International Graduate Student Conference 2011

Contesting the Social: New Realities, Next Society

Date: Sunday, 27th February, 2011

Venue: Conference Room 1F, Soshikan, Ritsumeikan Univ.
Kyoto, Japan
# International Graduate Student Conference 2011

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Session I

Gender and Economy: Exposing the Social from Comparative/International Perspectives

Chair: Masaharu Takashima (Ritsumeikan University)

“The Symbolic and Economic Production of Housing Inequality in Korea: The Birth of Middle Class City”
Deaseung Seo (Chung-Ang University)

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“Effects of the Economic Structure on Women’s Gender-Role Attitudes in Highly Educated Societies: A Comparative Analysis in Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan”
Maki Takeuchi (Ritsumeikan University)
The Symbolic and Economic Production of Housing Inequality in Korea: The Birth of Middle class City

Deaseung Seo
Department of Sociology
Chung-Ang University

ABSTRACT How could be the extreme conflict between Capital and Labour in Korea relieved? Resistance from Labour against Capital reached its peak in the 1980s, but it dramatically decreased and the conflict between Labour and Capital was concealed in the 1990s. Can we find any reasons of this change beyond the sphere of Korean labour movement? This study aims to elucidate the process of new city development which enabled to avoid the extreme conflict between Capital and Labour in Korea.

First, in this study, the political economic background of the emergence of new city development is tracked through the concept of “Built Environments” developed by David Harvey. Secondly, this study, based on Henri Lefebvre's “the Production of Space,” figures out how the meaning of house in Korea changed through a new symbol, "Middle Class City." Finally, applying Nitzan and Bichler's concept of ‘Capitalization,’ this study shows how the emergence of spatial science as a new knowledge system and financialization quantified the qualitative value of house in Korea.

The new city development was a result in which surplus capital was flowed into the field of construction due to the decrease of investment targets in the late 80s. Moreover, political conflict over the shortage of housing was mitigated through symbolic production of illusion of being middle class which was mediated by the symbol, “Middle Class City.” In the meantime, low-income working class was excluded. In addition, the emergence of spatial science in the sphere of real estate quantifying the
qualitative value of house implied that real estate in Korea was contrary to the dynamics of financialization.

Under the illusion of being middle class, the new city development could affect that working class people identified themselves as middle class. After the new city development, the usual definition of being middle class depends on not only if one owns a house but also where the house is located. Afterwards, location of residence is a key factor determining whether one is middle class or not in Korea.

1. Introduction

How was it possible that the extreme conflict between Capital and Labour within Korea in the 1980s be alleviated? Resistance from Labour against Capital reached its peak in the 1980s, but subsequently experienced a rapid decline; a decline of such proportions that the conflict between Labour and Capital had become largely concealed in the 1990s. Can we find any reason for this change other than the characteristics of the Korean labour movements themselves? This study aims to elucidate the process of the new city development that helped avoid the extreme conflict between Capital and Labour in Korea. The new city development, which was devised in 1989, was designed to overcome two difficulties. One of them is to avoid the extreme political conflicts caused by the shortage of housing. The second was to overcome the economic crisis due to the decrease of profitable investment opportunities for capital in the late 80s. However, the new city development has also become the symbol of the ‘Middle class City’. This paper attempts to explore how this symbol of ‘middle class city’ emerged, and the ways in which it has transformed the general meaning of real estates and houses in Korea.
2. Methodology

According to David Harvey (1995), Capitalism, through the extension of working hours and by innovating productivity, pursues an endless capital accumulation. This process eventually and periodically causes over-accumulation which, in turn, brings about a decline of capital value. Crisis can be delayed by transferring a surplus (in the form of money or commodity) in the realm of the primary circuit of capital circulation into the secondary circuit of capital circulation. This transfer creates a built infrastructure. His theory helps us to figure out why the new city development was needed economically in the late 80s in Korea. However, it does not sufficiently explain how the meaning of house itself has changed with this new city developments. As such it is necessary to supplement this with spatial theory that includes the matter of representations, ideologies and symbols. H. Lefebvre (1991) suggests that the production of space works efficiently as long as his spatial triad, consisting of ‘spatial practice’, ‘representations of space’, and ‘representational spaces’ works without conflicts. These concepts are helpful in the exploration of how the meaning of houses has changed with the emergence of the symbol for 'Middle class city'. In addition, it would be helpful to supplement Nitzan and Bichler's concept 'Capitalization' to figure out how the meaning of 'ideal house' or 'good place to live' has become increasingly identified with quantifiable economic values of the house in the 90s.

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1 “In capitalism, the fundamental numerical unit is price. In principle, this unit can be assigned to anything that can be owned. In that sense, everything that can be owned - from natural object, through produced commodities, to social organizations, ideas and human beings - can also be quantified” (Nitzan & Bichler, 2009: 151). Capitalization can be described as a formula. “Capitalization ≡ Future earnings × hype / risk × discount rate” (Nitzan & Bichler, 2006: 12).
3. The Meaning of House in the 80s and the New City Development

1) Political and Economic Background of the Shortage of Houses in the Late 80s

Until the 80s, Korean Capitalism was mainly fostered through mass-produced and capital-intensive industries like auto, machinery, steel and electronics industry in cooperation with the state. This tendency has shaped the emergence of industrial-based city or region. In those places, Capital-Labour conflict reached its peak in the 1987 (Yoo, 2005: 327). At that time, the shortage of houses was a serious problem because of overcrowding within Seoul. Moreover, since Korea was chosen as the venue for the 1988 Seoul Olympic, widespread redevelopment of houses in poor conditions had started to occur (Joo, 1988: 94).

Due to the rising real estate prices and continuous shortage of houses in the late 1988, not only were the low-income working class but also the middle-income working class were discontented. Even the Korean monopolistic capital and the Korean government felt threatened by the housing crisis. At this time, the new city development plan across 5 regions was announced in April 1989. This plan budgeted for the entire development solely dependant upon the profits that Korea Land Corp. and other construction capitals would earn through the sale of building lots, land bonds, and the sale of land (Heo, 1989: 20). By virtue of the new city development, recession within Korea recovered briefly. The economic growth for that period did not depend on exportation that had driven past economic growth but instead was dominated by the construction boom (Park, 1991: 152).
2) The meaning of House before the new city development

Before the new city development, the most common form of houses in Korea was the apartment. The reason for this preference is due to the industry’s heavy dependency to the state development projects. It caused aggressive apartment speculation in addition to the traditional land speculation that has begun since the late 1960s (Im, 2005: 47). Most apartments are built with similar building equipment, materials and architecture designs. Literally, they are “painted with the same brush” (Jeon, 2009: 48). As a result of the shortage of houses in the 80s, the houses were either becoming an object of speculation aided by the development project or simply a place (or a thing) to live in.

3) The Change of Meaning of Houses during the Construction of the New City Development

The first national development project designed for a residential city was Bun-dang new city. From the very beginning of its planning, it had ambiguous objectives. On the one hand, it had to be a solution for the severe shortage in housing. On the other hand, it should attract homebuyers who expect higher speculative values in real estates. Although they are contradictory in the logical sense, both objectives had to be met in order to ease the housing shortage as well as to finance the housing supply. Here, we also witness how ideas of ‘living’ and ‘housing’ has begun to change around this period of time: Houses became more than a place to live in or an object to be speculated on. As Gang-nam district in Seoul (Park, 2005: 95) had been set up as the standard of ‘good and ideal living’, Bun-dang new city was advertised by newspapers and the Government, not as a district of Sung-nam City but as a secondary Gang-nam district as of 1989. So, Bun-dang new city identified itself as a ‘dream city’ imitating the popular Gang-nam
district.

4. The Symbolic and Economic Production of Bun-dang New City Since 1995

1) Innovation of Knowledge System on Space: Quantification of Living

The birth of middle class city, which emerged with the Gang-nam district symbolizing the standard of good and ideal living in Korea, could only hold its prominent position insofar as it maintains the symbol of middle class. At this point of time, real estate engineering emerged imitating finance engineering under the process of financialization. It quantifies every possible value of houses as exchange value of houses. It also helped to calculate the symbolic values of the middle class city and to add them to the real estate price. Estimations of the real estate price index in Korea before the 90s, Median Sales Price Model and Laspeyres Index Model, sets up a standard price by calculating the medium of real estate price. This meant that real estate at that time in Korea, unlike financial products, was not an object of investment that promises future income. On the contrary, Hedonic Price Index Model emerging through the 90s defines not only physical variables like area of apartments or number of rooms but also surrounding environment like existence and nonexistence of sewer systems or beautiful scenery as factors affecting the price. Likewise, Hierarchical Linear Model reflects the ranked differences among regions tacitly acknowledged in society. The changes of the real estate price index associated with the specificity of Bun-dang new city supports the widely held belief that not only owning houses but also living in a city that imitates Gang-nam district makes money. The more similar to Gang-nam, the more valued and superior the city is. This is a widely and tacitly held belief. Bun-dang new city represents the way in which a city becomes the middle class city in Korea.
2) Emergence of 'Life Style of Middle Class'

In order to imitate the Gang-nam district, the meaning of house in Bun-dang residential city was extended beyond the usual meaning of house; that is a place for eating and sleeping. Everything unsuitable for the middle class lifestyles was excluded from Bun-dang. Bun-dang is about 20km away from Gang-nam and the city stretches from north to south. The subway also penetrates in a straight line from north to south, which makes it inconvenient to move without owning cars. In spite of the three-lane highway directly connecting to Seoul, most buses drive along the subway line routes or through the downtown. So, it is possible to say that Bun-dang is developed for the mid-income workers who can own a car. In the meantime, the meaning of mother's daily work for the middle class has been largely changing. The importance of a typical mother's daily work has decreased, whereas supporting children’s education and accumulating a fortune through real estate speculation among middle class housewives increase (Park, 2008). For example, the portion of educational expenses of household in Bun-dang is more than double in comparison to other regions such as Sung-nam city (Do, 2009: 283). In addition to this, the awareness that "In Bun-dang, my children would have no chance to hang around with bad boys"(Park, 2005: 108) is also a typical example of the perception of the area. The practice to make Bun-dang a closed space is also worth mentioning. The councillor’s statement, "In contrast to Sung-nam, Bun-dang seeks to improve the quality of life environments and culture"(Park, 2005: 98), means more than merely simple statements. In practice, it means that the sewer systems and crematory are located in other districts. There are different building laws regarding the location of adult entertainment establishment between Sung-nam and Bun-dang: in Sung-nam 150m from residential area but in Bun-dang 400m, reflecting the different
characteristics of each region (Hankook News, 2001.08.23: 7).

5. Conclusion

The new city development in Korea, as it is seen from the case of Bun-dang, was planned as a solution to shortage of houses, but at the same time, provided a fantasy to mid-income workers that they could themselves become the 'middle class (who lives in and owns an apartment in a middle-class city)'. House has become more than a space to live in. By becoming like Gang-nam, the new city functions for homeowner as a means to dream of becoming a member of middle class - becoming a middle class through living in the middle-class city. The emergence and innovation of real estate engineering guarantees their middle-class life style. Where to live (location) and how (life style) has become, more than anything else, the most important questions for the lives of everyday Koreans.

References


Sangin, Jeo (2009), *Crazy about Apartment* (in Korean).


A Comparative Study on the Social Network in Japan and Korea Youth's Job Search Process

Ji-Eun Yi
Department of Sociology
Chung-Ang/Ritsumeikan University

ABSTRACT The purpose of this study is to compare the social network of Japan and Korea in youth’s job search process. The expected outcome from this study is (1) comparison of Japan and Korea’s youth employment problems, (2) contribution to the study of social networks in the job search process, (3) Comparison of social relations.

First, Comparison of Japan and Korea’s youth employment problems. Japan and Korea have been recognized that there are similar employment problems. However, there is a big difference in concrete aspect. Unemployment rate, regular rate, the time required to get a job is different. This illustrates the difference in the seriousness of employment problems and the stability of the labor market.

Second, Contribution to the study of social networks in the job search process. Recently the youth’s job search process study has increased. I’m interested in the social network in youth’s job search process. According to Granovetter, in Job search process weak social tie is more important than strong social tie. But I think strong social tie is more important in Japan and Korea.

Finally, Comparison of social relations. Through difference of significant network, it is possible to compare the social relations. In previous studies in Japan, school network is the most important in the process of employment. In Korea, I expect that family relationship is the most important social relations.
The purpose of this study is to compare the social network of Japan and Korea in the youth’s job search process. The expected outcome from this study is a comparison of Japan’s and Korea’s youth employment problems, a contribution to the study of social networks in the job search process, and a comparison of social relations.

1) Comparison of the youth unemployment problem in Japan and Korea

Nowadays, the decrease of steady employment, the unemployment crisis, the increase of unemployment and the youth's precarious employment are common issues among developed countries. Japan and Korea are not exceptions. Recently, the two countries are recognized that they're having similar social problems, such as a low birth rate, an aging society, and employment issues. But, there are many cases that are having differences in the concrete aspect.

According to OECD Youth Unemployment rate statistics 2010, the unemployment rates were quite similar in 2009; 9.1% in Japan and 9.8% in Korea. The unemployment rate for the 25-29 age range is the same in both countries as 7.1%. According to the OECD's statistics, these two countries’ youth unemployment problems are at the same level. But if we consider the unemployment rate of labor force's statistics performed in the same period, Japan is 5.3% and Korea is 3.8%. That shows that Korea has a more severe youth unemployment problem than Japan.

In Jan. 2010, the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare- Japan and the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology-Japan performed a survey asking university graduating students how many of them got a job after graduation. Only 68.8% answered that they got a place to work. That was the lowest level since the concerned statistics have been performed. In Korea, According to the Ministry of Education, Science
and Technology-Korea's survey, the same question got 51.9% result. That is about 15% lower compared to Japan. That shows that Korea is now facing much more severe youth unemployment.

2. The importance of studying the youth's job search process

Recently, the studies about the youth’s job search process are increasing. That comes from the long-term, increasingly precarious employment situation. Recently Japan and Korea are suffering employment polarization.

In this structurally changing situation, employees who are under stable working place and gradually growing incomes, such as regular members and government employees, are decreasing. Whereas, 'employees who play core and professional role with higher income' and 'employees who work according to the manuals with lower income and unstable conditions' are increasing at the same time.

These are temporary positions, part-time jobs, and irregular jobs. They are in the manual labor group. That comes as 'prismatic reflection' in the border of school and the labor market. This structural environment's change made the employment custom like 'life employment' disappear. Instead, employees are suffering voluntary and involuntary changing of jobs at the same time. Employees need to be improved and keep their employability for they might change occupation, rather than expecting life employment. That makes it people so can’t predict their life course and makes them face more uncertainties. With these changes, the youth's job search process is changing a lot. To get a better and stable position, some prepare job concerned exams for years and the others remain as irregular workers.

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1 Nishioka Koichi(Nikkei Times) named business performance's polarization as 'prismatic reflection'. The companies that can react against social change reflect upside while those not reflect downside. Yamada Masahiro adopted this to personal range and named it the same way.
These changes require studying what kind of factors make differences. Job seekers attain occupation through various job searching activities. Also, a job seeker’s way of job searching and its outcome are mainly influenced by social contexts. This study is focused on social resources, especially on social networks, because social networks explain job seekers’ various social contexts very well.

3. Using network during job searching process

According to Granovetter, a weak social tie is more efficient than strong social tie when getting a job. If the information comes from a strong social tie it is reiterated and restricted, but when it comes from a weak social tie it varies, and it is possibly new and useful. But I expect in the cases of Japan and Korea, a strong social tie would be more efficient.

Because these two societies have stronger 'relationship' factors compared to the others. We can find such relational factors even in economic organizations. Not only structures between enterprises, but also in one particular enterprise are composed of complex relational webs.

According to Coleman, a strong social tie has a positive effect that improves social integration. But in the North-East Asian society, strong social connections can be seen as corruption. So, in this study, the social phenomenon that uses network would be divided as networks and connections.

Connections can be explained as special and exclusive relationships like regionalism, school relationships and kinship. A network can be explained as an opened relationship that is established by universal factors. A network is formed by achievement, universal factors. Connections damage social justice and cause negative effects for social and economical effectiveness.
Through the difference of significant networks, it is possible to compare social relations. In previous studies in Japan, school networks are the most important in the process of employment. This study classifies three types of university student's network. The three types are isolate type, school network type, and friend-parents network type. Graduating students who decided for regular job shows a higher rate of school networks (2010, Hori,Yukie). I expect if I perform the same study in Korea, it will show higher rate at friend-parents network type.

4. Hypothesis

The main hypothesis in this study is ‘less usable resources, make higher use of strong connection'. 'Usable resources' is decided by personal and environmental factors. For instance, personal factors include gender, level of education and work career. Environmental factors contain occupational category, way of recruitment, and type of employment.

In other words, 'personal resources' and 'resources that are usable according to job-seeking context' need to be considered at the same time. It means that qualifications that are required are different up to occupational categories and rank. When competition increases, the qualification does not distinguish between others. That is no more useful resource.

Recently, in Korea the cases that over college graduate students reduce their expected wage to get a stable job, such as government official, are increasing. In this case, the level of education, which often used very useful resources in the past, is no longer useful due to labor markets instability and intensified competition. As usable resources are getting less important due to personal and environmental reasons, the connection, one of the strong social ties, usage will increase. So, the effect that comes from network usage
during the job-searching process is not from the intensity of tie, but also from social-environmental factors.

Thus, this study will consider the following variables: gender, level of education, type of occupation, scale of company organization, parent's job, number of changing jobs, period of job seeking process and employment status etc.

References


Yamada, Masahiro (2004), Unequal Society of Hope: Desperations of Losers are Dividing Japan, Chikumashobo, Tokyo. (in Japanese)
Gender Norm and Family Model among Working Women: Through Article of “Nikkei Woman”

Hayato Nishino
Graduate School of Sociology
Ritsumeikan University

ABSTRACT This study will analyze articles of magazine. This study will focus on “Nikkei Woman”, which is first published in 1988. Target of “Nikkei Woman” is workingwomen. This magazine is characteristic because of its values stance. “Nikkei Woman” is presumed to speak for women who criticize a traditional gender role. Actually, this magazine shows an “ideal husband” model of men who take part in household labour. And this magazine recommend for women to continue working without retiring. In the case of Japan, although the Japanese parliament passed the “Equal Employment Opportunity Act for Men and Women” in 1985, traditional gender roles have remained engrained. Many women have to make a great effort to work and to succeed in each job. “Nikkei Woman” has been published as one of the typical opinion leaders for working women. This study will focus on the discourse of Japanese workingwomen. Particularly, this study will focus on the dilemma between a new lifestyle model and the traditional gender roll or attitudes. This study will research the discourse, which is concerned with life course events, like marriage or childbirth, appeared in “Nikkei Woman”. The discourse of "Nikkei Woman" represents an image of new work and life style in one aspect. On the other hand, articles of this magazine show a conflict in working women. Minute detail will be examined in the conference presentation.
Introduction

This study will analyze articles of a magazine and this study aims to describe the meaning of “marriage” for working women through articles of “Nikkei Woman”.

This handout will describe an outline of this study and its background, particularly the context of Japanese society and Japanese family studies. Minute detail of this research will be examined in the conference presentation.

Purpose

Japanese society has a problem about marriage. It is said that an increasing proportion of unmarried people is a problem. In Japan, declining birthrate was recognized as a policy issue in 1990's in Japan. In order to deal with this issue, many people thought the increasing proportion of unmarried people was the factor in the declining birthrate. Actually this tendency is one of the main factors in the declining birthrate.

It is said that there is a mismatch in Japanese marriage market. Yamada says main reason for the increasing unmarried people is a gap between women's preferences and men's actual condition (Yamada 2007). Japanese young people want marriage and want their marriage partner to realize a wealthy living standard. As described later, Japanese society has realized a high level of economic growth including men’s stable income.

Young women want a high level of income for their “future husband”. On the other hand, the Japanese labour market makes it impossible to be assured of this high income or to hope for inclusively high earning future husband. The history of the

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1 “Nikkei” means “Japanese Economic”, and this name indicates that this magazine is published by “Nikkei Newspaper group” which has high authority for Japanese working people.
Japanese family system and the employment system were background of these women's preferences. Next chapter will introduce background in Japanese situation.

**Background**

A one of the key term of Japanese family studies is “Modern family”. The modern family is a form of family, which is main form in industrial society. It is said that the features of the modern family are 1) affective bonds, 2) gender roles, which assume men have to get income in the public arena, and women have to aid their husband in the private arena, 3) the child as center of the family, and all that. This ideal type began to take root in Japanese society around 1955 (Ochiai 2003). Japanese women started to be housewife because of industrialization.

When students of family sociology discuss changing Japanese families, it is convenient to use the term ‘modern family model’ because it can be an indicator of a change of family system. Woman’s labour participation ratio of Japan is increased from 1975. However, this tendency do not necessarily means Japanese women retired to be housewife.

In 1973, oil shock was influenced all over the world. Japanese labour market cut a labour cost in order to deal with this economic crisis. Japanese companies offered for women to become part-time worker. Women are retired when they get married or give birth, and when they finish their childcare, many women restarted to work as part time worker. Japanese companies adjusted their labour cost by using part time worker.

This solution is based on the modern family model. Because part time women assumed that they have husband's sufficient income. Actually, most married part time

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2 Feature of Modern Family is listed in (Ochiai 2000). This paper picked up related features of subject in this study.
women had husband's income because of Japanese style employment, for example the lifetime employment system and the age-based wage. As a result, most of working women became the part-time worker. Therefore, factors of the modern family are maintained in Japanese social structure.

Although the Japanese parliament passed the “Equal Employment Opportunity Act for Men and Women” in 1985, traditional gender roles have remained. This low regulated gender discriminations in employment. Japanese market encountered bubble economy and some company gave an opportunity to work for women's worker as same as men’s worker. However, Japanese society continued to assume that women are responsible to household labour and childcare labour. This assumption is reflected in a huge disparity between men's wage and women's wage.

Officially the Japanese government announced that women could aim their career development. But actually many women had to resist to the pressure if they want to continue working and succeeding in each job. Therefore, on one hand, some women could continue working, on the other hand, the life course to be housewife has reminded as relatively major model. “Nikkei Woman” started to publish in that background.

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3 According to Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare(2009), wage gap between full-time men's worker and women's full-time worker is 34% in 2009. This score in 1986 was about 40%.

4 Before “Equal Employment Opportunity Act for Men and Women” was made, some women resisted through labour movement or court challenges in order to continue to work fairly (Horie 2005). It is easy to assume that strict purpose and energy are necessary for woman who wants to develop her career after 1986.

5 This model became more difficult and risky in recent Japan. Yamada(2005) says problems of family system's are emerged rapidly after 1998 because of declining realizability of modern family model.
Outline of this investigation

As described above, low marriage rate is an important issue in Japan. In addition, women's life course models are clearly divided. This study aims to describe an image and a meaning about marriage in particular group.

According to National Institute of Population and Social Security Research (2006), some recognitions and attitudes about marriage are different between each employment pattern\(^6\). Therefore, it is needed to investigate a meaning of marriage in each group.

This study will investigate articles of “Nikkei Woman” which is first published in 1988. “Nikkei Woman” is a business magazine (like “the Economist” or “FORTUNE”) for women audience. Of course target of this magazine is workingwomen. This study will research to the discourse, which concern with life course events, for example marriage or childbirth on “Nikkei Woman”.

This magazine is characteristic because of its stance. This magazine sent information, concern about women's career. Work balance, skill up, money plan, and lifestyle and all that is often written in feature articles in “Nikkei Woman”. This magazine is presumed to speak for women who criticize traditional gender role. “Nikkei Woman” had been published as one of the typical opinion leaders for workingwomen.

As described above, an attitude for marriage differs in each gender and each employment style. Magazines have the advantage in this point. Audience of magazine is segmented each group. It can be assumed that articles of magazine show an opinion in particular group.

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\(^6\) For example, the results shows regular employment workers and temporary employment workers tend to answer “Marriage has any advantage in my life”, on the other hand, disemployment people tend to answer “Marriage do not has any advantage”.
For example, some community builds specific gender roles and preferences in family. For example, Ishizaki (2004) describes this specific gender roles and preferences through the women’s magazine “VERY”. Audience of “VERY” wants wealthy income and aid for their housework from husband. “VERY” provides the image of full-time housewife in leisure class for their audience. This vision shows the image of traditional gender rolls in leisure class women.

Of course articles of magazine do not necessarily represent the audience’s opinion and preferences directly. But audience reads an article with their payment, so it can be assumed that magazine's contents are acceptable for audience. Therefore, this study picked up feature articles, which focus on marriage and its related topics. Audience would read feature articles intentionally.

Articles of “Nikkei Woman” represent an image of new work style and life style in one aspect. On the other hand, article of this magazine shows a conflict in workingwomen. This study will focus on the discourse of Japanese workingwomen. Particularly, this study will pick up a dilemma between new lifestyle model and traditional gender rolls or preferences.

Minute detail of this investigation will be examined in the conference presentation.

References


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<sup>7</sup> This magazine started to publish in 1995. This magazine is fashion magazine for 30's women. In addition, this magazine focus on high class women. Ishizaki(2004)shows high scholarship make it possible for women to be housewife.


Ochiai, E. (2003), *21 Seiki gata kazoku e* [To a family in 21st century], Yuhikaku, Tokyo.


Yamada, M, (2005), *Meisou suru kazoku* [Runaway Family], Yuhikaku, Tokyo.

Yamada, M. (2007), *Shoushi shakai hinon* [Japan as few child country], Iwanami shoten, Tokyo.
ABSTRACT This study analyzes the difference and similarity of the gender role attitude among women in Taiwan, South Korea and Japan by using the EASS2006 data. Recently, women with higher educational backgrounds have significantly increased in those countries. Existing studies have demonstrated that well-educated women tend to participate in labor market more actively and have more liberal ideas than less-educated ones. At the same time, in a society where male breadwinner model and assortative mating are popular, married woman with higher educational career also tend to quit their job at marriage or childbirth and to have the conservative gender role attitudes. It is often said that such a tendency is more prominent in Asian countries; however, it also means that attitudes toward male breadwinner model would affect the connection between educational level and liberal attitudes. Although this study also confirms the tendency by a comparative analysis, a close look at the data provides another aspect of gender role attitude in those countries.

In an analysis, the gender role attitude of women in each country is investigated from two aspects; “the attitude toward sexual division of labor (SL)” and “the attitude toward male breadwinner model (BW)””. Capturing the gender role attitude in this way, we could understand the popularity of the male breadwinner model in a society more
correctly.

Data analysis shows that women in Taiwan, South Korea and Japan share the conservative attitudes toward SL. On the other hand, the difference is observed in the stronger liberal attitudes toward BW of Taiwanese women than their counterparts in the other countries; the relationship between the high educational qualification and the liberal values deeply remains. The result indicates that Taiwanese women have bigger gap within their gender role attitudes. In order to explain such gap in Taiwan, this study focuses on the Taiwanese economic structure and its process of development; the central role of small and medium enterprises, a highly flexible labor market, the small earning gap between male and female.

Introduction:

After the 1990s, Taiwan, South Korea and Japan have been under expanding education. Figure 1 shows the net percentage of graduates advancing to the next higher level of education. We will notice that Taiwanese and South Korean societies have experienced a rapid increase of popularization of higher education. It is usually said that well-educated women tend to participate in the labor market more actively and have more liberal ideas regarding gender-role attitudes than less-educated ones. On the other hand, Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan share the “Confucianism ideology”. Its patriarchal ideology emphasizes hierarchical relationships between men and women, and leads to traditional gender-role attitudes like the division of labor between husband and wife (Brinton 2001; Greenhalgh 1985; Yu 2005). Having these situations in common, it is worth investigating whether women in each East Asian society show similar gender role attitudes. Not all comparative studies have paid enough attention to the diversity within East Asian societies. Though some studies compare one or two countries to several “West” countries, they could not explain and categorize “East”
countries in a theoretically reasonable manner. But as East Asian societies are achieving their economic development, scholars have become more interested in the differences within East Asia. This study does not compare the gender-role attitudes of East Asian women to those of the “Western” countries. The purpose of this study is to investigate the difference and similarity of the gender-role attitudes among women in Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan.

How to Analyze the Gender-Role Attitudes:

Previous studies show that, in general, highly educated women in a society are more likely to have liberal attitudes than less educated women. However, in a society where the male breadwinner model and assortative mating are popular, as in East Asian counties, married women with higher educational careers also tend to quit their jobs at marriage or childbirth because incomes of their husbands can usually support the
household, thus they might end up having the conservative gender role attitudes. Existing studies fails to capture this apparent contradiction in women’s gender attitude. In this analysis, the gender role attitude is divided into the attitude toward sexual division of labor and the attitude toward the male breadwinner model. Although these two attitudes may correlate with each other, they could be different in such a case; a couple where the husband works full time and the wife works as a part-time worker in order to supplement family budget. Those couples may support the “attitude toward sexual division of labor” while they may not support the idea of protecting men’s and women’s jobs equally during a recession. Capturing the gender-role attitude in this way, we could understand the popularity of the male breadwinner model in a society more correctly.

Data and Variables:

Data used in this study is the East Asian Social Survey (EASS) 2006 “Family” Module data. EASS2006 itself carries the data from Mainland China, but it is omitted from the analysis. The reason of this is that the tertiary education has not yet been as popular as other three societies in Mainland China. The respondents used here are women, aged from 20-89 years old, who are not in “school, and vocational training.” Resulting sample size is 1,957. The dependent variable consists of answers to the following two questions: “To what extent do you agree or disagree with that husband’s job is to earn money; a wife’s job is to look after the home and family?” and “To what extent do you agree or disagree that during economic recession, it is all right for women to be laid-off than prior to men?” The first question measures the attitudes toward the sexual division of labor (SL), and the second one measuring the attitudes toward the
male breadwinner model (BW). The seven ordinal categories in the answers to these questions are regarded as numerical variables in this analysis. In order to estimate the difference between the SL and the BW, both variables are deemed as the variation within each individual and the difference is captured by a dummy variable for BW. To find out whether there is a significant effect of higher education in explaining the difference between SL and BW, interaction terms between educational qualifications and BW are also estimated. Other controlled variables are age, marital status, household income (divided by interquartile range), the number of children, and employment status. Details of all of the variables are provided in the appendix.

Results:

Table 1 shows the part of the result of the random effects estimation on gender role attitudes. Compared to South Korean highly educated women’s BW (the reference category), the SLs of women in all three countries are estimated to be more conservative. About the BW, Taiwanese women with the senior high or tertiary education show more liberal attitude. The result also indicates that Taiwanese women with the senior high or the tertiary education have the significantly bigger gap between the two gender-role attitudes than women in other countries (detail of the result is in the appendix).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>SL Education Level</th>
<th>BW Education Level</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Junior high or below</td>
<td>CON</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senior high</td>
<td>CON</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>CON</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>Junior high or below</td>
<td>CON</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senior high</td>
<td>CON</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>CON</td>
<td>(reference)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Junior high or below</td>
<td>CON</td>
<td>n.s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senior high</td>
<td>libe.*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>libe.**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.01, **p<.001

NOTE: "con." means conservative. "libe" means liberal.
Prediction:

Figure 2 shows the predicted values of gender-role attitudes (SL and BW) of highly educated women when other variables are fixed at average values. Predicted value of gender-role attitudes (SL) of highly educated Taiwanese women is 3.64. There is no significant difference among the SLs of three countries. But predicted value of gender-role attitudes (BW), Taiwanese women have the most liberal gender-role attitudes (2.24) than women in South Korea and Japan, and the differences are statistically significant.

Discussion:

Why is the gap between two types of gender-role attitude is relatively large among Taiwanese women? One explanation is in the following. A woman can have a liberal attitude regarding the sexual division of labor while her job is to supplement her husband’s income, because they both have jobs and they supposedly share the task of housework. It is also predictable that she agrees with the idea that “during economic recession, it is all right for women to be laid-off than prior to men”, thus liberal in the SL and conservative in BW. But what if in a society where jobs of women are more
important for maintaining household budget? Looking at the female labor participation rate of each country, Taiwanese women do not shape an “M-shaped curve”, which is common for women in South Korea and Japan. According to existing studies of female labor participation patterns, in the Taiwan’s economic structure and its process of development, small firms have taken a central role, and then they gives female workers relatively high level of job flexibility. As a result of this it is easier for women to combine family and work (Brinton 2001; Yu 2006). Moreover, comparing with South Korea and Japan, the gender gap in earnings is small in Taiwan. The female/male earning ratio of Japan and South Korea are 65.1 % and 66.4% respectively, whereas Taiwan is 79.8%. That is, due to the job flexibility and the small wage gap between genders, the Taiwan’s economic structure and labor market are favorable for women, especially for those who are highly educated. Taiwanese women’s gender role attitudes would reflect this economic background in their society.

**Conclusion:**

Women in Taiwan, South Korea, and Japan share conservative attitude toward the sexual division of labor. However, Taiwanese women have more liberal attitude regarding the male breadwinner model. Because of a distinct path of development, Taiwanese women share greater responsibility in maintaining household, thus stronger anti-attitude toward male breadwinner model. To investigate whether Taiwanese society is getting closer to Japan or South Korea, where women are less averse to the male breadwinner idea, is the remaining task in the future research.
NOTE:

East Asian Social Survey (EASS) is based on Chinese General Social Survey (CGSS), Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS), Korean General Social Survey (KGSS), and Taiwan Social Change Survey (TSCS), and distributed by the EASSDA.

References


“Ethnographical Research as Translation between Realities: Methodological Reflections”
Milena Kremakova (University of Warwick)

“Image Guided Radiotherapy: A ‘Baroque Arsenal’ Against Cancer?”
Lisa Ashmore (Lancaster University)

“A Consideration of the Difficulties Involved in My Participation in Investigations Which Were Held through Self-Help Groups”
Hidemitsu Aoki (Ritsumeikan University)
Ethnographical Research as Translation between Realities: Methodological Reflections

Milena Kremakova
Department of Sociology
University of Warwick

ABSTRACT The metaphor of research as translation is perhaps at its most evident in the case of empirical social research carried out in another country, language, and (or) political culture, and especially so in qualitative or comparative research. But any academic inquiry, including research in the natural sciences or even mathematics, can be seen as an attempt to reveal a portion of one unknown reality by transposing symbols and translating it into comprehensible 'language' (see e.g. Agar (2010, forthcoming), Christian (2005); Maranhao & Streck (2003)).

Communicating the meanings discovered in the process of academic research entails approximating, condensing, reinventing, reconstructing, rearranging, and recreating them back and forth between the academic community, and the 'lab' or the 'field'. Therefore translation is a problem in an ontological sense, far broader than just the linguistic. The researcher's position as a mediator or translator of realities constantly shifts between that of a foreigner, to 'melting' with the research object, in an attempt to establish an ideal balanced position somewhere in the middle, while avoiding becoming disconnected from both. This aspect of the methodology of the research process often remains unnoticed. The researchers' ability and skill to comprehend one reality in its own terms, and justifiably communicate the two into each another, is taken for granted. As all ontological problems, the 'translation' of realities also poses practical methodological questions for researchers:
Should research questions follow a pre-prepared academic agenda, or should they shift towards problems suggested by the inner structure of the research object?

What words to use? How metaphoric can one get? Should specific expressions be directly borrowed from the field as 'name-tags' and enrich the academic jargon with new terms – or should they be explained with existing approximations?

In ethnography, where should we draw the balance between 'imperialistic anthropology', and melting into the mindset of the 'host' culture?

The paper offers a methodological reflection on the above problems, drawing on the author's experience of ethnographic fieldwork conducted for her doctoral thesis (in progress) on the post-socialist globalisation and marketisation of the Bulgarian maritime labour market (1989-2010).

‘Life is here. There is no life at sea’

What does this quote tell you? Who uttered it, in what context, why, was s/he being serious? Was this a monologue or a response? How well is the original meaning transmitted?

To what extent is it understood or misunderstood? How many times has it been translated in order to be comprehensible to you? Is there ‘equivalence’ between source and target language/culture – and if not, how do we explain anything at all?

What is the role of the researcher, and what is the significance of language for ethnographical research? How and why is it possible – and is it really? – for a Bulgarian ex-pat ethnographer to conduct ethnographic fieldwork in Bulgaria, and report her findings at a Japanese conference, in English? Can we extend the
metaphor of translation beyond the linguistic, to ethnography as a whole? Could translation studies be useful to the reflexive ethnographer who introduces one world to another?

**Researching Bulgarian Maritime Working Lives**

As a Bulgarian student at a British university, I confronted issues of both linguistic and ethnographic translation during the fieldwork conducted for my PhD thesis. The case study focussed on the effects of post-socialist (post-1989) globalisation and marketisation of maritime labour on the working lives of Bulgarian seafarers. I did the research (mainly interviews, some non-participant observation) in my home city and another port, and used personal ties, notably my father and his colleagues, to gain initial access to the field; my background allowed me to ‘speak the maritime language’, i.e. speed up fieldwork as I was, in a way, an insider to the maritime community. I identified several different stages of ‘ethnographic translation’:

**Designing the research.** I ‘translated’ back and forth between my prior insider’s knowledge of Bulgarian realities (maritime work, and post-communist transition), and theoretical knowledge of welfare and work acquired at Warwick. Research questions reflected the agenda of an international research project (CAPRIGHT).

**The next turning point was the start of fieldwork.** I now had to translate concepts from academic sociology to everyday-speak (interviews); and back again (in the analysis). This was a multiple translation: between English and
Bulgarian; Western and Eastern European cultures; ‘Anglo-Saxon’ research tradition, and the reality of a post-socialist state. Basic notions (work, pension, corruption...) whose meaning we take for granted mean different things in Bulgarian and in English. Often, what was a plausible claim for my respondents and myself, made no sense for my supervisors; or research questions that made sense while in the UK, made no sense ‘in the field’.

After fieldwork, another turning point came: ‘tuning back in’ to the language and concepts of the theoretical framework and discovering that parts of it are now obsolete and need to be rewritten.

Finally, every new occasion of explaining the research rationale or results, requires a new translation, for a different audience: a supervisor, a colleague, the readers of a paper, a friend, or former respondent.

Translating Memories:

*And you, why didn’t they send you to study in Moscow?* Cos *my dad* wasn’t a *lieutenant-general!*

- OK, [...] *how did his father send him?* -I don’t know! That’s how people got sent to study before... How do you think they were sent? - *I don’t know, you tell me!* - Well, that’s how: *along the party line.* (captain, 50+)

An instance of multiple ‘translation’: Being in a younger generation, I don’t know much about socialism, so the interviewee is forced to explain – and I am forced to trust. I then need translate what I understood into English, to an audience which lacks both experience, and knowledge of state socialism. The translation sounds awkward: there is no close enough equivalent in the target culture/language; the underlined phrases/words are significant and have a ‘tail’ of cultural and historic meanings that need to be explicated:
Translating the Unsaid:

Here, I have to explain the importance of personal networks in the maritime community, and the typical ways in which these networks operate:

Do you know where I’m thinking of going for a few interviews? To the Marine Qualification Centre. - Yes! They know me. The director knows my names. His is Petrov. - So... they’ll recognise my names, too? - Yes. You’ll send them my best regards. (conversation with my father, 58, captain)

Translating the Obvious

Why did you choose to become seafarer? Well what else?! OK, you tell me, what the hell else can a bloke do in this city?? Has your father advised you on becoming a seafarer? He has actually. That’s where one can earn the best bucks – by honest means, he said. (interview with 3rd engineer, 27)

The reason for the emotional response of the interviewee would not be as obvious to a foreign reader, as it was to me; in order to 'translate’ it, it is necessary to bring in much background data, i.e. un/employment structure in the city in question; background of the interviewee; the fact that he was my age and ‘had the right’ to expect that I would understand the obvious without explicating it (what ethnomethodology explains as ‘codes’ (Wieder, 1974)).

Translating jargon, expression, and style ... or translating political history?

Often young seafarers use English navigation terms, while seniors use Russian ones, when relating to the same concept or the same bit of machinery or technique; there are deep structural and political reasons behind this seemingly innocent difference.

Common Issues in Translation and Ethnography

Social anthropology developed in a historical dialogue with linguistics and
both have strong links with colonial research practices: as Sturges (2007) points out, ‘[c]ultural anthropology has always been dependent on translation as a textual practice, and it has often used “translation” as a metaphor to describe ethnography’s processes of interpretation and cross-cultural comparison. Questions of intelligibility and representation are central to both translation studies and ethnographic writing - as are the dilemmas of cultural distance or proximity, exoticism or appropriation.’ Yet, the methodological and epistemological parallels between translation and ethnography have rarely been systematically theorised\(^1\). The researchers’ ability and skill to comprehend one reality in its own terms, and justifiably communicate the two into each another, is taken for granted. As Sturges (op.cit.) notes, ‘there has been remarkably little interdisciplinary exchange: neither has translation studies kept up with the sophistication of anthropology's investigations of meaning, representation and 'culture' itself, nor have anthropology and museum studies often looked to translation studies for analyses of language difference or concrete methods of tracing translation practices’. In 1985, Asad&Dixon (p. 170) stress the dangers of representing oral discourse in textual form when writing ethnography, ‘the need to find an appropriate language for translating concepts and attitudes encountered in the field’; Clifford (1986, p. 115) wrote that ‘Whatever else an ethnography does, it translates experience into text’ (both cited in Bachmann-Medick 2004a, p. 156). The parallel between research and translation is most evident in comparative and qualitative research done in another country,

\(^1\) See e.g. Agar (2010), Christian (2005); Bachmann-Medick (2004a, 2004b); Maranhao & Streck (2003).
language, or political culture. But any research, including perhaps the natural sciences, aims to reveal a portion of one unknown reality by transposing symbols and translating it into comprehensible ‘language’.

What Can Ethnography Learn from Translation?

Both translator (T) and ethnographer (E):

- use common techniques, adopting a pluralist standpoint, seeking equivalents, etc.;
- choose between making their own voice heard, and remaining invisible (knowing that neither is fully tenable or ‘safe’);
- manage power relations, problems of access, fast decisions; act as experts and take responsibilities for their interpretation;
- rely on techniques of conceptualising (i.e. the binary opposition between Self and Other) and are under danger of misunderstanding;
- have the same heavy cross to bear: their origin in Western imperialism; both need to balance the nationalism of both host and target cultures; both can, in theory, give one culture a ‘voice’, ‘bring it home’ to another culture, and ‘bridge’ the two; but in practice are subject to societal power structures;
- balance precision and appropriate contextualisation, cf. Bachmann-Medick (2004b), ‘[t]ranslation of and between cultures can only mean translation of broader concepts, not of single words, sentences

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2 On decision making in translation, see e.g. Levy (1967).
3 On misunderstanding in translation, see e.g. Bachmann-Medick (1995).
4 This metaphor is itself part of the Western European Christian heritage.
or texts. It demands contextualization. ’;

– oscillate between the general and the unique: every text and every field present I idiosyncratic challenges; yet, all translation/research requires getting to grips with the specific logic of a research object, managing the ‘switch’ points where meanings in the two realities do not overlap enough, or completely diverge, and communicating the knowledge in a reasonable, justifiable, and meaningful way;
– rely on a fundamental, but challengeable epistemological assumption: *translatability* of text and culture.

**Implication for Ethnography: Ethnographic Translation Step by Step**

The process of ‘ethnographic translation’ is done by detecting and transposing key units of meaning from A into a ‘language’ comprehensible for B. Communicating meanings entails *approximating, condensing, reinventing, reconstructing, rearranging, representing* and *recreating* them back and forth between the audience, and the ethnographer’s ‘field’. The ethnographer is a mediator *between*, and *of*, realities. S/he constantly shifts between extremes, in attempts to sustain an ideal balanced position in the middle, but avoiding becoming disconnected from either side: from the position of a foreigner, to one of a native or one attempting to ‘melt’ with the ‘host culture’. The constant translation back and forth is needed so that the ethnographer can sustain a parallel, ‘biphonic’ *internal conversation* in both languages; only then can s/he conceptualise the realities in one big picture, and *translate* A into B. In practice, the translation process goes through distinct stages: in preparing the research
design, we translate between the language of theory into that of the field; in the field and during analysis and writing, we translate significant occurrences into the language of theory, in order to conceptualise and understand them. Sociology demonstrates the lack of equivalence of meanings in the source and the target ‘cultures’, and reveals power discrepancies and hierarchies; hopefully this paper has conveyed some of the possibilities that translation studies hold for the theory and practice of ethnographic research.

References


**Image Guided Radiotherapy:**

A ‘Baroque Arsenal’ Against Cancer?

Lisa Ashmore  
Deptment of Sociology  
Lancaster University

ABSTRACT In the 1980’s, in the midst of the cold war, British Philosopher Mary Kaldor described the American military weapons systems as a ‘Baroque Arsenal’ (Kaldor, 1981, p.4). She described these systems as the ‘offspring’ of a marriage between private enterprise and the state: capitalism and conservatism. In this paper I will apply Kaldor’s definition of ‘baroque arsenal’ to the field of health care technologies in the UK National Health Service (NHS), a publically funded, comprehensive health care system.

Analysing ethnographic fieldwork which took place in two UK radiotherapy (cancer treatment) departments, I will discuss the introduction of Image Guided Radiotherapy (IGRT) technologies. Currently being implemented in radiotherapy departments worldwide, the latest IGRT techniques aim to improve the accuracy of radiotherapy treatments, allowing practitioners to verify patient position before the radiation beam is turned on, something which traditional verification systems cannot do. More specifically, in this paper I will discuss the introduction of one system, X-ray Volumetric Imaging (XVI) and why this particular technology has been introduced over other alternatives. In doing so, I will to show how the development of these systems is, in part, a product of the relationship between the dynamic, capitalism of industry and the rigid conservatism of the health service.
In the 1980’s, in the midst of the cold war, British Philosopher Mary Kaldor described the American military weapons systems as a ‘Baroque Arsenal’ (Kaldor, 1981, p.4). She described these systems as the ‘offspring’ of a marriage between private enterprise and the state: capitalism and conservatism. In this paper I will apply Kaldor’s definition of ‘baroque arsenal’ to the field of healthcare technologies in the UK National Health Service (NHS), a publically funded, comprehensive health care system. I will discuss the introduction of Image Guided Radiotherapy (IGRT), more specifically, X-ray Volumetric Imaging (XVI) into radiotherapy practice to show how the development of these systems is, in part, a product of the relationship between the dynamic, capitalism of industry and the rigid conservatism of the health service.

**Image Guided Radiotherapy (IGRT)**

Radiotherapy, the treatment of cancer with ionizing radiation, has seen vast technological changes over the past 20 years. One of these is the expansion of Image Guided Radiotherapy (IGRT) techniques. IGRT is used in radiotherapy treatments to improve the accuracy of radiotherapy treatment beam positioning. In improving the accuracy of radiotherapy treatments, it is thought that the margins of healthy tissue around the tumour volume can be reduced and, as such, reduce the side effects experienced by the patients.

My research has focussed on one form of IGRT, a system involving the use of kilo voltage Computed Tomography (CT), or cone beam CT (CBCT), scans. This system is rapidly being implemented across the UK and involves the adaptation of a linear accelerator (radiotherapy treatment machine) enabling it to produce CT-like images, also termed x-ray volumetric imaging (XVI), since it produces a three-dimensional, volumetric, image of the patient. A CBCT scan, aiming to improve the accuracy of radiotherapy treatments, allows practitioners to verify, in 3D, the position of a patient before the radiation beam is turned on, something which traditional verification systems cannot do. Through reviewing the CBCT scans, practitioners are able to reposition patients prior to administering the treatment to ensure it is given in the exact location.

When CBCT imaging is discussed in practice there is a strong rhetoric of

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1 This is one of two commercially available systems for obtaining CBCT scans in radiotherapy. XVI is manufactured by Elekta. The other system, termed On-Board Imaging (OBI), is manufactured by Varian Medical Systems.
inevitability with proponents espousing a belief in technological progress against all odds. This is also reflected in national advisory groups and evaluation projects (Centre for Evidence Based Purchasing 2010a, b, c, National Radiotherapy Advisory Group, 2007). Despite the uncertainty regarding the long term consequences of the additional radiation doses involved in CBCT scanning, it is widely acknowledged that there is sparse evidence to support the implementation of these scans into practice. Furthermore a recent report from the UK’s Centre for Evidence Based Purchasing stated there was little evidence to date on the direct patient benefit of IGRT techniques (CEP, 2010c).

My ethnographic research has explored the introduction of XVI technologies into clinical radiotherapy practice in two UK hospitals. Through following the contemporary history of this change process I have looked at the way XVI technologies have been introduced into practice rather than why they were introduced.

In 2006 a fund raising campaign was launched to purchase XVI equipment for the Sieverts Hospital. Alternative systems which were available, such as ultrasound scanning or optical devices, could have been selected to improve IGRT techniques in the department. These were often cheaper, involving lower or no doses of radiation compared to the XVI. However, two years prior to the initiation of the fundraising campaign, a radiotherapy treatment machine had previously been installed into the department which was capable of being adapted to house the XVI technology. The prior installation of this treatment machine obscured the alternatives available to those in the department. Keen to promote their IGRT enabling systems, the XVI manufacturers ‘offered’ this machine to maintain the possibilities of its upgrade to incorporate the XVI and hence maintain their position in this market. As such, this ‘grafting’ of the ‘new’ technology, the XVI, onto an existing system, the linear accelerator, removed the possibility for a completely innovative technology to be adopted. This creates what Mary Kaldor terms ‘The Baroque Arsenal’ (Kaldor, 1981).

**The Baroque Arsenal**

The baroque arsenal, Kaldor argues, stems from the proposition that modern military technology is not ‘advanced’, rather it is ‘decadent’. Through

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2 Despite the public funding of the NHS, at that time The UK Government was not funding these technologies.
an examination of the American military arms race, she suggests that purchasing bigger and better technological systems is considered a way of fuelling the power of a nation’s armed forces. Therefore, by creating a perpetual range of new technologies (or additions to existing technologies) manufacturers vying to stay in business create “trend innovation” (Kaldor, 1981, p.4) – innovations which remain embedded within the established traditions. The way in which the XVI is a trend innovation is evidenced by the way in which the system into which it was to be introduced was in place long before decisions were made for its purchase. In addition, previous verification processes also utilised radiation exposures to check patient position so the XVI, as a system using similar methodology, was not a threat to the existing order. As Kaldor suggests, these ‘innovations’ therefore distort what constitutes technological advance.

In the case of the weapons systems, the only way in which these complex, interrelated trend innovations can be tested, is through battle and therefore questions of efficiency and efficacy remain decisively unanswered. At present these questions also remain unanswered with XVI technologies. With the aim of reducing long-term side effects, the possibility of meeting this aim will not be known for many years to come after which 1000’s of patients will have been exposed to this treatment. Why then have alternative systems for conducting IGRT, ultrasound scanning devices, Magnetic Resonance Imaging or optical devices, not been funded or developed? I suggest that this is because the market for these alternatives disappears once hospitals are tied in with certain systems or manufacturers. New technologies won’t then fit into a system which has been moved on by the accommodation of the XVI adaptations. Any alternatives for performing IGRT would be too far removed from the system already in place. The manufacturing companies therefore have a foothold in these systems and in the publically run health services of the UK ensuring their future position in the market.

So, when claims are made of bringing the ‘newest’ treatment to the department, we have to realise that technologies are not necessarily ‘new’ in this sense. That part of technologies are often already represented in departments by previously installed, adaptable equipment onto which the ‘new’ is to be incorporated. Like Kaldor’s weapons systems the complex XVI technologies are presented as new and innovative (in the case of the XVI this is done through the fundraising efforts of charitable organisations), therefore the ability of the public to engage in and understand them is limited. The systems become,
therefore, introverted with those involved in design and manufacture concentrate on an increasing goal of perfecting them in order to reach some, as yet unproven, objective. Kaldor concludes that baroque military systems, through perfecting themselves in this way, have become big, costly, elaborate and less and less functional, whilst maintaining a grandeur and ability to install social awe which is found in other aspects of the baroque – art, architecture or technology. It is my opinion that XVI technologies may too also warrant this title. The grandeur of the campaigns of ‘life after cancer’ and ‘tomorrow’s treatment today’ is appealing to those facing uncertain futures due to a cancer diagnosis, yet these claims are made against a discourse of uncertainty or a lack of evidence, not played out in public.

Conclusion

To conclude, I believe that large scale investment in XVI technologies, taking place with limited evidence for their effectiveness, raises important questions regarding technologies’ introduction into cancer treatment services. In considering these technologies as ‘baroque’ this paper has reflected on the way in which medical equipment manufacturers ‘tie in’ hospitals and clinics to their own equipment and how this reduces opportunities for invention and innovation. By ‘tying in’ hospitals to systems, manufacturers absorb expenditure that might otherwise be spent on investment or consumption in other aspects of improving the prevention or outcomes of a cancer diagnosis. The capitalist trajectory of machine manufacturers, selling upgradable equipment and software, clashes with public hospital services who are loathed to move beyond the systems already in place. When these decisions involve ignoring alternative innovative, less risky technologies, questions need to be raised regarding the legitimacy of these decisions.

References


A Consideration of the Difficulties Involved in My Participation in Investigations Which Were Held through Self-Help Groups

Hidemitsu Aoki
Graduate School of Sociology
Ritsumeikan University

ABSTRACT In June 1995, The Mental Health and Welfare Act were enacted in Japan. This act makes families with mentally disabled children responsible for looking after their children, regardless of their children’s age. In addition, social services which care for people with mental disorders are absolutely lacking. Because of these harsh conditions and these situations, some families suffer great anguish. Tragically, these circumstances can drive parents into making the terrible decision to take their child's life. Actually, in June 2008, a murder case happened in prefecture A. A mother killed her daughter with schizophrenia because of her despair over her daughter’s future. This murder case is linked to the surveys as below.

In July and August, 2010, I participated in living surveys about mentally disabled people and their families in prefecture A. This survey concerned families with disabled children interviewed with other families in the same circumstances. That is to say the families are the agencies. I participated in that project to analyze results of the surveys sociologically and to offer objective support policies. I stayed in prefecture A’s welfare institution for three weeks to build a rapport with the families of disabled children and understand their point of view. I had three roles in that survey: to write down the interview contents in detail, to collect up the interview data to make comparison, and to advise them regarding how to interview, how to analyze interview data and so on.
However, in the end because of their distrustfulness against my conduct as a researcher and my methods of analyses, the families rejected my policy recommendations. From this experience, I’m going to consider why the families and their associated self-help groups were so resistant to me and other specialists. Finally, I want to offer a new approach to participation in the project.

Presentation Topic

In June 2008, a murder case took place in which a woman with mental illness was choked to death by her mother in city B, prefecture A (I will refer to this as Case D). I initially intended to analyze this case by using the qualitative method for a total of three weeks from July until September in 2010. In this conference, I want to talk about the conflict of research intervention associated with this investigation.

1. Research Process

On the first day of the research (July, 31th, 2010. I will refer to this date as X.), I met the administrative director of working place B to ask him to cooperate with my research. Through this meeting I became aware of previous quantitative research that has been done on families with children with mental illness held in prefecture A. In (prefecture A) Case D has become a catalyst for research in this area. That survey’s agent was a community group of families with mentally disabled children. Research was done with families in working places, healthcare centers and mental hospitals. It was thought to number around 81 families in total. That investigation’s purpose was to make a policy proposal based on the findings.

When I entered this research on X day, I told him and the others that I could attend
the investigation halfway through the survey. As a result, it was decided that I could attend the investigation as a third person. I was asked to do three tasks: (1) a collaborative investigation of the research method, (2) sum up the outcomes of the study, and (3) to analyze the results of the survey. After that, I was permitted to accompany their interview surveys in working place B(X plus13).

On X plus 23 days, I started the research by staying at a welfare institution for three weeks. I selected this way because I thought it was necessary to understand the everyday-life experiences of families with mentally disabled children and the mentally disabled in addition to building a rapport between me and them.

On X plus 24, 25, and 32 days, I actually joined interview surveys for a total of three times. On the other days, I assumed the task of making texts as research records from the other working places. After finishing those, a collaborative research meeting was held on the evening of X plus 32 days. Attending this meeting was the president of the community group who also acted as the chief inspector of the survey, a board member of the community group, and those who contracted the research - board members of the working places, Professor Kohei Yamamoto from Ritsumeikan university (my academic supervisor), and associate Professor Megumi Kanagawa from university C. In this meeting, three possibilities were discussed regarding the conduct of the research objectives: the use of semi-structured interviews, a reduction of question items, and the making of the verbatim reports by using tape recorders. After these suggestions were made and discussed, however, only one modification was made, which was, to cut back on the question items.

On X plus 41 days, after advising them to reform the research method, and to do follow-up checks, I told them “Please feel free to rely on me about this survey,” after
which I returned to Kyoto. On X plus 55 days, after going to workplace B with some search records, I found that the research method and the rest hadn’t changed. On X plus 57 days, although the chief inspector asked me to analyze the results of the research by e-mail, I asked him to alter the research method again because of the need to gather analytical materials.

2. Difficult Factors in Survey Participation

Why did I encounter difficulties in joining the community groups being surveyed? I think two factors are responsible. One is the characteristics of the community groups. Another is inadequate understanding of the differences between their intent for the survey and my intent. These two factors will be discussed in more detail below.

2-1. Characteristics of Community Groups as Self-help Groups


1 Anonymous groups
2 Synanon\(^1\) and relevant groups
3 Recovery Inc. and other discharged patient groups
4 Living with groups
5 Transition groups

Families with mentally disabled children are categorized as “Living with group.”

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\(^1\) In 1958, Charles Dederich who was an alcoholic founded Synanon for people who suffered from drug dependency.
In addition, he explained this group as follows:

This categorized SHG is a community group including parents, helpmates, and brothers or sisters living with people who were stigmatized. This kind of SHG exists in large numbers. For example, community groups of twins, mentally-retarded children, emotionally-disturbed children, physically-disabled children, congenital cardiac disease children, cerebral disorder children, blind children and children with a hearing-deficit are included in this type. Although these community groups’ activities have different contents, their functions have a lot of common ground. (Kubo 2004:11)

As stated above, families with mentally disabled children also tend to be stigmatized because of living with their stigmatized children. Their families tend to be looked at with jaundiced eyes and encounter discrimination in everyday life. A community group’s chairperson Y who sent away his disabled daughter to work place B made the following comments, which express exposure to stigma, prejudices and discrimination for families with mentally disabled children in daily life.

Y: Out of people who have a mental disability certificate, only 10 percent belong to community groups.
- : Why does it happen?
Y: It may be hard for them to take the step forward.

(X plus 55 days afternoon: work place B: from my field notes)
Y: When I sent a document to a member, she told me to conceal any indication of the senders because the neighborhood may notice that she belongs to a community group and, that she has a mentally disabled child. I think only the mail man might see that.

(X plus 55 days afternoon: work place B: from my field notes)

Y: When we built this work place, we experienced community protests. In particular, the president of the neighborhood community association strongly opposed our plan. We also experienced indirect hate campaigns. When our family group paid our devoirs to each neighbor and collected contributions, we got his permission before the fact. However it had the opposite effect because he passed a notice around from house to house in the neighborhood saying that our association had no connection with them.

(X plus 55 days afternoon: work place B: from my field notes)

In addition, Masako Kageyama (Kageyama 2010: 360) put self-help groups, especially community groups with mentally disabled children, in order. She points out three main functions of those groups. That is to say that universality, experiential knowledge, and the helper therapy principle. In this report, the most important concept is “experiential knowledge” that Thomasina Borkman thought of (Borkman 1976). This concept adds emphasis to the difference between self-help group knowledge and professional knowledge.

2-2. Conflict between Experiential Knowledge and Research Knowledge

One of the factors in the misunderstanding of family group researchers’ intention and my intention is the conflict between experiential knowledge and research
knowledge. We researchers study or analyze knowledge which can be fully understood by people who actually experienced it. From the standpoint of people who actually experienced a situation, researchers are always somebody from the outside world. In addition to that, most fieldworkers will go back to their daily life sooner or later. However people who are analyzed by researchers have no such option. Families with mentally disabled children have to keep thinking about their children’s unstable future, although they understand the generational order of dying. Although I can’t understand those people’s experiences fully, but is it permitted to state flatly that I can’t understand them? Hiroaki Kubo thinks about this as follows:

When I consider about self-help groups over my life time, gradually I fall under the spell of the words “people’s experiences” While it is dangerous to say flatly “we cannot understand other people’s experiences because we can’t actually experience those things”, we have to accept the unfathomable words in some degree. Every time I listen to people’s important experiences, I can’t get over the idea that it is impossible for me to understand them really. (Kubo 1988: 97)

3. Conclusion

We professionals have to make every effort to understand, although we cannot understand their experiences fully. Why couldn’t I participate in community group-driven surveys totally? It may be an answer to me that I tell myself that I have sincerely tried to genuinely understand. That may be my difficulties. Listening sincerely to their individual experiences, staying in there, getting closer to them, and maintaining a sustained effort to understand them is what I can do now to search for cooperation.
References


**Session III**

**THE EMERGENT SOCIAL POWERS:**
**THE NEW SOURCES TRANSFORMING THE SOCIAL**

**Chair:** Graeme Gilloch (Lancaster University)

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“The Democratized Political Opportunity Structure and the Transformation of Korean Teens’ Movement”
Chan-Hee Park (Chung-Ang University)

“British Asylum Policy and the Colonial Matrix of Power”
Lucy Mayblin (University of Warwick)

“The Trend in Investigative Journalism in the U.S.: A Case Study of Nonprofit Media Organization, ProPublica”
Tomoko Takemura (Ritsumeikan University)
The Democratized Political Opportunity Structure and the Transformation of Korean Teens’ Movement

Chan-Hee Park  
Department of Sociology  
Chung-Ang University

ABSTRACT This study explores the impact of political opportunity structure on the transformation process of Korean youth movements: how the relatively democratized opportunity structure in Korea has influenced teenagers and their consciousness, and how this has consequently resulted in the transformation of the youth movements. The research conducted in-depth interviews with 6 people who were teenagers in the 2000s, and who had participated in social movements. The interviewees consist of 3 activists and 3 unorganized participants. The interviews were conducted from 29th, December 2010 to 19th January 2011, and took 1 to 2 hours per interview. The summary of the result is as follows. First, interviewees commonly reported feelings of trust in democratized political circumstance, and this trust made it easier for them to participate in the social movements that they were interested in. Secondly, the democratic system and rights was obvious and made “common-sense” to them. It was the witnessing of the “counter-experiences” to their “common-sense” which motivated their participation into the social movements. Thirdly, the social movements were therefore the means for them to express their democratized consciousness, rather than having any other instrumental purposes. In conclusion, democratized political opportunity structure did have an impact on the transformation of youth movements in 2000s. Continuous concerns about the aspect of youth movement must pay attention to the relationships that exists between political opportunity structure, internet, school, and family, and their living spaces.
1. Purpose of the Research

Since 2000 onwards, Korean teenagers’ movement is seen to have transformed into a new phase. There have been increases in social movement demonstrations and protests organized by ordinary teenagers, or as participants in demonstrations including those which consist of on-line community members and small group of friends. Conversely the entry barriers to political action and participation in social movement are remarkably getting lower. This is very different, in comparison with the earlier 1980-90’s social movements that typically, was shaped by activists from a small number of underground organizations and the students’ associations. The atmosphere of demonstration changed into one in which a fuller range of diverse expressions becomes possible. This transformation has often been explained in terms of the development of communication technologies and the emergence of the ‘new generation.’

However this paper argues that this change is closely related with the process of ‘democratization’, and it, therefore, cannot be explained without considering the period of civil prosperity from the term of office of President Kim-Dae-Jung through to President Noh-Mu-Hyun and the resulting establishment of a more open Political Opportunity Structure (Shin, 2008). Teenagers in 2000s, in particular, had experienced the relatively stable era of democracy in their teen years, and their changes cannot be explained without considering the changed political environment.

This research explores the impact of political opportunity structure on the transformation process of Korean teenagers’ participation in social movement; how the relatively democratized opportunity structure in Korea has influenced teenagers and their decisions and actions, and how this has consequently resulted in the transformation of Korean teen’s movement. This research will focus on why and how the form and
meaning of participation of teen’s movements has transformed in 2000s. Rather than making a direct linkage between the political opportunity structure and the form of social movement, this research aims to provide a deeper picture of the movements by revealing subjective meanings provided by those who participated in the movements.¹

Previous research about teens’ movement in Korea can typically be classified into three different categories. Firstly, there are those that consider social movement changes by relating teens with their familiarity with communication technologies, such as internet and social networking services (Yoon, 2009; Lee & Jung, 2008). While this has the advantage of explaining the modus operandi for the mobilization of social movements, its narrow focus raises the issue of technological determinism. As it does not give any serious consideration about agency involvement in the social movements, it also fails to reveal the complex dynamics and contexts in which the social movements have emerged. Secondly, there are those who are interested in school environments and the ways in which teenagers are pressured by fierce competition and school disciplines. Such environments, it is argued, results in teenagers becoming more critical and socially conscious. (Ryu, 2001; Baik, 2003). This argument has a persuasive logic with respect to providing a motive for the teenagers and the changes in the social movements. Their disappointments and dissatisfaction towards educational environments can lead teens to participate in social movements and raise their own particular issues. However, this does not account for the situations where the youth of Korea participate in

¹ Considering consciousness that intermediates between political opportunity structure and actual social movement defers to Doug Macadam, a representative of political process theory. He points out that political opportunity structure and the capacity of pre-existence organizations cannot influence the occurrence of social movement until when the subjective meaning of behaviors - relative to his concept, ‘cognitive liberation’- intermediates them.
demonstrations for causes beyond those that directly affect them (such as the demonstrations against FTA). Finally, there are studies that focus on experiences and identities of those teens who have participated in demonstrations (Lee, 2008; Kim, et al. 2010). By paying particular attention to the candle protest held in 2008, they traced why teenagers participated in the protest and how their experiences of the protest influenced their political consciousness and identities. Such studies provide an important basis for the understanding of teen’s involvement in social movements by revealing the complex interrelationship between teens and the field of social movement. However, these studies do not include the impact and influence of the wider prevailing political context on the teens’ political consciousness and participation. This research aims to fill this vacuum.

2. Object and method

This research conducted semi-structured interview with 6 interviewees from 29th December 2010 to 19th January 2011. Each interview was between 1 and 2 hours in duration. Conversation was recorded and scripted under the agreement of interviewees. Motives and lifetime paths of participation in social movements/demonstrational field, thoughts about issues in which the interviewees are interested in, thoughts about Korean society and democracy were inquired upon. They are fully informed beforehand that they can say freely what they want.

Interviewees have the following characteristics. First, all interviewees were teenagers in 2000s, and had participated in social movements. Second, the interviewees consist of 3 activists and 3 unorganized participants. This research concerns the transformed aspects of social movement in which the participation of unorganized
participants have increased in recent years. To activists, questions related to their prior experiences before joining social movement organizations were, therefore, asked. As this research also aims to explore the experiences of ‘becoming’ teen activists and how his/her political consciousness raised around the period of 2000s, I included activists as interviewees to analyze the specificity of their experiences. The personal information of interviewees is as following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Age (now)</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Scholar/now</th>
<th>Experience of participating</th>
<th>Activity</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jun-O</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>Middle school/3rd grade in high school</td>
<td>Freedom of religion in a school/Corruption of mass media</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>Middle school/3rd grade in high school</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sungsil</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>High school/Freshman</td>
<td>08 candle protest/Tuition fee</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>18</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>SMO staff</td>
<td>Middle school/-</td>
<td>08 candle protest/Students’ rights/Redevelopment, etc.</td>
<td>Against redevelopment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>19</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SMO staff</td>
<td>High school, qualified/-</td>
<td>Students’ rights/Irregular workers, etc.</td>
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<td>W</td>
<td>SMO staff</td>
<td>High school/-</td>
<td>08 candle protest/Students’ rights, etc</td>
<td>Students’ rights</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Democratized Political Opportunity Structure and Transformation of Teens’ Movement in 2000s

1) Institutional Openness and Freedom of Behavior

The first important topic that appeared during the interviews was that some kind of
institutional openness, which became possible due to the democratized political context, indirectly influenced interviewees to be engaged or to get interested in social issues and problems. They responded that politically progressive/liberal teachers, reading club activities, magazine articles or websites published and run by social movement organizations, and their experience of participation in demonstrations have greatly influenced them. Being involved in community activities such as reading club, and getting information about the demonstrations helped them to be reflexive about social issues. And this, in turn, is enabled by democratized living/institutional conditions since the late 1990s, which allowed ordinary teens to participate in protests and to be informed about diverse social issues.

However, their active participation in political and social matters is only indirectly affected by changed political environments. More importantly, respondents indicated that there was no one or nothing in their every life that restricted them to access information about the social issues or constrained them from participating in the protests. Most interviewees could participate in the protests if they wanted, and they did not face restrictions from teachers or parents.\(^2\) It is argued that political opportunity structure is not only due to macroscopic institutional openness but is also about the freedom of opinion and of freedom of speech, allowing teens to participate in the protests with friends and online community members.

Also, the changed political environment cannot sufficiently explain what made the teens feel free enough to protest or even what actually lead them to act in such a way. Their political ideology that dictates between the prevailing political circumstances and

\(^2\) In common, there were no restrictions to their early participation, except Earth who visited the place of protest after entering a SMO, but most activists encountered restriction from parents when they decided to join the SMOs. Their parents were concerned about their children and their later life. It is special status for teenagers.
the resulting political action of the teens should be explored in an attempt to explain this.

2) Trust on the Democratized World

Participation of protests still incurs the risk of arrest and confrontation with police forces which pose a real risk to protesters. When people occupy streets or the protests become serious, governmental authority may attempt to suppress them or take them to a police station. In the candle protests held in 2008, police power was used to suppress the demonstrators by using riot police and water cannons. Participants of any protest should realize the possibility and be prepared to encounter such potential police actions.

According to the interviews, the reason why the teens would participate and organize these demonstrations, in spite of such dangers, was that they trusted in the democratic world. That trust drew the line in relation to the maximum violence that governmental power could possibly wield against protesters in a democratized country. This trust made their participation easier. They generally believed that: ‘police will do nothing to me,’ or ‘Teens will be released after a little warning,’ and did not care much about the police power. It is this way of thinking which also helped them to invite and convince other friends to join them, and indeed was the major factor of them being persuaded by their friends’ invitation.

In some cases, to see dangerous scenes of a protest on television or other mass-media did scare the teens, but they participated with trust on democratic process of law. Through web-sites or literatures, they studied the relevant law clauses that could justify their political action when they encounter any serious situation.

In addition, trust on democratic circumstances seems to be related to the new
culture of social movement. The purpose of participation by unorganized teens was not only to voice their political opinion, but also to enjoy the protest scene itself too. Curiosity about the new experience, self-satisfaction about being involved in politics, the feelings of solidarity with other people who share similar thoughts also motivated them. When they arrived to the protests, they experienced the meaning of their political action becoming clearer, and felt the needs for more involvement. Activists as a result become more engaged in the political actions and had firmer beliefs than the ordinary teens, but they equally indicated that the feelings of solidarity with other activists and the pleasure gained from meeting with other people who share similar views as they do were just as important to them as it is for the unorganized teens.

3) Democracy, the Common Sense

The most interesting discovery in this work is that democratic values and principles are established as a ‘common sense’ for many teens, and this motivated them to participate in social movements. This is important because it testifies that the political opportunity structure has played a great role in transforming teens’ movement by providing democratic experience that influenced teens’ consciousness.³

First, interviewees felt rage and irrationality when their freedom, rights and democratic principles, so natural for them, are ignored and infringed, and this led them participate in or organize social movements. Even though they did not directly used the word, democracy, they said that they went to the protest scene with the ideas, such as ‘teens are not treated as equal human beings,’ or ‘everyone has rights to access the

³ According to Antonio Gramsci, common sense isn’t created by itself, but is internalized by religious, political, cultural institutions and organizations that have existed in society. It has ideological power as it is recognized that it is natural.
correct information,’ ‘The president should not make decisions in such a way,’ and expressed that they could not stand such injustice. They also repeatedly said such phrases: ‘this is not the right thing to do,’ ‘I can’t understand why the government persists to do this though it’s clearly wrong,’ ‘this is not how it should be.’ In addition, interviewees felt especially enraged when they believe that something had violated ‘my rights’. This means that being conscious about individual rights became very important.

Second, they thought it is their natural rights to voice their political opinions. Especially, they thought that protests or sit-downs are just an ordinary and normal social phenomenon which they could participate in. They have seen a lot of protests via the media coverage on television, internet, and newspapers, and as such are not repulsed by it. Furthermore, social protest was general perceived as a way of expressing their political views as they said: ‘I go there to make my political voice be heard’ or ‘because I don’t know other ways’.

4) Expressive Social Movement

Another interesting point was that they were well aware of the fact that their participation in the protests, despite the risks, may not just bring about any immediate or desired social changes. They said that they have seen many failures of social movements and felt frustrated with the consequences, so they do not expect a big impact from their involvement in the social movements. For unorganized teens however, the purpose of their involvement in social movement is to express their voices rather than to

4 Common senses of interviewees’ were contradictory. They said, ‘teachers’ political expression should be banned at least in a classroom,’ I don’t know whether President Lee’s writes of behavior should be assured or not.’ The important thing here is not the contradiction of common sense, but the developed individual rights in each teen’s thinking.
use it as an instrumental purpose.

First, for many teens, being involved in social movements is being against the ‘lack of common sense’. They were unhappy with current social affairs and knew something was obviously wrong, and as such they could not help themselves in voicing their opinions, and needed the support from others. This challenges the form of social movement mobilized and organized politically so as to produce direct impact upon the political decision making process.

Second, as one of the most frequently and repeatedly used phrase during the interviews, ‘voicing my opinions’ was an important reason for teens to be involved in social movements. In particular, they emphasized the fact that because teenagers do not have rights to vote, they could raise their voices about political affairs through the participation of the protest.

Finally, the specificity of teens’ movement in 2000s is related with the general culture of social movements. They said that parody and sarcasm, the expression of individual annoyance and desire, are better ways of protest than the alternative ways of protesting or any other institutional ways because they appeal more to the people and makes people interested. Teen activists also considered funny and witty chants and pursued enjoyable protest rather than formal one; most of teens are thinking importantly on how their emotion and opinions are delivered.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, the impact of democratized political opportunity has played an important role on the transformation of teens’ social movement in 2000s, especially by influencing their political consciousness.
This research was limited in that it could not explore in sufficient depth the way in which school, family, internet and mass media impacted upon the democratized opportunity structure. These are the main institutional and interpersonal contexts in which teenagers experience the democratized opportunity structure, and detailed contextual analysis is, therefore, required for further research. At the same time, the ways in which social factors, which influence teen’s ‘everyday life’ including competitive school life, are related to the transformation of teen’s movements need to be investigated further.

Korean social movement has been changing in diverse ways interacting with dynamic social forces characterized as democratization, globalization, and informationalization. As for one of the important changes, we need to pay attention to teens’ involvement in the social movements in 2000s, which exemplifies the changed form of social movements in recent years in Korea.

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ABSTRACT This paper takes Argentinian scholar, Walter Mignolo's concept of the 'colonial matrix of power' and analyses British asylum policy through its lens. Definitions of 'insiders' and 'outsiders', the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving', in the UK can be traced back to the country's colonial history. This paper argues that these factors are at work in policy today, and that such factors are under-researched in refugee-studies. Walter Mignolo's concept of the 'colonial matrix of power' offers significant theoretical in-roads in to exploring these connections.

Introduction

This paper explores the concept of the 'colonial matrix of power', as developed by Argentinean scholar Walter Mignolo, and analyses British asylum policy through its lens. Definitions of 'insiders' and 'outsiders', the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving', in the UK can be traced back to the country's colonial history. This paper argues that these factors are at work in policy today, and that such factors are under-researched in Western European refugee-studies. Walter Mignolo's work on the 'colonial matrix of
power’ offers significant theoretical in-roads in to exploring the connections between the UKs colonial history and current asylum policy.

**British Asylum Policy: Some Context**

The UK is a signatory to the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees. This means that the UK has a duty in international law to allow asylum seekers arriving in the country a chance at gaining asylum; that people arriving in the UK should not be arrested for travelling with false documents if they are asylum seekers; and that the UK cannot deport people who are at a significant risk of persecution upon arrival in their home countries. The 1951 Convention, a response to the atrocities in Nazi Germany in the mid 20th century, was originally aimed at protecting European refugees. However, the convention remains in place and since 1967 has been applicable to persons not originating in a European country.

Despite the fact that the UK has pledged to protect people fleeing persecution, access to the right to claim asylum is severely restricted for asylum seekers arriving in the country. Strict border controls, safe country lists, narrow definitions of ‘persecution’, increasingly limited appeal rights and unrealistic requirements of evidence are just some of the ways in which the UK tries to prevent people from claiming asylum, or being successful if they do manage to make a claim. Add to this the proliferation of arbitrary detention without charge, laws making it illegal for asylum seekers to work, welfare support measuring 60% of what is deemed the ‘poverty line’ for citizens, tagging, compulsory biometric ID cards, and endemic racism and discrimination in the institutional framework of the asylum system; the rights of would-be refugees are certainly not meeting the aspirations enshrined in the Geneva Convention (Bacon, 2005;
Bohmer & Shuman, 2008; Fekete, 2001; Hassan, 2000; Sales, 2002; Schuster & Solomos, 1999; Squire, 2009; Zetter et al, 2005). The response of academics researching the topic has accordingly been highly critical of the British government.

Why might it be that the UK goes to such efforts to circumvent its commitments to refugees? The majority of scholars who attempt to answer this question point to factors in the recent past. A number of scholars have related asylum policy to both the rise of the nation state and the ongoing necessity of maintaining its legitimacy (Barnett, 2002; Benhabib, 2004; Haddad, 2003). Related to this is the idea that the response of governing authorities to displaced people has always been an act of statecraft –or what is in the best interests of the state for usually economic but also political and social benefits (Soguk, 1999; Marfleet, 2006). By extension, it is argued that the rights of asylum seekers are always in tension with the rights of sovereign states to protect and maximise the prosperity of their citizens (Benhabib, 2004; Bohmer & Shuman, 2008; Haddad, 2003). This argument is of course linked to human rights based explanations –how can genuinely universal rights ever realistically exist alongside sovereign states with their own agendas and in the absence of a world government? (Haddad, 2003; Donnelly, 2002). However, the most commonly cited reason is the increase in applications for asylum received by the UK and other European countries from people originating outside of Europe since the 1980s. More non-Europeans, according to this view, equals automatic retraction of asylum rights. Some equate this simplistically with racism and do not develop the thesis historically (Fekete, 2001; Hayter, 2001; Lentin, 2008; van Dijk, 1997). Squire (2009) rightly suggests that it is necessary to develop a more complex understanding of present asylum policies, yet disappointingly, this acknowledgement leads her only as far back as the 1970s.
There is something missing between (a) the rise in applications and (b) the appearance of a restrictive asylum policy regime - one is not a ‘natural’ consequence of the other. In an abstract sense, there is no particular reason why applications from the Soviet Union during the Cold War, for example, would be actively encouraged, while those from outside of Europe, largely from countries in which the UK has either a connected colonial history, or has recently undertaken or supported a refugee producing situation, or both, would be discouraged. But there are reasons which the statecraft thesis, the increase in applications thesis, and the racism thesis do not make explicit. It is here that Walter Mignolo’s ‘colonial matrix of power’ may offer some inroads.

**Introducing the Colonial Matrix of Power**

The expression ‘colonial matrix of power’ was coined by Aymara intellectual and professor of sociology, Felix Patzi-Paco (2004), and subsequently developed by Argentinian scholar Walter Mignolo as part of the ongoing ‘coloniality/modernity’ (or ‘decolonial’) project (Mignolo, 2000; 2005; 2007; 2009). Decolonial thinkers see the birth and development of modernity as inseparable from European colonialism from the 16th to the 20th centuries; colonialism made modernity possible in certain parts of the world, and modernity was dependent on the practices and ideologies of Empire. The British Empire alone ‘owned’ three quarters of the world’s population at its peak (Butlin & Dodgsho, 1999). Part of this story is the making of difference. Europeans created a hierarchy of humanity (from which some peoples, notably Africans, were initially excluded) according to place of origin and skin colour. This occurred as handmaiden to the Atlantic slave trade, colonialism, and the consolidation of Empires (see Fryer, 1984 for a comprehensive overview of the British case).
Mignolo writes:

“Occidentalism was the overarching metaphor on which the West constituted itself as the West and created the conditions for the debut of Orientalism in the eighteenth century. Epistemic power was located in the very enunciation that classified the world according to race, languages and knowledge” (1999:11).

Anibal Quijano (2000), another decolonial thinker, notes that through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries “both race and the division of labour remained structurally linked and mutually reinforcing, in spite of the fact that neither of them were necessarily dependent on the other in order to exist or change” (p.536). The implications of this process can be seen in classificatory systems such as the ‘first world/third world’ dichotomy in the post WW2 era, and the associated economic implications for those finding themselves living in one or the other. This is not a perspective unique to decolonial thinkers. For example, British race and ethnicity scholar Ian Law writes of the ways in which slavery and colonialism “inscribed race into the foundation of modern nation states and the establishment of the international economy placing race at the centre of the making of modernity” (2010:13). Of central concern in the coloniality/modernity project, are the *enduring* systems of wealth, privilege and global human hierarchy which articulate the colonial matrix of power today.

Mignolo identifies four interrelated spheres of the colonial matrix of power:

1. Economy
2. Authority
3. Gender and sexuality
These operate at the level of the enunciated, or *what is said*, while patriarchy and racism are grounded in the enunciation, or *how it is said* (Mignolo, 2009). What is said by Western powers to others is not necessarily open to accusations of patriarchy or racism at the level of enunciation, though what is enunciated is an expression of power relations and colonial legacies. Breaking down the colonial matrix of power is therefore a complex process when we begin to understand it as an epistemic phenomenon which is globally hegemonic.

Having briefly outlined the theoretical principles behind the concept of the colonial matrix of power, the next section explores what implications this perspective might have for our understanding of British asylum policy.

**British Asylum Policy and the Colonial Matrix of Power**

Mignolo and his decolonial counterparts are concerned primarily with the implications of the contemporary coloniality of power for the Global South, specifically Latin America. My concern is with contemporary Britain and the implications of the coloniality of power for the reception of asylum seekers who are arriving (mostly) *from* the Global South, primarily Africa and Asia. The question is therefore, what might be the implications of operationalising the concept of the colonial matrix of power for an analysis of British asylum policy?

Hannah Arendt points out that “we are not born equal; we become equal as members of a group on the strength of our decision to guarantee ourselves mutually equal rights” (1951 = 2000:43). The right to seek asylum is extended on the basis of equal membership in the group ‘humanity’. Yet events in recent years, such as the widespread bombing of civilians in Iraq and Afghanistan by the British (and their allies) and the
subsequent denial of asylum to many Iraqis and Afghans seeking sanctuary in the UK, suggest that all human bodies are not valued equally (Morris, 2010). As Paul Gilroy points out:

“Old, modern notions of racial difference appear to be quietly active within the calculus that assigns differential value to lives lost according to their locations and supposed racial origins or considers that some abject human bodies are more easily and appropriately humiliated, impoverished, shackled, starved, and destroyed than others” (2004:11)

If all bodies are not valued equally, it becomes acceptable to maintain asylum seekers in a position considered well below the acceptable line of poverty for citizens, to remove their right to be considered innocent until proven guilty, to deny them what for citizens are labelled basic human rights. In this way asylum may be viewed not as an abstract duty to the universalised ‘human being’, but as an aspiration always in tension with the ingrained principles underpinning the colonial matrix of power. These principles, as Gilroy points out, include a hierarchical view of the world’s population groups.

The 1951 Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of course remains a “critical event in the institutionalisation of the post-World War II regime” for refugee management (Zolberg et al, 1989:21). However, while this is undisputable, the refocus involved in incorporating colonialism into the account provides the setting for an exploration of how the idea of a universal humanity (as promoted through the human rights framework) is to be understood within the parameters of colonial rationales. Though it was in his 1795 essay ‘Perpetual Peace’, that Kant introduced the idea of the cosmopolitan right to Western political philosophy (Reiss, 1991), it was more than 150
years until people not of European descent were recognized as putatively equal human beings by this same tradition. For much of the history of the idea, the issue of whether Africans had souls or not (allowing them to be baptised) was a serious matter of debate in Britain. Therefore, within the colonial matrix of power perspective, it is first and foremost through the struggle for the right to be considered human that the (former) colonised gained recourse to human rights.

**Conclusion**

This paper has introduced the possibility of using decolonial theory (the colonial matrix of power) in explaining the exclusionary politics of asylum currently operating in the UK. The classification of the world’s population in terms of geography and ‘race’ went hand in hand with the rise of the trade in African people and then the broader colonial project from the 16th century to the mid 20th century. Though not foregrounded in the literature on asylum, these are vital events in the history of asylum as it later became entwined with the concept of a universal humanity. The latter emerged within the context of historical systems of classification which were imbued with the coloniality of power. In the present, this has profound implications for the level of violence that can be tolerated against particular bodies, and when the moral duty of protection applies. In this sense, such histories are not directly related to contemporary asylum policy in a linear manner. Rather, they are historically entangled within the colonial matrix of power, with slavery and colonialism quietly implicated in the genealogy of the idea of common humanity, and its failings.
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The Trend in Investigative Journalism in the U.S.: A Case Study of Nonprofit Media Organization, ProPublica

Tomoko Takemura
Graduate School of Sociology
Ritsumeikan University

ABSTRACT Investigative journalism has a long history, and has been one of the most important genres of journalism. However, this journalism is facing difficulties today because the U.S. media have been commercialized extremely since the late 1970s to cut newsroom budget. Although old investigative work was practiced within each media outlet, today some media report investigative stories by cooperating with outside nonprofit investigative organization. One of the nonprofits is ProPublica, having won a Pulitzer Prize in 2010. The purpose of this presentation is to discuss why nonprofit investigative news organizations have appeared recently, whether it will be possible for nonprofit news organizations to survive, and whether such organizations will be appropriate to save investigative journalism, based on the interview with Mike Web, Director of Communications of ProPublica, which I did on September 17, 2010.

To save investigative journalism, ProPublica was established as one answer and one possibility. ProPublica is a non-profit newsroom which bases in New York, focusing on investigative reporting. It publishes everything online and partners with another news organization in order to get the story out. It does not get money from sales of ads, but foundations and individual donors. The main founder, the Sandler Foundation, donates it ten million dollars a year, which means that about 85% of its operation budget comes from them. Due to partnership with major media outlets what have impact, ProPublica stories have affected politics. Although its operation
succeeds so far, it worries about how to raise more money besides the Sandler Foundation. It tried to receive more money from new big dollar donors and small dollar donors.

ProPublica has just started its operation, so it is not clear whether this fund raising model still succeed, and whether this operation styles that they have no media and partner with other media will be appropriate for the purpose of saving the U.S. investigative journalism. It is necessary to examine for a long period how these nonprofits have been working in order to judge whether it is one of the best solutions for the U.S. journalism.

ProPublica won the Pulitzer Prize of 2010. This news was told by many media, because it was distinguished from other traditional media. It is a non-profit newsroom, based in New York, focusing on investigative reporting. It publishes every news online and partners with another news organization in order to get the story out. ProPublica is just one of the solutions for investigative journalism to survive.

In the U.S., most media are facing financial difficulties recently, because the sale of ads, the biggest part of their revenues, is decreasing drastically and rapidly. Newspaper ad revenue fell 26% during 2009, local TV dropped 24%, and magazine was off 19%. Consequently media continued to cut down budgets (Project for Excellence in Journalism, 2010). According to McChesney & Nichols (2010), investigative journalism is one of the sections in a newsroom that is shrinking most. Investigative journalism takes a lot of time, so it costs much to report one story.

Although some journalists insist that they are providing reports with the same quality as before, cutting the budget and stuffs has resulted in the decrease and deterioration of reports. Some media say that they cut some news staffs and budgets, but investigative reporting is the last part that they will cut. However, some reporters and
editors also claim that they cooperate with outside news organizations to maintain their investigative report (Strupp, 2009).

To prevent investigative journalism from disappearing, a new type of media arose. They are nonprofits, provide stories on the net only, and partner with major media or universities. As one example of this new style of journalism in the U.S., this paper will show what ProPublica is and how it is different from other old media. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the possibility of nonprofit news organizations, based on the interview with Mike Web, Director of Communications of ProPublica, which I did on September 17, 2010.

1. The History of U.S. Investigative Journalism

The characteristics of today’s investigative journalism have developed with the history of American Journalism. Through the development of journalism, the U.S. has experienced some incidents and trends that led to what is called investigative journalism today.

Most newspapers during the colonial period were published after being censored by the local governments, even when they had no legal obligation for censorship. Nevertheless, some papers appeared to try to expose what was important for the public. One of them is the Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestick of Benjamin Harris, which is known as the first newspaper published in the U.S in 1690. The New England Courant by James Franklin, which was first published in 1721, and Pennsylvania Gazette, a newspaper published by Benjamin Franklin, a brother of James, are also examples that disclosed it. They exposed the faults of the government and people in power, and insisted on the need of revolutions. This journalistic manner is one
of the characteristics of today’s investigative journalism.

In 1833, a cheap newspaper, which was for the masses called penny press, prospered when the *New York Sun* of Benjamin Day succeeded. The *New York Herald*, first published in 1835 by Gordon James Gordon Bennett, diversified and developed the contents to attract more readers than the *New York Sun*. Such newspapers were so cheap that people who could not afford to buy regular newspapers started to read, carrying sensational stories which were easy to read. What was important in this success is that a newspaper expanded to the masses and it became published for them.

In 1851, the *New York Times* started to be published by Henry Raymond as penny press, but it changed the course of penny press. Although the targeted readers were the masses like other penny press, it avoided describing stories sensationally, trying instead to report objectively and fairly. The *New York Times* changed newspapers for the masses in that it used not sensationalism, but objectivity and fairness, which are important elements of journalism, in order to attract people.

Sensationalism in the 1830s revived in the 1890s to become more intense. The battle between the *New York World*, which was purchased by Joseph Pulitzer in 1883, and the *New York Journal*, which was bought by William R. Hearst in 1885, led to the emergence of a new kind of press called yellow journalism. The term “yellow journalism” comes from “Yellow Kids,” a character which drew on the *New York World*. Both newspapers became more and more sensational to gain a larger circulation than the other. This had no spirits of journalism, decorating the paper gaudily, describing news like melodramas, and telling sensational stories only to sell more.

After the U.S. experienced two World Wars, again, in 1960s, investigative journalism developed and became to be distinguished from other journalism. Although
the Watergate scandal between 1972 and 1974 is known as the scandal that helped investigative journalism reemerge, some scalars claim that it is a myth (Aucoin, 2005; Schudson, 1992). They cited that after Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein disclosed the injustice of the Nixon Administration through investigative reporting and then forced him into a position in which he had to resign, they were treated like heroes and investigative reporting became to attract too much attention. Consequently, during the late 1970s and the early 1980s, many journalists did investigative reporting to gain more wealth and fame, resulting in a large number of investigative reports appearing, but most of them were of poor quality.

Even though the quality of investigation was not high, the foundation of the Investigative Reporters and Editors, Inc. (IRE) shows that it is obvious that investigative journalism was firmly established in society in the 1970s. The IRE was organized in 1975 for investigative journalists all over the U.S., by Harley Bierce and Myrta Pulliam, investigative reporters at the Indianapolis Star, with nine other journalists and professionals.

However, in the late 1970s and 1980s, the commercialism of media accelerated. Large media corporations gobbled up smaller ones one after another to gain more profits. Moreover, in the 1990s, journalism to increase profits grew rapidly. One example of the large deals is the merger in 1989 between Time Inc. and Warner Communications. Another is the purchase of ABC by the Walt Disney Company. Not only conglomerates but also the overall number of media outlets was decreasing tremendously.

Consequently, the journalism quality of the coverage started to drop drastically in the 1990s, which continues today. To seek more profits, media have tried to decrease
expenditures. They lay off staffs, even if they are experienced, and then shrink the size of a newsroom. Although most media think that investigative journalism is important, the number and quality of the stories are influenced negatively. To save investigative journalism, ProPublica was established as one answer and one possibility.

2. A Case Study of ProPublica: A Nonprofit News Organization

ProPublica announced its establishment in October 2007, began to operate in January 2008, and published the first story in June 2008. Today it has a staff of 32 full-time paid reporters and editors, four of them are in Washington, D.C., and the rest are all in New York. The president and editor-in-chief is Paul Steiger. Before he started the operation of ProPublica, he was a managing editor of the Wall Street Journal, serving from 1991 to 2007. ProPublica published 138 stories in 2009, including the story of Katrina which won a Pulitzer Prize for Investigative Reporting in 2010.

What is important is that ProPublica does not get money from the sale of ads, but from foundations and individual donors. Traditional news media depends on ads revenue, so their coverage is often affected by ads sponsors, for example, they cannot write disadvantageous stories about them. The Sandler Foundation funds most of the budget of ProPublica, also helping its establishment. It donates it ten million dollars a year, which means that about 85% of its operation budget comes from the Sandler Foundation. Herbert and Marion Sandler had wanted to spend money for investigative journalism because they had thought that investigative journalism was in jeopardy, but they did not know what to do. They approached the editor who was then a managing editor of the Wall Street Journal, and asked him if he would run it. He approached his retirement age at the Wall Street Journal, so he accepted to help start their investigative
Although they are not influenced by advertisers, one of the criticisms of ProPublica is that its stories are affected by the Sandler Foundations. They criticize that the Sandlers are very left so they support ProPublica for liberal and democratic causes. To prevent it from being told what to do, Steiger had an agreement with the Sandlers that they are not informed what ProPublica is working on. Also, they can’t tell it what to do.

In addition to being a nonprofit news organization, it is unique that ProPublica is in partnership with media outlets. Because it does not have its own media to distribute stories except for its website, it is necessary to tell stories through other mass media. Before starting operation, ProPublica made a decision about who it should partner with. It tried to determine where the story can have an impact, meaning who can fix the problems that we are writing about. For each story, it chooses which partner is adequate. For example, if it is the story about political corruption in Washington D.C., it is effective to partner with the Washington Post or Politico, a political journalism outlet based in Virginia, so it sometimes works with them and distributes the stories through their media.

Here is another strategy that ProPublica practices to spread its stories. It does not charge for the stories. After ProPublica posts stories online, any media or any individuals can republish them with no charge if they credit ProPublica and link it. ProPublica also uses Social Network Media, such as Twitter and Facebook, to share its stories and to spread its stories to a larger audience. One example clearly shows what ProPublica is doing, how investigative work affects society and people. Two reporters at ProPublica, Tracy Weber and Charles Ornstein, reported the series “When Caregivers Harm: California’s Unwanted Nurses”,

which is a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize for Public Service of 2010. Their joint investigation with the Los Angeles Times revealed that California’s Board of Registered Nursing allowed nurses who committed misconduct to practice although it was charged with overseeing registered nurses. The Board of California took more than three years on average to discipline such nurses, although many states take just months. It took 18 months for them to find the fact, but their investigation led to political actions. The story was run on the Los Angeles Times on July 11, 2009, and the Governor of California Arnold Schwarzenegger replaced the majority of the board members within 48 hours.

The most worrying problem for ProPublica is how they will raise funds. Now the Sandler Foundation donates ten million dollars a year, and it is a rolling grant, meaning it is funded three years in advance. It was extended twice, at the end of 2008 and 2009, and will be at the end of 2010, so its operation budget to 2012 is guaranteed. Now about 85% of their budget comes from the Sandler Foundation, but ProPublica is trying to find other financial resources as well to maintain its operation in the future. It hired a development manager who is responsible for diverse financial funding, including both big dollar donors and small dollar donors. ProPublica is following the funding model of the Center for the American Progress. The center is a political think tank in Washington D.C., whose chief funder is the Sandler Foundation. As the organization built its own reputation, more people came in to help fund it. That is the model that ProPublica has sought.

ProPublica has just started its operation, so it is not clear whether this fund raising model will succeed, and whether this operation style that they have no media and partner with other media will be appropriate for the purpose of saving U.S. investigative journalism. In addition to ProPublica, other nonprofit investigative news organizations
have appeared, such as the California Watch, the Wisconsin Center for Investigative Journalism, the New England Center for Investigative Reporting, the Rocky Mountain Investigative News Network, and the Investigative News Network. To continue to operate as nonprofits, some have raised money from foundations and donors, like ProPublica, while others have cooperated with local universities. It must be a good solution for traditional media which cannot afford the expense of practicing sufficient investigative reporting to work together with outside nonprofit organizations. However, it seems quite probable that it is just one temporary phenomenon that a few founders or journalists who worried about today’s investigative journalism established and raised money. It is necessary to examine over a long period how these nonprofits have been working in order to judge whether it is one of the best solutions for U.S. journalism.

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