sundanese) namely *ngalingga manik* (land in hilly areas), and *bahe ngaler* (land extending to the north). This formation is suitable for traditional villages. The Sindang Barang Cultural Village was built in a hilly area with a land position that extends from south to north. Abah Ukat added, the lower part is used as paddy fields, vegetable gardens, and farms. This area is in the form of terraces and is usually next to or close to a river. Farmers often use rivers to irrigate rice fields during the dry season and bathe the livestock. Near the river also grow herbs that can be used for medicine.

According to Phungpracha et al. (2016), the form of terracing land is useful for farmers to regulate water for rice fields. Rice fields in hilly areas are also useful as a preventive measure for soil erosion. Camacho et al. (2016) explained that the Philippines has a land division system according to customary law. The zoning set by *Muyong* is the boundaries of settlements, forests, grasslands, fields, and terraced rice fields for maintaining harmonious relations between the community and nature and for avoiding land ownership disputes because there are sanctions that apply traditionally to people who violate this rule.

Building position

Abah Ukat explained that the ancient traditional village arrangement was also like Sindang Barang Cultural Village. When viewed from afar, Sindang Barang Cultural Village is located in the hills. *Imah gede* (the house of the leader) and the house of the elders are on the highest residential land (not parallel to the ordinary people's houses). Just like rice planting time, the best time to make a house is Thursday and Sunday. A good house position is facing south. In settlements, *leuit* (rice barns) and *saung talu* (a multipurpose buildings for entertainment performances, dance practice, and craft-making) are generally erected in the settlements.

Agriculture

According to Abah Ukat, some people in Sindang Barang are still farming traditionally (selecting seeds, calculating planting time, fertilizing, to getting rid of pests).

Paddy type

The paddy planted is large-grain paddy such as *padi ketan* (Oryza Sativa L. Var. Glutinosa), *cere* (Oryza Sativa L. Var. Sinica/Japonica), *sri kuning* or *gogo* (rice growing on dry land), and *kewal* (paddy typical of Banten). These types of rice are now classified as rare because farmers generally do not want to plant the reason that the harvest period is long, only once or twice a year. They prefer the type of rice with small grains that can be harvested up to three times a year. However, according to Abah Ukat, large-grain rice tastes much better than small-grain rice and is healthier because it is grown using natural fertilizers.

Natural fertilizer

Abah Ukat acknowledged that some farmers have used chemical fertilizers for rice. They reasoned practical and cheaper. Some other farmers still use natural fertilizers, namely *garam krosak kuning* (yellow coarse salt). It is the salt used for fish preservation in the home industry for *pindang ikan cue* (boiled cue fish). They believe that this type of salt contains residual nutrients from fish so it is good when used to make fertilizer. According to Gondek et al. (2020), not all salt can be used for fertilizer but salt containing K+, Ca2+, SO42+, CO32-, and NO3 can improve soil health to support plant growth.

Magic guard

The belief is the existence of supernatural powers that can protect paddy from calamities. They place *orang-orangan sawah* (scarecrows) in several corners of the fields as a medium to prevent disaster so that paddy can thrive and be free of pests. Respondents in the study of Król et al. (2019) explained that scarecrows are human-like dolls made of straw. This doll is wearing a shirt, belt, and hat. It is to protect the fields from pests, especially birds. The majority of farmers in Poland still install scarecrows at the end of the 20th century. They believed in her magical powers to protect the fields. This belief is still held firmly by old farmers.

Planting time

Farmers rely on the constellation *waluku* (Orion). When the star is above (Oktober) is the best time to plant crops that also grow to the top (rice and corn). When the Orion is below (May), they use the land to plant plants that grow below (cassava and sweet potatoes). The rotation of rice, corn, cassava, and sweet potatoes on the same land is useful to complement the needs of the community for the need of main food. According to Masekoameng&Molotja (2019), the seasonal calendar is useful as a calculation of the right time for plowing, planting, fertilizing, weeding, and harvesting. Phungpracha et al. (2016) gave an example of farmers in Ban Pa village in Thailand also planting different plants at different times but on the same land. They plant corn, rice, and black beans alternately in one field for the community's needs.

Farmers in Sindang Barang believe that the good days for planting rice are Thursday and Sunday. Thursday is identical to the wind element and Sunday represents the cloud. They believe that wind and clouds greatly affect the growth of rice. They also believe that the best position of the farmer's body when planting rice is facing west because the rice needs sunlight. When harvesting farmers face east and south. The taboo position of planting and harvesting is facing the north. They believe that the north is a bad direction for agricultural activity. The day that is believed to be bad for agricultural activities is Tuesday. They will not plant, harvest, take paddy from the barn or pound it on Tuesday.

Sereenonchai & Arunrat (2018) argue that local farmers must have in-depth knowledge of agricultural systems and ecosystems in their respective areas. Tanyanyiwa (2019) said local knowledge about climate that will affect agriculture is still used by farmers in Zimbabwe. They know how to recognize climate change that has an impact on agriculture. Extreme climates will affect crop production. Low yields will have an impact on people's food security. According to Phungpracha et al. (2016), food security is a very complex national problem that involves the community's need for food and the challenges to fulfill it so that people are free from hunger.

Granary

Food security is a problem that is often faced by the community, not least in Sindang Barang. The main cause of this problem is crop failure due to bad weather, pests, and infertile fields. This became a valuable lesson for them until found a solution by making *leuit* (granary). *Leuit* is a traditional building. The walls are made of woven bamboo, the roof is made of palm leaves (Arenga pinnata), and the pegs of the sago tree (Metroxilon sago). Natural materials allow *leuit* buildings to have air cavities so that indoor circulation is maintained. Thus the rice will not become moist. This building is placed on a stone foundation so that the floor does not touch the ground so preventing it from getting wet, especially during the rainy season. The wooden floor is given *teureup* leaf (Artocarpus elasticus) to avoid insects. Special storage areas for foodstuffs also exist in southern Africa. Kamwendo&Kamwendo (2014) explains that people in Malawi make *msanja* as a place to store food (Millet, sorghum, unpeeled beans, peas) so that they do not run out of food throughout the year. *Msanja* is a tall table mounted above the fireplace (in the kitchen). The smoke from the stove will prevent the food wet.

Figure 2. Leuit

Farmers in Sindang Barang also know about preserving paddy so it is not moist when stored in *leuit*. The harvested paddy is then dried in the sun. If the rainy season, it is smoked until it dries. Mhache (2018) explained that the people in the Mbokomu (Kilimanjaro Region) also have their knowledge and system for selecting and preserving raw food. Big and smooth corn and bean seeds are selected immediately after harvest, dried in the sun, and hung on the kitchen roof so that they are exposed to the smoke from the stove. This smoke slowly keeps the seeds dry. Asogwa et al. (2017) admitted the importance of indigenous knowledge on food preservation for 240 million people in sub-Saharan Africa. They preserved food under the hot sun. They also fermented grains, fruits, and vegetables. This method has proven to be effective in ensuring the availability of food ingredients for years.

Natural signs

The Sundanese have a different calculation of the turn of the day with the modern calendar (AD). The change of day for Sundanese customs begins after sunset (6 p.m), not after midnight. Sundanese people also still believe in natural signs that indicate disaster.

Change of the days

Abah Ukat told, his family often taught him how to recognize natural signs to recognize the time, animal sounds, and signs of disaster. When dusk begins to darken (6 p.m), it is time for the turn of the day. After that hour, it will be the next day. If a child is born on Thursday afternoon (modern calendar) after sunset (around 6 p.m) then for Sundanese, he is born on Friday.

Signs of calamity and disaster

Another natural sign is the unusual sound of animals. The crying sound of a cat and the sound of *kedasih* or *wikwik* bird (Cacomantis meulis) indicate that someone will die. The sound of the crow (Corvus) is a symbol of calamity, disaster, and news of sorrow. The roaring sound of a tiger is a reminder to perform the *seren taun* ceremony. Misno (2016) explains that *seren taun* is one of the Sundanese rituals to give thanks to the goddess of rice, *Nyi Pohatji* or *Dewi Sri*. People in Sindang Barang believe that *Nyi Pohatji* is the origin of paddy in West Java as well as the protector of it. They believe that if the *seren taun* ceremony is not held, their harvest will fail. Abah Ukat also explained that another natural sign that is often trusted by the community is a sign of disaster, such as a very strong wind blowing in the rainy season. Taremwa et al. (2016) said indigenous knowledge about weather patterns that often occur in Rwanda becomes knowledge to predict how and when natural disasters will occur. This prediction makes them alert so that they can plan disaster mitigation early.

Health

People in Sindang Barang know herbs. When a family member is sick, their grandparents or parents will make potions to cure it. When making medicine, they usually invite other family members to join in concocting herbs. The members will master the types of herbs and the technique of making potions. Abah Ukat also has some knowledge about herbs from his grandmother who worked as a *paraji* (traditional midwife). He was ordered to look for herbs around the house, garden, and near the river. His grandmother explained the medicinal benefits of each plant. When his grandmother mixed and boiled them, Abah Ukat also helped. This assistance activity made him understand herbs. Research by Agung et al. (2019) proved that various ethnobotanical studies recognize the importance of customary management systems on botanical resources. Indigenous knowledge owned by the community is useful for preserving medicinal plants, plants for aromatics, and cosmetics.

Fever

According to Emak, when the whole body feels sore, fever, and the head hurts, this is a sign that the body is not in a fit condition. People usually use *hantap* leaves (Sterculia Oblongata R. Brown) as fever medicine. One handful of fresh leaves is washed, crushed, dissolved in 1 cup of water, filtered, and drunk. They drink it twice a day. According to Susiarti et al. (2018), people living under Mount Gede Pangrango Bogor still drink *hantap* boiled water for fever. Pamungkas et al. (2014) made health drink products from *hantap* leaves (Sterculia Oblongata R. Brown). The leaf jelly drink contains fiber, carbohydrates, vegetable protein, phenols, and antioxidants that are useful for health, especially for lowering body temperature or internal heat.

People in Sindang Barang also usually use *buntiris* or *cocor bebek* leaves (Kalanchoe Pinnata L) as fever medicine. The plant is mashed, boiled, strained, and drunk while still warm. Mashed *buntiris* leaves can be used to compress the forehead Fernandes et al. (2019) described that Kalanchoe Pinnata L. has many uses for treatment such as skin diseases (microbial infections, ulcers, diabetic wounds), respiratory diseases, gastritis, tumors, and cancer.

Emak also explained that *dadap* (Erythrina Orientalis) also can be used to relieve body heat by drinking boiled water leaves and compressing the forehead. Kaushal et al. (2020) recognized that medicinal plants are a gift from nature for human society to live a healthy life, for example, the genus Erythrina. Plant parts that can be used as medicine are bark, roots, leaves, and flowers. Kumari&Kumari (2017) explained that Erythrina Variegata L. contains various sources of nutrients (fiber, potassium, tannins, calcium, phosphorus, magnesium, potassium, sodium, and sulfur).

Pain in the stomach

Another traditional medical knowledge that is mastered by the people of Sindang Barang is healing digestive. They usually eat one piece of turmeric (2 cm) or drink the boiled water of *babadotan* (Ageratum Conyzoides Linn) for an ulcer. *Babadotan* used for medicine is a white flower. Singh et al. (2013) explained that Ageratum Conyzoides Linn provides analgesic, antimicrobial, and anti-inflammatory. Abah Ukat explained that other digestive problems are *masuk angin* (bloating, stomach bloating, nausea, dizziness, and fever). People often use a decoction of the leaves of *kahitutan* (Pederia Foetida Linn.) to cure it. Another way to use this plant is to tie the tendrils of stems to the waist. They believe that this plant will stimulate the stomach to expel gas. Ismawati et al. (2020) explained that people in the Gapura sub-district wrap the tendrils of the Paedria Foetida Linn tree around their waists to stimulate defecation. They also put crushed leaves into the stomach to soothe flatulence. According to Dubey et al. (2017), Paederia Foetida Linn is also a part of medicine in India because provides anti-inflammatory, antioxidant, antimicrobial, antidiabetic, and antiulcer benefits. In addition, this plant has analgesic and hepatoprotective properties.

People in Sindang Barang believe that the leaves of *hanjuang* tree (Cordilyne fructicosa) can treat hemorrhoids. Naher et al. (2019) said Cordyline fruticosa leaves can be used in the treatment of diarrhea. According to Abah Ukat, *emak paraji* (traditional midwives) often make special herbs to be drunk by mothers who have just given birth. One of the herbs used is *paku rane* leaves (selaginella plana). Sutoyo et al. (2021) have proven that Selaginella plana contain steroids, saponins, phenolics, flavonoids, alkaloids, and tannins that are useful for the body. It is a traditional medicine to treat internal wounds (respiratory tract infections, liver disorders, and urinary tract infections), rheumatism, and increase immunity.

Skin disease

People in Sindang Barang also know about treating diseases on the skin. They treat ulcers using mashed leaves of *jawer kotok* (Plectranthus scutellarioides) by placing the paste on the wound. They also believe that bathing with Piper Beetle L.

boiled water will cure itching in the body while reducing body odor. Another leaf that can be used for itching on the skin (ringworm, tinea versicolor, ringworm, and scabies) is *ketepeng* (Cassia alata). Mix the leaves and salt, mash finely, then apply to the skin. Sagnia et al. (2014) explained, Cassia alata contains antioxidants and anti-inflammatory. Antioxidants are useful for reducing the effects of free radicals. Anti-inflammatory is useful in the natural healing process. Abah Ukat and Emak also used to use the *peteui* leaves (Parkia speciosa Hassk) for itching on the skin due to herpes or insect bites. The crushed leaves are attached to the skin. Nikmatullah et al. (2019) explained that the *Baduy-Dalam* (Sundanese village in Banten) people also still use Parkia speciosa Hassk to treat itching on the skin.

Toothache

People in Sindang Barang know a natural medicine for toothache, *kamboja* tree (Plumeria sp). The sap from this tree (flowers, stems, or leaves) is dripped directly onto the cavities. They also used to drip sap on cotton to apply to a tooth that hurts but doesn't have a cavity. Bihani et al. (2021) explained that Plumeria obtusa L. contains essential oils with pharmacological activities such as inhibiting microbial growth, reducing pain in inflammation, and healing wounds. Bihani (2021) added plumeria rubra L. is traditionally used to treat skin diseases (wounds, leprosy, boils, itching, and acne), toothache, and earache.

Bruises

Sundanese has a special potion to treat bruises on the body due to bumps, sprains, falls, or after being hit. This herb is named *Cimande* Oil. This oil is also often used by fracture specialists to massage patients when returning the bone to the correct position. Abah Ukat only mentioned two main ingredients to make the oil, namely sugarcane juice (Saccharum Officinarum Linn) and coconut oil (Cocos nucifera). He kept the secret about the other ingredients. Another requirement in making this oil is that the maker must be menopausal woman. If massage oil is made by women who have not been menopausal, then the benefits will be reduced or even lost. Tlhompho (2014) said, Rre Makoi's traditional knowledge in South Africa also forbids women who are menstruating to be involved in treatment. A woman who is menstruating is considered not to be in a holy state so the medicine she makes will not give healing to the patient.

Abah Ukat also suggested for people who are suffering from bruising drink boiled water from the leaves of *remek daging* (Hemigraphis colorata Hall F.) or *ki urat* (Plantago Major) to prevent heartburn and Moringa leaves (Moringa oleifera) to smooth blood flow and reduce inflammation. Prakashbabu (2017) explainded that hemigraphis colorata has an anti-inflammatory for wound healing. Hussan et al. (2015) explained that plantago major has anti-inflammatory properties to reduce the effects of the injury. Aekthammarat et al. (2020) proved that moringa leaf extract is useful for lowering arterial blood pressure.

When asked about what other herbs are commonly used for treatment, Abah Ukat admitted that he forgot because now his family has used chemical drugs more often due to simple. The fact that Abah Ukat and the community are starting to forget about some of the indigenous knowledge indicates that this knowledge is still in the form of tacit knowledge. The fading of indigenous knowledge (IK) in the community is considered normal by Tharakan (2015) because the nature of IK is indeed unstable, delivered by verbal, and direct practice. Chergui et al. (2018) emphasize the importance of making explicit knowledge of it. This can be done by recording objects. Suprihono (2022) gave an example of a solution in preserving local culture. The creative team from the Yogyakarta Royal Palace digitized it then uploaded them on social media. Thus the local culture will still be seen and remembered by the community.

Batik

People in the Sindang Barang Cultural Village also know Sundanese batik. Abah Maki is keeping the *waroge* motif (an antidote to calamities) which is the king and his family motif. The *waroge* motif represents an evil supernatural being. This image aims to tell evil supernatural beings not to disturb the wearer. An example of a batik with a *waroge* motif can be seen in Figure 3. Abah Maki and Abah Ukat admit that at Sindang Barang there is only 1 person who is an expert in making batik.

Batik Motif

Waroge motifs are *wawayangan, wangapah, ratuning tutulak, watu panggilang, sungke buana,* dan *rajah karatun*. Another motif that is only allowed to be used by the royal family is the motif of the *pakujajar* or *kipaharé* plant (Pteridohyta). This is a typical plant of Bogor which is the symbol of the Padjadjaran kingdom. *Waroge* and *pakujajar* motifs are sacred motifs that should not be used by ordinary people. In ancient times, making special batik for the royal family began with a ritual (reverence to God) before painting the *waroge* motif. This motif was made based on the hope of salvation, blessing, and glory for the king and his family. The happiness of the king is the happiness of the people.

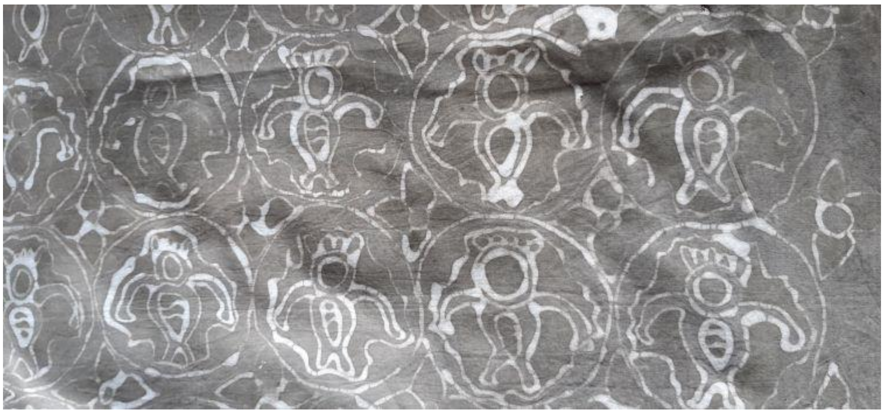

Figure 3. Waroge motif

Natural dye

Batik craftsmen in Sindang Barang used to use natural dye (from fruit skin, leaves, and flowers). Mangosteen rind will produce a reddish-brown color. Rambutan skin gives a dark brown color. Duku peel and mango leaves produce a light brown or pale cream color. The flower used for batik dye is a dried *telang* flower for blue. Batik's making begins with drawing a motif on the cloth, waxing it (using *malam*), coloring it, washing it, and drying it in a shady room. Batik is not dried in the sun but must be aerated. According to Aizat et al. (2019), mangosteen rind will produce a dark purple color that is useful for giving color to food or textiles. Natural dyes are biodegradable and non-toxic so they do not pollute the environment. Paramita et al. (2017) showed that rambutan peel can be used for textile dyes. Rambutan peel extract added with $FeSO_4$ will produce a gray color. A mixture of $Al_2(SO_4)_3$ produces a light or pale brown color while a mixture with $CaCO_3$ produces a yellowish-brown color.

Conclusion

The themes of indigenous knowledge owned by the people of the Sindang Barang Cultural Village are about village landscape, agriculture, natural signs, health, and batik. The village landscape has a sub-theme landscape of land and building position. The sub-themes of agriculture are the type of rice, fertilizers, planting time, magic guard, and granary. The sub-theme of natural signs consists of changing days and signs of calamity and disaster. The sub-theme of health is herbs. Batik has a sub-theme of motifs and natural dyes.

The results of this study can be a reference for other researchers who are interested in analyzing the reasons why people in the Sindang Barang Cultural Village still use local knowledge even though they currently live in the modern era. This study found that some of the indigenous knowledge about herbs had been lost from the people's memory. This village also only has 1 expert in making batik which will have an impact on the loss of knowledge about traditional Sundanese batik. This fact requires attention from all stakeholders, including researchers, academics, and the government. This problem can be a source of reference for further research on the causes of the loss of some Sundanese indigenous knowledge about medicine and batik.

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GOOGLE CLASSROOM IN INDONESIAN EFL CLASSES: VOICES FROM HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS AND STUDENTS

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Abstract
The study was conducted to investigate the extent to which *Google Classroom* (GC) was used in English as Foreign Language (EFL) instruction at the high school level as well as English teachers' and students' views on the use of GC for the instruction. The study employed a qualitative design involving observations and interviews as the methods of data collection. Three English classes at a private high school in Indonesia were observed. Three teachers of the observed classes and six randomly selected students were interviewed. The interview results were analyzed using Thematic Analysis. The study found that GC was used by teachers to upload assignments, monitor students' progress, and make class announcements. Regarding the teacher and student participants' views on the use of Google Classroom, the study found three themes. First, the features of GC were easy to use. Second, GC facilitated a more organized collection of assignments and learning materials. Third, GC had several limitations including difficulty to upload large files, unorganized notifications, and a limited feature allowing instant messaging. From the findings, pedagogical implications and possible limitations are stated along with suggested directions for further relevant studies.

Keywords: EFL classes, Google Classroom, thematic analysis

Introduction

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, many schools employed Learning Management Systems (LMSs) to facilitate online learning, *Google Classroom* (GC) being one of them. GC is an application and platform developed by Google to facilitate blended learning activities (Maskar & Wulantina, 2019). GC is considered efficient and it enables students to learn even when they are physically separated from the teachers (Astuti & Indriani, 2020). The fundamental objective of GC is to facilitate file sharing between teachers and students (Tinungki & Nurwahyu, 2020). The decrease in the number of daily COVID-19 cases in Indonesia by the end of 2021 prompted the Minister of Education, Nadiem Makarim, to issue a new regulation regarding regions that could hold limited face-to-face meetings on the condition that complete vaccinations had been completed (Maspul & Amalia, 2021). Even so, the use of LMSs such as GC continued.

Specific to the Indonesian English as Foreign Language (EFL) learning contexts, many recent studies investigated the use of GC in EFL classes in Indonesia (Megawati & Astutik, 2019; Octaberlina & Muslimin, 2020; Okmawati, 2020; Sukmawati & Nensia, 2019; Syahputra & Isnani, 2020; Syakur et al., 2020). A study by Sukmawati and Nensia (2019), for example, reported the use of GC facilitated teachers to quickly design and manage assignments, provide students with feedback in an effective manner, and connect with their students in a simple online space. In comparison, Okmawati (2020) found that there were technical limitations in the use of GC during the blended learning period, such as students were unable to access GC and some students sent assignments using their friends' accounts. Regarding this, to make the most effective use of GC in EFL classes, there needs to be an appropriate comprehension of the platform and its functions on the part of both the teachers and the students (Atmojo & Nugroho, 2020; Megawati & Astutik, 2019).

Several studies on GC were also conducted in EFL contexts outside Indonesia (Albashtawi & Al Bataineh, 2020 in Jordan; Azhar & Iqbal, 2018 in Pakistan; Khalil, 2018 in Palestine). Albashtawi and Al Bataineh (2020) reported that GC positively affected Jordanian EFL students' reading and writing performances. The study concluded that the students' improvement was related to the successful implementation of GC. Teachers could use it in conjunction with face-to-face classes and upload the required materials (Albashtawi & Al Bataineh, 2020). An earlier study conducted by Khalil (2018) in Palestine investigated the use of GC in grammar classes. The study reported that using GC applications for grammar learning positively affected the students' grammar mastery. This was attributed to the features enabling teachers to provide corrective feedback highlighting students' errors encouraging improvement (Khalil, 2018). In comparison, Azhar and Iqbal (2018) found that GC did not have a denotative influence on learning. Instead, optimization and mastery of the use of features in GC were what made it more effective when used (Azhar & Iqbal, 2018).

Several studies reported obstacles and limitations of GC in online learning contexts (Harjanto & Sumarni, 2019; Nursyahrina et al., 2021; Octaberlina & Muslimin, 2020; Syahputra & Isnani, 2020). The site could not be accessed without an internet network and this could be an issue in the learning contexts whose students' and teachers' internet connectivity was not very good (Atmojo & Nugroho, 2020; Octaberlina & Muslimin, 2020; Okmawati, 2020; Rosyada, 2020). Another limitation found by Nursyahrina et al. (2021) was that GC was too "Googlish" in that it had various buttons only recognizable to Google users.

Despite the possible limitations, several studies have reported the advantages it could offer for language learning (Nursyahrina et al., 2021; Rosyada, 2020; Salam, 2020; Singh et al., 2020; Sukmawati & Nensia, 2019). GC enabled teachers to construct an online learning environment in which they could teach and manage all of the assignments they wanted their students to work on (Singh et al., 2020). Furthermore, students could gain information through interaction, communication, and discussion using the GC (Nursyahrina et al., 2021). Furthermore, a study by Singh et al., (2020) also reported that GC is innovative, seeing as how the teacher and student interface are created and designed primarily for teachers and students to interact and make the learning process more meaningful. Sukmawati and Nensia (2019) found that their student participants felt excited using GC as it was easy to use anywhere using a mobile phone and could also be integrated with other Google Applications such as Google Forms, Google Docs, and Google Drive. Teachers and students can benefit from the numerous features of the platform (Rusdiana et al., 2020). For example, teachers can submit instructional materials to GC so that students can access them anywhere and at any time (Osborne et al., 2018). The uploaded materials can be in the form of articles or text, images, videos, audio, and various other teaching materials (Okmawati, 2020). Later the students will receive a notification alert whenever a teacher makes a new upload (Osborne et al., 2018), allowing students to keep track of the progress of the class more easily. Additionally, in a study outside the EFL context, Tinungki and Nurwahyu (2020) reported that GC contains a variety of features that make things easier for both students and teachers to engage in online instructional activities, suggesting the advantages of GC may not be limited to language learning field.

Several studies have investigated teachers' and students' views of using GC in EFL classes in the Indonesian context and reported various findings (Maskar & Wulantina, 2019; Megawati & Astutik, 2019; Octaberlina & Muslimin, 2020). Student participants reported that GC could make the learning process fun, can foster independent learning attitudes, motivations, and creativity, foster active learning attitudes, and make learning effective (Alfina, 2020; Astuti & Indriani, 2020; Maskar & Wulantina, 2019; Rosyada, 2020). Student participants in a study by Salam (2020), also acknowledged that GC enabled them to submit their tasks on time, obtain feedback from their teachers, and communicate with their instructors about course descriptions. Furthermore, the teacher participants in the study by Harjanto and Sumarni (2019), reported that GC helped promote collaborative learning, minimize problems, organize students' documents, and save time. In comparison, the use of GC was reported by the student participants to be inefficient because they needed a suitable device and a good internet connection (Octaberlina & Muslimin, 2020).

Previous studies on GC in EFL classes in Indonesia have predominantly focused on university contexts (Megawati & Astutik, 2019; Octaberlina & Muslimin, 2020; Okmawati, 2020; Sukmawati & Nensia, 2019; Syakur et al., 2020). For this reason, it could be worthwhile to conduct a study on the use of GC for EFL instruction in an Indonesian high school context. This is because, during the Covid-19 pandemic, GC may have been widely used in many Indonesian high schools. Furthermore, involving both English teachers and students in a study could also provide a more comprehensive picture of the phenomenon because they may have different viewpoints on the same issue. By knowing their students’ viewpoints on the use of GC thus seeing it in “students’ shoes”, teachers may obtain knowledge of how to use GC more appropriately and effectively. For researchers, this study may pave a way for further study on the use of GC in the Indonesian high school EFL context, which is thus far relatively under-researched.

Considering the aforementioned rationales, the present study intends to answer the following two questions. First, to what extent is the use of *Google Classroom* in High School English instruction? Second, what are teachers’ and students’ views on the use of *Google Classroom* in English instruction?

Methods

Research Methods and Instruments

The study used a qualitative design employing observations and interviews. Qualitative design focuses on people's real-life experiences and is a great way to find out what people think about the events, processes, and structures of their lives and how they relate to the social world (Miles et al., 2014). In line with the reiteration of Miles et al. (2014) on the forte of qualitative design in exploring a phenomenon and participants' experiences in-depth, qualitative design was employed in the present study to explore the use of GC in English instruction and obtain in-depth perspectives of both teachers and students regarding its use.

The data were collected using observations and interviews. Observations were used to obtain the answers to the first research question whilst interviews were used to obtain the answer to the second research question and provide support for observation data for the first research question. An observation checklist was used as the instrument to guide the observations and field notes were used to note down relevant findings. There were two types of observations employed in the present study. The first was observations of synchronous meetings in *Google Meet*. The second was observations on activities recorded in GC. Next, an interview checklist was used as the instrument to ensure the interviews were relevant to the research questions throughout.

Research Setting and Participants

The setting of the present study was a private senior high school in a big city in Java, Indonesia. The observations were conducted in three different English classes, both the synchronous meetings and the activities in GC. Each class consisted of 30 students with the age ranging from 15 to 17. The interviews involved the three teachers of the observed English classes, all of who were females, and six randomly selected students who indicated their willingness to be invited for interviews. Of these six student interviewees, three students were females, and the other three were males.

Ethical Consideration

The present study adhered to the principles of research ethics. Before data collection, gatekeeper consent was secured from the principal of the high school becoming the setting of the study. Then, informed consent forms were distributed to both the English teachers and the students. In the forms, the prospective participants were informed of the researchers' identities, the objectives and the methods of the study as well as what they were expected to do if they decided to participate in it (Gray, 2014). The distribution of consent forms also implied the implementation of voluntary participation (Israel & Hay, 2006). Confidentiality was also maintained by not disclosing the name of the institution and through the use of pseudonyms throughout this report (Allen & Wiles, 2016).

Data Collection and Analysis

The data collection was conducted from October 2021 up to December 2021. During this period, there was a shift from a fully online mode of instruction to limited face-to-face instruction per the regulation issued by the government. The first step of data collection was to conduct observations on synchronous sessions of three English classes and observations on the activities on GC of these classes. These observations were intended to obtain an initial "picture" of the use of GC in the class instructions. Some data from observations also became the basis of several interview questions. The next was to interview the three English teachers whose classes were observed. The step after that was to interview six students that had been randomly selected using Random Picker Application. These students were selected from a list of students indicating their willingness to be interviewed in the consent forms they filled out previously. All the interviews were conducted in the Indonesian language.

The following were the steps for analyzing the interview data. First, the interview recordings were fully transcribed and translated into English. Next, the English transcriptions were analyzed using Thematic Analysis per the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2012). The steps of Thematic Analysis were getting familiar with the data by reading and re-reading, generating preliminary codes, generating possible themes and reviewing them, and refining the themes best representing the whole data (Braun & Clarke, 2012; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). The last three steps were conducted by making annotations on the Word documents containing the transcripts and taking separate notes. Extract samples best representing the themes are presented in this report for further analysis and discussion.

Concerning that, the observation data from the observation checklist and field notes were presented qualitatively per the themes emerging in the interview transcripts. Hence, it could be said that the observation data were used to support the interview data.

The sequence of data collection and analysis can be seen in Figure 1.

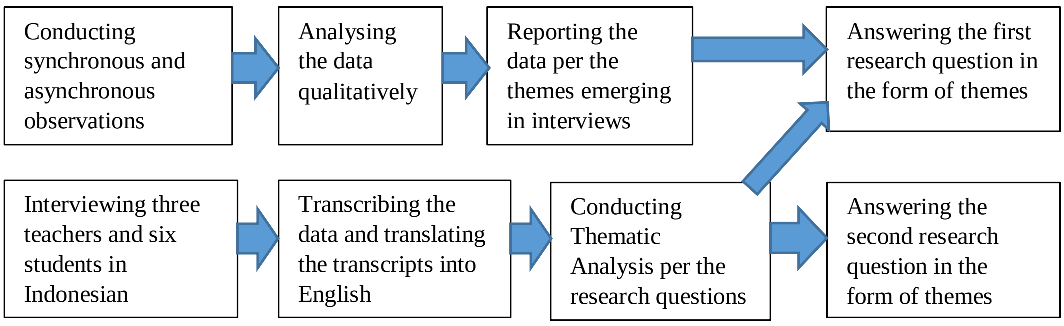

Figure 1. The Sequence of data collection and analysis

Findings and Discussion

The data were gathered from observations and interviews. For reference tracing, the following codes are used. Three classes observed were XI Science 1 (E1), X Social 2 (E2), and XII Science 3 (E3). The pseudonyms of the three teacher participants (T) were Aca (Female/F), Lala (F), and Titi (F) and those of the six student participants (S) were as follows: Che (F), Rhere (F), Gege (F), Vin (Male/M), Steve (M), and Sam (M). “OBV” indicates the data obtained from observation in English synchronous classrooms, whist “AOBV” indicates the data obtained from asynchronous observation in GC. “INTV” indicates interview data. For example, “[INTV/Aca/F/T]” indicates that the data are from Aca, a female teacher interviewee.

The use of Google Classroom in high school English instruction

Based on the result of the observations and interview, there were two themes on the extent to which GC was used in the observed English classes and these themes can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1. The extent of the use of *Google Classroom* in high school English instruction

Theme 1.	*Google Classroom* was used to upload assignments and monitor students' performance.
Theme 2.	*Google Classroom* was used to make class announcements.

Theme 1. Google Classroom was used to upload assignments and monitor students' performance.

It was found from the observation that GC was used in all three observed classes. Aca, the E1 teacher, for example, used GC to save materials to be presented.

> The teacher (Aca) asked the students to open PowerPoint (PPT) in GC and said, *"Open the PPT that I have uploaded in Google Classroom. And read it for five minutes".* All students followed the instructions. For five minutes, all students focused on the PPT… Before the class ended, the teacher said, *"Have you checked the latest task I uploaded in Google Classroom?"* More than half of the students answered *"Yes, Miss!"* and a few responded, *"Not yet, Miss."* The teacher then continued to explain the task uploaded. She said*, "I have uploaded a new task in Google Classroom. It contains three paragraphs; all you have to do is write additional two paragraphs about your personal experience."* [OBV/E1]

GC was also used to monitor students' performance regarding assignments and assignment collection. It could be seen in the following result of observation in E2 taught by Lala.

> After asking for attendance at the beginning of the class, the teacher (Lala) said, *"Have you finished the task I gave you last week?"* She later explained the task a week before that was uploaded to *Google Classroom*. Checking the *Google Classroom*, she mentioned some students who did not submit the assignment. By the end of the class, the teacher explained a task about a descriptive text…The task was uploaded to *Google Classroom*, and the teacher told the students that they could upload any file format of the task to *Google Classroom*… [OBV/E2]

Regarding the aforementioned findings on the use of GC to upload assignments and monitor students' performance, several previous studies reported the same results (Nursyahrina et al., 2021; Okmawati, 2020; Rosita et al., 2019). Two recent studies in the Indonesian high school context also reported the effectiveness of GC to facilitate teachers in providing materials for students and providing secure document storage for both teachers and students (Nursyahrina et al., 2021; Okmawati, 2020).

In the observation in E3, when the teacher, Titi, was explaining the materials in front of the class, the electricity suddenly went out. The teacher did not panic and the class continued because students could access the materials from GC independently through their respective devices.

> ... The class started and the teacher showed the learning materials on the projector screen. After the class began, the light suddenly went out. The teacher (Titi) said, *"Please open the PPT that I have uploaded in Google Classroom."* All the students immediately opened their *Google Classroom* using their gadgets… Before the class ended, the teacher mentioned the next task that would be uploaded in *Google Classroom* after the next class finished their session. [OBV/E3]

The aforementioned findings from observations generally suggested that materials uploaded in GC helped teachers and students be more prepared during instructional activities. GC served as a consolidated location for all learning activities. These findings were also supported by the results of interviews with the three teachers. They shared that GC was mostly used to upload materials before class and to upload tasks after class ended. Aca, for example, highlighted that she uploaded material to GC to prevent any troubles during class. She stated:

> *"I'm afraid if there is a power outage or something... all the PPT or files are already on each student's cell phone. So, when [I am] explaining or reviewing materials it can be easy."* [INTV/Aca/F/T]

In line with Aca's viewpoint, Titi reported that she chose to upload materials to GC when she could not explain the material directly and students needed to self-study. She reported:

> *"…Google Classroom is used as a forum for posting assignments, or materials that I can't explain directly because of one reason or another."* [INTV/Titi/F/T]

The teachers' testimonies were in line with those of several student participants. Sam, for instance, commented that GC was practical for collecting and archiving assignments. He said:

> *"I think Google Classroom is good - I mean for collecting assignments... I don't need to send them (assignments) via WhatsApp one by one to all the teachers. It can be collected and archived in Google Classroom."* [INTV/Sam/M/S]

These findings suggested that GC had helped both teachers and students in terms of assignment collection and archiving. Regarding these findings, a recent classroom action research study by Syakur et al. (2020) at an Indonesian university context reported that the platform helped teachers keep instructional materials and activities in the cloud and this contributed to a generally more effective instructional process.

Theme 2: Google Classroom was used to make class announcements.

Through observations, the study found that GC was also used to make class announcements, for example, class schedules, announcements about topics to be studied in a meeting, and meeting links on *Google Meet*. The following observation result showed an example of a class announcement.

> One day before the meeting, the teacher gives an announcement about what time the class would be held. The announcement says: *"Hi everyone! We will have a Google Meet session tomorrow at 10.30. Here's the link: https://meet.google.com/lookup/hadguhbsnc?hs=179. If you are unable to join, please let me know. Thank you"*. [AOBV/E1]

In E3, GC was also used to announce topics of the day. Titi, the E3 teacher, reported:

> *"I asked questions there (posting a question on that day's topic) and students discussed it in the stream menu on Google Classroom."* [INTV/Titi/F/T]

In line with Titi's reports, from the asynchronous observation in class E1, Aca used GC to provide announcements about the materials to be studied and information to students about the next meeting. She announced:

> *Good morning, fellas… Good news for you, there will be no meeting today, but there will be an activity you must do. Find the topic of the Invitation; Formal and Informal on the internet or book; read it and learn it by yourselves first. Next week, without any further explanation of this topic, there will be a quiz to check whether or not you understand this topic. [AOBV/E1]*

These findings were in line with the findings of several previous studies (Harjanto & Sumarni, 2019; Nursyahrina et al., 2021; Rosita et al., 2019; Salam, 2020; Sudarsana et al., 2019). Teachers could publish announcements to the class stream, which students could respond on, allowing for two-way communication between teachers and students (Nursyahrina et al., 2021; Octaberlina & Muslimin, 2020). Furthermore, Nursyahrina et al., (2021) reported that to ensure that students noticed important messages or inquiries for the announcement, the teachers could just post the announcement to the class stream, and they would be visible as soon as the students had logged in. Through the use of the announcement feature, teachers could easily distribute important announcements to all students, including assignments, quizzes, deadlines, and feedback (Astuti & Indriani, 2020; Harjanto & Sumarni, 2019; Nursyahrina et al., 2021; Okmawati, 2020; Tinungki & Nurwahyu, 2020).

Teachers' and students' views on the use of Google Classroom in English instruction

The present study found three themes regarding the teachers' and students' views on the use of GC in English instruction. These themes can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. Teachers' and students' views on the use of GC in English instruction

Theme 1.	The features of *Google Classroom* were easy to use.
Theme 2.	*Google Classroom* facilitated a more organized collection of assignments and learning materials.
Theme 3.	*Google Classroom* had several limitations.

Theme 1. The features of Google Classroom were easy to use.

Both the teachers and the students agreed that GC was generally easy to use. Aca, for example, reported:

> *".... There are indeed some teachers who need time to practice [using Google Classroom] several times... It is easy [using Google Classroom] ... although it's not really that easy and you still have to learn [still] it's easy to understand..., especially during distance learning... the [newest and additional] features appear one by one and it is very easy [to use].* [INTV/Aca/F/T]

In line with Aca's statement, Vin also stated that GC had more complete features than other platforms. Regarding this, he reported:

> *"In my opinion, Google Classroom is very helpful. I've used other platforms before, but I don't think that's enough for me. It feels like the features are not as complete as Google Classroom."* [INTV/Vin/M/S]

Lala also reported the ease of using the features of GC. She stated:

> *"It's also easier if you use Google Classroom... more well-archived [the tasks, scores, materials], and the screen is bigger too [when using Google Classroom on a laptop]."* [INTV/Lala/F/T]

The findings conformed to several authors' reiteration of the advantages of GC. Sudarsana et al., (2019), for example, stated that some of the most important advantages of GC are its time-saving and organizing capabilities. There have also been several studies reporting that GC facilitated learning, improved cooperation, and communication (e.g Nursyahrina et al., 2021; Octaberlina & Muslimin, 2020; Sudarsana et al., 2019).

Titi, also shared how easy it was to use GC, especially since it could be accessed through different devices. She reported:

> *"I use it [Google Classroom] on my cell phone, sometimes on the web. Because I often save drafts [saved tasks for later uploads] using my laptop. So, the draft is saved [automatically] in Google Classroom, so I*

can upload [the task] directly using my cell phone whenever or wherever, [so…] I don't need to open my laptop again.” [INTV/Titi/F/T]

The student participants seemed to agree with the teachers on the ease of using GC. Vin, for example, commented that GC could be accessed anywhere. He stated:

“I'm already used to using Google Classroom on a PC… if I access it via a smartphone, (though) the screen is smaller, it can be compatible and can be taken anywhere. Also, even in class, we are allowed to open materials or open Google Classroom on our smartphones." [INTV/Vin/M/S]

These findings confirmed several authors' assessments of GC (Harjanto & Sumarni, 2019; Salam, 2020). GC is available via various types of computers or smartphones (Harjanto & Sumarni, 2019). Salam (2020) believed that GC is a positive innovation in education because it provides numerous benefits to both teachers and students, including the ability to access the application from anywhere and at any time as long as they have an internet connection.

Theme 2. Google Classroom facilitated a more organized collection of assignments and learning materials.

Some of the teachers and students were in agreement that GC facilitated a more organized collection of assignments and materials. Lala, for example, reported:

“I prefer to use Google Classroom because it's more organized. It also archives [all tasks, material archived to Google Drive automatically], so you don't have to carry around student notebooks everywhere.” [INTV/Lala/F/T]

Rhere was also in agreement. The tasks collected became more neatly organized and collected into one database. She stated:

“If we send an assignment, it's clear where to send it, and where it goes (the task). So, it is clear that the task can be entered directly into the school data. That's a plus (using Google Classroom).” [INTV/Rhere/F/S]

This finding was in line with the idea of Nursyahrina et al., (2021) stating that GC makes it easier to stay organized by consolidating all of the assignments, grades, and announcements into one location. For example, in Lala's case, by using GC there was no need to carry books anymore. The fact that everything is kept in Classroom Drive folders and is easily accessible with a single click makes it much easier to locate completed assignments or individual student works (Nursyahrina et al., 2021; Syakur et al., 2020).

Theme 3. Google Classroom had several limitations.

Apart from the reported advantages of GC, the platform also had limitations. Several students reported that their submissions could not be opened by the teachers. Rhere, for example, stated:

> *"I sent an assignment… the teacher's Google Classroom database doesn't have my assignment. [Before] I've also sent a file like that… umm... sometimes the file can't be opened by the teacher… in my account, the file was there and could be opened."* [INTV/Rhere/F/S]

Furthermore, it was also reported that GC had problems uploading tasks with large file sizes. However, facing this issue, Vin found a way to successfully upload assignments using other Google applications such as Google Drive. He stated:

> *"My preference is to transfer the task to Google Drive… the file size exceeds 100 MB. Therefore, I should… upload the assignment [to Google Classroom] as a Google Drive link. Otherwise, Google Classroom will be unable of processing extremely large videos or audio files..."* [INTV/Vin/M/S]

In line with Vin's view as a student submitting assignments, Aca, one of the teachers, also acknowledged the limitation of GC in receiving large files and also found a solution. She stated:

> *"… when they [students] are asked to upload an audio file, it's a bit difficult because it [the file] is in a handphone, so the key is when uploading videos or audios, Google Classroom will run smoothly if you use it on a laptop or computer. So, if you access it on a handphone, not everything can run smoothly.* [INTV/Aca/F/T]

The same issue was reported in a study by Islam (2019) in a Bangladeshi context where students reported being unable to upload large files and their internet was disconnected in the middle of the process. The similarity of findings between the two studies may partly be attributed to relatively the same internet speed that the participants used to access GC in both studies.

Another reported limitation was the notifications which were not categorized or clustered based on classes or lessons students took using GC. Steve, for example, reported:

> *"Sometimes the notifications get mixed up with other notifications, like new assignments, new materials from other classes."* [INTV/Steve/M/S]

The problem with the notification feature was also experienced by participants in several studies (Harjanto & Sumarni, 2019; Islam, 2019). The notification mechanism of this platform has undesirable problems (Islam, 2019). The notification feature includes all the notifications for all classes and this may confuse students.

Steve further stated that GC could not accommodate instant messaging, for example, to ask questions to teachers. He stated:

> *"I asked (my teacher) via WhatsApp (about assignments). In Google Classroom, the response took a little longer."* [INTV/Steve/M/S]

Regarding this finding, several studies also reported the limitations of the absence of the "message" option (Islam, 2019; Nursyahrina et al., 2021). Due to this absence, if there were questions students wished to discuss, students or teachers should upload the questions in the "stream" or "comment" menu and the message was read by the whole class (Islam, 2019). As a result, students had a difficult time submitting queries, questions, or clarifications to their teachers (Islam, 2019).

Conclusion

These findings have several implications for in-service teachers planning to use GC in teaching English. Firstly, for the in-service teachers, this study can provide them with insight into using GC to support them in teaching, for example scheduling a task submission and monitoring students' performance. Teachers can also optimize the features of GC for convenience in checking and grading assignments as well as to archive the students' works over time. Knowing several limitations of this platform, teachers anticipate and prepare an alternative plan.

Furthermore, this study has several limitations. First, this study was conducted when the school was in a transition period from online to limited face-to-face, so GC was not used optimally. If the study had been conducted before the period of limited face-to-face meetings, the data would have been richer since the use of GC and its features could have been more optimized. Furthermore, because the present study was qualitative, the findings may be context-specific and may not be applied to a wider context. However, qualitative replication may still be possible in contexts sharing relatively the same characteristics as that of the present study.

Future studies may look into the applications of GC during offline classes. Such studies could explore more teachers' and students' views of using more features of GC in the post-pandemic era either in limited face-to-face instruction or fully-face-to-face to gain more data from the participants in different settings.

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A POSTCOLONIAL FEMINIST READING OF J. M. COETZEE'S *WAITING FOR THE BARBARIANS* (2000)

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Abstract
Literary texts and kinds of research have reframed postcolonial experiences to capture several issues in society. On that note, Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* has chalked many successes in gaining the attention of literary scholars to subject the text to interpretation using varied literary approaches, except postcolonial feminism. The postcolonial aspect of the feminist issues in the text is fundamental. The thrust of this paper is to analyse Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* using the postcolonial feminist theory. Guided by three objectives, the study uses the qualitative content analysis method to interpret the text. From the analysis, the study reported that, while objectification and 'othering' are characteristic of the representation of females in the text, violence against them is constructed through fear and torture and resisted mainly through silence. Also, the mode of narration influences the presentation of the narrative to readers. Finally, the study offers implications for further research using other literary theories or approaches.

Keywords: literary approaches, postcolonial feminist, representation, violence, waiting for the Barbarians

Introduction

Coetzee's writings are typical for uncovering historical arrangements that contribute to and account for the seeming nervousness in post-apartheid South Africa. Particularly with the publication of *Waiting for the Barbarians* (2000), Coetzee tries to deconstruct falsified knowledge of African epistemologies as barbarous. While the novel has received a substantial amount of critical attention (Asempasah, 2013; May, 2001), the parallel between narrative perspective, female vulnerability and feminine barbarism are yet to be explored. Dominant literature on Coetzee's *Waiting for the Barbarians* has focused on the traitor trope functioning within the context of othered bodies, terror and resistance (Asempasah, 2013, 2019; Craps, 2007; Al-Badarneh, 2013) and the reconstitution of identities, sexual epistemologies and feminist politics (Madhok, 2016; Qassa, 2020; Boletsi, 2007; Salih & Janoory, 2019; May, 2001). While these studies are important, they do not prioritize the parallel between the narrative perspective in the novel and how it succeeds in exposing female vulnerability through a postcolonial feminist lens.

Thus, the objectives of this paper are to focus on the Magistrate and the Girl as symbolic and ethical tropes of vulnerability, and a redefinition of postcolonial barbarism. The paper also looks at how the narrative mode de-emphasizes male superiority. The paper is subdivided into four parts; the first part looks at the plot summary of the paper. The second part which is titled theoretical formulations will pay attention to the emerging postcolonial feminist theory. The development of the theory and its tenets are discussed in this portion. The third focuses on the analysis where the theory is applied to the interpretation of the text. The final part of the paper is the conclusion.

Plot summary

Waiting for the barbarians mirrors the issues of oppression and resistance in apartheid South Africa (Saunders, 2001). The protagonist of the novel is an unnamed public officer who works as a magistrate in a frontier settlement owned by an unknown empire. Readers are put in a temporal sequence where the Magistrate had been faithful a servant of the Empire, directing the affairs of a small frontier settlement, ignoring the impending war with the barbarians. However, when the interrogators (Colonel Joll and his men) arrive, he witnesses the cruelty and injustice of the prisoners of war by the Empire. Empathizing with their victims, he commits an otherworldly act of rebellion that marked him as an enemy of the Empire. The text presents a binary between an empire and the other (barbarians). With Colonel Joll and the barbarian girl as a symbolic representation of the empire and barbarians respectively, the Magistrate, as the narrator, lies between this continuum. The novel displays power dynamics in postcolonial settings through the notion of othering. Some nations, according to Gallagher (1991), “achieve strength, unity and identity by creating others to be an enemy” (p. 132). Joll, the representative of the Empire seeks to achieve the same. However, this inevitably leads to a “loss of identity” as happened in the case of the Magistrate. Loomba (1991) asserts that the creation of the other is “crucial not only for creating images of the outsider but equally essential for constructing the insider, the (usually white European male) self” (p. 104). On reflecting on Joll’s position in the Empire, the Magistrate realizes that he is “the lie that Empire tells itself when times are easy, [Joll], the truth that Empire tells when harsh winds blow” (*Waiting for the barbarians*, p. 148).

Theoretical Formulation - Postcolonial Feminism

Hooks (1984), as cited in Peterson and Rutherford (1986) asserts that feminism is a movement to nullify sexual oppression. Spanning the dusk of the 19^{th} century, the movement has had an immense impact on the lives of women. While feminism defies a single definition, the core of the advocacy is to expose how women are subjugated, and discriminated against equality among genders, while ensuring advocacy (Dobie, 2012). Feminism has evolved in three important waves; the first wave, the second wave, and the third wave. The first wave of the feminist movement focused on women’s rights and women’s suffrage movement with an emphasis on social, political and economic reforms. The second wave focused on the frustrations of the white heterosexual demands to advocate radical de-structuring of society to make way for emerging sexualities. The concerns of the third wave feminist movement prioritise the unique experiences of third-world women. Marrying postcolonial tendencies with feminist assumptions, postcolonial feminism is not a mere intersection between feminism and postcolonialism, but situates in the 'third world feminism'. The postcolonial feminist framework, which is an important strand in this phase of the movement deals with injustices pertaining to race, gender and imperialism in every aspect of society.

Although Mishra (2013) finds the theory to be relatively new to the scholarship of postcolonial and feminist studies, the postcolonial feminist theory has some tenets that align with third wave feminism. Rajan and Park (2000) assert that the post-colonial feminist theory intervenes and reconfigures feminist and postcolonial explorations. That is, the configuration of homogenizing all women as one is undermined as the theory unravels the double jeopardy that the marginalized female (perhaps 'other') faces. This follows the idea that the theory has been perceived as a type of feminist theory or a subcategory of post-colonial studies. Postcolonial feminism looks at the myriad of oppressions that arise from racist, sexist, patriarchal and gender inequality (Neimneh, 2014). Racine (2003; 2009) adds that it is geared toward unpacking the factors concerning socio-economic and cultural ideals that model and enforce oppression in different contexts. Tyagi (2014) opines that the theory focuses on how gender differences are constructed, how women are represented, and other discourses. Peterson and Rutherford (1986) reveal that women suffer subjugation double-fold. That is, women are subjugated and oppressed under patriarchal and colonial practices. Tyagi (2014) adds that the theory, therefore, puts force on the mainstream theory of postcolonialism for a stable and continuous consideration of issues concerning gender. The study takes into consideration the racial and cultural differences that are in *Waiting for the Barbarians*. The post-colonial feminist theory understands the causes of existing gender inequality and interrogates power dynamics concerning genders (Raftari & Bahrami, 2011). Gender discrimination and the exertion of patriarchy are some of the main issues that have steered the focus of feminists (Plaatje, 2014; McGlynn, 2010). While the theory exposes issues of discrimination and subjugation (Fernández & Wilding, 2003), part of its goal is to identify gender discrimination in daily experience and to inspire radicalism that can question the patriarchal systems, which avoids the diversity of voice and subjectivity (Ryan 2006; Eudey 2012). In this regard, the framework proves functional to serve the purpose of the study.

Method

The study adopts the qualitative research design, which explores the experience, attitude, and interaction (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2000). It is exploratory. It investigates "how people make sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world" (Creswell, 1994, p. 145). The approach considers the processes and characters in social lives to make meaning. These relate to features and parts of documents which are socially produced (Altheide, 1996). The qualitative design looks at how social meanings are attributed to the experience of people, and how such meanings are embedded into the text, image and other semiotic things. The qualitative approach focuses on texts and images rather than statistical data. In choosing this study design, I, therefore, agree with Creswell (1994) that qualitative research is an appropriate approach for exploratory and descriptive research such as the present study.

This study particularly uses content analysis as a qualitative research method for analysis. Content analysis is used to analyse documented communications (Babbie, 2013), either visual or oral (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). According to Babbie (2013), suitable forms for content analysis include books, magazines, web pages, poems, newspapers, paintings, speeches, letters, emails, laws and constitutions, and among other collections. This research used a fictitious text. Qualitative content analysis provides the researcher with subjective interpretations of the text content by identifying topics or patterns (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

Characters in Focus

The study focuses on The Girl and The Magistrate as the main characters for the analysis. This results from the Magistrate's response to life by following feminine interference. He is obsessed with echoes of women and tries to understand the barbarian girl, his unchecked desire and the abstract empire. The Magistrate is represented in the text to be fundamental to perspectives of feminism given his association and obsession with the barbarian girl. Finally, the fact that he is the narrator of the story is also significant.

The Girl is chosen because her body is explored by the Magistrate through her silence. She is the leading female character in the text. Also, her body becomes an object which suffers torture from Colonel Joll. To some extent, the Magistrate becomes represents the oppressors of women who are silent and the girl becomes oppressed. The county Magistrate's obsession with the mutilated body symbolized the authenticity of rebelling against the empire and the essence of imperialism. For instance, the Magistrate believes that a woman's "body is anything but a site of joy" (*Waiting for the Barbarians*, p. 48).

Findings and Discussion

This section of the paper presents a discussion of the text by applying the assumptions of the postcolonial feminist theory to Coetzee's Waiting for the Barbarians. This is achieved under three broad themes: the construction and resistance of violence, representation of the female, and point of narration. Although the analysis and discussion revolve around the stated characters, they liaise with the research objectives in the introductory section. Excerpts of the text are extracted and interpreted through the postcolonial feminist perspective

The construction of and resistance to violence through 'silence'

The subject of violence, and its construction in different forms, has received considerable attention from literary scholars exploring Coetzee's work (Asempasah, 2013; Boletsi, 2007; Qassas, 2020). The construction of violence in the text is depicted to be gratuitous through Colonel Joll. Hence, violence, construed in the form of torture (Asempasah, 2013), is modelled to be inherent in colonial contents. Myklatun (2018) maintains that "the ethical implication of the face-to-face relation motivates a sense of resistance towards the political dimensions of violence" (p. 8). Contextually, the text is situated in a violent world. As an allegory representing the opposition between the oppressed and the oppressor, the novel presents the recurrent nature of violence rained on the natives by the Third Bureau of the Empire. Violence has been construed to be political and gratuitous. Relevant to this analysis is sexual violence which revolves around the Magistrate. He perpetrates sexual violence through the silence of the barbarian girl. He says to himself,

> "*I behave in some ways like a lover - I undress her, I bathe her, I stroke her, I sleep beside her - But I equally might tie her to a chair and beat her, it would be no less intimate*" (*Waiting for The Barbarians,* p. 43).

He sees himself as the embodiment of self-interest in his relationship with her. He describes his desire for the girl as "questionable desires" (*Waiting for the Barbarians*, p. 79). There seems to be a dual patterning in the emotions of the Magistrate which is blurry. The unsettling turmoil in him sketches such interpretations as to whether it is an act of kindness to associate with the girl or a way of finding meaning in his life. Poyner (2016), reflecting on the Magistrate's relationship with the girl asserts that the Magistrate's desire for the girl is based on "the lack of reciprocity, self-interest and an irrational neglect of truth justified by the Magistrate's wavering belief in his altruistic motivations for taking her in" (p. 60). Thus, his relationship with her takes a form of oppression and exploitation of her body, instead of being a mechanism to discover the truth. This can be interpreted in the notion of rape given that the girl did not consent to such moves. The case is he does not interpret the silence of the Girl as a refusal to participate, but rather as consent to do what he perceives right for her. The Magistrate in his interest took her silence as a weakness to caress her body. While in an embrace with one of the town's prostitutes, his thoughts revisit the barbarian girl:

> "*The body of the other one, closed, ponderous, sleeping in my bed in a faraway room, seems beyond comprehension ... I cannot imagine whatever drew me to the alien body ... without aperture, without entry*" (*Waiting for The Barbarians*, p. 45).

Dovey (1988) points out that "the Magistrate's obsessive gesture of massaging the barbarian girl's scarred and damaged feet implies the fetishistic and guilt-ridden attachment … to the figure of the victim" (p. 22). His strong sense of affection for the disfigured body sparks some intentions to delve deeper into unravelling what is beneath the damaged body. His unchecked, perhaps subconscious, desire creates a space to interrogate his guilty feeling. This assertion echoes the questionable desires of the Magistrate towards the Girl.

Higgins (2013) reveals that "rape and the threats of rape are a major force in the subjugation of women. In 'rape cultures', the danger, the frequency, and the acceptance of sexual violence all contribute to shaping behaviour and identity, in women and men alike. The nature and degree of oppression will vary with the historical moment and, within that, the permutations of racial, class, gender, and institutional relations of power" (p. 1-2). Here, the Magistrate has relative power within the jurisdiction and exercises such authority in exploring the body of the Girl. This act is considered sexual violence. This is complemented by the Magistrate's intentions and acts concerning females. His supposedly 'kind' gestures are interpreted to match his womanising acts. This leads to a master-slave relationship where the slave is sexually violated through her silence. Enns et al. (1995) prevent sexually violated victims from sharing their experiences. The girl in *Waiting for the Barbarians* represents a love object whom the Magistrate desires to identify within his endeavour towards the understanding of self. That is, he tries to find meaning in the events that have transpired in space. Trying to violate the Girl's body as a site for understanding his personal desires undermines the very nature of the Girl in the text.

There are instances in the text where violence was physically enacted. Returning from the quest to find the 'traitors', Colonel Joll brought in the natives "roped together neck to neck" (p. 29). He treats them as 'objects' which to the Magistrate was difficult to evidence the physical violence. Most of the captured natives were brutally beaten to death. Specifically, the Girl is subjugated to physical violence by Colonel Joll in the text. This leads to her long silence. Colonel Joll tortures the girl in order to acquire information about the supposed upsurge of her people. He assumes his answers through the silence and resistance of the girl's body. The construction of violence is met with a resistant silence. Asempasah and Saboro (2021) envisage silence, "not only as a mechanism for containing memories of pain" (p. 4) but as a strategy to fight imperial domination which is clearly perceived in this text. The notion of resistance through silence is once again established in the case of the barbarian girl. She passively accepts the Magistrate's ritualistic bathing and oiling, thus rendering herself a resisting, unreadable text (Madhok, 2016). The girl's response to the traumatic physical violence encodes her silence. Nkealah (2008) reveals how silence is constrained within the feminine body and women's personal relationships. Given the complexity of sexuality, Nkealah (2008) diagnoses how social control coerces women into silence. This assertion directly concurs with the violence that forced the Girl into silence.

Contrary to this, Mohammad (2018) counters silence as a way of healing from traumatic events. She deconstructs the misconception of silence as powerlessness to a "meaning of strength and resistance" (p. 265), through the feminist perspective. Hence, it is deductible that the Girl instrumentalizes her silence to resist the masculine discourse from the Magistrate. Nonetheless, the Magistrate understands silence as a coping mechanism to carry on his ritualistic baths and treatments. The Magistrate, referring to his relationship with the girl, explains to the cook that torturers "thrive on stubborn silence: it confirms to them that every soul is a lock they must patiently pick" (*Waiting for The Barbarians*, p. 141). The Magistrate tries to demystify the suffering that the girl has encountered from Colonel Joll, as the epitome of colonialism. There is a resounding effort to expose difficulties and create a reconciliatory atmosphere of belonging to a community. It is evident that, through the postcolonial feminist angle, there are patriarchal tendencies, demonstrated by Colonel Joll, where the girl is oppressed and subjugated to violence.

Representation of females in the text

Representation is very important to feminist explorations. That is, how an author projects female characters in a work to justify his or her concerns about feminine issues. The Girl is represented as an 'other', an inferior being in the text, which fascinated the interest of the Magistrate. This can be aligned with the desire of the Magistrate to delve into and interrogate what constitutes the silence of the girl, through his fondness. He is unable to recall her face before the torture and all his endeavours to visualize her face go futile. He says,

> "*I took back my thoughts and tried to restore her previous image... I know that my eyes have moved away from her when I was with other people ... My eyes passed over her, but I don't remember that period ... She was still*

> *unmarked that day, but I must believe that she was unmarked because I must believe that she was once a child ... Strain, as in my first image, the remains of a kneeling beggar*" (*Waiting for The Barbarians*, p. 36).

Qassas's (2020) assertion of construing sexuality as textuality finds root here. The Magistrate takes a stance in directing his attention to figures of his attraction and not recognizing the Girl. From a psychological perspective, his thoughts are to reconfigure the Girl as a text, he is continually hindered by his first interaction with her. "She was still unmarked that day" sets the thoughts of the Magistrate within a temporal plan while trying to visualise the girl, the object of his desire, but this effort proves futile. In his inability to imagine her face, the Magistrate, refuses to recognize her as human following her disfigurement from the torture, she was subjected to by Colonel Joll. The unnoticed reality of the Magistrate concerning the torture of the girl confirms the irrelevant association of kindness from him to the girl. Justifying this in the context of the torture she has undergone, the Magistrate reflects; "Thereafter she was no longer fully human, sister to all of us" (p. 88). Her disfigurement blurs his vision of her original face. Increased consciousness of her as a woman with subjectivity of her own enables him to imagine her as she was before she was disfigured.

The girl, carrying characteristic qualities different from the empire, is represented as an "other". The concept of otherness creates negative attitudes and widens socio-cultural gaps through identity construction. Her 'otherness' reflects the tenet of postcolonial feminism where she suffers as a barbarian and as a woman in a patriarchal outskirt of an unnamed empire. The girl deconstructs the understanding the Magistrate had about her. On the journey to return the girl, the Magistrate is fascinated by the orality of the girl. He says,

> "[He is] *surprised by her fluency, her quickness, her self-possession….. I even catch myself in a flush of pride: she is not just the old man's slut, she is a witty, attractive young woman!*" (*Waiting for The Barbarians*, p. 63).

His failure to recognize the girl as a "witty, attractive young woman" until a few days before he returned her to her people re-emphasizes the theme of otherness depicted in the novel. He does not understand the identity of the girl in a different setting which presents contradictory representations. That is, he could not appreciate the distinctiveness of the girl until she was placed amongst her people, the other. Through the intersection of cultures and sexuality, the girl loses the touch herself in the eyes of the Magistrate. She does not find her voice in a land where she is represented as inferior and an object of affection. He admits to himself that he "oppressed her with gloom" with his obsessive cleaning ritual. The use of the phrase "old man's slut" condemns the very being of a girl coming of age. A 'slut' means a female who has much casual sex (Farvid, Braun & Rowney, 2017). This coincides with the sexual violence the girl was subjugated to by the Magistrate. Armstrong et al. (2014) reveal that women's participation in slut-shaming is often viewed as internalized oppression. However, even during such intimate acts, the two remained isolated from each other, one sleeping, indifferent while the other is lost in the act to enter oblivion. It can be seen as an exploitative act as his self-centred caresses offer no satisfaction or release to the barbarian girl. Minh (2020) confirms that there are covert meanings in representing women as sexual objects which violate their being. It is only towards the end of the novel that he realizes that all his ways to recompense her pain and suffering only led to further desolation. He concedes,

> "*I wanted to do what was right, I wanted to make reparation: I will not deny this decent impulse, however, mixed with more questionable motives: there must always be a place for penance and reparation*" (*Waiting for The Barbarians*, p. 152).

He denies himself the acceptance of bringing unhappiness to the girl and was filled with surprise at the girl's refusal to return with him. This can be interpreted from how the Magistrate represented the girl through his sexual acts.

More importantly, through a torture strategy by Joll's men, the study identifies another way of representing women. A further dehumanisation of females is presented through the dressing of the Magistrate as a woman and hanging him in the middle of the town by Colonel Joll and his men. Joll and his men humiliate the Magistrate and break his territorial power by equating him to a woman, hanging him on a tree with a woman's clothes and making a spectacle of him in front of town people. This reflects the insignificant and treacherous nature of the Magistrate. This torture technique has importance in the way of representation of victimization of the woman in society. It depicts the passive and silenced position of the woman with no access to authority in society. Colonel Joll tells him that "you are dirty, you stink, and they can smell you a mile away" (p. 124) which directly carries a dehumanizing effect on the female character. The inactions of the Magistrate, therefore, foreground the various suppressions and lack of power concerning the representation of women.

Later, dressed only in the smock, which reaches halfway down his thighs, the Magistrate is turned into the object of the gaze of the people in the fashion of women in a patriarchal society. Through a male gaze, there is symbolic violence that witnessers commit on the object (Magistrate). Here, through the postcolonial theory, the implied effect is transferred to the females in and outside the text. There is inverse reciprocity where earlier, the Magistrate shows discomfort in evidencing torture. The representation reiterates the near-blindness of the barbarian girl who could not return the gaze of the Magistrate, while in his chamber. The uneasy bond through a gaze aligns with the concept of us and others. Feminist film critics say that in society "woman is deprived of a gaze, deprived of subjectivity and repeatedly transformed into the object of masculine scopophilia desire" (Doane & Hodges, 2013, p. 2). Drawing our attention to the postcolonial aspect of the interpretation, there is a negatively formed stereotype characteristic of a group of people who have suffered violence and debasing prejudices which affect the group's representation. In essence, minimal or no attempt is made to embed the colonised within the imperial image, given the colonised humiliated representation.

Mode of narration as a technique in foregrounding masculinities

The story is told in the first-person mode of narration. Intertextually, Coetzee's *Disgrace* explores the manifold of violence from a third-person narrative mood. While such a technique presents a more objective stance, the mode of narration in *Waiting for the barbarians* foregrounds a subjective account of violence and representation from the Magistrate. As the focaliser in the novel, the

Magistrate interrogates his own thoughts through an internal monologue. While he draws readers to share in the felt traumatic violent experiences of himself and the barbarian girl, he indulges in forms of violence and subjugation of the girl. This narration provides a homodiegetic account of the happenings on the empire's border where the narrator is intricately part of the plot. While this mode of narration presents several criticisms, it explores the felt experiences of the Magistrate and the girl. "One day he picked up the lantern to see what happened. After that, his life changed". Through the subsequent events and environment, he became an interrogative voice and gained personal awareness of the practices of others and himself. The narrator exercises the power of narration providing us with credible information from his point. He does not provide the name of some characters, particularly the barbarian girl. From a critical perspective, the researchers associate loss of identity with the non-names of the characters in the text (Aldrin, 2016). Interestingly, Coetzee uses this approach to foreground the masculine ideological perspectives inherent in postcolonial studies. What ensues in this narrative is that we are controlled through dialogic interactions and at the forefront of male-dominated accounts.

Maalouf (2001) explains that names make us unique. Aldrin (2016) adds that, through onomastic literature, names provide us with identity. It identifies us individually and collectively. Briefly, the narrator's strategic way of enacting the girl as a subaltern robs the girl of her identity and status. Identifying her people and returning her is not enough to provide a solid identity for the girl. This lack of identity, we believe, leads to what the narrator provides that she remains in a space or a blank whenever he tries to remember her first days in the barracks. The Girl is given little space to articulate her experience which is surmounted by silence – alluding to the power difference.

Conclusion

In all, the study has set out to conduct a feminist reading of Coetzee's *Waiting for The Barbarians*. Using the postcolonial feminist theory, the purpose of this study was to examine the construction of violence, the representation of females, and the point of narration. The comprehensiveness of the theory fleshed out the interpretation of the text. Following the analysis of the text, three major findings were identified concerning the research objectives. First, the text objectifies and 'others' the representation of women in the text. This artistry is achieved by revealing the demeaning human experiences in the text and representing them in real-life situations. Further, in the context of gender-based attacks, various suppressions lead to silence, which needs to be addressed.

While it appeared women are dormant on the issue of sexual harassment, the study implicitly pointed out that brutal existences are lurking in the shadow of humans paying attention to the female population. Their dormancy is an act of resistance through silence as portrayed by the barbarian girl. The lack of power in the context of sexual violence reflects the myriad of experience faced by women globally. Also, women are represented as inferior and their identity is, if not imposed, stolen from them through power dynamics. Through Colonel Joll, the exertion of imperial power that culturally and racially exploits a people, mostly females, is evidenced. Second, while violence against women was constructed at different levels, it was mainly resisted through silence. Third, the mode of narration reveals some ideological perspectives which influence the narrative.

Coetzee crafts the narration not to represent a specific historical presentation of a colonial experience. He leaves the narration in an open spatial perspective to encompass other postcolonial issues. Again, the narrator, being a male character exercised much power over the female character leading to power imbalances, hence, the author should have employed a third-person narrator who is not patriarchically skewed to present the experiences and narration of the characters. The study adds to the empirical evidence in the repository of postcolonial feminist theory. The study provides implications for further studies in postcolonial feminist studies. Given the newness of this theory, the researchers propose that further studies can adopt the theory and apply it to other literary texts. This promises to expand the foundations and assumptions of the theory.

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AMERICAN DREAM IN THE EYE OF ASIAN IMMIGRANTS: A GENETIC STRUCTURALISM ANALYSIS OF KEVIN KWAN'S *RICH PEOPLE PROBLEMS*

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Abstract
East, South, and Southeast Asians are often treated inferiorly in the U.S. Aggregately, the COVID-19 pandemic has brought racial issues against them to the surface. Thus, literature on and/or about inferior minorities needs to be written by authors who belong to them. It is because literary works are not created in a vacuum. External factors have a hand in their creation. Kwan's *Rich People Problems* serves as the closure for the *Crazy Rich Asians* trilogy. As a Singaporean-born author who immigrated to the U.S., he is exposed to the American Dream myth. This research then aims to discover how he internalizes it in the novel. Employing Goldmann's Genetic Structuralism, it operates the structuralism approach through the Marxist lens. It utilizes Kwan's social class to determine his worldview manifested in the structure of the novel. While the novel is the source of primary data, his biography collected from relevant sources becomes secondary data. His take on American Dream crystalizes in form of the characterization and plot of the novel. He appends the characters with backstories and improvements. They are embedded with determination, perseverance, hard work, loyalty, and reinvention, revamping their poor beginnings into rich entrepreneurs, experts, employees, and trophy spouses.

Keywords: authorial biography, characterization, plot, social mobility, worldview

Introduction
At the end of 2019, the world saw an epidemic outbreak in Wuhan, China turned into a global pandemic. Its spread affected people around the globe. The most affected ones are the Chinese living in the United States. Scientifically, the novel virus causing the pandemic is named SARS-CoV-2, while the disease it caused was called Covid-19. However, the 45th President of the United States of America, Donald Trump, used "China virus" and "Kung flu" when referring to the virus and its symptoms (Bredemeier, 2020; Lee, 2020).

His rhetoric stigmatizes the Chinese, in particular, and Asian ethnicity, in general, as the carriers of the virus. It provoked an aggressive 'Asian Hate' reaction in many states. An 89-year-old Chinese woman in New York City, which is famous as a cosmopolitan city (Budiman & Guiz, 2021), was slapped and burned by two harassers. Meanwhile, in Los Angeles, California, the state with the most ethnically

Asian population (Morfin, 2019), an 84-year-old Thai immigrant, died after being violently pushed to the ground during a morning walk. Another incident involved the only member of parliament of Asian descent in the Kansas legislature who was physically threatened for carrying the coronavirus (Cabral, 2021).

Despite both immigrating from their respective continent, Asian Americans are seen as 'the other' by White Americans. For example, the Chinese have long become the targets of systemic discrimination. The Chinese Exclusion Act, passed in 1882, barred Chinese people from entering the U.S. This federal law greenlighted racism toward the Chinese and other Asian ethnicities (Perry, 2014, p. 243).

Racist prejudice gets inevitable, which in turn creates social inequality and favoritism against Asian immigrants. For instance, the success of European Americans from rags-to-riches is dubbed the 'American Dream'. Meanwhile, the same story achieved by East, South, and Southeast Asian immigrants is pinned as a 'model minority' (Okihiro, 2014, p. 198). The term triggers tension and pits Asian immigrants against other racial minorities, such as African Americans and Latin Americans.

Besides, East, South, and Southeast Asian immigrants are both lacking representation and misrepresented in media, literature, and arts with 'yellow face' and 'yellow peril' stereotypes (London, 2014, p. 177; Yeats, 2014, p. 268). This depiction undermines their position politically and culturally. It is thus imperative for East, South, and Southeast Asian stories to be told based on their own experiences and perspectives.

Palpably, Asian Americans are a crucial part of American history. However, the number of literary works written by Asian-American authors as compulsory reading at schools is still scant (Lew, 2014). Their stories deserve to be categorized as canonical literature in the American anthology. As cultural artifacts, their works are as important as the Puritan literature or the slave narratives.

It is only in the last decade that the works of Asian-American authors started getting recognition. Viet Thanh Nguyen's *The Sympathizer* won the Pulitzer in 2016. Three years later, Susan Choi's *Trust Exercise* won the National Book Award (Yu, 2020). Not only praised by critics but their works are also loved by readers, placing them on the 'Best Seller' lists.

A best-selling novel written by an Asian-American author is even adapted into a movie. It is Kevin Kwan's *Crazy Rich Asians*. Published in 2013, the novel was then followed by *China Rich Girlfriend* in 2015 and *Rich People Problems* in 2017 (Ho, 2018). The trilogy revolves around the Young family with Shang Su Yi as the matriarch.

Continuing the first two novels, the fate of the characters in the novel is settled in the third one. One characterization to easily see how far they have developed along the plot is regarding wealth. There seems to be an arc drawn in those characters as the story unfolds. This development is both interesting and important to analyze, especially concerning the characterization and plot, as intrinsic elements, with the author's background, as an extrinsic element.

Before this article, there are three studies on *Rich People Problems*. Dwijayanti, Nababan, and Wiratno (2021) studied assertive speech that represents *Bald on Record* politeness strategies. Meanwhile, Purnama and Ningsih (2021) discuss family conflicts between characters using a sociological approach and social action theory. In addition, Adhitya and Wulandari (2021) analyze the representation of Indonesia both as a nation and a state in the trilogy. The novelty of the article lies in its focus: analyzing Kwan's worldview reflected in the structure of the novel. To achieve this objective, it employs the theory of Genetic Structuralism.

Lucien Goldmann's genetic structuralism

Genetic Structuralism is coined by Lucien Goldmann. According to Faruk (in Helaluddin, 2019, p. 4), the theory merges structuralism and Marxism. Structuralism considers literature as an autonomous structure consisting of elements that support each other systematically in creating meaning. This approach is contradicted by Marxism which approaches literature through historical materialism, which structuralism ignores. To understand literature, genetic structuralism makes a linkage between the intrinsic element as a coherent entity to its author as the extrinsic structure (Swingewood & Laurenson in Hafshah, 2016, p. 17).

The theory uses six concepts: 'human facts', 'collective subject', 'worldview', 'structuration', 'whole-part', and 'comprehension-explanation' (Faruk in Nurhasanah, 2015, p. 138). On an ontological basis, Ratna (in Shinta, 2021, p. 3916) categorizes literature as a product of human facts that are social. Every element that structures literature has a meaning deriving from an author's goal. This goal is determined by the historical, social, and cultural situation of the society in which the author lives.

Authors are not secluded, independent individuals. They are a part of society. They represent their social group as collective subjects (Faruk 2013, p. 63). Goldmann (in Faruk, 1999, p. 15) specifies the term as a social class in a Marxist sense because it has been proven in history as a group that has created a complete and comprehensive view of life. It has also influenced the historical development of mankind.

In creating their work, authors act as a trans-individual subject who transcends their capabilities as a member of society by raising the issue of their social class (Goldmann in Fernando, Mulawarman, & Rokhmansyah, 2018, p. 73). To comprehend a literary work thus needs to include its author. Otherwise, comprehension will be absent of the characteristics of ideas and beliefs held by the social class. While in fact, these characteristics construct their collective worldview.

Worldview is the class consciousness that unites individuals into a class that has a collective identity (Goldman in Jayanti & Mustofa, 2020, p. 25). According to Goldmann (in Faruk, 1999b, p. 33), literature, however, is not the reflection of a real and existing collective consciousness. Instead, it is the culmination of a high level of coherence from tendencies specific to certain groups. It is a consciousness that must be understood as a dynamic reality directed to a certain form of balance.

As class consciousness, worldview then unites individuals with the same historical background into a class that has a collective identity. It also distinguishes one social class from another (Ridha, 2013, p. 3). It is because worldview forms the structure of the relationship among social classes with the era and society in which these sociocultural situations arise (Goldman in Jayanti & Mustofa, 2020, p. 25). Since worldview is abstract, one of the ways to see its concrete form is by way of literature.

Goldmann (in Suciati, 2013, p. 69) believes that there is a homology between the structure of literature and the structure of the society in which it is created because both structures are the result of the same structuration. Authors are not passive individuals whose existence follows the structure that grows in society. On the other hand, they play an active and creative role in self-actualizing their feeling and thinking. Because the quintessence of literature is imaginative, comprehending literary works as an entity that reflects reality is disputable. The similarity of events and problems in the literary world with reality in the real world lies in the structure (Kurniawan, 2012, p. 109). It is this structural homology that in genetic structuralism is mediated by the author's worldview. The homology can be illustrated in the following figure.

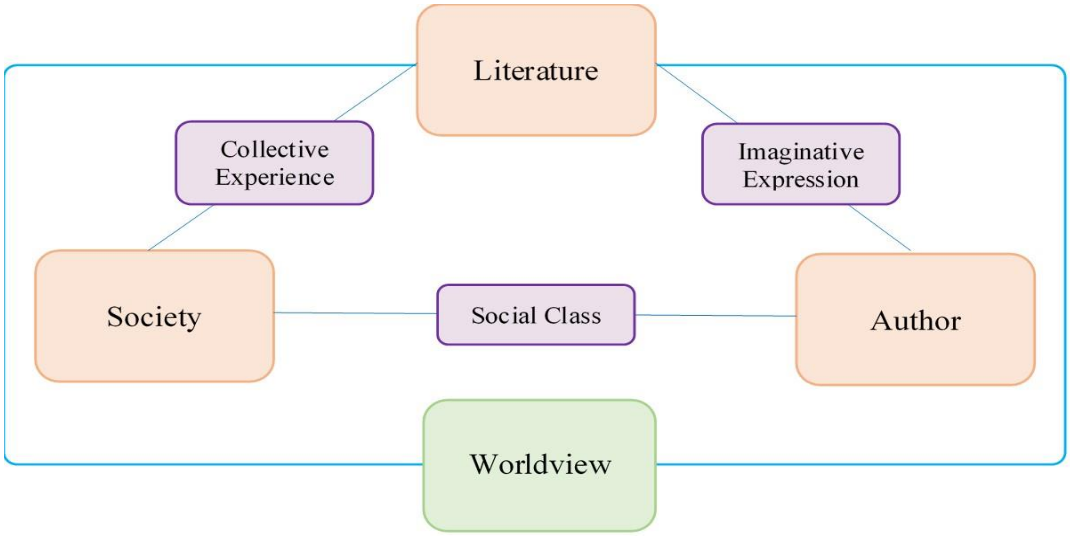

Figure 1. The homology of genetic structuralism

From those four concepts, Goldmann (in Kurniawan, 2012, p. 114-5) then developed a dialectical analysis with two complementary concepts: 'whole-part' and 'comprehension-explanation'. The 'whole' as the totality of a literary structure is employed to understand its 'parts'. On the other hand, they are also needed to be interpreted to achieve the 'whole' meaning. This dialectical concept does not only stop at the 'part' and the 'whole' of literature but also moves to the structure of society. At this stage, the 'comprehension-explanation' is used. While 'comprehension' is the attempt to comprehend the 'part', 'explanation' is the attempt to get the meaning of the 'part' by placing it in a larger context of the 'whole'. which refers to the integration of the structure of the literature with the social structure of society (Goldmann in Yulianto et al., 2017, p. 715-6).

Intrinsic Elements

In the early stages of analysis, information about the author is utilized as a conceptual hypothesis to understand the coherence of the literary structure and the societal structure. It is thus necessary to build a worldview model to hypothesize the 'whole' structure of literature through intensive reading on the 'part' of a work, which is the intrinsic elements. According to James (in Bennett & Royce, 2004, p. 60), the intrinsic elements that define each other are character and plot.

Characters are individuals who both live in and give life to literary works (Wicaksono in Harun & Biduri, 2019, p. 12). They are essential because they are the objects of identification for the readers to relate to and connect with. Authors describe their characters physically, mentally, intellectually, morally, and historically. The characterization can also develop as the plot of the story unfolds (Griffith in Larasati 2012, p. 19).

The plot is the arrangement of the sequential events in the story to trigger certain emotional and artistic effects. Theoretically, the stages of a complete plot begin with an exposition, followed by rising actions, to then reach the climax, before turning to fall actions and ending with a resolution. However, plotting can be arranged in a linear, nonlinear, parallel, circular, and interactive sequence (Layfield, 2022).

Based on their relation to the plot, characters are divided into main characters, who are at the center of the story that moves the plot, and supporting characters, who appear concerning the main character (Nurgiyantoro, 2018, p. 259). Moreover, characterization and plotting influence each other. Because one event is caused and/or causes another event to occur, the causality of the plot drives the development of the character. Simultaneously, the characterizations also contribute to the flow of the story (Kurnianto, Haryono, & Kurniawan, 2019, p. 33).

Extrinsic elements

Genetic structuralism combines an objective study of the intrinsic elements with a historical study of its genetic determinants, that is the author. Hence, it is crucial to know the author's biography to identify the social class. *Rich People Problems* is written by Kevin Kwan, who was born in Singapore in 1974. He was born into a wealthy Chinese family.

Kwan's great-grandfather, Oh Sian Guan, was a director of the Overseas-Chinese Banking Corporation (OCBC). His paternal grandfather, Dr. Arthur Kwan Pah Chien, was an ophthalmologist who graduated from Edinburgh University and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II. His maternal grandfather, Rev. Paul Hang Sing Hon, was the founder of Hinghwa Methodist Church. Meanwhile, his father is an engineer, and his mother is a pianist (Lundquist, 2017).

While living in Singapore, Kwan attended the Anglo-Chinese School. As his family emigrated to Texas, U.S., he enrolled at Clear Lake High School. He earned his B.A. in Media Studies from the University of Houston-Clear Lake and B.F.A. in Photography from Parsons School of Design (Christensen, 2013).

While visiting Asia to meet relatives, he realized Asians still view the world conservatively. This contestation shows the difference between Asians living in their homelands and those who migrated abroad. Living nearly four decades in the U.S. must have exposed Kwan to the American way of thinking. The American Dream myth, which emphasizes the opportunity for the poor to be rich, appears to have colored his works (Adhitya, 2015, p. 25-7).

Method

A descriptive, qualitative method was employed in this article. This method analyzes literary works without experimental manipulation (Ahmadi & Kartiwi 2020, p. 157). Focusing on empirical evidence, the research data are language features, in form of words, phrases, sentences, and paragraphs. Based on the source, the data were divided into primary and secondary data. The primary data was the intrinsic elements taken from Kwan's *Rich People Problems* published by Doubleday in 2017 and the extrinsic elements in the author's biography. Meanwhile, the secondary data were taken from referential books, journal articles, and other publications on the theory of genetic structuralism and the sociocultural facts about Asian immigrants in the U.S.

The research instruments were the researchers themselves. Researchers played a paramount role in all of the stages, from identifying the problems to concluding (Sugiyono, 2017, p. 102). The data were collected by note-taking technique. The novel is read carefully and repeatedly.

The collected data were then analyzed using content analysis. It was a systematic technique to parse the details of the content of a literary work in interpreting its meaning (Darmasetiadi, 2021, p. 121). Content analysis was applied objectively to the intrinsic elements so that the structure of the work could be revealed. The structure was interrelated with the extrinsic elements, which were approached historically, to formulate a structural homology between the two literary elements. From this in-depth explanation of the researcher's interpretation, the worldview manifested in the novel can be revealed.

To ensure the validity of this article, four tests were used, namely credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability. For the data to be credible, the researchers ensured that the data collected were factually present in the novel. The transferability was high because the findings could prevail in other sociocultural contexts or situations. Because this research had a clear analytical construct, dependability could be fulfilled because other researchers would be able to follow the stages in this article for their future research. Meanwhile, conformability was achieved as this article was disseminated at an academic conference and published in an academic journal. It thus passed the editing and peer-review process strengthening the validity of this article (Mekarisce, 2020, p. 147-51).

Findings and Discussion

The main goal of employing genetic structuralism is to discover the author's worldview manifested in their work. The homologous relation between imaginative expressions in literature and real-life experience in society thus serves as the emphasis of analysis. The two entities are bridged by the author, who belongs to a certain social group. Every social group has a collective consciousness rooted that can influence the way people in it think and behave (Goldman, 1977, p. 17).

Rich People Problems is written by Kwan, who, despite being born in Singapore to a wealthy Chinese family, spends his adolescence in the U.S. Both countries have fundamental differences in various aspects of life, most notably their racial demography and economic system. In Singapore, Chinese ethnicity is the majority. On the other hand, the Chinese and other Asian ethnicities are the minority in the U.S. Besides, Singapore is a state-capitalist country with a Shared Values philosophy. It puts communitarianism over individualism. Meanwhile, the U.S. is a capitalist country with egalitarianism. The belief places all Americans, regardless of their background, in an equal position. It then allows them to have the same opportunity in pursuing their dream and succeeding in life as long as they have determination (Wyman, 2015, p. 2).

It can be hypothesized that as an Asian immigrant living in the U.S. Kwan is profoundly exposed to the American Dream myth. Being in a different society with a distinct perspective on seeing the world during those formative years can give a lasting effect. How it affects him can be felt within the characterization and plot. As Goldman (1980, pp. 11-12) states, there is a correlation between the author and the elements in the work they create.

Throughout the trilogy, Kwan has created the main characters of Chinese ethnicity imbued with the American Dream characteristics. There are Rachel Chu, Kerry Chu, Goh Wye Mun, and Sophie Khoo in the first novel (Adhitya, 2015, p. 73). He continues this characterization in the second installment. It can be seen in both the recurring and newly-introduced characters, such as Michael Teo and Bao Gaoling, respectively (Adhitya & Kurnia, 2017, p. 25).

In the third one, Kwan extensively applies the American Dream arc to the supporting characters as well. Those characters, who are merely mentioned in passing in the first two novels, are given more storylines. By using flashbacks, he provides background stories ahead of them linked up with the main characters. They subsequently have more involvement and contribution to the plot. As the story is ending for good, he also elaborates on their destiny. The Wu family are the characters that can be scrutinized to evince the American Dream materialization.

Charlie Wu is Su Yi's future grandson-in-law, whom her granddaughter, Astrid Leong, marries at the end of the novel. However, her family disapproves of their relationship because their beginning is necessitous "Wu Hao Lian's father used to sell soy sauce on a bicycle!" (Kwan, 2017, p. 39). Meanwhile, his wife's

> … entire childhood was spent at the Endau concentration camp in Malaysia. Her family was forced to grow all their own food, and they almost starved to death. I'm sure that's why my mother is the way she is now. She makes her cook save money by buying the discounted, three-day-old bread from the supermarket … (Kwan, 2017, p. 381)

Charlie's father, Wu Hao Lian, "first made his fortune in the early 1980s" (Kwan, 2017, p. 202), "took his tech company public" (Kwan, 2013, p. 323), and at that point, the Wu Microsystems has been "built over the last thirty years" (Kwan, 2015, p. 161). Therefore, "the Hong Kong Wus weren't deemed worthy enough by those snooty Singaporeans!" (Kwan, 2017, p. 38) because they are perceived as the New Money.

The path Kwan specifies for Hao Lian as a self-made man is through entrepreneurship. American Dream urges entrepreneurial ideas. Combined with the capitalist economy, those ideas are facilitated to grow as real businesses. When his son takes over, "Charlie has created one of the most admired companies in the world" that every "new phone—the screen, the casing, I'm sure at least half the components are manufactured by Wu Microsystems!" (Kwan, 2017, p. 39). For his success in "run Asia's biggest tech company!" (Kwan, 2017, p. 13), the media dubbed him the "Hong Kong tech tycoon" (Kwan, 2017, p. 155), "tech billionaire" (Kwan, 2017, p. 37) "tech titan" (Kwan, 2017, p. 130).

Kwan, as an immigrant himself, experiences firsthand leaving home in hope of a new and better life. He understands that both moving to a foreign country and starting a business involve taking risks. According to the U.S. Small Business

Administration (Kosten, 2018), this risk-taker quality prepares them for entrepreneurial challenges. In 2019, "44.6 percent, or 223 companies, in the Fortune 500 were founded by immigrants or their children … brought in $6.1 trillion in revenue" (New American Economy, 2022).

Moreover, American Dream is rooted in the Protestant faith. In his 1630 sermon, Winthrop dictates, "when there is no other means whereby our Christian brother may be relieved in his distress, we must help him beyond our ability" (Heimert & Delbanco, 2009, p. 84). This Calvinist work ethic enables capitalism, where small businesses create entrepreneurs who then become employers opening job vacancies for others. In addition, Kwan makes being an employee an equivalent for the characters to attain American Dream. It is evident in Dr. Malcolm Cheng.

Married to Alexandra, Malcolm is Su Yi's son-in-law. One would have thought that he, being the husband to the youngest daughter of the most established family in Singapore, must come from a similar upbringing. In contrast, he is defined to be "a complete nobody from Hong Kong", who, unlike "an Aakara or a Leong", was not born "with a respectable surname" (Kwan, 2017, p. 164). Malcolm and Alexandra live in "a very basic three-bedroom flat", where their youngest son, "Alistair had to share a bedroom with his brother until he went to college" (Kwan, 2013, p. 307), and "the cramped toilet" has "no lock" (Kwan, 2013, p. 64).

Malcolm's characterization embodies perseverance. It then enables his humble circumstance to be made improved.

> Alix … said through gritted teeth, "I'm glad I married your father. He may not have inherited an empire or been born a prince, but for me, he is far more impressive. He built himself up from nothing to become one of the world's leading cardiologists, and his hard work has sent you to the best schools and given us a lovely home." (Kwan, 2017, p. 164-5)

His life advancement allows him to financially provide for his family with "a higher standard of living" (Wolak & Peterson, 2020, p. 968). It also grants him a great deal of reverence from his peers and relatives.

> Malcolm Cheng was one of Asia's most respected heart surgeons and had only recently retired as the chief of the Cardiology Centre at Hong Kong Sanatorium. Professor Oon was one of his protégés, and he was keeping close tabs on Su Yi's condition. (Kwan, 2017, p. 161)

Kwan uses education as a catalyst for Malcolm's American Dream. The majority of Americans concur that higher educations are essential to equip them with the necessary knowledge and skill to improve their lives (Lazerson, 2007, p. 1-3). While Malcolm's educational achievements earn him a white-collar profession, Kwan also applies a similar success story to blue-collar workers. It can be exemplified by the character of Lee Ah Ling.

Ah Ling is one of Su Yi's many servants. Although she comes from an impecunious family in Mainland China, she is described with the American Dream trait. It is evident as she is determined to overcome hardship in her life.

> She had always dreamed of seeing the world beyond her village, and she didn't care if it meant leaving her family. She was leaving a difficult home—a father who died when she was twelve and a mother who seemed to have resented her since the day she was born. (Kwan, 2017, p. 57)

Kwan assigns her purpose as the drive to leave "her tiny village on the outskirts of Ying Tak when she was just sixteen, taking a boat from Canton to an island far away in the Nanyang, the Southern Seas" (Kwan, 2017, p. 57). Landed in Singapore, she is "brokered to work for a family called the Tays" which serves as "a training ground" for "some sort of unspecified test" (Kwan, 2017, p. 58) before being sent to work for the Youngs at Tyersall Park.

Furthermore, Ah Ling is portrayed as a hard worker. As a result, her position keeps increasing.

> Over the next sixty-three years, she rose from being one of twelve junior maids to become one of the Young family's most trusted nannies—having helped raise Su Yi's youngest children, Victoria and Alix, and then in the next generation, Nick. Now she was the head housekeeper, overseeing a staff that at its peak reached fifty-eight but for the past decade had remained at thirty-two. (Kwan, 2017, p. 59)

Her hard work pays off because when Su Yi passed away, her name is included in her will. It reads, "$3,000,000 to my housekeeper LEE Ah Ling, who has served my family with excellence and devotion since she was a teenager" (Kwan, 2017, p. 258). The inheritance she receives changes the course of her life.

> "I think I will go back to China, for a year at least. I want to build a house in my old village, and spend a little time with my family. My brothers are getting older, I have so many new grandnephews and grandnieces who I have never met. Now I can finally be the rich old auntie who spoils them." (Kwan, 2017, p. 118)

Kwan rationalizes the 'from-zero-to-hero' arc by highlighting Ah Ling's "work ethic" sustaining her "to last long" (Kwan, 2017, p. 61) working for Su Yi. Reciprocally, American Dream stresses how hard work can be the principal in acquiring future rewards (Porter, 2010, p. 535). Her life progress is synonymous with the rags-to-riches myth. From her destitute origin, she fled to be a servant to then winds up as a millionaire in her old days.

Nevertheless, the journey of social mobility does not necessarily involve menial work. A character named Kitty Pong arrives at her opulent destination in a glamorous fashion, even though her life begins from an arduous background.

> To think that Pong Li Li, the daughter of sanitation workers in Qinghai, had achieved such great heights at the relatively young age of thirty-four (although she told everyone she was thirty). Not that any of this had been easy—she had worked nonstop her entire life to get to this place.

> Her mother had come from an educated middle-class family, but she had been banished with her family to the countryside during Mao's Great Leap Forward campaign. (Kwan, 2017, p. 30)

Similar to what he does to Ah Ling, Kwan also prescribes Kitty escaping her birth land in Mainland China as the ultimate way of escaping poverty. She originally sets her mind on education as a vehicle of escape. However, her educational voyage is a rough sail.

> But she had instilled in Kitty that getting an education was the only way out. All through her youth, Kitty studied extra hard to always be the top in her class, top in her school, top in her state exams, only to see her one chance at a higher education get snatched away when some boy with all the right connections was awarded the only slot to university in their entire district—the slot that was rightfully meant to be hers. (Kwan, 2017, p. 30)

Kwan initially characterizes Kitty as "the Hong Kong starlet" (Kwan, 2013, p. 290), and "a soap-opera star who runs around in skimpy clothes" (Kwan, 2013, p. 335) "that clung to her body like sausage casing" "with her engorged nipples clearly showing through" (Kwan, 2013, p. 268). It is only in the last installment that another layer of her characterization is peeled. He provides flashbacks that intellectualize her character.

He also enacts societal realities as an obstacle to Kitty. China is a Communist country with a Confucian and patriarchal society (Gilmartin, 1993, p. 240). This condition becomes adversity for women to thrive in life. She understands that she will not succeed via the traditional path. She pivots to exploiting her beauty and femininity. She gets involved with Su Yi through her grandson, Alistair. She then dumps him for a "billionaire" (Kwan, 2015, p. 24), Bernard Tai, whom she later divorces to marry "one of China's premier industrialists" (Kwan, 2017, p. 300).

> But Kitty didn't give up, she kept on fighting, moving first to Shenzhen to work at a KTV bar where she had to do unspeakable things, and then to Hong Kong, landing a bit part in a local soap opera, transforming it into a recurring role after becoming the director's mistress, dating a series of rather inconsequential men until she met Alistair Cheng, that cute, clueless boy who was much too sweet for his own good, going with him to the Khoo wedding and meeting Bernard Tai, running off to Vegas with Bernard to get married, meeting Jack Bing at Bernard's father's funeral, divorcing Bernard, and finally, at long last, marrying Jack, a man who was truly worthy of all her efforts. (Kwan, 2017, p. 30)

As time goes on, American Dream is not only achievable through education, entrepreneurship, and executive employment. Since Hollywood Golden Age, being an actor is considered an immediate shortcut to prosperity. Aspiring actresses traveled to Los Angeles, working as waitresses, hoping to catch their big break as movie stars (Banerjee, 2022; Kubincanek, 2017). Kwan adopts this fairytale for Kitty's characterization.

Tantamount to the Hollywood actors leaving their past behind, Kwan also contrives Kitty to reinvent her persona. Starting her acting endeavors in Hong Kong, she claims to have come from “a good Taiwanese family”, changing her name, look, and “distinctive northern China accent” (Kwan, 2013, p. 37-38) with “the fake accent and fake breasts and fake everything” (Kwan, 2013, p. 202). Notwithstanding, Kwan utilizes Kitty being “one of Asia’s fastest-rising stars” (Kwan, 2013, p. 39) as a stepping stone for her to climb the social ladders. The efficacious course for her reaching a life full of fortune is by marrying up.

> Kitty knew that all this royal treatment was because she had arrived in Paris this time as MRS. JACK BING. She wasn’t just the wife of some random billionaire anymore, she was the new wife of China’s second-richest man, one of the ten richest men in the world.…
> And now that she had provided him with his first son (Harvard Bing, born in 2013), she could do anything she damn well pleased. (Kwan, 2017, p. 29-30)

One of the aftermaths of patriarchy is gender inequality. Having less opportunity for higher education and equal employment leaves hypergamy as the only route for women to grasp the American Dream (Steichen, 1983, p. 92; Cashdan, 1996, p. 135). With her determination to flee the ill fortune in perpetuity and elevate her children into an upper stratum, Kitty marries someone of a higher socioeconomic class twice.

Furthermore, it is not only those of Chinese ethnicity whose hard work is made to fruition. Supporting characters of other Asian ethnicities are also treated with American Dream characteristics. Setting the majority of the story to take place in Singapore, Kwan also concocts Su Yi’s employees working at the “friggin’ palace” (Kwan, 2013, p.), Tyersall Park, to have come from neighboring countries. Su Yi’s attendants can be utilized as an instance.

> Who were those two women in matching silk dresses standing like statues behind her?” Rachel asked.
> “Oh, those are her lady’s maids.”
> “Excuse me?”
> “Her lady’s maids. They never leave her side.”
> “Like ladies-in-waiting? They look so elegant.”
> “Yes, they’re from Thailand, and they were trained to serve in the royal court.”
> “Is this a common thing in Singapore? Importing royal maids from Thailand?” Rachel asked incredulously.
> “I don’t believe so. This service was a special lifetime gift to my grandmother.”
> “A gift? From whom?”
> “The King of Thailand. Though it was the last one, not Bhumibol the current king. Or was it the one before that? Anyway, he was apparently a great friend of my grandmother’s. He decreed that she must only be waited on by court-trained ladies. So there has been a constant rotation ever since my grandmother was a young woman.” (Kwan, 2013, p. 138)

Lady’s maid is a position for lower-class women whose responsibility is related to their female employer’s appearance. They usually start as a housemaid

(Chaubel, 2017, p. 17). Two Su Yi's lady's maids previously had training in the Thai royal court since they were children. Being a gift from The King of Thailand, they are "trailing behind her" (Kwan, 2017, p. 80) every time and everywhere, including beside her deathbed with an "oxygen tank and several other medical devices" are "dutifully being guided" (Kwan, 2017, p. 200).

> Several doctors and nurses huddled over a bank of computer screens, analyzing every blip in their VVIP patient's vital signs, while Su Yi's Thai lady's maids hovered just by the doorway, ready to spring into action should their mistress bat an eyelash. The minute they saw Prince Taksin approach, they dropped to the floor, prostrating themselves. (Kwan, 2017, p. 88)

Kwan awards their devotion in form of inheritance both lady's maids receive upon Su Yi's passing.

> $1,000,000 to each of my dear lady's maids Madri VISUDHAROMN and Patravadee VAROPRAKORN along with the antique Peranakan gold-and-diamond bracelets labeled for them in the Tyersall Park vault. (Kwan, 2017, p. 258)

In the first two installments, they were merely addressed as "Su Yi's lady's maids" (Kwan, 2015, p.). Their names are revealed for the first time in Su Yi's will. Lady's maids customarily work for a house until they are retired. When the lady of the house passes away, they will customarily work for the daughter of the house (Chaubel, 2017, p. 25). Therefore, Kwan mentioning them by name can be construed as a sign of the American Dream toward freedom. With them being millionaires, they no longer have to work in service for the rest of their lives. Akin ending befalls upon Su Yi's Captain Vikram Ghale as well.

Vikram is a "Nepali" (Kwan, 2017, p. 119) Gurkha, "the deadliest soldiers in the world" (Kwan, 2013, p. 122) native to the Indian Subcontinent. He has been guarding Tyersall Park since he was young.

> In all his years of working for the Young family as the head of security, … interviewed and hired him for the job thirty-two years ago … (Kwan, 2017, p. 118)

During the turbulent years before and after independence, Gurkha Contingent was formed under the Singapore Police Force. Displaying skill and bravery, Gurkhas are renowned as disciplined and dedicated troops (Parker, 2005, p. 390). Kwan endows comparable reputes for Vikram, as he is greatly loyal to Su Yi, even until her final days.

> Vikram felt a lump in his throat, but he continued to speak. "Ah Ling, I swore an oath—a Gurkha's oath—to protect and serve Mrs. Young with my life. I feel like I would be betraying her if I didn't see that her wishes are followed. … "Well, it's my duty to make sure that happens. Even if I lose my job." (Kwan, 2017, p. 170)

At her funeral, Vikram is assigned as "the lead pallbearer" of "Su Yi's casket" (Kwan, 2017, p. 243). His undying loyalty is then rewarded with an inheritance. Moreover, he is the only Gurkha whose name is listed in the will.

> $500,000 to my head of security Captain Vikram GHALE, who has diligently protected me since 1983. I further bequeath to him the Type 14 Nambu pistol given to me by Count Hisaichi Terauchi preceding his departure from Singapore in 1944.
> (Eleanor: *Wah, so generous! I wonder if Old Lady knew that he made a fortune with his day trading?)* (Kwan, 2017, p. 258)

Once Gurkhas, like other soldiers, retire, they largely rely on their pension. To make matters worse, it is widely known that Gurkhas' pension is smaller than national troops (Parker, 2005, p. 334). However, as he inherits a sum of Su Yi's money and prized possessions, finance will not be an issue in his retirement days. Besides, he invests his salary cleverly, accumulating an extensive stock-market portfolio.

> "Vikram, how much money have you made on my stock tips over the years? Sino Land, Keppel Corp, Silverlake Axis. Hnh! I swear to God I am never going to give you a single tip again. I made you a rich man, and this is how you repay us? *Mangkali kow sai!*" (Kwan, 2017, p. 119)

Kwan ascribes Vikram's discipline and dedication as an upward-mobility ticket. In his line of work, those able to live above their means are typically corrupt (Shinkman, 2022). Therefore, molding an honest soldier who devotes his life to his employer for success designates his intent of characterizing and plotting his character to seize the American Dream.

Conclusion

Literature is not crystalized in a vacuum. Extrinsic factors contribute to how its intrinsic elements are created. Kwan internalizes American Dream in form of characterization and plot in his trilogy. In *Crazy Rich Asians* and *China Rich Girlfriend,* he focuses on the acquisition of the American Dream by Chinese immigrants pushing forward the 'model minority' stereotype. In *Rich People Problems,* he also agglutinates the myth to the supporting characters, despite their South and Southeast Asian origins. By appending them with backstories and life progresses, they develop from static and flat into round characters. Regardless of where they reside, he equally conduces those characters opportunities in improving their socioeconomic condition. He embeds them with determination, perseverance, hard work, loyalty, and reinvention to revamp their humble backgrounds into self-made entrepreneurs, highly-educated professionals, dependable employees, and trophy spouses. His take thereupon represents the Asian immigrant perspective on American Dream.

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ENVISAGING CODE-MIXING AND CODE-SWITCHING IN ENGLISH CONVERSATION AMONG THAI STUDENTS: BREACHING THE MOTIVES FROM SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract
People always communicate to make relationships with others. Some way they do this is to make the other understand what the speaker means. Therefore, the speaker uses code-mixing and code-switching to make the listener understand. The purpose of code-mixing and code-switching is to make the utterance more communicative, and more friendly to show the master can speak more than two languages. In this research, the subject is students from the English Department at Tidar University in Indonesia and the International Business China Program Faculty of International Studies at Prince of Songkla University in Thailand. This research used a descriptive qualitative method in which the researchers describe the form, the types, and the reason for code-mixing and code-switching in an educational conversation by students from the English Department Tidar University in Indonesia and International Business China Program Faculty of International Studies Prince of Songkla University in Thailand. All of the students in daily life use code-mixing and code-switching to communicate with others or their lecturers because they are from the English Department and International Program where all of the lectures are taught in English. The types of code mixing such as insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization based on Singh and Sachan (2017), while types of code-switching are intra-sentential, inter-sentential, and tag switching based on Ansar (2017). The researchers also found some factors related to Hudson (1980) such as social factors, cultural factors, and individual factors. In a nutshell, as stated from the data analysis, numerous code-mixing and code-switching used by these students in their daily life, it helps them to understand and simplify communication.

Keywords: code-mixing, code-switching, conversations, English language

Introduction

Language is closely related to how people communicate with each other (Riadil, 2020). Therefore, we are also bound to other people or society when we learn a language. Language and society cannot be separated in communication. The study of language and society is sociolinguistic. Sociolinguistics is, to some degree, linguistics in which the latter refers to language study as the framework without regard to the social context in which Hudson (1980) is studied, taught, or even used. According to Sukarno (2018), sociolinguistics studies the relationship between language and social contexts for communication. Related to Wardhaugh (2006), sociolinguistics is the study of the coherence between language and society to understand the structure of language and the language function of communication. To make a message understood when communicating with a person, the speaker usually uses two or more languages to give the message. According to Weinreich in Grey (2017), if the speaker wants to communicate with a person who uses alternative contact, the speaker will use two or more languages to understand the listener. For example, the immigrant's introduction of a new language to a resident population. Sometimes, they introduce second-language lexical items in conversation and mix them with their own or first language.

It is now easier to find people who use two or more languages efficiently. It is called bilingualism or multilingualism when people can speak two or more languages. According to Rahardi (2001), bilingualism is a phenomenon where the speaker or person can speak and use two or more languages to communicate. Therefore, a person who can use two languages to communicate is called bilingual. The two kinds of bilingualism are code-mixing and code-switching. Instead of code-mixing and code-switching, the study of language usage in cultural or social contexts has become an interesting phenomenon because it is part of the development process and uses multiple (bilingual) languages or a combination of (multi-lingual) languages. In general, bilingualism uses code-mixing or code-switching: first, the speaker makes the listener more understand to use the target language, and second, the bilingual speaker has other goals in communication.

Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is a field of macro linguistics in linguistic study. Sociolinguistics is the study of the relationship between language and society, a branch of both linguistics and sociology. Sometimes it is called the sociology of language. There are definitions of sociolinguistic from many sources: Wardhaugh (2006) says, Sociolinguistics is concerned with investigating the relationships between language and society with the goal being a better understanding of the structure of language and how languages function in communication; the equivalent goal in the sociology of language is trying to discover how social structure can be better understood through the study of language. It shows that sociolinguistics investigates how social structure influences the way people communicate and how language functions in society.

Further on Holmes (2001) defines that "Sociolinguists study the relationship between language and society. They are interested in explaining why we speak differently in different social contexts, and they are concerned with identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning." Sociolinguistics is concerned with the relationship between language and the context in which it is used. So, there is a concern about explaining and identifying language changes that are spoken. On the other hand, Wardhaugh and Fuller (2015) state that *"Sociolinguistics is the study of our everyday lives-how language works in our casual conversations and the media we are exposed to, and the presence of societal norms, policies, and laws which address language."* It means sociolinguistics is not a study of facts but the study of ideas about how a member of a particular society may influence the terms with our language use.

Code-Mixing

Code mixing is where the speaker mixes the language he or she uses with two languages for communication. The purpose of code-mixing is to make the utterances more communicative and friendly and show that he or she can use two or more languages (Sukarno, 2018; Sutrismi, 2014). Code mixing uses elements from one language through a particular speech to create another. Dewi (2021) states that code-mixing occurs when speakers slip elements of other languages while using specific languages. On the other hand, the code-mixing concept is stated by Muysken (2000). He described code mixing as the behavior of two languages in an expression when lexical elements in the two languages are joined into one language structure used in the speech. Singh and Sachan (2017) said that the types of code mixing are:

Insertion

Approaching that depart from the notion of insertion new to constraint in term of the structural properties of some base or matrix structures. Here the process of code-mixing is conceived as something borrowing. The lexical (word) of other languages into one language.

> Example: *Eh, liburan enak nih **hiking** ke gunung.* (Eh, it is a nice vacation hiking to the mountains)

The word ***hiking*** is from English and is inserted in between Bahasa Indonesia sentences.

Alternation

Approaches departing from alternation view the constraint on mixing in terms of capability or equivalence of the language involved at the switch point. A lexical term (word) or one language phrase is preceded by a lexical term (word) or another language phrase.

> Example: *Coba besok aku **ngeupload** foto nya di facebook ya*! (I'll try to upload the photo on Facebook, yeah!)
> *Aku tidak bisa datang ke acara ulang tahun kamu besok, **Because I feel sick***
> (I can't come to your birthday tomorrow, Because I feel sick)
>
> Here, English language phrases are followed by Indonesian language phrases.

Congruent Lexicalization

The notion of congruent lexicalization underlies the study of style shifting and dialect/standard variation rather than bilingual language. Lexical terms (phrases) can be inserted randomly in any language of "A" and "B".

> Example: ***Hey, how are you? I'm Sam***, *Senang bertemu anda.* Nice to meet you. (Hey, how are you? I'm Sam, Nice to meet you)

The words of English in the Indonesian language phrase randomly.

Code-Switching

Code-switching is the bilingual speaker switching between two languages back and forth in the same sentence (Sukarno, 2018). Code-switching is a phenomenon of switching language from one language to another in bilingual or multilingual communities (Wardhaugh,1986; Wardhaugh, 2006; Yuliana et al., 2015). Code-switching also is defined as an interchange between two or more languages in a speaker's speech or conversation. Some people may use code-switching unknowingly as the outcome of their skills in using more than one language, while others may use code-switching to repeat what has been said before. There are ten reasons why people use code-switching in their conversations. Those reasons are talking about a particular topic, quoting somebody else, being emphatic about something, interjection, repetition, intention to clarify something, expressing group identity, softening and straightening request or command, real lexical needs, and the last is to exclude other people.

While the types of code-switching:

Inter-sentential

This type of code-switching occurs between a clause or a sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence uses Indonesian or another use English. For example, a bilingual speaker said:

> Example: "*Dia cantik tapi tidak baik. **I don't like her**"* (She is beautiful but she is not a good person. I don't like her).

Intra-sentential

This kind of code-switching which a single discourse between two languages. For example, bilingual speakers:

> Example: *"Saya pikir* ***she has pretty face though****, tapi kelakuannya very bad attitude"* (I think she has a pretty face though, but her behavior has a very bad attitude).

Tag-Switching

This type of code-switching where a tag phrase or a word both from one language to another language, like the bilingual speaker said:

> Example: *"Dia cantik,* ***but no good, right?****"* (She is beautiful but no good, right?).

The above are explanations of Code-Switching with concrete theory. This study is adapted from one previous research from Riadil (2021) entitled *"Investigating EFL Learners' "Indonglish" Usage by English Department Students: A Qualitative Study"* which talks mostly about code-mixing used by the two different student levels in the English department of Tidar University. The similarity between this study and the previous study is analyzing the same variables which analyzes the code-mixing. Nevertheless, this study will analyze deeper about code-mixing and code-switching and also the reasons from students in two different universities, different cultural backgrounds, and different countries. The novelty of this study is the researchers are not investigating code-mixing, they researcher also investigating code-mixing. In addition, the researchers observed the reason for the code-mixing and code-switching usage by Indonesian and Thailand students. The researcher conducts this research about code-mixing and code-switching because the researcher is interested to continue the study of previous research in sociolinguistics, especially in the introduction and the reasons for code-mixing and code-switching. This research includes the form or introduction of code-mixing and code-switching, the reason bilingual speakers use code-mixing and code-switching, and the types of code-mixing and code-switching in an educational conversation by the students of the English Department Tidar University, Indonesia, and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University, Thailand. In this research, the researchers provided two research questions, those are;

1. What types of Code-Mixing and Code-Switching are used by Indonesian and Thailand Students?
2. What are the reasons for using code-mixing and code-switching?

Method

This research involved a qualitative descriptive study that produces descriptive data in the form of words written that were taken by a script's speech. As stated in Dörnyei (2007) qualitative data usually involves recorded spoken data (for example, interview data) that is transcribed to textual form as well as written (field) notes and documents of various sorts. Type this research was a descriptive qualitative method because the writer described the linguistic form, the reason, and the types of code-mixing and code-switching used by students from the English Department, Tidar University in Indonesia, and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand. Descriptive qualitative was used in this research to identify linguistics, the reasons, and the types of code-mixing and code-switching in an educational conversation used by the English Department, Tidar University in Indonesia, and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand. Descriptive research could be dealt with as proving what livings, already existing and lived are by being described and explained (Alacapinar, 2016).

The subject of this research was the students of the English Department, at Tidar University in Indonesia and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand, where they were being taught in English the class. The data of this research was the educational conversation with each other in the campus area. In collecting data, the researchers used interviews and observation. The Interview contained three questions for the students adapted from Hudson (1980). It was divided to be three terms, those are social factors, cultural factors, and individual factors:

1. Do you use two or more languages in your daily life?
2. When are you using two or more languages in your communication with others?
3. Why are you using those methods in daily conversations?

The observation contained about looking for the data having code-mixing and code-switching in educational conversations used by the English Department, Tidar

University in Indonesia and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand selected by the researchers.

Findings and Discussion

Findings

The Form of Code-Mixing and Code-Switching

The researcher analyzes the form of code-mixing and code-switching by Ansar (2017). This research found that code-mixing and code-switching in educational conversations are specially taken in the campus area used by the students of the English Department, Tidar University in Indonesia and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand.

Table 1. The total of code-mixing and code-switching used by Indonesian students

Utterances	Code-Mixing	Code-Switching
Student 1: Hai, kamu udah ***submit*** tugas UTS ***article*** untuk mata kuliah Maam Lilia belum?	2	-
Student 2: Hmmm, ***not yet*** nih. ***I'm still downloading some of the articles as my references***. Ini materinya ada yang ***not free but we need to pay***. Padahal Selasa besok harus di ***submit***.	2	2
Student 1: ***What?*** Ndak Selasa minggu depan to?	1	-
Student 2: Ngawur, Selasa besok. Makanya aku buat ***dateline*** hari ini harus selesai buat ***paper*** nya karena ***dateline*** udah mepet banget.	3	-
Student 2: Tugasnya ***softcopy*** aja, ***right****?*	1	1
Student 1: Iya, ***I guess***.	2	-
Student 2: ***Yes***, dua-duanya. Ini aku lagi ***browsing*** artikelnya kok gak ada ya? ***It is so difficult to find articles that related to my research topics*** sumpah deh, Wah ***lowbat*** juga ***laptop***ku.	4	1
Student 1 : Loh salahmu, kamu sambil main ***games*** sih.	1	-
Student 2: Engga kok. Ini aku masih cari materi dan ***references journal*** tapi belum dapet.	2	-
Student 1: Santai aja, coba aku ***searching*** di ***google***. Biasanya cepat ketemunya. ***Anyway***, carinya ***keywords*** nya apa?	4	-
Student 2: ***Up to you*** lah yang penting ada hubungannya dengan tema ***paper*** aku.	4	-
Student 1: I see. Lah ini banyak hasil ***searching***nya. Yang penting materi dah ada semula. Nggak usah panik ***keep calm*** aja hahaha.	5	-
Student 2: Lah iya. ***Good good***. Ini bagus artikelnya, tolong di ***save*** dan ***send*** ke ***whatsapp*** ku ya. ***Thanks*** ya ***bro***.	7	-
Student 1: Eh ***anyway***, makan yuk, udah ***lunch*** belom?	2	-
Student 2: ***Nope, come on, let's eat together then.*** Aku lagi mau makan yang **spicy** gitu nih	1	1
Student 1: ***I think***, Mie ayam enak deh	2	-

Student 2: ***Yes***, mie ayam enak tuh, ***good idea!***	3	-
Student 1: Yowes, **okay let's go there then**	-	1
Student 2: udah agak mendung, ***do you bring an umbrella?***	-	2
Student 1: oh iya nih kayaknya mau ***raining***, aku bawa ***umbrella*** kok	2	-
Student 2: rapopo, ***That's okay***, tidak jauh juga dari kampus kan tempatnya	2	-
Student 1: ***Okay***, yuk jalan	1	-
Student 2: ***Alright dude,*** yuk	2	-
Total	53	8

From Table 1, the researchers found some code-mixing and code-switching used by students from English Department, at Tidar University in Indonesia. The table stated that code-mixing is the most term that they used in their conversations which showed that there are fifty-three code-mixing. Additionally, these Indonesian Students used around eight times in code-switching in their conversations. Then, all of the expressions from the above, the results are all expressions in an educational conversation especially taken in the campus area has code-mixing and code-switching. However, these Indonesian students mixed their expressions using two or more languages like Indonesia-English, English-Indonesia, or Indonesia-Local (Javanese)-English.

Table 2. The total of code-mixing and code-switching used by Thailand students

Utterances	Code-Mixing	Code-Switching
Student 1: ***Hii***, สวัสดี ค่ะ	1	-
Student 2: ***Hallo too***, สวัสดี ค่ะ	2	-
Student 1: ดังนั้น***, at high school what are you studying about***?	-	1
Student 2: ***English and Chinese*** นะ	3	-
Student 1: ***oh, but you are more like*** พูดจีนเก่งกว่า?	-	1
Student 2: ใช่, ใช่. ***I prefer like Chinese, because I think Chinese conversation is very easy than English, right?***	-	1
Student 1: ดังนั้น, ***How long have you been studying Chinese?***	-	1
Student 2: ห้า ***years, yeah..***	2	-
Student 1: ***So, like since you're*** หก ***in elementary school***, ใช่ไหม?	-	1
Student 2: ***No.***. มอ สอง ***in junior high school***.	1	1
Student 1: มอ สอง? ***Oh okay***	2	-
Student 2: ***But, at that time, I dont like it because it's really hard***, อ่านไม่ออกอ่า, ดูตัวจีนไม่รู้เรื่อง. ***I don't understand the Chinese characters. When I see uh when I watch movie, it's Chinese movie or series I like, So I practice my Chinese. And now I speak Chinese*** **เอ่อดีกว่าภาษาอังกฤษอ่ะค่ะ.**	-	3
Student 1: ***oh*** ใช่ uh-huh	1	-
Student 2: ***Yeah***, ใช่	1	-

Student 1: แต่ ***now you're studying International Business?***	-	1
Student 2: ***yes*** ค่ะ	1	-
Student 1: ***So***, เขายังเป็นโฟกัสภาษาจีนอยู่ปะ?	1	-
Student 2: ***Yeah,*** จะแนวไปที่ภาษาอังกฤษมากกว่า	1	-
Student 1: ***Oh but I think,*** แต่ก็มีพอภาษาจีนอยู่	4	-
Student 2: ***yes, yes,*** ใช่ๆยงเรียนจีนอยู่.	2	-
Student 1: แล้วเราแบบ แล้วเรา พอที่นี้มัน, ***they focus about English more than Chinese? So yeah, now in this major***	-	2
Student 2: ค่ะ. ***So, now we*** …	3	-
Student 1: ***But***, แล้วทำไง เกรียดไหมที่นี้?	1	-
Student 2: ***yes, very serious. But, I want to practice my English*** ก็คือให้มันหนักขึ้สุด พยายามฟังเพลงหรือดูหนังให้มันเยอะขึ้นประมาณนี้ค่ะ ก็คืออาจจะใช้วิธีเกี่ยวกับการดูซีรี่ย์เอาประมาณนั้นแบบภาษาจีนเอ.	1	1
Student 1: ***oh, Okay*** ค่ะ. ***In your here studying, a lot of English would be better***	2	1
Student 2: ***Yes*** นะ… hahaha	1	-
Student 1: ***Okay***, ฉันต้องไปเดอะมอลล์แล้ว ยินดีที่ได้คุยกับคุณ. ***谢谢你的谈话.***	1	1
Student 2: ***Okay*** ค่ะ, *也谢谢你*, สวัสดี ค่ะ	1	1
Total	**34**	**16**

From Table 2, the researchers found some code-mixing and code-switching used by students from International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand. The table stated that code-mixing is the most term that they used in their conversations which showed that there are thirty-four code-mixing, which means Thailand students less using code-mixing rather than Indonesian students. Additionally, these Thailand Students used around sixteen times in code-switching in their conversations, which means Thailand students more using code-switching rather than Indonesian students. Then, all of the expressions from the above, the results are all expressions in an educational conversation especially taken in the campus area has code-mixing and code-switching. However, these Thailand students mixed their expressions using two or more languages like Thailand-English, English-Thailand, or Indonesian-Chinese-English.

The Types of Code-Mixing and Code-Switching

The researchers analyzed code-mixing by Singh and Sachan (2017) and code-switching by Hoffman (1991).

Table 3. The types of code-mixing and code-switching used by Indonesian students

Utterances	Code-Mixing by Singh & Sachan (2017)	Code-Switching by Hoffman (1991)
Student 1: Hai, kamu udah ***submit*** tugas UTS ***article*** untuk mata kuliah Maam Lilia belum?	Insertion	-

Student 2: Hmmm, ***not yet*** nih. ***I'm still downloading some of the articles as my references***. Ini materinya ada yang ***not free but we need to pay***. Padahal Selasa besok harus di***submit***.	Insertion and Alternation	Inter-Sentential and Intra-Sentential
Student 1: ***What?*** Ndak Selasa minggu depan to?	Insertion	-
Student 2: Ngawur, Selasa besok. Makanya aku buat ***dateline*** hari ini harus selesai buat ***paper*** nya karena ***dateline*** udah mepet banget.	Insertion	-
Student 2: Tugasnya ***softcopy*** aja, ***right****?*	Insertion	Tag-Switching
Student 1: Iya, ***I guess***.	Insertion	-
Student 2: ***Yes***, dua-duanya. Ini aku lagi ***browsing*** artikelnya kok gak ada ya? ***It is so difficult to find articles that related to my research topics*** sumpah deh, Wah ***lowbat*** juga ***laptop***ku.	Insertion and Alternation	Intra-Sentential
Student 1 : Loh salahmu, kamu sambil main ***games*** sih.	Insertion	-
Student 2: Engga kok. Ini aku masih cari materi dan ***references journal*** tapi belum dapet.	Insertion	-
Student 1: Santai aja, coba aku ***searching*** di ***google***. Biasanya cepat ketemunya. ***Anyway***, carinya ***keywords*** nya apa?	Insertion and Alternation	-
Student 2: ***Up to you*** lah yang penting ada hubungannya dengan tema ***paper*** aku.	Insertion	-
Student 1: I see. Lah ini banyak hasil ***searching***nya. Yang penting materi dah ada semula. Nggak usah panik ***keep calm*** aja hahaha.	Insertion and Alternation	-
Student 2: Lah iya. ***Good good***. Ini bagus artikelnya, tolong di ***save*** dan ***send*** ke ***whatsapp***ku ya. ***Thanks*** ya ***bro***.	Insertion and Alternation	-
Student 1: Eh ***anyway***, makan yuk, udah ***lunch*** belom?	Insertion and Alternation	-
Student 2: ***Nope, come on, let's eat together then.*** Aku lagi mau makan yang **spicy** gitu nih	Insertion	Inter-Sentential
Student 1: ***I think***, Mie ayam enak deh	Insertion	-
Student 2: ***Yes***, mie ayam enak tuh, ***good idea!***	Insertion	-
Student 1: Yowes, **okay let's go there then**	-	Inter-Sentential
Student 2: udah agak mendung, ***do you bring an umbrella?***	-	Inter-Sentential and Tag Switching
Student 1: oh iya nih kayaknya mau ***raining***, aku bawa ***umbrella*** kok	Insertion	-
Student 2: ***Rapopo***, ***That's okay***, tidak jauh juga dari kampus kan tempatnya	Congruent Lexicalization	-
Student 1: ***Okay***, yuk jalan	Insertion	-
Student 2: ***Alright dude,*** yuk	Insertion	-

From Table 3, the researcher found some types of code-mixing by Singh and Sachan (2017) and code-switching by Hoffman (1991). From the types of code-mixing by Singh and Sachan (2017), the students from English Department, at Tidar University in Indonesia more effectively used insertion type followed by Alternation and Congruent Lexicalization from code-mixing, because they inserted one-word item from English into Indonesia phrase. However, they also used congruent lexicalization, they used three languages English, Javanese, and Indonesian, then they inserted one word from English and one word from Javanese into an Indonesian phrase or sentence. While code-switching by Hoffman (1991), the researchers found some types of code-switching in the English Department, at Tidar University in Indonesia. The Indonesian students more using inter-sentential types followed by the intra-sentential and tag-switching types of code-switching takes about four times used it.

Table 4. The types of code-mixing and code-switching used by Thailand students

Utterances	Code-Mixing by Singh & Sachan (2017)	Code-Switching by Hoffman (1991)
Student 1: ***Hii***, สวัสดี ค่ะ	Insertion	-
Student 2: ***Hallo too***, สวัสดี ค่ะ	Insertion	-
Student 1: ดังนั้น***, at high school what are you studying about***?	-	-
Student 2: ***English and Chinese*** นะ	Insertion	-
Student 1: ***oh, but you are more like*** พูดจีนเก่งกว่า?	-	Inter-Sentential
Student 2: ใช่, ใช่. ***I prefer like Chinese. Because I think Chinese conversation is very easy than English, right?***	-	Inter-Sentential
Student 1: ดังนั้น, ***How long have you been studying Chinese?***	-	Tag Switching
Student 2: ห้า ***years, yeah..***	Insertion	-
Student 1: ***So, like since you're*** หก ***in elementary school***, ใช่ไหม?	-	Intra-Sentential
Student 2: ***No..***. มอ สอง ***in junior high school***.	Insertion	Intra-Sentential
Student 1: มอ สอง? ***Oh okay***	Insertion	-
Student 2: ***But, at that time, I dont like it because it's really hard***, อ่านไม่ออกอ่า, ดูตัวจีนไม่รู้เรื่อง. ***I don't understand the Chinese characters. When I see uh when I watch movie, it's Chinese movie or series I like, So I practice my Chinese. And now I speak Chinese* เอ่อดีกว่าภาษาอังกฤษอ่ะค่ะ.**	-	Inter-Sentential and Intra-Sentential
Student 1: ***oh*** ใช่ uh-huh	Insertion	-
Student 2: ***Yeah***, ใช่	Insertion	-
Student 1: แต่ ***now you're studying International Business?***	Insertion	Intra-Sentential
Student 2: ***yes*** ค่ะ	Insertion	-
Student 1: ***So***, เขายังเป็นโฟกัสภาษาจีนอยู่ปะ?	Insertion	-
Student 2: ***Yeah,*** จะแนวไปที่ภาษาอังกฤษมากกว่า	Insertion	-

Student 1: ***Oh but I think,*** แต่ก็มีพอภาษาจีนอยู่	Insertion and Alternation	-
Student 2: ***yes, yes,*** ใช่ๆยงเรียนจีนอยู่.	Insertion	-
Student 1: แล้วเราแบบ แล้วเรา พอที่นี่มัน, ***they focus about English more than Chinese? So yeah, now in this major***	-	Inter-Sentential and Tag Switching
Student 2: ค่ะ. ***So, now we*** …	Insertion	-
Student 1: ***But***, แล้วทำไง เกรียดไหมที่นี้?	Alternation	-
Student 2: ***yes, very serious. But, I want to practice my English*** ก็คือให้มันหนักขึ้สุด พยายามฟังเพลงหรือดูหนังให้มันเยอะขึ้นประมาณนี้ค่ะ ก็คืออาจจะใช้วิธีเกี่ยวกับการดูซีรี่ย์เอาประมาณนั้นแบบภาษาจีนเอ.	Alternation	Intra-Sentential
Student 1: ***oh, Okay*** ค่ะ. ***In your here studying, a lot of English would be better***	Insertion	Inter-Sentential
Student 2: ***Yes*** นะ… hahaha	Congruent Lexicalization	-
Student 1: ***Okay***, ฉันต้องไปเดอะมอลล์แล้ว ยินดีที่ได้คุยกับคุณ. ***谢谢你的谈话.***	Congruent Lexicalization	Inter-Sentential
Student 2: ***Okay*** ค่ะ, ***也谢谢你,*** สวัสดี ค่ะ	Congruent Lexicalization	Inter-Sentential

From Table 4, the researchers found some types of code-mixing by Singh and Sachan (2017) and code-switching by Hoffman (1991). From the types of code-mixing by Singh and Sachan (2017), the students from International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand more effectively used insertion type followed by Alternation and Congruent Lexicalization from code-mixing, because they inserted one-word item from English into Thailand phrase. However, they also used congruent lexicalization, they used three languages English, Thailand, and Chinese, then they inserted one word from English and one word from Thailand into a Chinese phrase or sentence. While code-switching by Hoffman (1991), the researchers found some types of code-switching by International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand. The Thailand students more using inter-sentential types followed by the intra-sentential and tag-switching types of code-switching takes about four times used it. It is quite similar to Indonesian students but Thailand students tend to use more code-switching than Indonesian tend to use more code-mixing.

The Reason for Using Code-Mixing and Code-Switching

People have some reason to use code-mixing and code-switching in their utterances. Numerous factors motivate people there to communicate with others to use code-mixing and code-switching. One of the reasons most people nowadays master two or more languages, especially teenagers. The subject of this research is students English Department, at Tidar University in Indonesia and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand, and all of them are teenagers. The researchers knew that people seldom use one language in their daily conversation, the researchers frequently found people mix and switch their language because of some factors. Such as communicating with other people who come from different backgrounds, cultures, and languages. Therefore, when people master more than one language they tend to mix and switch their languages as communication tools.

The researchers here described the causes or motives motivating people in their utterances using code-mixing and code-switching. The researchers analyzing the reason or motivation of students English Department, Tidar University in Indonesia and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand used an interview technique consist four questions for them. After giving the questionnaire to the students, the researchers analyzed that then into three variables factors using code-mixing and code-switching by Hudson (1980). They are a social factor, cultural factor, and individual factor.

Table 5. Reasons Indonesian and Thailand students use code-mixing and code-switching

Reasons	Social Factor	Culture Factor	Individual Factor
Feel Comfortable	-	-	✓
To respect another speaker	✓	-	-
Because it is mandatory as a course or program	✓	-	-
So that there is no emptiness during the discussion	-	-	✓
Adapting to the context of the conversation	✓	-	-
Because sometimes I do not know the term in the other language	-	-	✓
Because the situation urges me to use it	✓	-	-
To simplify communication	-	-	✓
To clarify in detail what I'm talking about	-	-	✓
Due to a specific interest	✓	-	-
Because I'm learning a foreign language	-	-	✓
Because more enjoy and relax	-	-	✓
I use it whenever lecturers around me	✓	-	-
Because I feel cool when I mix the languages	-	-	✓

The result from table 5 above are the results of students' reasons for using code-mixing and code-switching because of individual factors like they feel enjoy, comfort, studying to more know grammar, forget words from other languages. Often people change the code in their utterances because they do not find the right word to express or they simply want to be judged as educated people by others. In addition, English is an exceedingly common language nowadays. However, when teenagers use foreign languages in their conversations today, it is no longer unusual. While the researchers also found another factor, which is the social factor with which they communicate with their friends. Sometimes people used code-mixing and code-switching for social factors because they think that is an informal situation, so feel enjoy communicating. The life of students is just from the Magelang or Javanese area and Thailand students are just from Phuket or the south side of Thailand, so the researchers cannot find cultural factors in this research. In a nutshell, culture does not influence them to use code-mixing and code-switching terms.

Discussions

The findings of insertion that was found in an educational conversation used by the English Department, Tidar University in Indonesia and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand were similar to the result of the research conducted by Pambudhi (2012). Indonesian or Thailand words or phrases were inserted in the English sentences. It is in line with Muysken (2000) who told that when a single constituent in form of a word or phrase is mixed, insertion is a plausible option. However, the findings of alternation found in an educational conversation used by the English Department, Tidar University in Indonesia, and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand in this research are similar to the result of the research conducted by Pambudhi (2012). Indonesian or Thailand structure was mixed with English utterances. It is regarding the theory stated by Muysken (2000) which told that the words in English are mixed with Indonesian words, but both of them have their structure in a sentence or utterance.

Meanwhile, congruent lexicalization sentences produced by the English Department, Tidar University in Indonesia, and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand were similar to the result of the research conducted by Pambudhi (2012). For Indonesian students, phrases and clauses in Bahasa Indonesia were mixed with English and Javanese utterance and for Thailand students, phrases and clauses in Thailand language were mixed with English and Chinese utterance. It is in line with the theory stated by Muysken (2000) which told that words in English are mixed with words in Bahasa Indonesia or other languages, but both of them have their structure in a sentence/utterance.

The findings of inter-sentential found in an educational conversation used by the English Department, Tidar University in Indonesia and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand were similar to the result of the research conducted by Wibowo et al (2017). Indonesian or Thailand words or phrases were inserted in the English sentences. It is in line with Poplack in Romaine (2012) who told that Inter sentential switching, involves a significant amount of syntactic complexity and conformity to the rules of both languages; therefore, speakers performing this kind of switching are usually fairly proficient in the participating languages. However, the findings of intra-sentential found in an educational conversation used by the English Department, Tidar University in Indonesia and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand in this research are similar to the result of the research conducted by Wibowo et al (2017). Indonesian or Thailand structure was mixed with English utterances. It is regarding the theory stated by Hoffman (1991) which told that a sentence in English is mixed with Indonesian or other languages sentences, but both of them have their structure in a sentence or utterance. Poplack in Romaine (2012) stated also Intra sentential switching refers to the switching that occurs inside the same clause or sentence which then contains elements of both languages.

Meanwhile, tag-switching term sentences produced by the English Department, Tidar University in Indonesia, and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand were similar to the result of the research

conducted by Wibowo et al (2017). For Indonesian students, phrases and clauses in Bahasa Indonesia were mixed with English and Javanese utterance and for Thailand students, phrases and clauses in Thailand language were mixed with English utterances. It is in line with the theory stated by Poplack in Romaine (2012) which told that Tag switching, is simply the insertion of a tag in one language in an utterance that is entirely in the other language, e.g. you know, I \mean, right inserted with question tag *"?"*. The next discussion is about Indonesian and Thailand students' reasons for using code-mixing and code-switching in conversations.
Based on the interviews done by the researchers, it was found that there were fourteen reasons why the English Department, Tidar University in Indonesia and International Business China, Prince of Songkla University in Thailand students used code-mixing and code-switching. First, the first reason was feeling comfortable using those terms in a conversation, it means the students, especially teenagers, are comfortable using two or more languages at the same time by using code-mixing and code-switching techniques. Second, they tend to respect another speaker, which means when they use these terms in communicating with people, it respects another speaker to be able to understand easier. Third, it is because mandatory as a course or program. Indeed, in the English department at Tidar university, English is a mandatory and main language used in the class.

In addition, for International Business China, since it is an international program, the students are required to speak English, since the students in the class are having different backgrounds which means some of them to come from other countries. Fourth, they said using these terms to help to prevent emptiness in a conversation, it means it is a good way to have communicative competence. Fifth, they tend to adapt to the context of the conversation. Sixth, it is because they do not know the term or meaning in other languages so they use this technique to make a conversation smooth. Seventh, it is because the situation urges them to use it. Eighth, they use it to simplify communication, which means by using code-mixing and code-switching, they can create a good conversation and prevent communication breakdowns. Ninth, to clarify in detail what they are talking about, means to make another speaker understand properly. Tenth, due to a specific interest. Eleventh, it is because they are learning a foreign language, that's why they mix and switch from L1 to L2 or even L3. Twelfth, it is because they enjoy and relax using code-mixing and code-switching when they speak. Next, they use it whenever lecturers are around them. Last, they use code-mixing and code-switching because they feel cool when they mix the languages, it is one of the individual factors that influence them. Based on the results, the Indonesian and Thailand students' reasons are mostly related to social factors and individual factors.

Conclusion

At the end of the result, the writer jumped to conclusion that Indonesian students were more likely to use code-mixing than code-switching, and also Indonesian students were likely to use insertion and alternation types of code-mixing and inter-sentential types of code-switching. While Thailand students were likely to use code-switching rather than code-mixing but they still use plenty of code-mixing, however, Thailand students used mode code-switching rather than Indonesian students. In addition, Thailand students were also likely to use insertion types of code-mixing and balance in using inter-sentential and intra-sentential types of code-switching.

Indonesian and Thailand students seem frequently use code-mixing and code-switching utterances when they communicate with other people. The greatest reason for the Indonesian and Thailand students is that they are from English Department and International program, therefore, they must learn and practice communicating using the English language. However, when they do not know the word or phrase in English, they will speak it in Bahasa Indonesia and similar to Thailand students when they do not know the word or phrase in English, they will speak it in Thailand language. Therefore, in daily life, they tend to use more than one language to communicate with each other with people.

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DECONSTRUCTING PARADISE: WE NARRATION AS COLLECTIVE INDIGENOUS VOICE IN "THIS IS PARADISE"

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Abstract
This paper contextualizes how the short story "This is Paradise" by Kristiana Kahakauwila deconstructs the idealized trope of Hawai'i as paradise by presenting a localized narration from the perspective of the indigene working within the tourist industry. The use of first-person plural narration as the focalizer echoes the collective voice of the Hawai'ian indigene in their marginalized status within the tourist industry. An econarratological perspective as stated by Erin James provides the reader with textual cues necessary to construct a mental model of Hawai'i from the insiders' perspective. Kahakauwila's use of an insider's perspective enables the reader to have an understanding of indigenous marginalization in Hawai'i, informed by a local experience of the place. This perspective challenges the common depiction of Hawai'i as seen from the outsider/tourist point of view. The present study concludes how "This is Paradise" underlines a localized portrayal of Hawai'i as the counter-narrative toward the established trope of Hawai'i as paradise through its use of first-person plural and spatialization of Waikiki.

Keywords: econarratology, Hawai'ian-American literature, indigenous resistance, story world, we narration

Introduction
The imagination of Hawai'ian isles often evokes the idealized image of tropical paradise in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. This conception aligns with Caminero-Santangelo's idea of how the driving factor behind contemporary tourism is the depiction of picturesque places and welcoming natives which alludes to the construction and maintenance of a feminized and exotic image. (2011, p. 292) Similarly, Sasaki further articulates how "almost everything in Hawai'i communicates through a system of codes constructed over years of selling Hawai'i as paradise." (623) The current image of Hawai'i as a tourist paradise has been cultivated through years of tourist-oriented discourse. Mak (4) identifies how the advent of mass tourism began in Hawai'i after 1950, in which the advancement in air traffic enables easier travel to this archipelago, although its roots began earlier, since the 1870s when Hawai'i was still an independent and sovereign nation. The dominant number of tourists in the early age was

predominantly American, pioneered by Mark Twain's visit to Hawai'i in 1866 although the number remains limited. The peak year of tourist travel in Hawai'i pre-1950 was 24.390 tourists and a further 41.041 'one-day tourists', mainly from mainland America in 1939 just before the outbreak of the Second World War. (Schmitt, 1977, p. 273) By contrast, there were around 10.424.995 visitors to Hawai'i in the 2019 survey, mainly coming to appreciate Hawai'i's unspoiled natural beauty. (Khan, 2020, p. 1)

The relationship between tourists and their impact on both the natural environment and the indigenous people is problematic within postcolonial discourse. Hall and Tucker elaborate on the contested nature of tourism concerning the issue of identity and representation over nature and implications concerning the tourist experience. They argue how tourism "both reinforces and is embedded in a postcolonial relationship" (2004, p. 20) regarding the tension concerning the preservation of indigenous heritage and its eventual commodification as a marketable aspect driving the tourist industry. Similarly, the commodification of Hawai'ian natives' cultural heritage under the package of 'aloha spirit' is integral in ensuring this archipelago's continuous popularity as a tourist resort. The commodification of cultural traditions such as chants (*mele*) and *hula* dances results in a performance devoid of meaning instead of a celebration of the divine personified within natural aspects. The Hawai'ian archipelago and the *Kanaka Maoli* ethnicity represent the existence of a pleasure-filled exotic paradise in which the local inhabitants are always welcoming toward the visitors. (Linnekin, 1997; Mak, 2018). Within the instrumentalization of an indigenous agency under tourist discourse, the islanders' presence is systematically written out of existence¸ only represented through their role as brand image and symbolic labour. Mandelman underlines how

> "Tourism in Hawai'i has relied upon Native Hawai'ian culture to carve out its unique niche, the tourism's instrumentalization of Native Hawai'ians and their culture, including the core ethical value of aloha (love, empathy, compassion, mercy and respect) demonstrates how tourism appropriates Indigenous culture as a commodity." (2014, p. 174)

Several scholars have analyzed the role of the tourist industry in ensuring America's continuous domination of the Hawai'ian indigene. A Native Hawai'ian nationalist, Haunani-Kay Trask is a staunch opponent of the tourist industry of her homeland and the ensuing commodification of Hawai'i's own cultural identity. The image of a female *hula* dancer alongside the white beaches of the Pacific shore has become an iconic symbol of exoticism and celebration of Polynesian sensuality. Trask argues how the authentic essence of *hula* dance, as a form of worship and respect toward the sanctity of nature has been altered into some sort of cultural prostitution for the White male tourist' own pleasure. She emphasizes how

> "the hula dancers wear clownlike makeup, don costumes from a mix of Polynesian cultures, and behave in a manner that is smutty and salacious rather than powerfully erotic. In the hotel version of the hula, the sacredness of the dance has completely evaporated, while the athleticism and sexual expression have been packaged like ornaments. The purpose

> is entertainment for profit rather than a joyful and truly Hawaiian celebration of human and divine nature**.”** (1993, p. 144)

The essence of the ‘aloha spirit’ as a marketing symbol to attract potential tourists in Hawai’i has been naturalized through various aspects, including education for the younger generation of indigenous Hawai’ians. Kaomea argues how several textbooks such as *Hawai’i: the Aloha State* (1982) or *Hawai’i: the Pacific State* (1997) functions as tourist advertisement through a stereotypical depiction of white beaches, exotic scenery and women dancing the *hula* which entices the younger Hawai’ians to partake within the profitable tourist industry. She concludes how the ’curriculum of aloha’ was intended to maintain the continuous influxes of Hawai’ian indigenes working within the tourist industry. It can therefore be concurred, as Trask argues, how tourism “plays an important role in maintaining the ongoing colonialism between the United States and Hawai’i”. (23)

Within the limited agency of indigenous Hawai’ians under tourist-oriented discourse and the prevailing popular imagination of Hawai’i as paradise, Hawai’ian literature functions to foreground these concealed issues into wider public consciousness. The literature written by the Hawai’ian natives represents the reality concerning the indigenous struggle under American domination, previously concealed through paradisal imagery. (Indriyanto, 2022a, p. 2) The emergence of an indigenous Hawai’ian agency through literature is a recent phenomenon, mainly driven by the *Hawai’ian Renaissance* in the 1960-70s, parallel with the wider Civil Right movement in the U.S and the ensuing revitalization of Hawai’ian cultural heritage, ancestry and artistic performances. Up until the Renaissance period, Hawai’ian literature is subjected to much scrutiny regarding its authenticity as the majority of literature about Hawai’i was written by foreign visitors instead of local Hawai’ians. Their writings mainly preserve the constructed image of Hawai’i as paradise. As argued by Spencer (2010, p. 23), “the Pacific has often been delegated as mere scenes for the white writers’ fantasies”. Similarly, Lesuma identifies how literature marketed for young adults in Hawai’i creates an idealized narrative of the island marketed for outside consumption. (2018, p. 28) Hence, it is often problematic to define what exactly constituted Hawai’ian literature, fictional works which accurately represent the ongoing marginalization of the indigenous people under American influence. An attempt to define what constitutes Hawai’ian literature comes from Ho’omanawanui’s argumentation which summarizes this example of indigenous fictions as,

> “the writing produced by *Kanaka Maoli* which references Hawai’i or Hawai’ian culture and asserts their identity as indigenous Pacific people seeking self-determination and political independence. Reflecting both values of the ancient past and thoughts of the modern era, Hawaiian literature holds a unique place as an ethnic American literature.” (2015, p. 258)

One of the emerging *Kanaka Maoli* writers is Kristiana Kahakauwila, a *hapa* (half-breed) of Hawai’ian, German and Norwegian descent. She has written several short stories contextualizing life in contemporary Hawai’i from an insider perspective, a Native Hawai’ian. Her literature contemplates the challenges of growing up and living in modern Hawai'i within the ever-expanding scope of tourism, development and globalization. Several of her works have been included in Anthologies chronicling indigenous literature from America and the Pacific such as "Bridge Jumping", published in *Bamboo Ridge: Journal of Hawai'i Literature* (2011) and "Hands", included in *Off the Path: An Anthology of 21st Century American Indian and Indigenous Writers* (2015). Her first book, *This is Paradise: Stories* (2013) is a compilation of several stories representing the diverse perspectives and landscapes of Hawai'i, a melting pot of many distinct cultures. This story provides an avenue to explore contemporary living in Hawai'i's Island chains, Mau'i, O'ahu, Kaua'i and the Big Island of Hawai'i, foregrounding the contested nature between local and tourist, tradition and authenticity. This work was short-listed for the William Saroyan International Prize for Writing and named a 2013 Barnes & Noble Discover Great New Writers Selection. The polemic concerning tourism and its impact on the native population is explored through the narration of "This is Paradise", a short story from the narratorial perspective of several Native Hawai'ian women working within the tourist industry as housekeeping.

"This is Paradise" underlines the untold side concerning the detrimental impact of tourism on the local Hawai'ians from the insider perspective of Native Hawai'ian women as the focal point. The central point of the story is told through first-person plural "we" narration in which the protagonists, the local working-class women of Waikiki are collectively grouped into "the women of housekeeping." They encounter a young woman, Susan, who stayed in their hotel and later meets her again during their off-hours in a local bar. A tourist from mainland America, Susan is attracted toward the more foreboding side of the city's native and unable to understand the tension between Hawai'ian indigene and the tourists as in her words, "they (the Hawai'ians) already lived in paradise." The next morning, Susan is found dead on a beach and it was the housekeeping women who discovered her body. A funeral service is later held in the afternoon and although the area on the beach was quiet for a brief moment, tourism continues as usual. This perspective challenges the popular imagination of Hawai'i in which the history of mainstream tourism marketing focuses on evoking the image of Hawai'i as paradise. Kahakauwila instead delineates and depicts the lives of Hawai'ian native locals and the often-turbulent relationship with its tourist visitors, the tension rooted within the historical background of racial and class division, and the conflict between traditional Hawai'ian culture and the homogenizing effect of globalization encroaching its shores.

Although not particularly emphasizing the short story "This is Paradise", several prior studies have been conducted regarding the contested nature of tourism and its impact on the indigenous population. Carrigan's (2009) reading on McMillon's *School for Hawai'ian Girls* and Davenport's *Shark Dialogues* illustrates the interpolated aspect between tourism and cultural genealogy. He emphasizes the indigenous Hawai'ians' negotiation of the tourist industry and how "the presence of indigenous culture now exists within the framework of the modern world system both political and economic". (2009, p. 184) His reading argues how the tourist industry is interwoven with ancestral Hawai'ian genealogy and is incorporated within the process of cultural renewal. Differently, Toyosato's (2000) analysis of *Shark Dialogues* emphasizes the impact of tourism through local Hawai'ian's loss of connection to the land. She dramatizes an excerpt from the novel where the local fishermen give in and sells their ancestral land for the development of a tourist resort. Moreover, the loss of the land also results in the transformation of the natural environment, causing physical uprooting and spiritual pain among the populace. (2000, p. 76) Compared to the prior studies concerning the contested nature of tourism in Hawai'i, the present study focuses more on elaborating how the use of first-person plural narration echoes the collective native Hawai'ian struggle under the tourist industry. It further posits the active role readers play during the process of reading in simulating a fictional representation of a narrative text, a story world based on textual cues provided by the narrators.

Theoretical Framework

This study foregrounds how readers actively participate in imagining and simulating a mental construction of a fictional literary work during the act of reading. The proponent of the cognitive turn in literary studies, such as Erin James argues how "narrative comprehension requires the construction of a mental model of narrative that readers must know and inhabit during the reading process." (5) Reading, as a performative act allows for a mental relocation or transportation of the immediate physical reading proximity of a reader into the fictional space/time coordinate presented within a narrative. As James further asserts, the mental model regarding the contexts of a virtual environment in a narrative, simulated through the active act of reading is essential to acquire narrative comprehension. In her words,

> "importantly for the considerations of narrative environments, the concept of story world calls attention to the worldmaking power of narrative, or its potential to immerse/transport readers into a virtual environment that different from the physical environment in which they read." (James, 2015, pp. 9–10)

James proposes her model of reading, coined as econarratology which explores the interconnection between storyworld formation in the readers' mind and its potential to allow readers in exploring different ways of contextualizing the environment based on space and time. Narrative, through its world-creating power, provides an important tool for sharing a cross-cultural perspective of environmental imagination and experience. The process of imaginative transportation enables readers to understand different ways of contextualizing the environment based on material realities and shaped by socio-cultural circumstances. James illustrates how

> "econarratology studies the *storyworld* that readers immerse themselves in when they read narratives, the relationship between these worlds and the physical/actual world, and the potential of reading process to raise awareness of different environmental imagination and environmental experience." (2015, pp. 243)

Storyworld emphasizes the active role of readers, through interaction with the contexts and the narrative environments inhabited by characters to simulate a fictional world of narrative during the reading process. The process of constructing a virtual storyworld is facilitated through several narrative devices in the form of textual cues. These textual cues appear in a variety of forms, mainly related to space (spatialization) and what it is like (qualia) to undergo a different experience. Qualia refers to the conscious experience narrated from a subjective perspective, either from a narrator or focalizing character. Furthermore, as explored by Buell, spatial imagination and conscious experience "is not value neutral, but is loaded with the values and agenda of a particular perspective." (2001, p. 85) A story narrated from an indigenous perspective will have a different understanding of a particular place compared to a settler/visitor's point of view. Hence, storyworld formation problematizes how the textual cues given by the narrating character enable the reader to imagine material realities from a subjective consciousness. These diverse voices problematize the polyvocality of narratives in which the voices might remain separate or blended together as heterogenous narration.

Problematizing the issue of narrative voices is the point of view and narratorial stance/position taken by the narrator/focalizer. As argued by Fludernik, "narrative is closely bound with the speech act of narrating and the figure of a narrator." (2009, p. 67) A narration might employ an omniscient perspective in which a narrator has no limitation in narrating a story or a more limited perspective from the point of view of a particular character as the focal point. The use of subjective consciousness provides readers with instruction to model and experience unfamiliar spaces and times as if the readers were physically present in a particular scene. Another type of narratorial voice is the usage of "we" narration, the first-person plural pronoun in which the narrator alludes to a particular group or community. Richardson argues how the "we narration" is most often employed in a text "seeking to emphasize the construction and maintenance of a powerful collective identity."(2010, p. 50) This type of narration underlines the struggle of discriminated/marginalized ethnic groups, in which their collective voices function to challenge the dominant hegemony and authority. Beck further addresses that the use of plural narrative voices emphasizes and frames a communal counter-voice to dominant narratives. (2018, p. 3) Similarly, the narrative voice of "This is Paradise" is narrated from the collective voice of Native Hawai'ian housekeeping, contextualizing the experience of tourism from the discriminated indigeneity and challenging the entrenched imagery of Hawai'i as paradise.

Method

The object of the study is literary analysis in which the data is in the form of quotations, excerpts, sentences, and phrases taken from the short story "This is Paradise". This research is qualitative, which aims to explore and understand individuals or groups which ascribe to a social or human problem. The data is not in the form of statistics, numbers or any other calculational forms. By nature, qualitative research can observe complex details in relation to phenomena which is more difficult to decipher through a qualitative method such as the usage of statistics or numerical calculation. (Creswell, 2009, p. 19). The data are in the form of written words and sentences to better understand the questions of human and social problems. The analysis is conducted by analyzing the quotation from the text within the econarratological perspective as articulated by James. To better support the argumentation, the present study provides secondary data in the form of academic articles, journals, essays or books in relation to the situation faced by the Hawai'ian indigenous people under white American socio-economic domination.

Findings and Discussions

"This is Paradise" deconstructs the usual tropes of Hawai'i as the site of idealized fantasy of an Edenic paradise by employing a group of Native Hawai'ian housekeeping, grouped into the communal voice of "we" narration as the protagonists. This depiction places the focal point from an insider perspective instead of the outsider, tourist point of view. Lui argues that the author writing about Hawai'i from a visitor's perspective is unable to represent the authentic understanding of Hawai'ian culture, and historical and ethnic heritage. (2006, p. 41) Through the subversion of insider/outsider binarism, as Hawai'i is often narrated from the viewpoint of the visitors, readers are able to imagine a different way of conceptualizing what it is like to live in the Hawai'ian isles from what they might expect to experience. The understanding of indigenous marginalization under settler domination is directly informed by this insider's experience, through textual cues representing both space and time. This insider's perspective catalyzes readers' immersion in a fictional storyworld of Hawai'i, more specifically the area around Waikiki in Honolulu as a prime tourist destination.

Kahakauwila criticizes the ongoing exploitation of her native heritage as a marketing brand for tourism with the so-called 'aloha spirit' or 'aloha culture'. As previously explored, this concept refers to the commodification of Native Hawai'ians' ancestral tradition which is embellished by exotic imagery of Polynesian sensuality and hospitality. In her narration, Kahakauwila underlines how the word *aloha* is reduced in meaning into a simple slogan or jargon to greet tourists. In Hawai'ian culture, *aloha* is a cultural feeling of expressing love which is derived from the familial and genealogical connection between both people and the homeland of Hawai'i. Appropriated in a tourist-oriented industry, the word *aloha* alludes to the hospitality of Hawai'ian natives in which the tourists are warmly received and welcomed as honoured guests. It is narrated in the story that the housekeeping staffs in Waikiki have to always use the word *aloha* during a phone conversation,

> "the hotel is strict about a great number of our activities. They have rules on how to store the carts, what time to punch in, what time to punch out, how to answer the phone (always start with "Aloha"), how to arrange the pillows on the bed, how to report suspicious activity". (Kahakauwila, 2013, p. 3)

In line with what Haunani-Kay Trask refers to as cultural prostitutions of her native culture, "This is Paradise" explores the appropriation of the word *aloha* by the tourist industry not as an expression of love and kinship but into a word devout of meaning or as simple slogan. The spirit of aloha positions the indigenous Hawai'ian as subservient natives pandering toward the tourists' wishes, always with a welcoming smile on their faces. The trope of Hawai'i as paradise is further underlined through the exploitation of Hawai'i's natural landscapes in which the hotels and other facilities are decorated to evoke the idea of an idyllic paradisal archipelago. The following excerpt, narrated in first-person plural by the housekeeping protagonists contextualizes how Waikiki is constructed in the paradisal imagery and inhabited by exotic islanders,

> "we look into the hotel, and we can almost understand why here, in Waikīkī, the world appears perfect. The hotel lobbies are brimming with flower arrangements and sticky with the scent of ginger and the people are beautiful. Tan and healthy, with muscles carved from *koa* wood and cheeks the color of strawberry guava. These people—our people—look fresh as cut fruit, ready to be caressed, to be admired. These are people to be trusted. This is not New York or Los Angeles. No, Hawai'i is heaven. A dream." (Kahakauwila, 2013, p. 7)

The preceding passage enables the reader to mentally simulate a storyworld of Waikiki from the perspective of a locally oriented insider, participating within the tourist-oriented industry. The use of the first-person plural, as stated by Von Mossner enables the reader to experience *qualia*, simulating a conscious experience from a different perspective from him/herself. (2021, p. 93) Waikiki is spatially reconstructed through visual cues of the housekeepers working in a Waikiki hotel, how it is decorated with flower arrangement while also noting the exoticism of the islanders whose skin is tan and healthy, in contrast with the white Caucasian visitors. Moreover, olfactory cues, dealing with the smell, "scent of ginger" further orients the readers' sensory perception through the scent of exotic spices. This spatial and sensory imagination of Waikiki underlines the construction of a carefully preserved image of Hawai'i as a tropical paradise. The narratorial voices move the reader from an outsider/visitors' perspective by shifting the focus of narration from the observation of spatial imagery that constitutes the setting to the people working in the tourists' industry, the islanders. The use of first-person plural, "we" narration emphasizes the commonality between the narrators and the people they commented on, as seen in "these people, our people", while simultaneously criticising the subservient role the indigene performs within the lucrative tourist industry. These pronouns signify the invocation and reaffirmation in the context of Hawai'ian indigenous collective. Their narration delivers a satirical and scathing critique on how the Hawai'ian indigene is stereotypically viewed only through their physical appearance, compared with exotic tropical floras and hospitality toward the visitors, as seen in how they are "people to be trusted." This depiction echoes Williams and Gonzales' assertion on how "Native Hawai'ians are commodified as the defining images for the tourist industry, symbolically performing labour as welcoming hosts." (2017, p. 690)

"This is Paradise" contextualizes the conflict and tension between Hawai'ian indigene and the White tourist visitors from the perspective of the housekeeper protagonists and their encounter with Susan, a female American visitor. As the story is narrated from a limited perspective in which the women of housekeeping become the central focus, information about Susan's inner psyche is closed from the reader, and they can only infer what the protagonists have to state about Susan. Their first meeting is a chance encounter on the beach where the girl (still not identified as Susan) tries to warn the women of housekeeping that it is dangerous to surf on Waikiki beach, by referring toward the signs which read

'Dangerous undertow'. The women of housekeeping, being natives and accustomed to surfing and paddling just laughed at the visitor's warning. "We ignore it. We are not afraid of the beaches and breaks here in Waikiki. We laugh, "*just like da kine, scared of da' water. Haoles*." (Kahakauwila, 2013, p. 7)

In the prior passage, the use of first-person pronoun establishes the distinction between the natives and the visitor by emphasizing how as islanders, surfing has been an essential part of Hawai'ian tradition. As is addressed by Mitchell, for centuries, the ocean has functioned as a wellspring of cultural practice, values and traditional knowledge in Hawai'i. (1982, p. 65) Furthermore, the inner thoughts of the women of housekeeping are not represented in standard English but are in a form of creolized English is known as Hawai'i Creole English (HCE). The use of HCE in literature, commonly employed by writers of either Hawai'ian or Asian plantation settler descends echoes the history of Hawai'i's colonial past which embraces the culture, identity, and solidarity of Hawai'ian locals. (Indriyanto, 2022b, p. 19) By employing HCE to narrate the women of housekeeping's inner thoughts, Kahakauwila underlines the distinction between the local and the outsider in Hawai'i. This is further explored by how the protagonists remark that the girl is *haole*, a derogative Hawai'ian term referring to the Whites.

As the narrative progresses, Kahakauwila provides more insights into the women of housekeeping's social status as a representation of the indigenous struggle in Hawai'i, which is contrasted with Susan's expectation of Hawai'i as paradise. Although the women of housekeeping had a meagre job within the tourist industry, have to clean the hotel room since six in the morning and have to leave the hotel from the basement, "tucked away from the visitors who wander in and out of the front lobby" (Kahakauwila, 2013, p. 4)they are active and vocal speakers in representing the island community. The narrators acknowledge how,

> "we are considered by our peers to be local women who've done well, left but come back, dedicated their education and mainland skills to put this island right. We speak at civic club gatherings and native rights events. We are becoming pillars of the island community. We are growing into who we've always dreamt of being." (Kahakauwila, 2013, p. 12)

As vocal speakers upholding the rights of the indigenous community, the protagonists criticize the ongoing commercialization of the island of Waikiki. They acclaim that tourism in Hawai'i is catered to the tourists' every wish, luxurious hotels, high-quality shopping districts, retails and convenience store instead of promoting authentic Hawai'ian culture and tradition. This perspective echoes Carrigan's line of argumentation in how mass tourism is positioned as a central component of globalization with its culturally homogenizing effects. (2010, p. 182) What is promoted in Hawai'i's tourist district is the Western culture of consumerism and hedonistic lifestyle, symbolizes by its multinational hotel, restaurants and coffee chains instead of preserving the original infrastructure of Waikiki with its distinctive cultural heritage. The women of housekeeping criticize the homogenization of Waikiki tourist infrastructures in the following quotation,

> "Hawai'i has less tropical flavour than they recall from the morning, less exoticism, less beauty. Waikīkī has become like any other city strip. We'd

> like to tell them that Waikīkī is nothing more than a succession of Hyatts and Courtyard by Marriotts, Cheesecake Factories and Planet Hollywoods, Señor Frogs and dingy Irish pubs with names like Murphy and Callahan." (Kahakauwila, 2013, p. 13)

The narrators scathingly address the loss of exoticism in midday Waikiki as Waikiki has become "like any other city strip". The consumerist culture which catered for tourists' amenities further causes the Hawai'ian locale to stay away from premier tourist resorts with their exorbitant prices. Even the bar in the suburb, "Lava Lounge" in the short story, where the women of housekeeping spent their night partying is populated by tourists, college students, and U.S Army and Navy soldiers off duty from Pearl Harbor. The protagonists remark, "but where else can we go for a strip of bars and clubs? Why do we have to share it with all these tourists, military, college kids," (Kahakauwila, 2013, p. 14) This statement echoes the demographical situation in Honolulu both as a prime tourist destination which is also the front-line of U.S national defence in which the indigenous people are marginalized in their homeland. A study by Ireland (2011) acknowledges that all together, the military-connected population comprises around 15 per cent of Hawai'i's total population. (2011, p. xiii)

This context represented through the indigenous voice of the women housekeeping challenges the stereotype of Hawai'i as paradise, a lingering trope continuously reproduced within the tourist discourse, as seen in the portrayal of Susan. Susan underlines the expectation tourists possess toward Hawai'i, an exotic island chain in the middle of the Pacific Ocean with white sand beaches, picturesque natural landscape, and the welcoming hospitality of the indigene. For Susan, Hawai'i is merely a place to have fun and have an unforgettable experience. In the story, she is prevented from getting close to a man named Brian, whom the housekeeping women recognize as a former convict, but Susan believes that their warning indicates that the local people do not want the tourist to enjoy the pleasure in Hawai'i. Being subjected to the Hawai'i-as-paradise tropes, she is unable to comprehend how the local people who already lived in the supposed paradise does not want the tourist to enjoy the same privileges. This conflict between the insider and the outsider in Hawai'i is aptly summarized through the following excerpt,

> "Everyone talks about aloha here, but it's like Hawaiians are all pissed off. They live in paradise. What is there to be mad about?"
>
> "We look at each other, and we feel the heat rising in our faces. Our families are barely affording a life here, the land is being eaten away by developers, and the old sugar companies still control water rights. Not only does paradise no longer belong to us, but we have to watch foreigners destroy it" (Kahakauwila, 2013, p. 14)

The Hawai'i-as-paradise trope, packaged for tourist marketing prevents the outsider, as seen through Susan's perspective from fully comprehending the racial tension and marginalization faced by the local people. The insider perspective of the women of housekeeping, employing "we" narration to represent the Hawai'ian indigene underlines the marginal status of the local Hawai'ian under the tourist-oriented industry. Kahakauwila represents how the rising price of commodities, the legacy of colonial control in essential sectors and the continuing development of tourist resorts work to disenfranchise the *Kanaka Maoli* ethnicity. The women narrators somberly address the fact that paradise is no longer in the hand of the Hawai'ians but is it now the property of the Whites, which they kept on exploiting to enrich the capitalist owners. On the other hand, the local people working within the tourist industry are unable to cope with the continuous surge in prices. The rising price of land meant that eventually the Hawai'ians are forced to abandon the area around Waikiki and live somewhere else, as the narrator's remark,

> "They live in an *'ohana* behind his parents' house. With two kids they'll outgrow the tiny cottage in no time, but they'll never be able to afford their own place. We also wonder about Laura's resort design, worried that another development will push housing prices further upward, making it harder still for our people to remain on their land. "And what about water usage?" Esther demands." (Kahakauwila, 2013, p. 15)

The ever-increasing development of Hawai'i leads to continuous demand for new tourist facilities in the form of hotels, resorts, villas and other amenities. To meet the labour demand required, many Native Hawai'ians are drawn into the tourist industry to make a way of life. Their job is synonymous with low wages, which hinder their ability to support a family, especially as land prices keep on rising. While Native Hawai'ians continue to be subjected to minority status, Hawai'i continuously attracts millions of tourists every year, luring them with the Hawai'i as paradise tropes. Darowski acknowledges how "how tourism in Hawai'i displaces local community, both physically and culturally, denies local access to resources, and inequitably distributes benefits to company stakeholders." (2007, p. 34) Tourism privileges high-paying customers, enticed by the exoticism of South Seas paradise while projecting the unequal relation of dominance toward the locale. As is narrated in "This is Paradise", the struggle of indigenous Hawai'ian to maintain an acceptable standard of living is concealed through the veil of island utopia that symbolically erases their presence from the visiting tourist. This short story contextualizes the inability of the visitors to fully comprehend the extent of racial inequality and tension beneath the paradisal imagery and provides its readers with a first-hand perspective to simulate the reality of contemporary living in Hawai'i from the perspective of the indigene. The use of first-person "we" narration problematizes and negates the dominant tourist discourse of Hawai'i by representing a more grounded narration from the insiders' perspective.

Conclusion

Reading "This is Paradise" from an econarratological perspective posits how the use of the first-person plural "we" pronoun catalyzes readers' immersion in the locally oriented representation of Hawai'i. Kahakauwila's use of an insider's perspective of the Hawai'ian indigene conveys the reader to have an understanding of indigenous marginalization in Hawai'i, informed by a local experience of place. First-person plural pronouns collectively embodied the voice of the Hawai'ian indigene as they struggle to assert their existence within the dominant discourse of Hawai'i as paradise. The prevailing stereotypical view, embodied through Susan's perspective contextualizes Hawai'i as a utopia and negates the presence of indigenous struggle and tension between the locals and the tourist. The tension between these groups contextualizes the problematic issue of tourism in Hawai'i. To conclude, "This is Paradise" underlines a localized portrayal of the Hawai'ian Isle from the insiders' outlook as the counter-narrative toward the established trope of Hawai'i as paradise.

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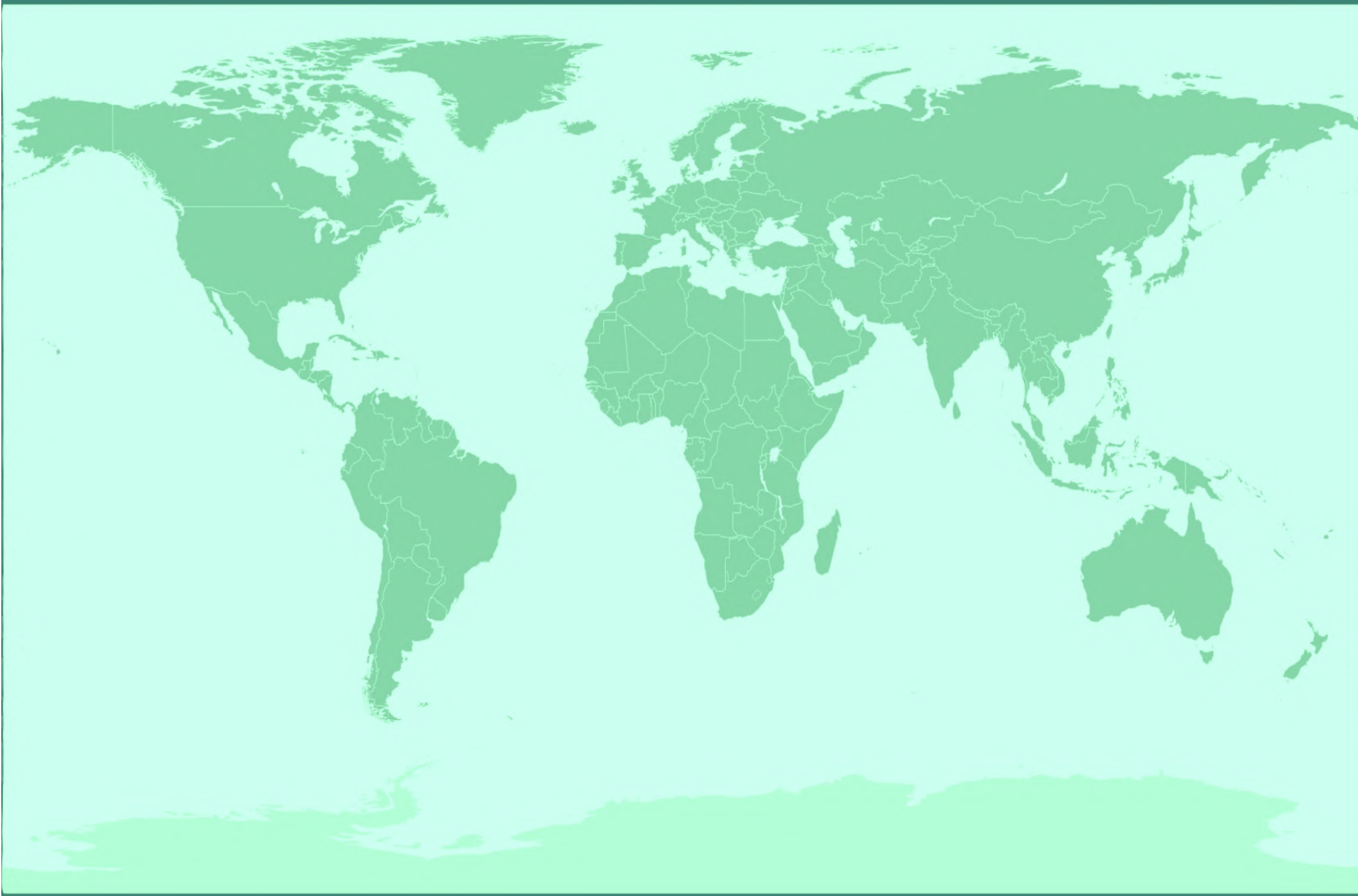

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