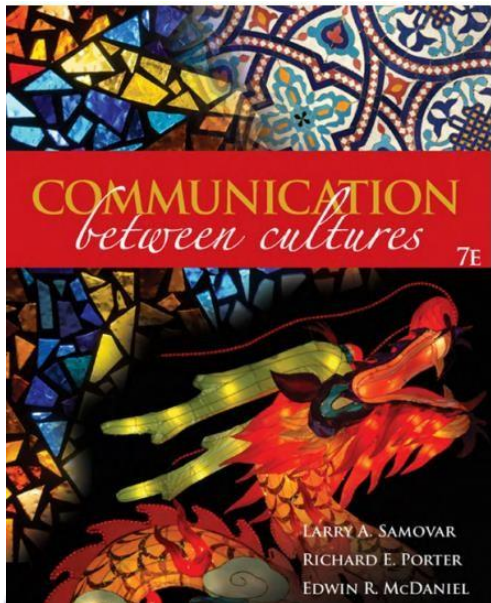


Larry Samovar, Intercultural Communication (2010 p.203)



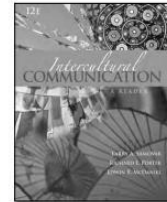
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in life, tend to be tolerant of the unusual, and are not as threatened by different ideas and people. They prize initiative, dislike the structure associated with hierarchy, are willing to take risks, are flexible, think that there should be as few rules as possible, and depend not so much on experts as on themselves. As a whole, members of low-uncertainty avoidance cultures are less constrained by social protocol.

As is the case with our other value dimensions, differences in uncertainty avoidance influence intercultural communication. In a classroom composed of children from low-uncertainty avoidance cultures, we might expect to see students feeling comfortable in unstructured learning situations, being rewarded for innovative approaches to problem solving, and recognizing that truth is relative.²⁹ As Hofstede points out, the opposite is the case in high uncertainty avoidance cultures. Here you find that "students expect structured learning situations and seek right answers."³⁰

Power Distance

Another cultural value dimension offered by Hofstede is power distance, which classifies cultures on a continuum of high and low-power distance. (Some theorists use the terms "large power distance" and "small power distance" instead.) He summarizes the concept of power distance in the following manner: "Power distance as a characteristic of a culture defines the extent to which the less powerful person in society accepts inequality in power and considers it as normal."³¹ The premise of the dimension deals with the extent to which a society prefers that power in relationships, institutions, and organizations be distributed equally or unequally. Although all cultures have tendencies to both high- and low-power distance relationships, one orientation seems to dominate. Foster offers a clear explanation of this dimension:

What Hofstede discovered was that in some cultures, those who hold power and those who are affected by power are significantly far apart (high-power distance) in many ways, while in other cultures, the power holders and those affected by the power holders are significantly closer (low-power distance).³²

HIGH-POWER DISTANCE

Gudykunst renders a concise summary of high-power distance cultures when he writes, "Individuals from high-power distance cultures accept power as part of society. As such, superiors consider their subordinates to be different from themselves and vice versa."³³ People in high-power distance countries such as India, Africa, Brazil, Singapore, Greece, Venezuela, Mexico, and the Philippines (see Table 5.3) believe that power and authority are facts of life. Both consciously and unconsciously, these cultures teach their members that people are not equal in this world and that everybody has a rightful place, which is clearly marked by countless vertical arrangements. Social hierarchy is prevalent and institutionalizes inequality. In organizations within high-power distance cultures, you find a greater centralization of power, more importance placed on status and rank, a larger proportion of supervisory personnel, a structured value system that determines the worth of each job, and subordinates adhering to a rigid hierarchy.³⁴

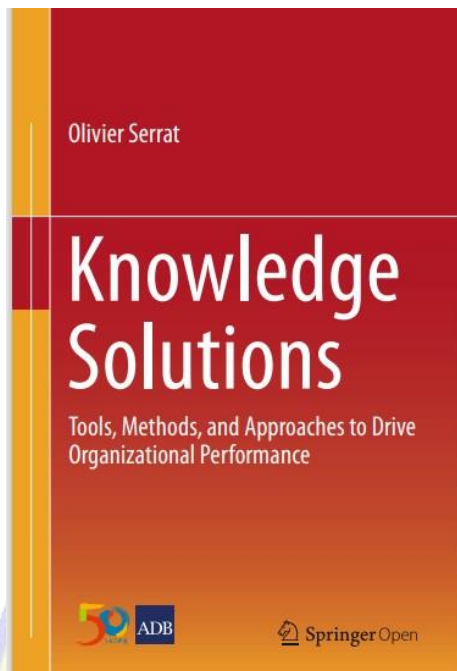
TABLE 5.3 Power Distance Values for Fifty Countries and Three Regions

| RANK | COUNTRY | RANK | COUNTRY |
|-------|----------------|-------|---------------|
| 1 | Malaysia | 27/28 | South Korea |
| 2/3 | Guatemala | 29/30 | Iran |
| 2/3 | Panama | 29/30 | Taiwan |
| 4 | Philippines | 31 | Spain |
| 5/6 | Mexico | 32 | Pakistan |
| 5/6 | Venezuela | 33 | Japan |
| 7 | Arab countries | 34 | Italy |
| 8/9 | Ecuador | 35/36 | Argentina |
| 8/9 | Indonesia | 35/36 | South Africa |
| 10/11 | India | 37 | Jamaica |
| 10/11 | West Africa | 38 | United States |
| 12 | Yugoslavia | 39 | Canada |
| 13 | Singapore | 40 | Netherlands |
| 14 | Brazil | 41 | Australia |
| 15/16 | France | 42/44 | Costa Rica |
| 15/16 | Hong Kong | 42/44 | Germany |
| 17 | Columbia | 42/44 | Great Britain |
| 18/19 | El Salvador | 45 | Switzerland |
| 18/19 | Turkey | 46 | Finland |
| 20 | Belgium | 47/48 | Norway |
| 21/23 | East Africa | 47/48 | Sweden |
| 21/23 | Peru | 49 | Ireland |
| 21/23 | Thailand | 50 | New Zealand |
| 24/25 | Chile | 51 | Denmark |
| 24/25 | Portugal | 52 | Israel |
| 26 | Uruguay | 53 | Austria |
| 27/28 | Greece | | |

The lower the number, the more the country can be classified as one that has a high-power distance culture. A higher number is associated with a country that has a low-power distance culture. Source: Adapted from Geert Hofstede, *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions and Organizations Across Nations*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2001).

LOW-POWER DISTANCE

Low-power distance countries such as Austria, Finland, Denmark, Norway, the United States, New Zealand, and Israel hold that inequality in society should be minimized. As Brislin notes, "Cultures referred to as 'low-power distance' are guided by laws, norms, and everyday behaviors that make power distinctions as minimal as possible."³⁵ People in these cultures see hierarchy as an inequality of roles established for convenience. Subordinates consider superiors to be the same kind of people as they are, and superiors perceive their subordinates in the same way. People in power, be they supervisors, managers, or government officials, often interact with their constituents and try to look less powerful than they really are.

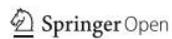


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Proposition 7 Culture Theory

In a Word Culture theory strengthens the expectation that markets work, not because they are comprised of autonomous individuals who are free of social sanctions but because they are powered by social beings and their distinctive ideas, beliefs, values, and knowledge. It can contribute to understanding and promoting development where group relationships predominate and individualism is tempered.



Rationale

Some needs are common to all people—at all times and in all places. They are the need to make a living, the need for social organization, the need for knowledge and learning, the need for normative and metaphysical expression, and the need for aesthetic manifestation. These nuts and bolts of everyday life work through the coevolving realms of environment, economy, society, polity, and technology to make up systems of mutual sustainability or (in opposition) mutual vulnerability.

Since people (not economies) are the main object and ultimate purpose of endeavors to progress, a society's culture is not just an instrument of development cooperation: it is its basis. The marriage of economy and environment was overdue

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7 Culture Theory

and has spawned a world agenda for that purpose. Likewise, the relationship between culture and development should be clarified and deepened in ways that are authentic, indigenous, self-reliant, sovereign, civilized, and creative.

Definition

Culture, defined in its broadest sense, is the totality of a society's distinctive ideas, beliefs, values, and knowledge. It exhibits the ways humans interpret their environment.

Applications

Culture theory is a branch of anthropology, semiotics, and other related social science disciplines such as political economy, in particular, but also sociology and communication (to name a few). It seeks to define heuristic concepts of culture. Hence, cultural studies often concentrate on how a particular phenomenon relates to matters of ideology, nationality, ethnicity, social class, and gender.⁷ The potential for application is correspondingly vast—it follows that practitioners of culture theory draw from a diverse array of theories and associated practices and encompass many different approaches, methods, and academic perspectives.⁸ And so, it remains relatively unstructured as an academic field that needs to move from "Let's" to "How". Taking culture into account should mean understanding how cultural dimensions enter utility and production functions of various kinds. In the case of development agencies and their partner countries, new processes of policy analysis and participatory management should surely be devised so that noneconomic social sciences become full partners in the decision-making concerning the policy and investment decisions that guide business processes. Much remains to be done.

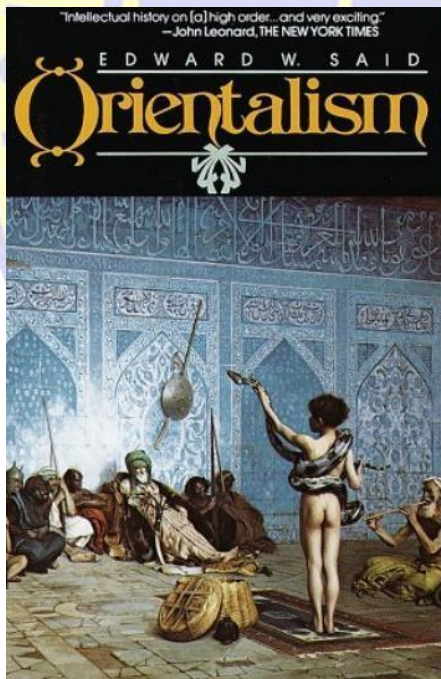
Characteristics

Therefore, approaches to cultural studies are likely to range widely. However, Sarda (2004) sees that most tend to share the following characteristics:

⁷Increasingly, cultural studies also focus on the interface of information and communications technology and society.

⁸For instance, one branch of culture theory places a primary importance on the cultural institutions that are involved in the production, dissemination, and consumption of culture.

Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1979)



ORIENTALISM

— Edward W. Said —


Vintage Books
A Division of Random House
New York

as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles. In contrast, the American understanding of the Orient will seem considerably less dense, although our recent Japanese, Korean, and Indochinese adventures ought now to be creating a more sober, more realistic "Oriental" awareness. Moreover, the vastly expanded American political and economic role in the Near East (the Middle East) makes great claims on our understanding of that Orient.

It will be clear to the reader (and will become clearer still throughout the many pages that follow) that by Orientalism I mean several things, all of them, in my opinion, interdependent. The most readily accepted designation for Orientalism is an academic one, and indeed the label still serves in a number of academic institutions. Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient—and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist—either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism. Compared with *Oriental studies* or *area studies*, it is true that the term *Orientalism* is less preferred by specialists today, both because it is too vague and general and because it connotes the high-handed executive attitude of nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century European colonialism. Nevertheless books are written and congresses held with "the Orient" as their main focus, with the Orientalist in his new or old guise as their main authority. The point is that even if it does not survive as it once did, Orientalism lives on academically through its doctrines and theses about the Orient and the Oriental.

Related to this academic tradition, whose fortunes, transmigrations, specializations, and transmissions are in part the subject of this study, is a more general meaning for Orientalism. Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and (most of the time) "the Occident." Thus a very large mass of writers, among whom are poets, novelists, philosophers, political theorists, economists, and imperial administrators, have accepted the basic distinction between East and West as the starting point for elaborate theories, epics, novels, social descriptions, and political accounts concerning the

Orient, its people, customs, "mind," destiny, and so on. *This* Orientalism can accommodate Aeschylus, say, and Victor Hugo, Dante and Karl Marx. A little later in this introduction I shall deal with the methodological problems one encounters in so broadly construed a "field" as this.

The interchange between the academic and the more or less imaginative meanings of Orientalism is a constant one, and since the late eighteenth century there has been a considerable, quite disciplined—perhaps even regulated—traffic between the two. Here I come to the third meaning of Orientalism, which is something more historically and materially defined than either of the other two. Taking the late eighteenth century as a very roughly defined starting point Orientalism can be discussed and analyzed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient. I have found it useful here to employ Michel Foucault's notion of a discourse, as described by him in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and in *Discipline and Punish*, to identify Orientalism. My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period. Moreover, so authoritative a position did Orientalism have that I believe no one writing, thinking, or acting on the Orient could do so without taking account of the limitations on thought and action imposed by Orientalism. In brief, because of Orientalism the Orient was not (and is not) a free subject of thought or action. This is not to say that Orientalism unilaterally determines what can be said about the Orient, but that it is the whole network of interests inevitably brought to bear on (and therefore always involved in) any occasion when that peculiar entity "the Orient" is in question. How this happens is what this book tries to demonstrate. It also tries to show that European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self.

Historically and culturally there is a quantitative as well as a qualitative difference between the Franco-British involvement in the Orient and—until the period of American ascendancy after

**WESTERN CAPITALISM AND EASTERN EXOTICISM:
ORIENTALISM IN EDWARD SAID'S PERSPECTIVES**
Ronald Maraden Parlindungan Silalahi

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**WESTERN CAPITALISM AND EASTERN EXOTICISM:
ORIENTALISM IN EDWARD SAID'S PERSPECTIVES**

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ABSTRACT

Postmodernism fundamentally supersedes the ideas of modern ages that base their perspective on rationality and objectivity into postmodern thought that aimed at improving awareness of the reality in human life. It is aimed at improving social or cultural conditions or circumstances and to build the forms of awareness about realities that occur in human life in all spheres of life. This conception ultimately awakens Edward Said to a social phenomenon associated with the Western (colonialist) and Eastern (orientalist). Through his writing entitled Orientalism, Edward Said links Western responses and worldviews (Orient) which are always based on the nature of preconceived and stereotyped. In this paper, the author will firstly reveal the thoughts of postmodernism and then associate them with the concept of Orientalism. At the end of this paper, the authors will conduct case studies on two texts that are considered to reflect the issues of orientalism.

Keywords: postmodernism, orientalism, Edward Said

countries that are considered as "sunrise" countries.

Orientalism, as adopted by Said in *Orientalism*, is associated with Western responses and views of the Orient (Alwee, n.d.). In Said's perspective, Western perceptions and perceptions of the Eastern Man are always based on the nature of preconceived. So it is very real if these

thoughts are a form of stereotype. In contrast, low civilizations, primitive, and so on are some form of western negative perspectives on eastern exoticism that are intrinsically cultured and have been living for hundred years. The above depictions can be seen through the following illustration.

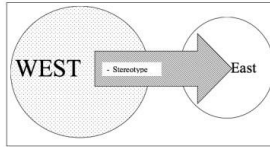


Figure 1. Orientalism

Figure 1 shows that the western world communicates preconceived messages and stereotypes. It is used to describe the eastern world. In the end, it builds and strengthens the power it possesses in the colonial era.

Alwee (n.d.) states that the West perceives that Orient has the following characteristics:

- Eastern culture is always monolithic;
- Eastern culture is static ('stagnant') and difficult and cannot even change;
- Eastern cultures of low quality and simple and traditional;
- Eastern culture is considered backward and primitive, but exotic and strange.

In *Orientalism*, Said (1978) revealed a study on history, literature, and art in European countries (Dary, 2013). Said stated that the works of the Europeans regard the Eastern nation as something different (the other) the way the easterners interpret and perceive themselves (Alwee, n.d.).

Orientalism is ultimately interpreted as an ideology that positions the west as the center in relation to the East (Said, 1978; Jones, Eliade, & Adams, 2005). According to Said (1978), the development of the idea of orientalism in order to build a thought that

has unconsciously legitimized the demands of countries called 'oriental'. The Oriental not only refers to the Western world as a whole but also the things it contains, such as leaders, education, literature, literature, and even Western art. Indirectly dominated triggered the existence of economic and political control of the countries in colonialization.

Edward Said's argumentation base is based on the fact that it found about 60,000 books written by the West. Through its cultural hegemony towards the East, the West portrays the Near Orient with a negative and degrading perspective (Karin, n.d.). If we compare with the East (and include Islam) to study Western civilization and cultural heritage, we can see that the East tends not to touch the western world. This exposure implies Said's beliefs that regard orientalism as something always associated with three phenomena. First is Orientalist. Orientalists are the specific parties of people who come into contact with the east through the process of teaching, production of works, and research on the eastern world (Said, 1978; Jones, Eliade, & Adams, 2005). These include anthropologists, sociologists, writers, researchers, historians, philologists, who have special knowledge and abilities of the western world and the phenomena associated with it.

Secondly, Orientalism is a way of thinking and thinking that affirms a significant difference between the Orient and the Occident (Said, 1978; Jones, Eliade, & Adams, 2005). In a broader view, Orientalism can be interpreted and viewed as a legitimated institution for dealing with the East (Said, 1978; Jones, Eliade, & Adams, 2005). They provide a view of the eastern world, justifying the stereotype of the East that has not yet been tested.

Orientalism in Global Context

Understanding Orientalism cannot be seen in a narrow context. Fundamentally orientalism lives and remains for the duration of the colonial process. The imperialists build their strength by discrediting the colonialized. This has happened all the time and history of human life.

Alwee (n.d.) reported that the Orientalists studied and looked at the East with some trends or ideas that can be broadly divided as follows:

- Looked at the 'ahistorical' issue. In this case, the changes that occur in the environment and culture from time to time are not a matter of concern. Western thinkers are always prejudiced that the orientation remains the same from before, now, and to the future. This is certainly contrary to post-modern thinking that rejects permanent and static forms.
- The works of colonial era are rich in negative stereotypes and prejudices to the East. For example, natural disasters occurring in Asia that are always associated with Islamic beliefs, or even statements that undermine the physical nature of the small, yellow-skinned Chinese society that is always associated with the prisoners and the weak.
- The reductionist explanation which links certain conditions with other scientifically illogical factors. Factors that inhibit the development of society that is always associated religion and the attributes attached to the culture. For example, the economic downturn in Asia is often associated with the character of the eastern society.
- Focuses on analyzing transitory texts and not appealing to the context (time, place, and history) that fundamentally

influence the interpretation behind the text. In essence changing constantly, events that ever happened (history) are not completely the basis for a thorough understanding of current events

- It does not emphasize the social approach in understanding the phenomena occurring in eastern society. Western thinkers emphasize the search for data that is compatible with the concept of hegemony to be conveyed in the text and heed the proper method approach that should be used.
- Not lifting the phenomenon of culture historically. Cultures assessed as having high value tend not to be raised or delivered. This confirms the existence of efforts to strengthen Western capitalism and undermine the noble values of the East.

The issue of Orientalism basically has its place in humanities and social studies. To understand the phenomena associated with orientalism, a researcher must understand the underlying context of the issue. For example, to dissect Orientalism in China it is necessary to conduct historical tracing related to the occupation. In this case, the issue of orientalism would certainly be associated with British colonialization and its occupation. The resulting literature will certainly be the basis for building the analysis.

In his presentation, Said (1978) asserted a very strong relationship between the East and the Islam. Asia is regarded as a center for the spread of Islam in a number of Western literature. This hatred can be clearly seen from orientalist works that describe and associate the teachings of Islam with negative mythical things associated (Prasetyo, 2009). Even in other literature can be seen a number of orientalist works that describe the Prophet Muhammad, Islam, and the Quran negatively.

In his analysis, Said presents a critical analysis with a new way to analyze the history and social phenomena that have occurred. Based on the method of deconstruction, Said is able to show and explain the ways in which some discourses, values, and knowledge reconstruct facts through an independent approach (Susanto, 2008). The incorporation of methods used in literary studies by focusing on critical

Representasi Konflik Politik 1965: Hegemoni dan Dominasi Negara dalam Cerpen Susuk Kekebalan karya Han Gagas

Hary Sulistyo p.28

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Heryanto (2015) dan Taum (2016). Heryanto membahas mengenai munculnya kembali ideologi yang awalnya terkakang oleh rezim Orde Baru seperti representasi tema-tema 65 dan munculnya tren novel-novel bertema Islam. Sedangkan Taum secara khusus membahas novel-novel Indonesia yang mengangkat peristiwa konflik politik 1965 di Indonesia.

Tren karya sastra dengan tema konflik politik 1965 memiliki korelasi dengan berakhirnya pemerintahan Orde Baru yang dianggap otoriter dalam hal politik media dan ideologi pencerahan. Banyak karya dilarang beredar karena dianggap menganggu atau mendukung keberadaannya ideologi resisten yang tidak sejalan dengan asas tunggal Pancasila. Hal itu berdampak terhadap pola-pola karya sastra yang ditulis dan diterbitkan di Indonesia.

Landasan Teori

Penelitian ini menggunakan Sosiologi Antonio Gramsci berkaitan dengan negara dan hegemoni. Tidak semua asumsi teori Gramsci akan digunakan untuk menganalisis cerpen *Susuk Kekebalan* karena ada beberapa asumsi teori yang bisa digabungkan dengan asumsi teori lain. Secara signifikan konsep-konsep pemikiran Gramsci yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah hegemoni, resistensi, dan dominasi. Konsep ini relevan dengan konteks cerita pada cerpen karena *Susuk Kekebalan* merepresentasikan peristiwa perubahan kekuasaan yang didasari oleh persoalan kelas. Peristiwa di Jakarta yang diadukan terhadap PKI sebagai partai representasi buruh dan petani (proletariat) di Indone-

sia, menentang keberadaan penguasa yang dianggap tidak sejalan dengan ideologi khususnya dalam hal kekuasaan. Susanto (2011) menjelaskan bahwa hegemoni merupakan suatu bentuk menguasai dengan "mekanisme moral dan intelektual" secara konsensus.

Kelas dalam pandangan Gramsci tidak serta merta berkaitan dengan oposisi kelas atas dan bawah dalam kaitannya dengan determinasi ekonomi dalam konsep Marx. Kelas dalam pandangan Gramsci bias dalam bentuk kelompok partai maupun agama. Seperti halnya konsep pengembangan teori Marx yang diperkenalkan oleh Gramsci, hal ini juga terlihat pada persoalan yang muncul dalam cerpen *Susuk Kekebalan*, khususnya saat perubahan kekuasaan yang relevan dengan konteks sejarah 65 di Indonesia.

Farik (2010:179) menjelaskan konsep aplikasi penelitian Heryanto terbagi ke dalam tiga tahapan yang terdiri dari deskripsi mengenai kenyataan hegemoni, politik kekuasaan sebagai politik bersastra, dan hubungan kekuasaan dengan politik general sebagai sastra berpolitik saat mendefinisikan Indonesia mutakhir atau dasar teori hegemoni Gramscian, terutama dengan model yang digunakan oleh Williams. Sebagai studi mengenai praktik hegemoni dalam kekuasaan, studi ini tentu saja memandang kekuasaan sebagai praktik atau aktivitas politik. Aktivitas politik ini sesuai dengan hegemoni, meliputi dua level yang sama pentingnya, yaitu level politik kekuasaan ini sendiri dan level politik general yang meliputi struktur sosial pada tingkat makro. Heryanto membagi tulasannya menjadi tiga bagian, yaitu deskripsi mengenai ken-

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yasan hegemoni yang terjadi dalam kekuasaan Indonesia mutakhir, politik kekuasaan yang disebutnya sebagai politik bersastra, dan hubungan kekuasaan dengan politik general yang disebutnya sebagai sastra berpolitik.

Penelitian ini mencoba menerapkan ketiga bagian yang dilakukan oleh Heryanto dengan menggunakan model Williams sebagaimana dijelaskan oleh Farik di atas. Meskipun demikian, lingkungannya lebih sempit dan hanya diaplikasikan pada sebuah cerpen yang memiliki korelasi dengan politik general di Indonesia yang dapat dikaitkan dengan sejumlah konsep pemikiran Gramsci khususnya berkaitan dengan hegemoni, resistensi, dan dominasi yang menjadi kerangka sudut pandang teoritis dalam penelitian ini.

Kenyataan hegemoni dalam sastra sebagai poin pertama diwujudkan pada konteks penggambaran kondisi sosial yang terus direproduksi oleh masyarakat yang mana karya sastra merupakan representasi kondisi suatu masyarakat. Politik bersastra menyangkut sikap pengarang dalam memandang persoalan politik yang ia tuangkan di dalam karyanya di mana pengarang memiliki kecenderungan ideologi tertentu. Hubungan antara politik general atau sastra berpolitik berkaitan dengan sastra yang memiliki hubungan dengan politik makro yang dalam hal ini karya sastra akan memberikan pengaruh dalam hal perspektif pembaca mengenai suatu peristiwa politik yang terjadi di Indonesia.

Halinya representasi negara dalam peristiwa konflik politik 1965 khususnya di daerah

Poonoogo, tercermin dalam cerpen *Susuk Kekebalan*. Aparatus negara hadir dalam peristiwa penggerakan terhadap kelompok BRP melalui representasi bapak bersenapan yang mana dalam konteks ini adalah militer. Seperti dikemukakan oleh Gramsci, bahwasanya negara sebagai pemenang momentum dalam perubahan kekuasaan akan mempertahankan legitimasinya. Baik dengan cara hegemoni, konsensus, maupun dominasi terhadap ideologi-ideologi resisten atau kelas yang tidak berafiliasi dengan ideologi dominan atau kekuasaan.

Cerpen *Susuk Kekebalan* menunjukkan sikap resistensi dalam diri kelompok BRP melalui anggoutanya yaitu tokoh Warok Wulungeni, Nji Warok, Aku, Karso, dan teman-temannya yang melakukan perlawanan terhadap ideologi negara. Resistensi ini relevan dengan pandangan Gramsci yang mengatakan bahwa di dalam suatu negara, relatif tidak mungkin tercapainya hegemoni secara menyeluruh, mengingat tentu ada ideologi-ideologi lain yang tidak terafiliasi dengan negara baik secara politis maupun secara ideologis.

Gramsci menjelaskan konsep pemikirannya tentang peran partai dalam hal teori dan praktik. Hal ini tentu berkaitan dengan tugas partai untuk kepentingan revolusioner dalam suatu negara. Patria (2009:112-113) mengemukakan bahwa bagi Gramsci, partai adalah alat sesungguhnya bagi kelas pekerja untuk menyatakan teori dan praktik. Teori muncul dari partai dan dalam rangka mengorganisir problem yang dihadapi oleh massa yang terpecahan. Karena itu konsepnya tentang negara dan hegemoni sesungguhnya merupakan bagian dari praktik re-

TEORI KEKUASAAN MICHEL FOUCAULT:
TANTANGAN BAGI SOSIOLOGI POLITIK

Oleh:
Umar Kamahi
(Dosen UNDAMA Kupang)

ABSTRAK

Kekuasaan kerap diperbincangkan dalam wacana politik atau sosiologi politik. Dalam konteks ini, kekuasaan dipahami sebagai kualitas, kapasitas atau modal untuk mencapai tujuan tertentu dari pemilikinya. Foucault tidak menolak cara pandang semacam ini, tapi hal itu tidak cukup untuk memahami praktik penundukan yang tak kasat mata. Pandangan yang lebih kritis tentang kekuasaan muncul dalam kajian budaya. Konsep Gramsci tentang hegemoni sering digunakan untuk membongkar kemampuan budaya dalam proses dominasi yang terelubung. Dalam penjelasan yang lebih canggih, kekuasaan bekerja melampaui cara-cara hegemonik, yang mana hal ini dikonsepsikan Foucault sebagai *governmentality*. Tulisan ini membahas konsep ini dalam pemikiran Foucault tentang kekuasaan. Dalam tulisan ini diuraikan pula perdebatan tentang relasi dominasi dan relasi kekuasaan yang sering dipahami secara tumpang-tindih dalam kajian politik atau sosiologi politik.

Kata kunci: Power, Domination, Foucault, Governmentality, Cultural Studies

A. PENDAHULUAN

Karya-karya Foucault menunjukkan bahwa persoalan kekuasaan telah menjadi pokok perhatiannya sepanjang karier intelektualnya. Foucault selama ini dikenal sebagai seorang filsuf, juga sebagai sejarawan. Namun, pemikirannya memiliki pengaruh yang luas terhadap ilmu-ilmu sosial lainnya termasuk antropologi dan sosiologi. Foucault tidak mengkaji sejarah untuk mengetahui bagaimana riwayat hidup orang-orang besar atau siapa yang berkuasa pada suatu jaman tertentu, melainkan kajian sejarah yang dilakukannya adalah sejarah tentang masa kini (*history of the present*).

Memahami sejarah masa kini adalah untuk mengetahui apa yang terjadi kini (*what is today?*), yakni bagaimana kekuasaan beroperasi. Sedangkan penyelidikan sejarah masa lalu dilakukan untuk mencari retakan suatu zaman (*discontinuity*) sebagai usaha untuk menemukan rezim pengetahuan (*episteme*) apa yang berkuasa pada masa tertentu (*archeology of knowledge*), dan bagaimana beroperasinya kekuasaan (*genealogy of power*) itu kini. Kekuasaan dalam pandangan Foucault tidak dipahami secara negatif seperti dalam perspektif Marxian, melainkan produktif dan reproduktif. Ia tidak terpasat, tetapi menyebar (*omnipresent*) dan mengalir dinormalisasikan dalam praktik pendisiplinan.

Disiplin merupakan bentuk normalisasi kekuasaan yang berlangsung dalam suatu institusi terhadap tubuh individu. Beroperasinya kekuasaan yang dilegitimasi oleh rezim pengetahuan tertentu sebagai normalisasi itu juga berlangsung dalam ruang yang lebih luas, yakni terhadap tubuh sosial (*population*). Persoalan ini dibahas oleh Foucault secara intensif

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dalam beberapa tulisan dan ceramahnya sebagai suatu konsep *governmentality*. Ini tentu saja berbeda dari pengertian kekuasaan yang umum dipahami dalam sosiologi politik sebagai suatu atribut dengan kajian yang bersifat makro. Tulisan ini mengkaji bagaimana teori kekuasaan Foucault itu dibangun, bagaimana ia menjadi tantangan bagi sosiologi politik dan kajian kebudayaan, serta bagaimana tantangan itu direspons oleh keduanya.

Penelitian ini disusun dari tinjauan literatur terhadap karya-karya Foucault, karya-karya para teoretis yang memetakan pemikiran sosial Foucault, dan riset-riset yang berangkat dari pendekatan Foucault. Dari upaya mengompilasi dan membandingkan berbagai karya tersebut, diperolehlah benang merah dari cara pandang sistematis Foucault perihal kekuasaan.

B. PEMBAHASAN

1. Kekuasaan dan Pengetahuan

Hubungan antara kekuasaan dan pengetahuan menjadi tema sentral dalam seluruh studi yang dilakukan Foucault sepanjang karier intelektualnya. Meski demikian, dari seluruh karyanya, jarang sekali sebenarnya Foucault menjelaskan hubungan antara kekuasaan dan pengetahuan secara eksplisit. Beberapa tulisan dan wawancara dengan Foucault yang terhimpun dalam sebuah buku *Power/Knowledge* berusaha menunjukkan relasi kekuasaan dan pengetahuan secara eksplisit. Namun, baik melalui wawancara maupun tulisan dan ceramah kuliahnya, tidak ada pembicaraan secara spesifik hubungan antara kekuasaan dan pengetahuan selain ia menjadi simpulan tematik dari editor buku tersebut. Persoalan ini pada akhirnya menyulitkan untuk memahami hubungan kekuasaan dan pengetahuan, meski Foucault sebenarnya juga telah menunjukkan hubungan tersebut dalam karya-karya awalnya. Menurutnya, apa lagi yang dibicarakan dalam tema-tema seperti kegiatan, disiplin, dan seksualitas selain sebagai beroperasinya jalinan antara kekuasaan dengan pengetahuan. Foucault lebih intens membicarakan kekuasaan secara tematik daripada membicarakan pengetahuan. Oleh karena itu, pada bagian ini, tema tentang hubungan antara kekuasaan dan pengetahuan akan didiskusikan bertolak dari konsepsi Foucault tentang kekuasaan.

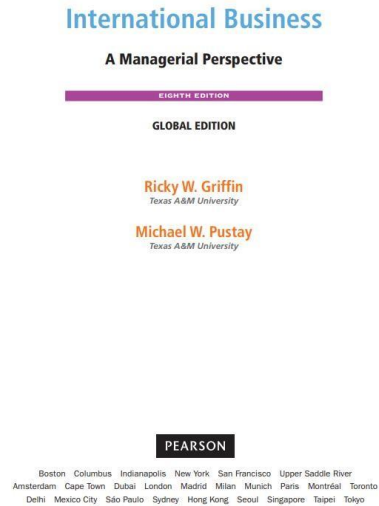
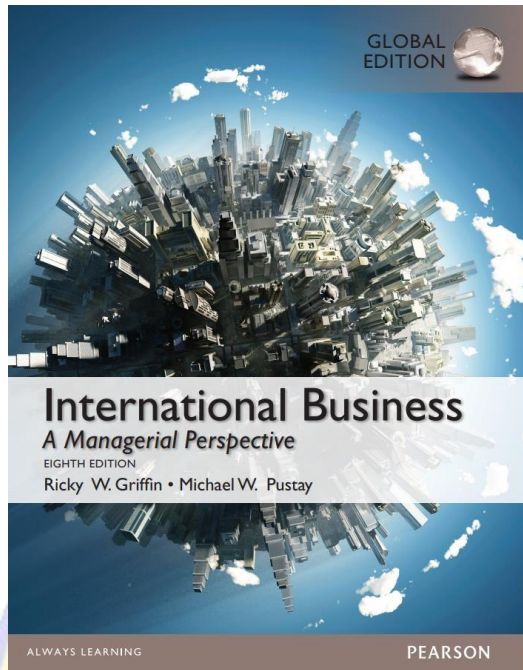
Konsep kekuasaan Foucault memiliki pengertian yang berbeda dari konsep-konsep kekuasaan yang mewarnai perspektif politik dari sudut pandang Marxian atau Weberian. Kekuasaan bagi Foucault tidak dipahami dalam suatu hubungan kepemilikan sebagai properti, perolehan, atau hak istimewa yang dapat digenggam oleh sekelompok kecil masyarakat dan yang dapat terancam punah. Kekuasaan juga tidak dipahami beroperasi secara negatif melalui tindakan represif, koersif, dan menekan dari suatu institusi pemilik kekuasaan, termasuk negara. Kekuasaan bukan merupakan fungsi dominasi dari suatu kelas yang didasarkan pada penguasaan atas ekonomi atau manipulasi ideologi (Marx), juga bukan dimiliki berkat suatu kharisma (Weber). Kekuasaan tidak dipandang secara negatif, melainkan positif dan produktif. Kekuasaan bukan merupakan imitasi atau stuktur, bukan kekuatan yang dimiliki, tetapi kekuasaan merupakan istilah yang digunakan untuk menyebut situasi strategis kompleks dalam masyarakat. Kekuasaan menurut Foucault mesti dipandang sebagai relasi-relasi yang beragam dan tersebar seperti jaringan, yang mempunyai ruang lingkup strategis.

Memahami kekuasaan bukan dengan mengajukan pertanyaan apa kekuasaan itu atau siapa yang memiliki kekuasaan atau dari mana kekuasaan itu bersumber, melainkan memahami kekuasaan mesti didedikasikan dengan mengajukan pertanyaan bagaimana kekuasaan

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Griffin & Pustay (2014, p.111)



110 PART 1 • THE WORLD'S MARKETPLACES

to 2,500 movies a year. An estimated half million people are employed in the industry, which garners sales of \$200 to \$300 million a year. DVDs, not movie theaters, serve as the primary channel of distribution, and are sold for a dollar or two by street vendors. Hollywood producers gain most of their revenues within a week or two of their movies' release. They must act fast because pirates quickly make their own copies of any new movie; most Nigerian producers use the cash flow from one movie to finance their next one.

Nigerian filmmakers are adapting their products to seek a broader, pan-African market. Most of the films are in English, rather than in one of Nigeria's 510 living languages, to broaden their appeal throughout the continent. Casting and marketing are often important. Hiring a Ghanaian actor or a Kenyan actress will likely boost sales in those countries. Such strategies have paid off, as Hollywood movies are available and popular throughout Africa. Satellite TV providers like South Africa's MultiChoice have dedicated channels, beaming Hollywood products to local audiences. The demand for Hollywood movies is transcending the continent as well. To serve the African expat community in the United Kingdom, British satellite TV provider BSkyB now features Hollywood movies on its Vox Africa channel. ■

Firms and businesspeople venturing beyond their familiar domestic markets soon recognize that foreign business customs, values, and definitions of ethical behavior differ vastly from their own. Firms that rely on their familiar home culture to compete in a new market can jeopardize their international success. Indeed, virtually all facets of an international firm's business—including contract negotiations, production operations, marketing decisions, and human resource management policies—may be affected by cultural variations. Culture can even create a competitive advantage—or disadvantage—on firms, as “E-World” suggests. This chapter highlights some of the cultural differences among countries and explains how understanding those differences is invaluable for international businesspeople.

Characteristics of Culture

Business, like all other human activities, is conducted within the context of society. Culture is the collection of values, beliefs, behaviors, customs, and attitudes that distinguish one society from another. A society's culture determines the rules that govern how firms operate in the society. Several characteristics of culture are worth noting for their relevance to international business:

- Culture reflects learned behavior that is transmitted from one member of a society to another. Some elements of culture are transmitted intergenerationally, as when parents teach their children table manners. Other elements are transmitted intragenerationally, as when seniors educate incoming freshmen about a school's traditions.

E-WORLD

THE INTERNET, NATIONAL COMPETITIVENESS, AND CULTURE

What does it take to succeed in the Internet age? According to some experts, a country needs “superbroad and fast capital markets, venture capital, networks, world-class universities, risk-taking culture, restructuring ethics, and high-tech talent pools.” The Internet, however, threatens to upset business culture norms. As you read this chapter, think about the requirements for success in the Internet age and the various elements of culture that are discussed. For example, you might consider the following questions:

- In some business cultures, pay is linked to seniority. Many small high-tech businesses, however, rely heavily on stock options to attract talent.
- Can group-oriented cultures that promote a slow, consensus-building style of decision making act quickly enough to compete in the fast-moving e-commerce environment?
- Some cultures dislike uncertainty and risk taking. How can they thrive in the Internet age, which to date has been characterized by high levels of uncertainty and risk?
- Some business cultures stress conducting business with those partners with whom you or your company have developed a long-term, trusting relationship. Is such an approach introduced in the Internet age?

CHAPTER 4 • THE ROLE OF CULTURE 111

- The elements of culture are *interrelated*. For example, Japan's group-oriented, hierarchical society stresses harmony and loyalty, which historically translated into lifetime employment and minimal job switching.
- Because culture is learned behavior, it is *adaptive*; that is, the culture changes in response to external forces that affect the society. For example, after World War II, Germany was divided into free-market-oriented West Germany and communist-controlled East Germany. Despite their having a common heritage developed over centuries, this division created large cultural differences between East (East German) and West (West German). The differences resulted from adaptations of the East German culture to the dictates of communist ideology regarding attitudes toward work, risk taking, and fairness of reward systems.
- Culture is *shared* by members of the society and indeed defines the membership in the society. Individuals who share a culture are members of a society; those who do not are outside the boundaries of the society.

In Practice

- Culture is not something we are born with. It is something we learn from other members of our society.
- Culture may affect business opportunities and business procedures. Firms should make sure that they understand the local culture before entering a new host country.

For further consideration: What types of cultures facilitate success in fast-moving industries like e-commerce?

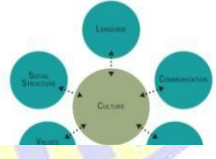
Elements of Culture

A society's culture determines how its members communicate and interact with each other. The basic elements of culture (see Figure 4.1) are social structure, language, communication, religion, and values and attitudes. The interaction of these elements affects the local environment in which international businesses operate. They also affect the ability of countries to respond to changing circumstances, as “Bringing the World into Focus” suggests.

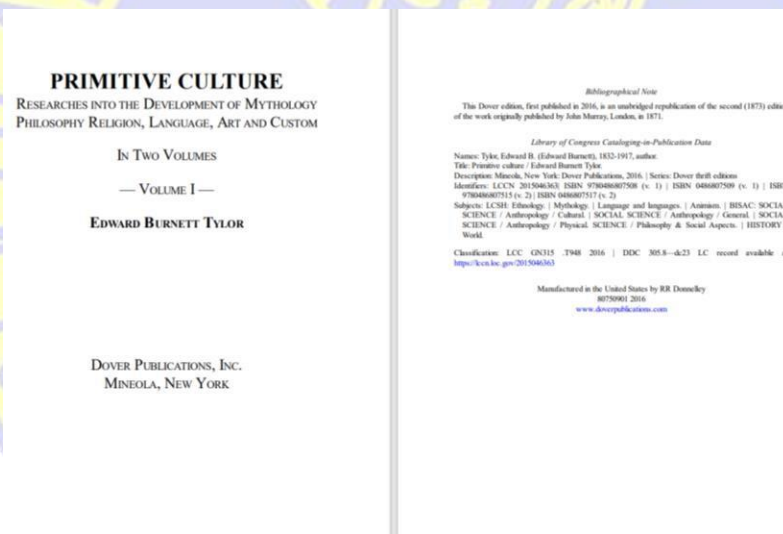
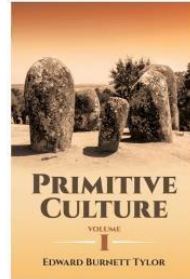
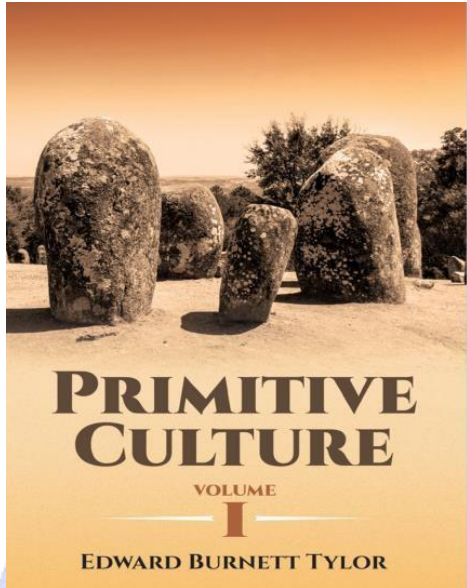
Social Structure

Basic to every society is its social structure, the overall framework that determines the roles of individuals within the society, the stratification of the society, and individuals' mobility within the society.

FIGURE 4.1 Elements of Culture



Edward taylor primitive culture 1871



PEIMITIVE CULTUKE.

CHAPTER I.

THE SCIENCE OF CULTURE.

Culture or Civilization—Its phenomena related according to definite Laws—Method of classification and discussion of the evidence.—Concession of successive stages of culture by Permanence, Modification, and Survival.—Principal topics examined in the present work.

CULTURE or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. The condition of culture among the various societies of mankind, in so far as it is capable of being investigated on general principles, is a subject apt for the study of laws of human thought and action. On the one hand, the uniformity which so largely pervades civilization may be ascribed, in great measure, to the uniform action of uniform causes; while on the other hand its various grades may be regarded as stages of development or evolution, each the outcome of previous history, and about to do its proper part in shaping the history of the future. To the investigation of these two great principles in several departments of ethnography, with especial consideration of the civilization of the lower tribes as related to the civilization of the higher nations the present volumes are devoted.

Our modern investigators in the sciences of inorganic nature are foremost to recognize, both within and without their special fields of work, the unity of nature, the fixity of its laws, the definite sequence of cause and effect through which every fact depends on what has gone before it, and acts upon what is to come after it. They grasp firmly the Pythagorean doctrine of pervading order in the universal Kosmos. They affirm, with Aristotle, that nature is not full of incoherent episodes, like a bad tragedy. They agree with Leibnitz in

what he calls "my axiom, that nature never acts by leaps (la nature n'agit jamais par saut)," as well as in his "great principle, commonly little employed, that nothing happens without its sufficient reason." Nor, again, in studying the structure and habits of plants and animals, or in investigating the lower functions even of man, are these leading ideas unacknowledged. But when we come to talk of the higher processes of human feeling and action, of thought and language, knowledge and art, a change appears in the prevalent tone of opinion. The world at large is scarcely prepared to accept the general study of human life as a branch of natural science, and to carry out, in a large sense, the poet's injunction to "Account for moral as for natural things." To many educated minds there seems something presumptuous and repulsive in the view that the history of mankind is part and parcel of the history of nature, that our thoughts, wills, and actions accord with laws as definite as those which govern the motion of waves, the combination of acids and bases, and the growth of plants and animals.

The main reasons of this state of the popular judgment are not far to seek. There are many who would willingly accept a science of history if placed before them with substantial definiteness of principle and evidence, but who not unreasonably reject the systems offered to them, as falling too far short of a scientific standard. Through resistance such as this, real knowledge always sooner or later makes its way, while the habit of opposition to novelty does such excellent service against the invasions of speculative dogmatism, that we may sometimes even wish it were stronger than it is. But other obstacles to the investigation of laws of human nature arise from considerations of metaphysics and theology. The popular notion of free human will involves not only freedom to act in accordance with motive, but also a power of breaking loose from continuity and acting without cause,—a combination which may be roughly illustrated by the simile of a balance sometimes acting in the usual way, but also possessed of the faculty of turning by itself without or against its weights. This view of an anomalous action of the will, which it need hardly be said is incompatible with scientific argument, subsists as an opinion patent or latent in men's minds, and strongly affecting their theoretic views of history, though it is not, as a rule, brought prominently forward in systematic reasoning. Indeed the definition of human will, as strictly according with motive, is the only possible scientific basis in such enquiries. Happily, it is not needful to add here yet another to the list of dissertations on supernatural intervention and natural causation, on liberty, predestination,

Kay, Matuszek, and Munson 2015, p.2

Unequal Representation and Gender Stereotypes in Image Search Results for Occupations

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ABSTRACT

Information environments have the power to affect people's perceptions and behaviors. In this paper, we present the results of studies in which we characterize the gender bias present in image search results for a variety of occupations. We experimentally evaluate the effects of bias in image search results on the images people choose to represent those careers and on people's perceptions of the prevalence of men and women in each occupation. We find evidence for both stereotype exaggeration and systematic underrepresentation of women in search results. We also find that people rate search results higher when they are consistent with stereotypes for a career, and shifting the representation of gender in image search results can shift people's perceptions about real-world distributions. We also discuss tensions between desires for high-quality results and broader societal goals for equality of representation in this space.

Author Keywords

Representation; bias; stereotypes; gender; inequality; image search

tional choices, opportunities, and compensation [20,26]. Stereotypes of many careers as gender-segregated serve to reinforce gender sorting into different careers and unequal compensation for men and women in the same career. Cultivation theory, traditionally studied in the context of television, contends that both the prevalence and characteristics of media portrayals can develop, reinforce, or challenge viewers' stereotypes [29].

Inequality in the representation of women and minorities, and the role of online information sources in portraying and perpetuating it, have not gone unnoticed in the technology community. This past spring, Getty Images and LeanIn.org announced an initiative to increase the diversity of working women portrayed in the stock images and to improve how they are depicted [27]. A recent study identified discrimination in online advertising delivery: when searching for names, search results for black-identifying first names were accompanied by more ads for public records searches than those for white-identifying first names, and those results were more likely to suggest searches for arrest records [34].

tion, results for many occupations exhibit a slight exaggeration of gender ratios according to stereotype, e.g., male-dominated professions tend to have even more men in their results than would be expected if the proportions reflected real-world distributions. This effect is also seen when people rate the quality of search results or select the best image from a result: they prefer images with genders that match the stereotype of an occupation, even when controlling for qualitative differences in images.

• **Systematic over-/under-representation:** Search results also exhibit a slight under-representation of women in images, such that an occupation with 50% women would be expected to have about 45% women in the results on average. However, when evaluating image result quality, people do not systematically prefer other gender, instead, stereotyping dominates, and they prefer images that match a given occupation's gender stereotype.

• **Qualitative differential representation:** Image search results also exhibit biases in how genders are depicted: those matching the gender stereotype of a profession tend to be portrayed in more professional-looking and less inappropriate-looking.

• **Perceptions of occupations in search results:** We find that people's existing perceptions of gender ratios in occupations are quite accurate ($d' = 0.73$), but that manipulated search results can have a small but significant effect on perceptions, shifting estimations on average $\sim 7\%$. This last point contributes to the broader motivation of this work: not only to contribute to an understanding of how everyday information systems – here, image search tools – both reflect and influence perceptions about gender in occupations, but also to characterize a possible design space for correcting or adjusting for differences in representation. We do not take a stance on whether or how designers and system builders should address gender inequality and its effects in their systems, but we believe that designers should be aware of inequalities in their systems and how those inequalities can affect perceptions. We particularly note two overriding design tensions in this space: the desire to improve perceived search result quality, and societal motivation for improving equality of representation.

In the remainder of this paper, we review motivating work and our specific research questions. We then describe four studies and their answers to those research questions before discussing the implications for designers and society.

BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

The Internet and large data sets create many new opportunities for engaging with data and using it in communication and to support decision making. They also come with challenges and pitfalls. A recent White House report noted that biases in data collection and presentation can lead to flawed understandings of the world for and use of public services, and that this can lead to discrimination in who receives those services [8].

In the studies presented in this paper, we investigate the prevalence and risks of gender-based stereotyping and bias in image search results for occupations. Our research questions were guided by prior work in stereotyping and biases, the role of media in forming, perpetuating, or challenging these, and contemporary discussions of the effects of stereotypes and biases on information environments.

Stereotypes and bias

A stereotype refers to a belief that individuals in a group – e.g., gender, occupation, race, ethnicity, or particular background – generally have one or more traits or behaviors. People make use of stereotypes to explain their own or others' behaviors [14,15], to justify actions or decide how to act [4,15], and to define group boundaries [15]. While accurate stereotypes may be useful for making decisions in the absence of more specific information, inaccurate stereotypes can be harmful. Beliefs that one's group performs poorly at a task can lead to lower performance (stereotype threat) [22]. Stereotyped expectations about someone's behavior can also lead them to behave in that way, a self-fulfilling prophecy [12,38], and expectations about one's own abilities can influence expectations and choices, such as beliefs about what career path one should follow [6,7].

Bias arises when an individual, group or process unfairly and systematically treats an individual or group favorably or unfavorably. Stereotypes about abilities or character are a common source of bias [17], often to the disadvantage of a particular race, sexual orientation, or gender. For example, stereotypes about gender and parental roles can systematically limit women's career advancement [13,15,16].

Effects of stereotypes and bias in the media

The portrayals of women and racial/ethnic minorities in television and other media has received considerable attention as both a possible source of stereotypes and opportunity to challenge them [11]. Exclusion of these groups can imply that they are "unimportant, unrepresentative, and powerless" [11]. Their inclusion offers specific examples whose implications depend on how they are portrayed, and these portrayals can reinforce or challenge stereotypes. Unfortunately, portrayals often reinforce negative stereotypes, for example by showing racial/ethnic minorities as criminals, welfare recipients, and in low-status service jobs [11].

Cultivation theory predicts that television's portrayal of the world affects people's beliefs about reality [16,31]. Portrayals, or the lack of portrayals, can affect whether people believe that people like them commonly participate in an occupation, or their perceived self-efficacy for that role [12,25]. Researchers studying television commercials find that women are less likely to be portrayed as workers and that they exaggerate gender-occupation stereotypes [5]. They express concern that such portrayals may perpetuate stereotypes. Cultivation theory has also been found to predict how people perceive risks after experiencing them in a video game [7], and playing a sexualized female character reduces female players' feelings of self-efficacy [3].

Stereotypes and bias in information systems

Like media and other built systems or environments, computer systems have bias. Fishman and Nussbaum describe biased systems as those that "systematically and unfairly discriminate against certain individuals or groups of individuals in favor of others" [9]. They describe three categories: pre-existing bias (arising from biases present in individuals or society), technical bias (arising from technical constraints), and emergent bias (arising in real use, in which a system is misused for the capabilities or values of its users). They argue "freedom from bias should be counted among the select set of criteria according to which the quality of systems in use in society should be judged."

Search engines have been studied and received popular attention for bias in their results, both for what they index and present overall [19,36] and what they present to particular users [28]. People tend to rely on search engines' selection and ordering of results as signs of quality and relevance [17,22], and as biased search results may affect people's choices and beliefs. Scholars have previously noted bias in which geographic locations are indexed and listed [8]. Other express concern that search autocomplete features could perpetuate prevailing biases, seeing that suggestions varied between different religious groups, and sexual and racial minorities received more negatively framed questions on suggestions [2]. As illustrated by these examples, a search engine which has neither algorithms that systematically favor one group nor designers with a particular bias can still perpetuate prevailing societal biases: a representative indexing of biased source material will produce results that contain the same biases.

More recently, Getty Images and Sheryl Sandberg's Lean In Foundation announced an effort to improve the depiction of working women in stock photos. They argue that existing images support stereotypes of working women as isolated, uncolored, or in supporting roles, and that these depictions hurt women's career aspirations and prospects [12,24,27].

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Motivated by these concerns and questions about them, we conducted a series of studies to evaluate bias in image search results. Pre-existing biases that affect the images available for image search systems, and algorithms designed to represent available content, may lead to biased result sets, which in turn affect people's perceptions and choices among the search results. We specifically focus on gender representation in image search results for occupations. We choose the portrayal of occupations because it is a topic of social importance that has recently received attention and efforts to ameliorate biases. While efforts such as the partnership between Getty Images and Lean In may make more diverse or positive images available, and particularly to those who access the Lean In collection, many people turn to major search engines when looking to illustrate a topic, and so we focus our attention on the image search results for a major search engine.

To the discussion of the bias in computer systems, we contribute an assessment of the current extent and form of several forms of stereotyping and differences of representation present in image search results: *stereotype exaggeration*, *systematic over-/under-representation*, and *qualitative differential representation*. We also explore the effects of these biases on perceptions of the occupations in question. We designed four studies to answer these research questions:

- **Study 1:** How does the prevalence of men and women in image search results for professions correspond to their prevalence in actual professions? Are genders systematically over- or under-represented across careers, and is there stereotype exaggeration in gender proportions?
- **Study 2:** Are there qualitative differences in how men and women are portrayed in the image search results?
- **Study 3:** Do biased image search results lead people to perpetuate a bias in image search results when they choose images to represent a profession (i.e. through stereotype exaggeration)? Are there systemic over- or under-representations of women in preferred results? How do differences in representation affect people's perceptions of the search result quality?
- **Study 4:** Do differences in representation in image search results affect viewers' perceptions of the prevalence of men and women in that occupation? Can we shift those systems by manipulating results?

For all studies, we recruited takers/participants from Amazon's Mechanical Turk crowdwork market. We required that they be from the United States (as our occupation prevalence data is specific to that population) and, for studies 2-4, required them to have the Master qualification.

STUDY 1: GENDER PROPORTIONS IN RESULTS COMPARED TO ACTUAL PROPORTIONS

In this study, we sought to characterize the extent to which the prevalence of men and women in image search results for professions correspond to their actual prevalence in their occupations. As a gold standard for actual prevalence of men and women by occupation, we used estimates from the US Bureau of Labor and Statistics (BLS) [2]. We did not use all occupations, but removed occupations that:

- Presented difficult polysyllabic problems for example, occupations that listed as conjunctions of multiple occupations in the BLS, such as "Musicians, singers, and record workers", are difficult to reduce to a single search.
- Had non-obvious search terms, for example, "Miscellaneous media and communications workers".
- Are typically referred to using gender-specific terms for example, "nurse" and "nurseman".

¹We use "workers" for studies 1 and 2, where they were asked only to label data, and "participants" for studies 3 and 4, where their opinions and perceptions were solicited.

Allport (1954, p.9)

THE NATURE OF PREJUDICE

GORDON W. ALLPORT
Professor of Psychology
Harvard University

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COLLEGE OF PETROLEUM & MINERALS
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ADDISON-WESLEY PUBLISHING COMPANY
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wegians were giants because he was impressed by the gigantic stature of Ymir in the saga, and for years was fearful lest he meet a living Norwegian. A certain man happened to know three Englishmen personally and proceeded to declare that the whole English race had the common attributes that he observed in these three.

There is a natural basis for this tendency. Life is so short, and the demands upon us for practical adjustments so great, that we cannot let our ignorance detain us in our daily transactions. We have to decide whether objects are good or bad by classes. We cannot weigh each object in the world by itself. Rough and ready rubrics, however coarse and broad, have to suffice.

Not every overblown generalization is a prejudice. Some are simply *misconceptions*, wherein we organize wrong information. One child had the idea that all people living in Minneapolis were "monopolists." And from his father he had learned that monopolists were evil folk. When in later years he discovered the confusion, his dislike of dwellers in Minneapolis vanished.

Here we have the test to help us distinguish between ordinary errors of prejudgment and prejudice. If a person is capable of rectifying his erroneous judgments in the light of new evidence he is not prejudiced. *Prejudgments become prejudices only if they are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge.* A prejudice, unlike a simple misconception, is actively resistant to all evidence that would unseat it. We tend to grow emotional when a prejudice is threatened with contradiction. Thus the difference between ordinary judgments and prejudice is that one can discuss and rectify a judgment without emotional resistance.

Taking these various considerations into account, we may now attempt a final definition of negative ethnic prejudice—one that will serve us throughout this book. Each phrase in the definition represents a considerable condensation of the points we have been discussing:

Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group.

The net effect of prejudice, thus defined, is to place the object of prejudice at some disadvantage not merited by his own misconduct.

Is Prejudice a Value Concept?

Some authors have introduced an additional ingredient into their definitions of prejudice. They claim that attitudes are prejudiced only if they violate some important norms or values accepted in a

culture.⁴ They insist that prejudice is only that type of prejudice that is ethically disapproved in a society.

One experiment shows that common usage of the term has this flavor. Several adult judges were asked to take statements made by ninth-grade children and sort them into piles according to the degree of "prejudice" represented. It turned out that whatever a boy may have said against girls as a group was not judged to be prejudice, for it is regarded as normal for an early adolescent to heap scorn on the opposite sex. Nor were statements made against teachers considered examples of prejudice. This antagonism, too, seemed natural to this age, and socially unimportant. But when the children expressed animosity toward labor unions, toward social classes, races or nationalities, more judgments of "prejudice" were given.⁵

In brief, the social importance of an unfair attitude entered into the judges' view of its prejudiced character. A fifteen-year-old boy who is "off" girls is not considered as biased as one who is "off" nationalities other than his own.

If we use the term in this sense we should have to say that the older caste system in India—which is now breaking down—involved no prejudice. It was simply a convenient stratification in the social structure, acceptable to nearly all citizens because it clarified the division of labor and defined social prerogatives. It was for centuries acceptable even to the untouchables because the religious doctrine of reincarnation made the arrangement seem entirely just. An untouchable was ostracized because in previous existences he failed to merit promotions to a higher caste or to a supermortal existence. He now has his just deserts and likewise an opportunity through an obedient and spiritually directed life to win advancement in future reincarnations. Assuming that this account of a happy caste system really marked Hindu society at one time, was there then no question of prejudice?

Or take the Ghetto system. Through long stretches of history Jews have been segregated in certain residential zones, sometimes with a chain around the region. Only inside were they allowed to move freely. The method had the merit of preventing unpleasant conflict, and the Jew, knowing his place, could plan his life with a certain definiteness and comfort. It could be argued that his lot was much more secure and predictable than in the modern world. There were periods in history when neither the Jew nor gentile felt particularly outraged by the system. Was prejudice then absent?

Baron & Byrne, 2006 p.75

| 1 | |
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| SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY | |
| Unit Structure: | |
| 1.0 | Objectives |
| 1.1 | Introduction |
| 1.2 | Social Psychology: A working definition |
| 1.2.1 | Social Psychology: Scientific Nature |
| 1.2.2 | Focus on Individual Behaviour |
| 1.2.3 | Understand Causes of Social Behaviour and Thought |
| 1.2.4 | Brief History of Social Psychology: what we learn from it? |
| 1.3 | Social Psychology on Cutting Edge |
| 1.3.1 | Cognition and Behaviour |
| 1.3.2 | Social Neuroscience |
| 1.3.3 | Role of Implicit Process |
| 1.3.4 | Social Diversity |
| 1.4 | Let us sum up |
| 1.5 | References |
| 1.0 OBJECTIVES : | |
| By the end of this unit you should be able to understand : | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The scientific nature of Social Psychology. Causes of social behaviour and thought. Understand current trends in the study of Social Psychology such as role of cognition, social neuroscience, social diversity, etc. | |
| 1.1 SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY : AN INTRODUCTION : | |
| Human beings are essentially social beings. We stay with other and our actions, thoughts, and feelings are affected by the presence of others. At the same time we influence the behaviour of other individuals. This consists of large amount of human behaviour. Social psychology is a discipline that tries to understand the human social behaviour. As is the case with psychology, even social psychology has a past which is less than 100 years. This course will help you to learn and answer many questions. You will learn theoretical perspectives in various areas of social psychology. You will understand that the scope of social psychology is wide and it is ever widening. Social cognition, social perceptions, attitudes, self, stereotype, prejudice and discrimination, interpersonal | |

| 2 | |
|---|--|
| SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY : A DEFINITION : | |
| Defining any field is a very difficult task. So is the case with social psychology. Here are some examples. | |
| According to Gordon Allport (1954) social psychology is best defined as the discipline that uses scientific methods in "an attempt to understand and explain how the thought, feeling and behavior of individuals are influenced by the actual, imagined, or implied presence of other human beings". | |
| Myers and Spencer (2006) define social psychology as the "scientific study of how people think about, influence, and relate to one another". | |
| Baron and Byrne (2007) defined social psychology as "the scientific field that seeks to understand the nature and cause of individual behaviour and thought in social situations". | |
| 1.2.1 Social Psychology: It's Scientific Nature : | |
| For many students, the word science means physics, chemistry biology, genetics, etc. They and many others would wonder whether social psychology is science. To understand the scientific nature of social psychology, we need to understand what we mean by science. In reality science is not a label for certain fields of advanced studies in natural sciences. It has set of values and methodology. Accuracy, objectivity, scepticism, and open-mindedness are the values of science. The data collection, analysis and inferences are drawn in most error-free manner. The collection of data and interpretation is as free as possible from the human biases. Only those scientific conclusions are accepted that have been proved time and again. The views are open to change, no matter how strong they are. The principles that are determinants of science are Empiricism, Objectivity, Parsimony, and Converging evidence. Empiricism means human experience, so the scientific enquiry should be human experience and not beyond and without it. Parsimony means simple explanations are preferred over complex (also known as Occam's Razor). Considering all these parameters, science differs from the non science. | |

A stereotype is an attitude towards a person or group on the basis of some physical characteristic or physical fact. A "stereotype" is a generalization about a person or group of persons. We develop stereotypes when we are unable or unwilling to obtain all of the information we would need to make fair judgments about people or situations. In the absence of the "total picture," stereotypes in many cases allow us to "fill in the blanks." For example, if we are walking through a dark lane at night and encounter three senior citizens wearing kurtas and having walking sticks, we may not feel as threatened as if we were met by three college-aged boys wearing jeans and leather jackets. Why is this so? We have made a generalization in each case. These generalizations have their roots in experiences we have had in the past, read about in books and magazines, seen in movies or television, or have had narrated to us by friends and family. In many cases, these stereotypical generalizations are reasonably accurate. Yet, in virtually every case, we are resorting to prejudice by ascribing characteristics about a person based on a stereotype, without knowledge of the total facts. For instance we may assume that a person from 'A' community will be illiterate or backward. Sometimes we may have positive over generalizations or stereotypes like all Tamilians are good in Mathematics.

Television, books, comic strips, and movies are all abundant sources of stereotyped characters. For example the Sardar jokes in movies and joke books depicting them to be foolish, Afro-Americans portrayed as being unintelligent, lazy, or violence-prone. As a result of viewing these stereotyped pictures or news items, we encourage prejudice. So generally a prejudice would emerge from a stereotype.

Social psychologists define a stereotype as the **cognitive component** of the prejudiced attitude. It is defined as a generalization about a group whereby identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members, regardless of actual variation among the members. Prejudice is defined as the **affective component** - hostile or negative attitude toward a distinguishable group of people based solely on their group membership and discrimination is the **behavioral component** of the prejudiced attitude - an unjustified negative or harmful action toward members of a group based on their membership.

Possible prejudicial effects of stereotypes are:

- Justification of ill-founded prejudices or ignorance.
- Unwillingness to rethink one's attitudes and behavior towards stereotyped group.

- Negative attitudes towards different social groups resulting in hatred, alienation.
- Preventing some people of stereotyped groups from entering or succeeding in activities or fields.

In simple words stereotypes distort our perceptions. Once a stereotype is activated, these traits come easily to the mind and will affect the way we perceive things. Another important effect is we will tend to attend more to stereotype-consistent information and reject information that does not conform to the stereotype we have. Thus, stereotypes obviously influence social judgments we make about the other group, they influence how much we like or dislike a person or a given group.

8.2 HOW MEMBERS OF DIFFERENT GROUPS PERCEIVE INEQUALITY?

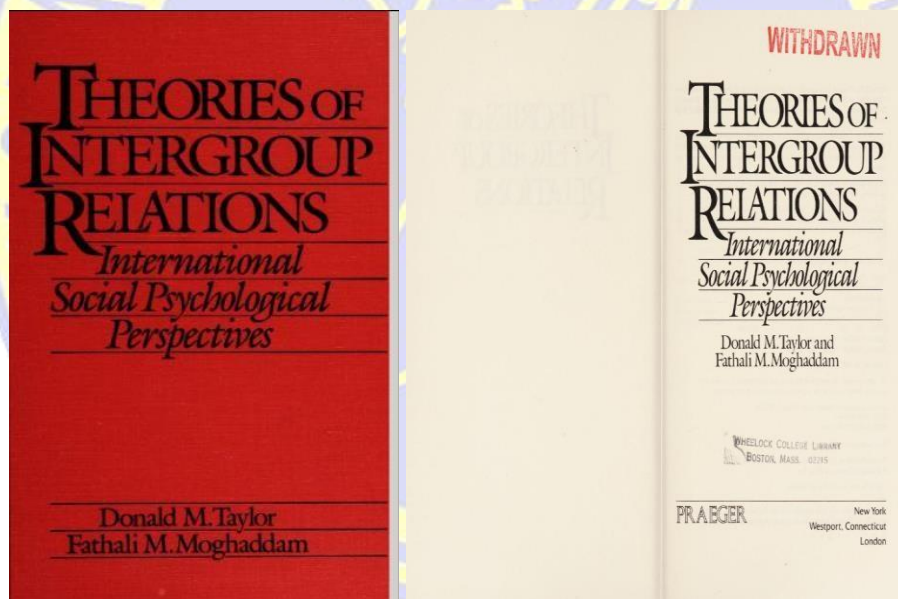
People's perceptions always have to be analyzed carefully and critically and there can be several reasons why the society may be considered unequal. First of all, the inequality may be structurally reproduced. This means that the existing system in a society does not guarantee people justice principles that are promised by the state and expected by the people. It means that people's basic needs in a society are not satisfied, equal liberties are not guaranteed, there is discrimination, no equal opportunity to get ahead in life and the input of people is not fairly rewarded. If structural inequality exists then everybody should notice that. Empirically it means that all or at least the majority of people in a society should perceive high inequality - independent of their own socio-economic position.

The perceived inequality is often influenced by personal experiences. People who have a higher socio-economic position usually think they have achieved their status in a fair competition. On the other hand, people in a lower position in a society tend to think that the reasons for them to be unsuccessful are restrictions created by the society and the structural system. Generally it can be seen that people from the lower socio-economic status perceive more inequality and vice versa. So an assumption can be made that perceived inequality depends on the individual's position in a society.

There are many types of inequality that leads one group to perceive the other group as less equal. E.g. Racial inequality. Racial group - a category of people who have been singled out, by others or themselves, as inferior or superior, on the basis of subjectively selected physical characteristics such as skin color, hair texture and eye shape. E.g. White or non-white. Racism is a

Taylor and Moghaddam, 1987, p.170

(<https://archive.org/details/theoriesofinterg0000tayl/page/n5/mode/2up>)



We have now systematically reviewed six theoretical orientations to the social psychology of intergroup relations. Anyone as familiar with the field of social psychology will be puzzled at the apparent omission of certain key concepts and processes that are usually associated with intergroup relations. As was noted in Chapter 1, mainstream social psychology texts tend to subordinate the topic of intergroup relations under some more topical title, such as prejudice, racism, peace building, or aggression. Within such chapters, the key processes of stereotypes, attributions, and attitudes are generally discussed, but not in such a way that they constitute, singly or in combination, an integrated theoretical orientation to intergroup relations. The reasons why these concepts do not represent a unique perspective on intergroup relations that would qualify them as major chapters for the present volume need to be clarified.

Stereotypes, attributions, and attitudes are all basic social psychological processes that are applied to virtually every domain of social behavior. As such, they do not represent broadly based frameworks for thinking specifically about intergroup relations. This in no way diminishes the importance of their role as social psychological processes. Rather, it underscores that they are applied to all social behavior, not just intergroup behavior. Precisely because of this breadth of application, we would expect each of these concepts to emerge in any theory that claims to explain intergroup relations from a social psychological perspective.

Our analysis is supported by the fact that we can see evidence of all three processes in many of the six major theories of intergroup relations presented in this volume. The purpose of this chapter is to review each of these important processes and comment on its role in intergroup relations. Our aim is to clarify the extent to which mainstream social psychological concepts can usefully contribute to our understanding of intergroup relations.

STEREOTYPES

The stereotype, or ethnic stereotype, is a fundamental cognitive process in mainstream social psychology that, more than any other, is directly linked to intergroup relations. If any concept could have emerged as the basis for a broad framework for intergroup relations, it is the ethnic stereotype. A brief history of the development of the concept within mainstream social psychology may provide some explanation of why it remains an important and influential concept, but one that at present cannot form the basis of a theory of intergroup relations.

The definition of stereotype generally adopted by researchers reflects the strong link that this concept has had with ethnic groups (for major reviews of

the stereotype literature see Brigham 1971; Campbell 1967; Cautlin, Robinson & Krauss, 1971; Fishman 1956; Gardner 1973; Hamilton 1981; A. G. Miller 1982; Tajfel 1969; Taylor 1981; Taylor & Lalonde (in press); Triandis's (1971) representative definition is that a stereotype involves "... a generalization made about an ethnic group, concerning a trait attribution, which is considered to be unjustified by an observer" (p. 29). Others have added further clarifications and, indeed, explicit moral judgments, by noting that stereotypes are rigid impressions conforming very little to the facts (Katz & Braly 1935), exaggerated beliefs (Allport 1954), and inaccurate and irrational overgeneralizations (Middlebrook 1974). In the same tradition, Baron and Byrne (1977) have argued that stereotypes are "... clusters of preconceived notions regarding various groups ... in which there are "... strong tendencies to overgeneralize about individuals solely on the basis of their membership in particular racial, ethnic, or religious groups" (p. 155).

There are two aspects to these definitions that particularly warrant comment in the present context. First, the stereotype, unlike attitudes, attributions, values, schemas, and other cognitive predispositions, refers directly to the perception of societal groups or at least to individuals as members of groups.

But there is also a second way in which the stereotype is a truly group or collective process, and this has gone virtually unrecognized. This is best exemplified by the manner in which stereotypes are operationalized, that is, in terms of the methods that have been developed to measure stereotypes. The basic procedure was introduced by Katz and Braly (1935), and while there have been several more recent innovations (Brigham 1971; Gardner, Wiersma & Taylor, 1968; Triandis & Vasiliou 1967), the underlying rationale remains unchanged. Subjects are presented with an ethnic group label and are asked to check off or rate the extent to which each of a long list of trait adjectives best describes the ethnic group in question. Thus, the stereotype is operationally defined by those characteristics which are chosen or endorsed most frequently.

By definition, then, the stereotype is a collective process, since only when there is consensus among members of one group about the attributes of another can an attribute be included as part of the stereotype. In this sense the stereotype is very different from an attitude or an attribution. With attitudes, the aim is to assess an individual's evaluative response to a social object. The stereotype is concerned with group perceptions of a social object in such a way that it is theoretically impossible to determine the stereotype from the perceptions of one individual.

We might have expected this collective feature of stereotypes to be a major focus for theory and research. However, it has received little attention from researchers. For example, Gardner, Kirby and Finley (1973) and Lalonde (1985) are among the few even to explore the implications of the consensus

Prasangka Mahasiswa Papua Pada Etnis Jawa Di Kota Malang

Klaudia Ulaan, Ika Herani, & Intan Rahmawati

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Prasangka Mahasiswa Papua Pada Etnis Jawa Di Kota Malang

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Indonesia adalah sebuah negara yang memiliki keragaman etnis. Keragaman ini membuat Indonesia sering dihadapkan pada berbagai permasalahan di antaranya adalah adanya prasangka. Prasangka juga berkembang pada masyarakat Papua dan Jawa. Prasangka antar etnis etnis merupakan pondasi ini mengakibatkan prasangka pada mahasiswa asli Papua yang melanjutkan pendidikan di kota Malang. Di mana mahasiswa Papua yang memiliki prasangka harus belajar dan berinteraksi dengan masyarakat etnis Jawa yang mendominasi kota Malang. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan fenomenologi. Subjek dalam penelitian ini adalah 5 mahasiswa Papua yang memiliki prasangka pada masyarakat etnis Jawa. Teknik pengumpulan data adalah observasi non partisipan dan wawancara semi terstruktur. Teknik analisis menggunakan model Miles dan Huberman. Berdasarkan hasil penelitian, diketahui sumber prasangka yang berbeda antar subjek. Hal ini dikarenakan berbedanya pengalaman dan cara pandang masing-masing subjek. Dalam tipe prasangka, ada subjek tergolong tipe *overre* dan tipe subjek tergolong tipe *ambivalent*. Dampak prasangka yang dimiliki kelompok subjek memiliki kesamaan yaitu perasaan sosial dan adanya konflik sosial yang berbeda bentuk satu sama lainnya. Dampak prasangka pada kedua subjek juga menjelaskan adanya jarak sosial antara mahasiswa Papua dengan masyarakat etnis Jawa.

Kata kunci : prasangka, mahasiswa Papua, masyarakat etnis Jawa

Indonesia adalah sebuah negara yang memiliki keragaman etnis. Menurut Jawa Pos National Network, hasil sensus pendatang, diketahui bahwa Indonesia terdiri dari 1.128 etnis (Afiz, 2010). Menjadi negara dengan banyak keberagaman etnis adalah tidak mudah karena cenderung dihadapkan pada permasalahan antar etnis. Indonesia yang merupakan negara multikultural memiliki berbagai konflik sosial yang melibatkan berbagai etnis. Bila dilihat dari perkembangan sejarah menurut Puspita (2011), konflik busanya terjadi antara golongan pribumi dari etnis Tionghoa dan golongan non pribumi yaitu masyarakat asli Indonesia, meskipun untuk saat ini mengalami pergeseran dengan bertambahnya konflik antar etnis. Sebagai contoh konflik antar etnis Madura dan Dayak. Setidaknya telah terjadi dua kali kerusuhan berkala besar antara kedua suku ini, yaitu peristiwa Sampit pada tahun 2001 dan Serangan Lelisa pada tahun 1996. Kedua kerusuhan ini merembes ke hampir semua wilayah Kalimantan dan berakhir dengan pengusiran dan penganiayaan ribuan warga Madura, dengan jumlah korban

PRASANGKA MAHASISWA PAPUA

hingga 500 orang. Konflik serupa juga terjadi di Tanah Ambon, di mana terjadi pengusiran terhadap etnis Bugis, Buton, dan Makassar (BIM). Peristiwa di Ambon, terlebih dahulu dipicu oleh kondisi perekonomian, di mana masyarakat pendatang yang terdiri dari etnis Bugis, Buton, dan Makassar lebih menguasai dan lebih berperan dibandingkan orang Ambon sendiri. Kondisi yang demikian menimbulkan kesenjangan orang Ambon, di mana mereka merasa kalah di tanah sendiri oleh pendatang dan hal ini juga yang pada akhirnya menimbulkan prasangka mayoritas-minoritas (Mendani, 2007).

Prasangka yang terjadi antara pendatang dengan penduduk lokal yang berakhir pada konflik salah satunya adalah masyarakat etnis Jawa yang bertransmigrasi ke tanah Papua. Dalam penelitian Mulyadi (dalam Putra, 2012), bagi masyarakat Papua, para pendatang, khususnya pendatang Jawa dipandang sebagai penjajah. Bahkan mereka mereduksi kategori pendatang pada mereka yang berambut lurus. Lebih sempit lagi, pendatang yang berambut lurus digambarkan oleh orang asli Papua sebagai orang Jawa. Terkadang mereka memanggil orang Jawa dengan "amber" sebagai bentuk pengagoran kelompok yang dibenci. Menurut pandangan mereka, orang Jawa telah menguasai sebagian perekonomian di Papua.

Kesenjangan sosial yang terjadi di Papua tersebut membuat prasangka masyarakat lokal yaitu masyarakat Papua terhadap masyarakat pendatang, sehingga apabila terjadi kejadian negatif, sebagai contoh membunuh babi, atau pun terjadi pencurian, sering kali masyarakat pendatang yang salah satunya adalah masyarakat Jawa yang menjadi sasaran

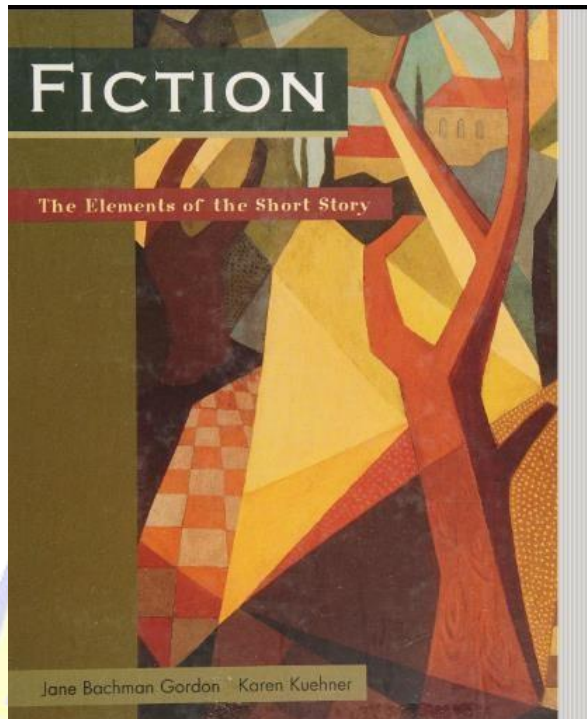
utama. Namun kenyataannya, tidak semua tindak kejahatan selalu dilakukan oleh masyarakat pendatang (Interview awal dengan Yewi penduduk Jawa yang bekerja di Papua, September 2012).

Fenomena yang terjadi antara kedua etnis ini, yaitu Papua dan Jawa pada akhirnya menghasilkan prasangka. Menurut Levy dan Hughes (dalam Putra, 2012), prasangka sejatinya adalah fenomena yang hadir dalam hubungan antar kelompok, bukan antar individu. Individu yang menjadi target prasangka adalah individu yang menjadi bagian dari kelompok, bukan karena karakteristik individu itu sendiri. Individu diidentifikasi ke dalam satu kesatuan karakteristik yang sama dengan kelompoknya. Sama halnya dengan penduduk pendatang dari Jawa di Papua.

Prasangka dikategorikan ke dalam tiga tipe oleh Geartner, Jones, dan Kovel (dalam Soebroto, 1990). Pertama, tipe *discriminative* di mana individu dalam tipe ini akan secara terbuka mengekspresikan prasangkanya dan melakukan tindakan berupa penyerangan. Kedua, tipe *ambivalent* di mana individu dalam tipe ini akan mengekspresikan perasaan tidak sukanya, namun di saat bersamaan individu dalam tipe ini juga merasa bertanggung kepada target prasangka. Ketiga, tipe *overre* di mana individu dalam tipe ini bersikap positif namun sebenarnya berusaha sedapat mungkin untuk tidak berinteraksi dengan target prasangka.

Fenomena kesenjangan sosial antara Jawa dan Papua, berbanding terbalik dengan kondisi di Kota Malang yang notabene merupakan salah satu kota dari pulau Jawa, yang mana masyarakatnya dianggap kaum penjajah di pulau Papua. Kota Malang merupakan kota pendudukan

Bachman Gordon, Jane, and Kuehner, Karen, Fiction: The elements of short story p.95 (<https://archive.org/details/fictionelementso0000gord/page/n5/mode/2up>)



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CHARACTER

To say that someone *is* a character suggests that he or she has a strange or eccentric personality; to say that a person *has* character implies his or her moral uprightness; to say something *shows* a person's character involves a discussion of his or her personal values and behavior. As a literary term, however, a *character* is a person created for a work of fiction.

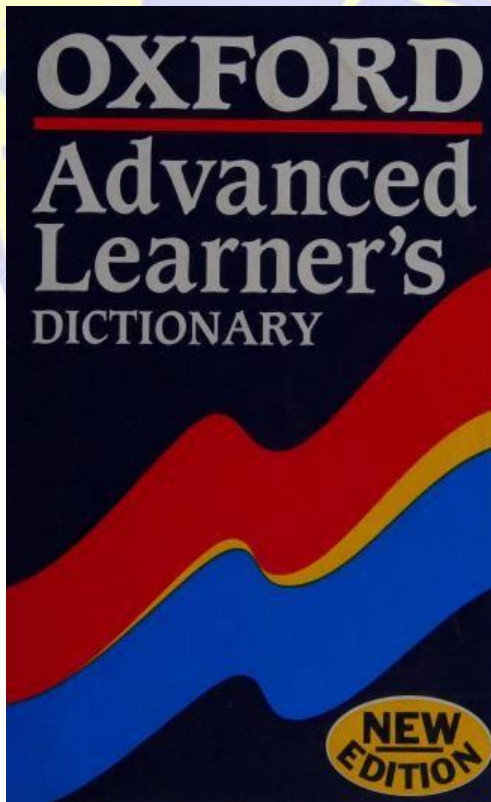
CLASSIFYING CHARACTERS

How do literary characters differ? In some cases, they are veiled, autobiographical versions of the author. Often, they are people the author knows or people the author has observed or overheard. While the origin of a character is usually irrelevant, a character's dimensionality and purpose in the story are important. Will the character be complex or merely a bystander? Will he or she arouse the reader's sympathy? The author's purpose for the character determines the answers to questions such as these.

Round and Flat Characters

In his discussion of character in *Aspects of the Novel*, E. M. Forster suggests that the degree to which fictional characters are realistic classifies them as *round* or *flat*. To Forster, a *round* character is a three-dimensional character complex enough to be able to surprise the reader without losing credibility. Because such characters exhibit many characteristics, some of which may be contradictory, they have what Forster calls the "incalculability of life." Such characters are said to be fully or well developed. When you finish reading about Willa Cather's Paul, Gish Jen's Callie, or Fendrops Lise's Anna, you will know them almost as intimately as you know your best friend. In contrast, a flat

Hornby (2006, p.434)



Abbreviations used in the dictionary

| | | | |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| abbr | abbreviation | n | noun |
| adj | adjective | neg | negative |
| adv | adverb | NZ | New Zealand |
| adv part | adverbial particle | pers | person |
| app | appendix | pers pron | personal pronoun |
| *apprv | approving | phr v | phrasal verb(s) |
| *arch | archaic | pl | plural |
| attrib | attributive | possess | possessive |
| Austral | Australian | pp | past participle |
| aux v | auxiliary verb | pred | predicative |
| *Brit | British usage | pref | prefix |
| comb form | combining form | prep | preposition |
| conj | conjunction | pres p | present participle |
| def art | definite article | pres t | present tense |
| *derog | derogatory | pron | pronoun |
| det | determiner | *progr | progressary |
| eg | for example | pt | past tense |
| emph | emphatic | reflex | reflexive |
| esp | especially | rel | relative |
| etc | et cetera | *rhet | rhetorical |
| *euph | euphemistic | sb | somebody |
| fem | feminine | *Scot | Scottish |
| *fig | figurative | *sing | singular |
| *form | formal | *sl | slang |
| idm | idiom(s) | sth | something |
| ie | that is | suff | suffix |
| indef | indefinite | symp | symbol |
| *inform | informal | *techn | technical |
| interj | interjection | *US | American usage |
| interrog | interrogative | usu | usually |
| *joc | joocular | v | verb |
| maac | masculine | | |

*See notes on Labels opposite.
For guidance on the abbreviations used to show how different types of verbs and nouns are used, look at the Study pages B1-B.

Symbols used in the dictionary

- replaces the headword of an entry
- ▶ derivative(s) section of an entry
- compound(s) section of an entry
- before a part-of-speech label (n, v, etc) indicates a derivative or a compound with the same form but a different part of speech
- See
- in large verb entries indicates a group of similar meanings
- means the same as ...
- separates examples
- 1 taboo (see Labels opposite)
- US note on usage (see Appendix 9)
- idiom(s) section of an entry
- phr v(s) phrasal verb(s) section of an entry

See inside the back cover for information on pronunciation in the dictionary.
See pages vii-ix for a key to entries in the dictionary.

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fight /faɪt/ n 1 (C) an act of fighting or struggling: *a fight between two dogs* = a *world title fight* = *he accidentally got into a fight with her* 2 (U) the desire or ability to fight or resist: *determination. In spite of many defeats, they still had plenty of fight left in them.* 3 (U) a struggle between two people: *losing their leader took all the fight out of them* 4 (C) a fight to the finish a struggle, etc. that continues until one side has clearly won. **pick a fight/quarter!** ⇨ 203C.

figment /'fɪgmənt/ n 1 (C) a **figment of sb's imagination** = a thing that is not real but only imagined: *I don't know whether she's really ill or whether it's just a figment of her imagination.*

figurative /'fɪgərətɪv/ adj 1 (abbreviated as *fig* in this dictionary) (of a word, phrase, etc.) used in an imaginative or metaphorical (not literal) way that is different from the usual or basic meaning: *He exploded with rage* shows a figurative use of the verb *explode*. Compare **literal**. 2 (of paintings, art, etc.) representing people, etc. as they are: *a figurative animal sculpture*. ⇨ **figuratively** *adv*. *He was unique, literally and figuratively a prince among men.*

figure /'fɪgə(r)/ n 1 (C) (esp. pl) a specific amount, esp. one given in official information, reports, etc. by an organization: *the latest trade/*

44

figure /'fɪgə(r)/ n 1 (C) a person who fights, esp. in war or in sport: *a professional fighter*. See also **fight**, **fighter**, **fighting**, **fighting spirit**, **fighting words**. 2 (usu. *figures*) a person who does not admit defeat without a hard struggle against it: *She won't give up easily; she's a real fighter*. 3 a fast military aircraft designed to attack other aircraft: *a fighter*. 4 **fighter-bomber/planes** = a **fighter pilot**.

fighting n (U) outbreaks of street fighting = reports of heavy forces fighting around the capital.

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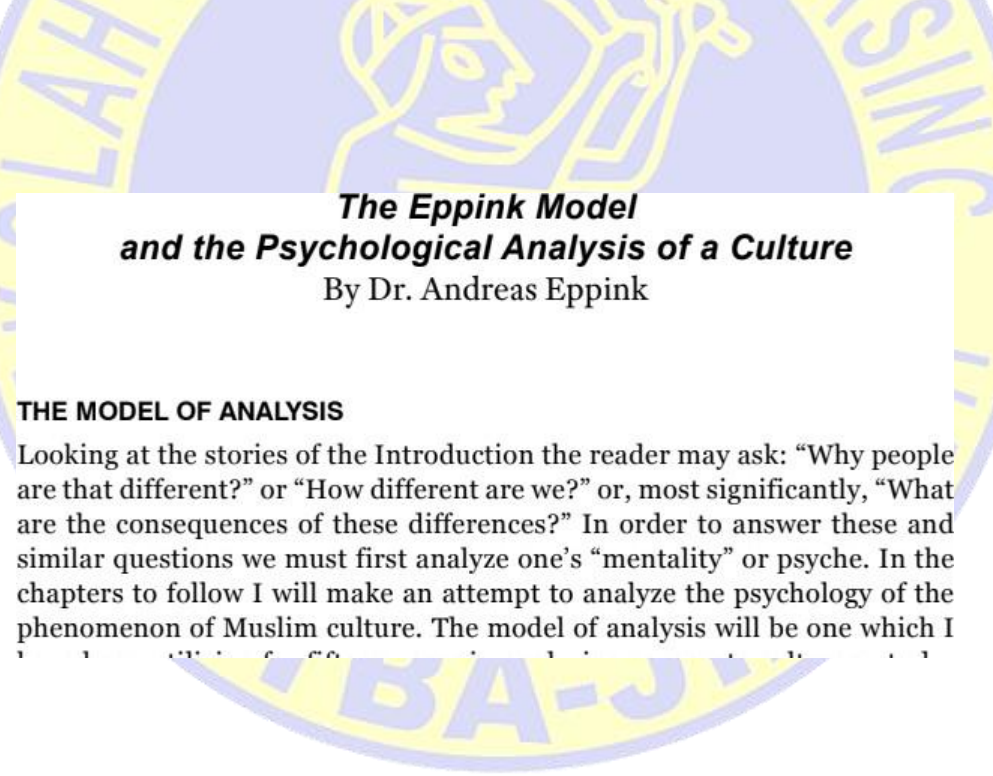
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Andreas Eppink



The Eppink Model
and the Psychological Analysis of a Culture
By Dr. Andreas Eppink

THE MODEL OF ANALYSIS

Looking at the stories of the Introduction the reader may ask: “Why people are that different?” or “How different are we?” or, most significantly, “What are the consequences of these differences?” In order to answer these and similar questions we must first analyze one’s “mentality” or psyche. In the chapters to follow I will make an attempt to analyze the psychology of the phenomenon of Muslim culture. The model of analysis will be one which I

| The 3 Supporting Hidden Goals | Related Expressions & Outcomes Means And Institutions, Attitudes |
|-------------------------------|---|
| INFORMATION | <i>Knowledge, Facts, curiosity, skills, research, science, technology, Renaissance, Enlightenment, rationalism, self-reflection. The extreme form of INFORMATION is logo-centrism, i.e., centrism of logic and reason, exclusion of emotion, intuition. (+ SOCIAL CONTACT) negotiation.</i> |
| SOCIAL CONTACT | <i>Communication, reciprocal services, mutual help, loyalty, collective responsibility, trust, alliances. The extreme form of SOCIAL CONTACT is group-centrism. (+ INFORMATION) communication media. Patronage, (+ EGO-SATISFACTION) corruption).</i> |
| GOODNESS | <i>Benevolence, Humanity, welfare, compassion, social responsibility, generosity. The extreme form of goodness is over-protection. (+ STABILITY) (public, social, military, commercial) service, human rights. (+ ORDER) moral duties, justice.</i> |

Note: Throughout this book HG categories may be followed by dots; for example: "CONTROL-EXPANSION-AMBITION" will indicate: "the Hidden Goal CONTROL and its expressions: EXPANSION AND AMBITION."

WHAT IS CULTURE?

The term "culture" is used in different ways. Often the accent lies on capabilities – even exceptional capabilities – in music, art, language, and religion, or in traditions, customs, habits, et cetera. In general, if we speak of "Muslim Culture," we mean religion as the main point of reference, whereas if we speak of "Arab" or "Japanese" or "Chinese" culture, language is the main point of reference.

The problem of such generalizations is that the many variations, or subcultures, within each of these cultures can be overlooked. What, for example, should be understood by the term "American Culture" or by "European Culture"? In "American Culture" the American-English language could be the main reference point, however in "European Culture" there is no similar common language-based point of reference. In both examples we are, in general, referring to the American and European societies and their histories.

In defining culture the reference to a system of "values" is more useful, but concepts such as values, norms, ideology, ethics, symbols, style (e.g., of leadership) are quite abstract. Some authors consider culture to be a way

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to survive or "the way in which people solve problems."³ Although I can agree with this approach, in my opinion the impact of goals determines, to an important extent, how people perceive reality, and their beliefs on how problems can and should be solved. Here we are back to values.

The relation between goals and values is very strong, as people will follow goals which they believe are valuable, and in turn values themselves tend to become goals for many people. Some goals are formulated – the so-called formal goals – but most are not, and are as such the informal goals. Psychologically, both formal and informal goals have their origins in basic goals, which in this model are the ten Hidden Goals (HG).

The Hidden Goals form a person's or a group's or an organization's "mentality," thus the Hidden Goals similarly form the mentality of a culture, leading to the conclusion that one may even reasonably determine that culture is *mentality*.

This book provides a model with which to analyze and understand Muslim mentality, culture and society – "Muslim" being defined from the religious reference with Islam as the predominant religion – and its different subcultures. The model employed is, like any model, an abstraction of reality, employed in order to facilitate comprehension of the reality.

Because humankind follows, to some extent and in varying degrees, all of the Hidden Goals, similarly, any group, organization, or culture will also possess the ten Hidden Goals in varying degrees. Thus a *culture may be defined by its mixture and relative ranking of the ten primary Hidden Goals*. Cultures and subcultures – in this case Muslim culture – can be characterized by their accent on a – more or less – unique combination of Hidden Goals.

(Sub) cultural differences can be explained by the quite infinite combination possibilities of Hidden Goals in relation to two other elements of continuity: *capabilities and conditions* (circumstances in time and space). One Hidden Goal, or the combination of a few, may dominate in a culture (with small changes in time and circumstances). In society cultural expressions and productions – like art, customs, and the forms of religion and social life in general – are variations on a specific combination of Hidden Goals.⁴

3 Trompenaars (1993). "Culture" is in this case considered a so-called contingency factor and determinant factor as well, and is also primarily an interaction between conditions and capabilities.

4 Hinduism includes in circumstances of space and time: birth-origin, term of life, and experience.

5 Although the ranking of the collective Hidden Goals in a society "makes" its culture, the ranking by itself may be influenced by time and circumstances, i.e., the political, economical and historical environment.

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Edward Said's *Orientalism* and the Study of the Self and the Other in Orwell's *Burmese Days*

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N. Niazi²
Ahmad Ghaforian³

Abstract: Critics unanimously regard Said's *Orientalism* as the cornerstone of postcolonial canon. It was this celebrated work that generated other related books and materials. Orientalism is a Western style for Orientalizing the Orient, i.e. how from knowledge of the Orient particularly from nineteenth century the Orient is defined by a set of recurring images and clichés and how afterwards this knowledge of the Orient is put into practice by colonialism and imperialism. Orientalism is affiliated with the representation of the Self or Occident and the Other or Orient in which the Self is privileged and has upper hand to define, reconstruct the passive, silent and weak Other. For Said, this geographical line made between the Occident and the Orient is arbitrary and numerous Western scholars, orientalist such as Burton, Lane, Lyall, Masquien, among others and literary figures like Aeschylus, Shakespeare, Austen, Flaubert, Kipling, Conrad, etc. contributed to the shaping of this discourse about the Orient and/or misrepresenting the Orient. Orwell as a Western writer was born in India and served five years in Indian Imperial Police in Burma and one of his major concerns during his life was the issue of imperialism and colonialism which is reflected in many works such as *Burmese Days*, *Shooting an Elephant*, *Marrakech and Hangoing*. One characteristic which is shared among these western works and similar ones is the author's conflicting feelings within them about the Orient and Orientals through Western's lens. In this study, the relationship of the representor or Westerners and the represented or Easterners is fully expounded in *Burmese Days* in the light of Said's *Orientalism*.

Key words: Edward Said, *Orientalism*; Binary opposition; Orwell; The Self and the Other; *Burmese Days*

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INTRODUCTION

Robert Young calls Edward said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Homi K. Bhabha, as the "Holy Trinity" of postcolonial critics while at the same time Spivak and Bhabha found themselves indebted to Said and his pioneering work, *Orientalism* Bhabha in "Postcolonial Criticism" (1992) for instance, asserts that *Orientalism* inaugurated the postcolonial field and Gayatri Spivak describes it in similarly glowing terms as "the source book in our discipline (Moore-Gilbert, 1997:34).

Orientalism is a Western style for coming to terms with the Orient. For this purpose first the Orient should be known, and scholars, philologists, travelers, administrators, etc. contributed to this end. Later this knowledge of the Orient transforms to power structures and appears in forms of colonialism and imperialism. At this moment the relationship of the Occident and Orient becomes the relationship of "power, of domination, of varying degree of a complex hegemony" (Said, 1978:5). This discourse is a new study of colonialism and states that the representation of the Orient in European literary canon has contributed to the creation of a binary opposition between Europe's and its other. Although the geographical line between the West and East is an imaginary and artificial one, the acceptance of this binary with the former as privileged and the latter as unprivileged is taken for granted by the Western scholars.

With an oversimplified designation, we can define Orientalism as the study of the Orient, i.e. East by the Orientalists or Western scholars. This definition carries three presuppositions: that Orientalism is the field of the study, that the subject of the study is the Orient and that European scholars deal with it. But this definition is inadequate, because this definition overlooks many structures and interests behind the study which are political, commercial, and scientific. In addition, Orientalism is a style of thought based upon an "ontological and epistemological distinction made between 'the Orient' and (most of times) the Occident" (1).

Orientalism as a Western discourse about the Orient is guilty of legitimizing civilizing mission, essentialism, expansionism and imperialism and on the other hand, constructing natives of their own inferiority.

Said in his book demonstrates how the Western literary and cultural canon has authorized its other and how they have misinterpreted the Orient. The book begins with a quotation by Karl Marx: "they cannot represent themselves; they must be represented". As a result, it is a Western career to represent them.

The relationship of power and knowledge is essential in postcolonial discourse on how through this knowledge which is gathered from different sources, Orientalists and European administrators were able to reimpose colonial domination. Influenced mostly by Foucault and Lisa Granet, he discloses how the West constructed Orient in various works such as travelogues, historical accounts, state and official archives and novels. For Said, Orient and Oriental do not exist, however, the Westerners construct and construct the Orient.

Said is concerned about how the knowledge of the Orient shapes power structures. The knowledge about Orient is in control of Westerners. Knowledge as Laclau maintains, "is not innocent but profoundly connected with the operations of power" (p23). The power determines what the reality of both East and West might be. Knowledge of the Orient, because it was generated out of this cultural strength, "in a sense creates the Orient, the Oriental and his world" (Ashcroft, 1995:59).

Said asserts that European knowledge of the East goes arm in arm with expansionism, exploitation and settlement. He argues that the Orient is constructed and represented in the binary opposition against the Occident, as the Other. In many respects, the Orient is seen by European values, assumptions, cultural codes and as the Occident's other. He criticizes the way that the Occident views the Orient by her own culturally-determined and biased and limited historical perspectives.

Said's intervention is designed to illustrate the manner in which the representation of Europe's 'other' has been institutionalized since at least the eighteenth century as a feature of its cultural dominance. *Orientalism* describes the various disciplines, institutions, process of investigation and styles of thought by

AMBIVALENSI NASIONALISME
DALAM CERPEN "CLARA ATAWA WANITA YANG DIPERKOSA"
KARYA SENO GUMIRA AJIDARMA: KAJIAN POSKOLONIAL

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Abstrak

Nasionalisme menciptakan identitas yang pelik karena ia dibangun dari tradisi kolonialisme yang terus direproduksi oleh sejarah. Dalam konteks ini, peneliti mencoba menganalisis fenomena tersebut melalui pendekatan karya sastra. Cerpen "Clara atau Wanita yang Diperkosa" karya Seno Gumira Ajidarma dipilih karena mampu mengungkap narasi yang berbeda dalam mengungkapkan kebudayaan masyarakat Tionghoa. Penelitian ini akan menggunakan kajian poskolonial, melalui pendekatan retorika tradisi dan pembangunan, gagasan universalitas dan *post-nation*, dengan tidak meninggalkan ambivalensi yang hadir di dalamnya.

Kata kunci: nasionalisme, Tionghoa, poskolonial, ambivalensi.

Abstract

Nationalism produces a complex identity because it is constructed from colonial tradition which is reproduced continuously by history. In this context, the writer of this paper analyzes the phenomenon from literary approach. A short story written by Indonesian author, Seno Gumira Ajidarma, entitled "Clara atau Wanita yang Diperkosa" is chosen because it reveals a different narrative in viewing the existence of Chinese Society in Indonesia. This paper will use post-colonial study to reveal how is the rhetoric of tradition and development, the idea of universality and post-nation, also the ambivalence in nationalism discourse.

Keywords: nationalism, Chinese, post-colonial, ambivalence.

Pendahuluan

Dalam masyarakat yang mengalami proses kolonialisme panjang, persoalan identitas merupakan persoalan pelik (Siswaga, 2004: 8). Sebuah persoalan yang menjadi hakikat diri dari suatu bangsa yang secara perlahan menahkakan narasi, dokumen dan manuskrip tentang perjuangannya. Uniknya, identitas semacam ini malah tidak mau melepaskan hasil perempunannya dengan produk kultural kolonial. Hasilnya, bisa berupa hibridisasi-semacam perlangan dari dua spesies yang berbeda (Yung, 1995:10), dengan tujuan untuk memuaskan masyarakat pribumi pada "zona-zona kotak", sehingga bisa dikedalikan, ataupun mimikri, yaitu tindakan masyarakat terjah untuk meniru (Faruk, 2007:6). Konsep Foucault bisa membantu memperpelekan masalah tersebut karena secara mendasar dirinya telah melihat setiap praktik diskursif sebagai bentuk

perberlakuan kekuasaan. Sistem berfikir dan bicara yang termaktub dalam setiap wacana adalah cerminan dari berlangsungnya dominasi. Di samping itu, proses penciptaan ataupun produksi wacana selalu mengandikan intuisi untuk mengarangkannya. Oleh karena itu, dia cenderung membangun "yang lain". Adapun yang diperbolehkan hadir adalah representasi yang dilidulanya. Akibatnya, kekuasaan yang melahirkan kebenaran (de McNay, 1994: 69).
Meratanya, dalam konteks Indonesia, pembentukan wacana dari pihak kolonial tidak seperti yang dalam bangsa bekas jajahan yang lain. Muncul kekuasaan yang menarik untuk disimak. Pada tahap awal, kondisi ini dapat dilacak dari karakter kolonialisasi Belanda yang berbeda dengan kolonialisasi yang dilakukan di negara lain. Kolonialisasi Inggris di India bisa dijadikan perbandingan yang menarik. Jika pemerintah kolonial Belanda mengambil

bentuk ekstrak kapitalisme yang dikarakterisasi oleh sebuah monopoli dalam perdagangan luar negeri dan suatu usaha untuk meningkatkan produksi perkebunan tropis sesuai dengan pasar dunia, maka kondisi ini berbeda dengan kolonialisasi Inggris di India. Bagi Inggris, India sangat penting sebagai sebuah tempat untuk investasi dan sebagai *partner* kunci dalam perdagangan, bukan hanya dalam arti bilateral, tetapi terjamin dalam pola pemertanian perdagangan multilateral yang menguntungkan ekonomi Inggris. Artinya, bahan mentah yang diekspor dari India diproses menjadi bahan jadi oleh pabrik Inggris (Susantawan, 2009: 65).

Kekhasan lain yang terjadi dalam kolonialisme Belanda di Indonesia adalah munculnya dualisme dalam sistem politik, ekonomi, sosial, dan kebudayaan. Di satu pihak, masyarakat pribumi hidup dengan sistem politik, ekonomi, sosial, dan kebudayaan tradisional, tetapi di lain pihak mereka juga harus hidup dengan sistem tatanan kolonial. Dalam dualisme ini, sistem yang satu tidak terpisah dari yang lainnya, melainkan cenderung saling melintasi dan tumpang tindih (Faruk, 2007:9). Dengan kondisi ini, karakter pribumi pastilah berada pada wilayah "ketidakejelasan" identitas. Kendali kultural tidak dimonopoli oleh pihak kolonial saja, pihak bangsawan ikut terlibat dalam proses tersebut.

Dalam situasi seperti itu, pihak kolonial Belanda tentulah yang paling diuntungkan karena pemerintahan Belanda bersandar pada feodalisme lokal bagi ekstraksi produk-produk tropis. Kontrak kerjasama dilakukan antara penguasa kolonial Belanda dengan bupati atau pangeran pribumi untuk melanjutkan sistem "keabdian", yaitu sebuah sistem yang berasal dari nilai kultur pra-kolonial di Indonesia sebagai instrumen politik untuk mengangkut harmoni, kepatuhan, loyalitas, dan integritas masyarakat terhadap pemimpin, walaupun sebenarnya semua itu hanyalah topeng pihak kolonial untuk mengeksploitasi masyarakat pribumi dengan halus, tanpa mengotot tangan mereka.

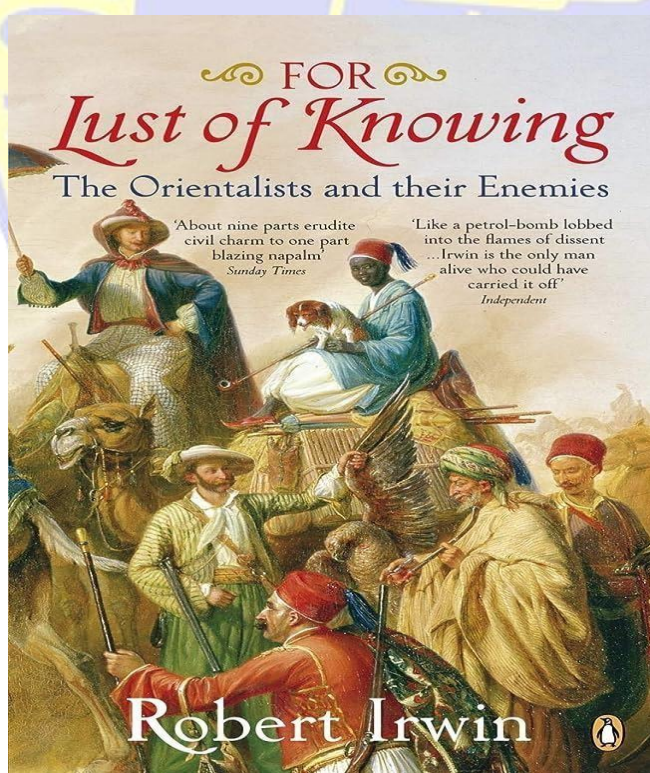
Dampaknya, beban masyarakat pribumi,

khususnya petani begitu berat karena para petani pribumi tidak lagi menyerahkan hasil panen kepada Belanda, tetapi kepada bupati. Proses ini membuat petani mengalami eksploitasi berlipas. Selain mendapat tekanan dari pihak kolonial, pihak bupati tidak jarang melakukan hal yang serupa. Parahnya, kadang proses pembayaran banyak yang "dipotong" oleh bupati dan para perantara lain, termasuk kaum ingran dari Cina. Jika pihak Belanda bermaksud membeli hasil dari petani, proses pembayaran berakhir banyak berada di kantong para bupati, serta para perantara Cina (Wertheim, 1954: 240). Ketelanjangan kaum migran, seperti orang Cina dalam proses eksploitasi memang sudah diatur dalam sistem kolonial. Dalam sistem tersebut, pribumi diposisikan di kasta terendah, setelah penduduk dengan latar belakang "ras kulit putih" dan kaum ingran dari Asia Timur, misalnya Cina dan Jepang (Faruk, 2007:9).

Berakhirnya penjajahan ternyata masih menyajikan berbagai tradisi yang dikenal dengan istilah hegemoni kultural (Riana, 2007: 219). Ternyata, kekuasaan penjajah atas pikiran, perasaan, sikap, dan perilaku masyarakat terjah lebih kuat dan berlangsung lebih lama daripada kekuasaannya atas wilayah geografis masyarakat terjah. Kondisi ini terus berlangsung, bahkan ketika penjajah melepaskan kekuasaannya atas wilayah geografis tersebut (Faruk, 2007: 16). Lebih lanjut Upstone melihat pandangan postkultural senai untuk melihat kebudayaan elemen-elemen masa lalu tersebut. Postkultural menawarkan pandangan tentang ketidakekivalan makna, ketidakekivalan petanda yang stabil, serta melihat jajak-jajak dari yang pernah hadir, dan mempertanyakan apa yang selanjut dianggap sudah jelas (Upstone, 2009: 7). Kondisi ini terjadi pada masyarakat Tionghoa. Oleh karena sejak kebebasan yang terus direproduksi oleh masyarakat pribumi, akibat dampak operasi kekuasaan kolonial, maka proses kekerasan terhadap masyarakat Tionghoa terus dilakukan.

Sentimen ini pun disinyalir semakin menguat di masa orde baru, karena etnis Tionghoa kebanyakan menduduki posisi yang dapat dikatakan kelas ekonomi atas. Leluphan

Robbert Irwin



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antiquity Pico had placed his faith in, were subsequently shown to be forgeries of late antiquity.¹³

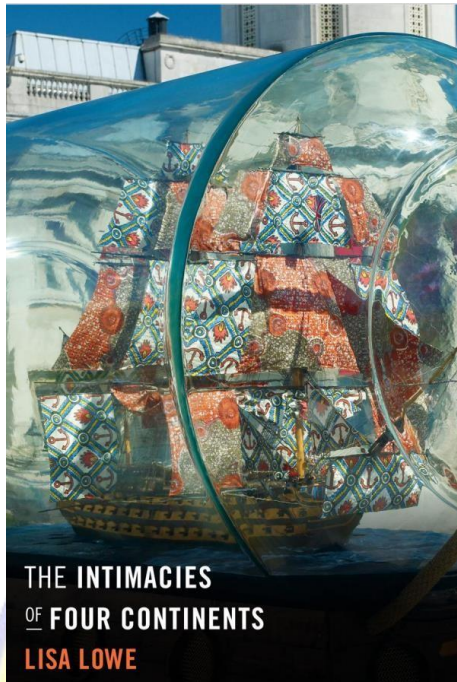
Pico and his contemporaries were fascinated by what little they knew about ancient Egypt. In the fifteenth century Egypt was thought of as the source of most of what later came to be identified as Greek culture – a theory that has been quite recently revived and vigorously and controversially argued by Martin Bernal.¹⁴ Renaissance Platonists, such as Marsilio Ficino, believed that Egyptian hieroglyphs represented Platonic ideas about the universe and divine things. The Egyptian priesthood used the esoteric hieroglyphs to conceal divine mysteries from the profane.¹⁵ It was Ficino who in 1471 translated the *Corpus Hermeticum* from Greek into Latin. This was a body of Platonist and occult writings attributed to an ancient and semi-divine sage Hermes Trismegistus, who in some of his aspects can be considered as a classicized version of the Egyptian god, Thoth. Pico naively believed in the literal existence of this figure and in what seemed to be cryptic prophecies of the coming of Christ by Hermes Trismegistus.¹⁶ As we shall see, early in the next century Isaac Casaubon was to demonstrate that Pico's faith in the authenticity and antiquity of the Hermetic writings was misplaced. In the seventeenth century, that fascinating thinker Athanasius Kircher (on whom, see the next chapter) would make a more determined assault on the mysteries of the hieroglyphs. However, primitive Egyptology, based on false premises and fuelling wild hopes of rediscovering lost ancient

wisdom, made even less progress in the centuries that immediately followed than Arabic studies did. Study of the language and culture of the ancient Egyptians became the intellectually marginalized province of dabblers in cabalism, Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry.

THE STRUGGLE FOR GLOBAL SUPREMACY

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the great age of the Muslim empires: Mughal India, Safavid Persia, Mamluk Egypt and Syria, and Ottoman Turkey. Several European observers warned that Christendom was a shrinking island surrounded by the rising tide of Islam. The fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II in 1453 seemed to threaten Christendom's very survival. Its capture by the Turks was not only a **political** and military disaster, but also a cultural disaster for humanist Europe. As Aeneas Sylvius (later Pope Pius II) wrote, it was 'the second death of Homer and Plato'. The conquest of Constantinople was followed by further Turkish conquests of Greek islands and Balkan territories. In 1521 Suleiman the Magnificent captured Belgrade and then destroyed the Hungarian army at the Battle of Mohacs in 1526 and the Turks besieged Hapsburg Vienna for the first time in 1529. A little to the east, the Turks were pushing on into what is nowadays Romania. In the Mediterranean they occupied Rhodes in 1522, Cyprus in 1571 and Crete in 1669. Elsewhere in the world, particularly in South East Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, Islam continued to make converts and expand its territory. A significant number of those who fought for the Ottomans and who commanded or crewed the ships

Lisa Lowe



THE INTIMACIES
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for Juliet

shaped the inquiry into these connections.⁴ Even the questions we can ask about these histories are influenced by the unevenly inhabited and inconsistently understood aftermath of these obscured conditions.

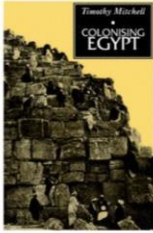
Historians, philosophers, and sociologists have written quite a lot about the origins of liberalism in modern Europe, whether they focus on the French Revolution of 1789 as a key event in the shift from feudal aristocracies to democratic nation-states, or whether they emphasize the gradual displacement of religious explanation by secular scientific rationalism, the shift from mercantilism to industrial capitalism, the growth of modern bureaucracy, or citizenship within the modern state.⁵ Yet these discussions have more often treated liberalism's abstract promises of human freedom, rational progress, and social equality apart from the global conditions on which they depended. I join scholars like Cedric Robinson, Saidiya Hartman, Uday Singh Mehta, Paul Gilroy, Dipesh Chakrabarty, Saree Makdisi, Walter Dignolo, Susan Buck-Morss, Jodi A. Byrd, and others, in arguing that liberal philosophy, culture, economics, and government have been commensurate with, and deeply implicated in, colonialism, slavery, capitalism, and empire.⁶ There is a distinguished historiography of the Atlantic slave trade and slave economies, which documents slavery throughout the Americas, but it is rare for these scholars to discuss the relationship between slavery and settler colonialism or imported indentured labor.⁷ There is work on indentured labor systems utilizing Europeans and Africans, with some attention to the role of Chinese and Indian migrations to the Americas, but there is less work that examines European colonial conquest and the complex history and survival of native indigenous peoples in the Caribbean, and scarcely any that considers the connections, relations, and mixings among the histories of Asian, African, and indigenous peoples in the Americas.⁸

In examining state archives out of which these historical narratives emerge, I observe the ways in which the archive that mediates the imperatives of the state subsumes colonial violence within narratives of modern reason and progress. To make legible the forcible encounters, removals, and entanglements omitted in liberal accounts of abolition, emancipation, and independence, I devise other ways of reading so that we might understand the processes through which the forgetting of violent encounter is naturalized, both by the archive, and in the subsequent nar-

rative histories. In a sense, one aim of my project is to be more specific about what I would term the economy of affirmation and forgetting that structures and formalizes the archives of liberalism, and liberal ways of understanding. This economy civilizes and develops freedoms for "man" in modern Europe and North America, while relegating others to geographical and temporal spaces that are constituted as backward, uncivilized, and unfree. Liberal forms of **political** economy, culture, government, and history propose a narrative of freedom overcoming enslavement that at once denies colonial slavery, erases the seizure of lands from native peoples, displaces migrations and connections across continents, and internalizes these processes in a national struggle of history and consciousness. The social inequalities of our time are a legacy of these processes through which "the human" is "freed" by liberal forms, while other subjects, practices, and geographies are placed at a distance from "the human."

My study could be considered an unlikely or unsettling genealogy of modern liberalism, which examines liberalism as a project that includes at once both the universal promises of rights, emancipation, wage labor, and free trade, as well as the global divisions and asymmetries on which the liberal tradition depends, and according to which such liberties are reserved for some and wholly denied to others. In this sense, the modern distinction between definitions of the human and those to whom such definitions do not extend is the condition of possibility for Western liberalism, and not its particular exception. This genealogy also traces the manners in which the liberal affirmations of individualism, civility, mobility, and free enterprise simultaneously innovate new means and forms of subjection, administration, and governance. By genealogy, I mean that my analysis does not accept given categories and concepts as fixed or constant, but rather takes as its work the inquiry into how those categories became established as given, and with what effects. Genealogical method questions the apparent closure of our understanding of historical progress and attempts to contribute to what Michel Foucault has discussed as a historical ontology of ourselves, or a history of the present.⁹ By modern liberalism, I mean broadly the branches of European **political** philosophy that include the narration of **political** emancipation through citizenship in the state, the promise of economic freedom in

Timothy Mitchell

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The fundamental event of the modern age is the conquest of the world as picture.
Martin Heidegger, 'The age of the world picture'

This order of appearance is the order of all appearance, the very process of appearing in general. It is the order of truth.
Jacques Derrida, 'The double session'

same distinction became the subject of a large literature, concerned in particular with the Egyptian mind or 'character', whose problematic trait was its lack of the same habit of industry. The political process was conceived, in other words, according to this novel dichotomy between a material and a mental world, an object and a subject world. Its purpose, in turn, was to create both a material order and a conceptual or moral order. The new name for this moral order was 'society'.

In chapter 5, in the context of the military occupation of Egypt by the British, I will deal with the problem of political certainty or meaning. I want to consider how the new methods and new conception of order, examined in the preceding chapters, brought about the effect of a realm of meaning and authority. I propose to explore this by drawing a parallel from the same period with the question of meaning and authority in written texts, arguing that a new kind of distinction between the material and the mental also came to govern the nature of writing. I will use this parallel to argue that it was in terms of this strange distinction that the nature and authority of the modern state were to be conceived and achieved. Finally in chapter 6 I will try to connect together these parallel themes, returning to the question of the world as exhibition.

The textile

Before moving on to the Middle East, I want to outline briefly some of the more general aspects of Egypt's relation to the Europe of department stores and world exhibitions. This outline will provide both a historical itinerary and a further indication of the direction in which my own path leads off. The world exhibitions and the new large-scale commercial life of European cities were aspects of a political and economic transformation that equally affected Egypt. The new department stores were the first establishments to keep large quantities of merchandise in stock, in the form of standardised textiles and clothing. The stockpiling, together with the introduction of advertising (the word was coined at the time of the great exhibitions, Walter Benjamin tells us) and the new industry of 'fashion', on which several Egyptian writers commented, were all connected with the boom in textile production.³⁷ The textile boom was an aspect of other changes, such as new ways of harvesting and treating cotton, new machinery for the manufacture of textiles, the resulting increase in profits, and the reinvestment of profit abroad in further cotton production. At the other end from the department store, these wider changes extended to include places like the southern United States, India, and the Nile valley.

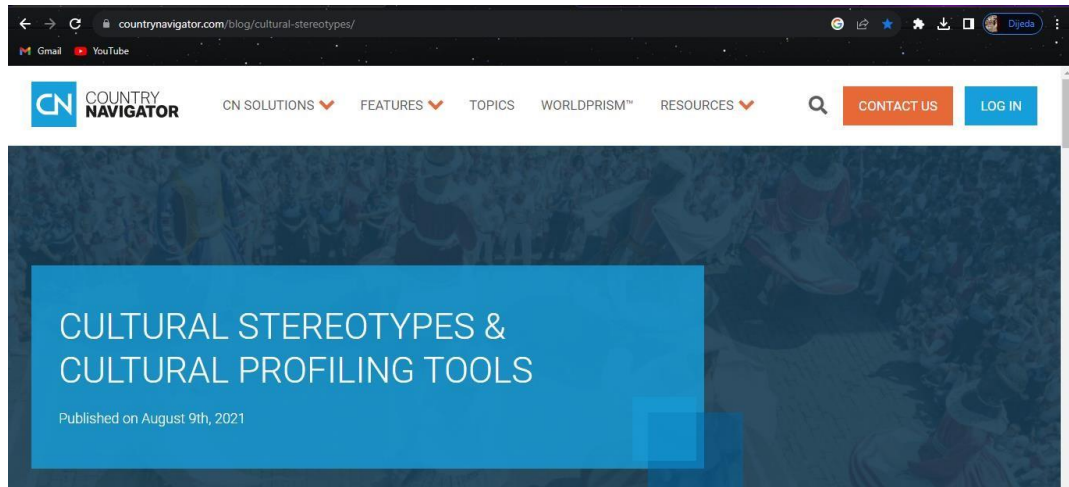
Since the latter part of the eighteenth century the Nile valley too had been undergoing a transformation, associated principally with the European

textile industry.³⁸ From a country which formed one of the hubs in the commerce of the Ottoman world and beyond, and which produced and exported its own food and its own textiles, Egypt was turning into a country whose economy was dominated by the production of a single commodity, raw cotton, for the global textile industry of Europe. By the eve of the First World War, cotton was to account for more than ninety-two per cent of the total value of Egypt's exports.³⁹ The changes associated with this growth and concentration in exports included enormous growth in imports, principally of textile products and food, the extension throughout the country of a network of roads, telegraphs, police stations, railways, ports and permanent irrigation canals, a new relationship to the land, which became a privately owned commodity concentrated in the hands of a small, powerful and increasingly wealthy social class, the influx of Europeans, seeking to make fortunes, find employment, transform agricultural production or impose colonial control, the building and rebuilding of towns and cities as centres of the new European-dominated commercial life, and the migration to these urban centres of tens of thousands of the increasingly impoverished rural poor. No other place in the world in the nineteenth century was transformed on a greater scale to serve the production of a single industry.

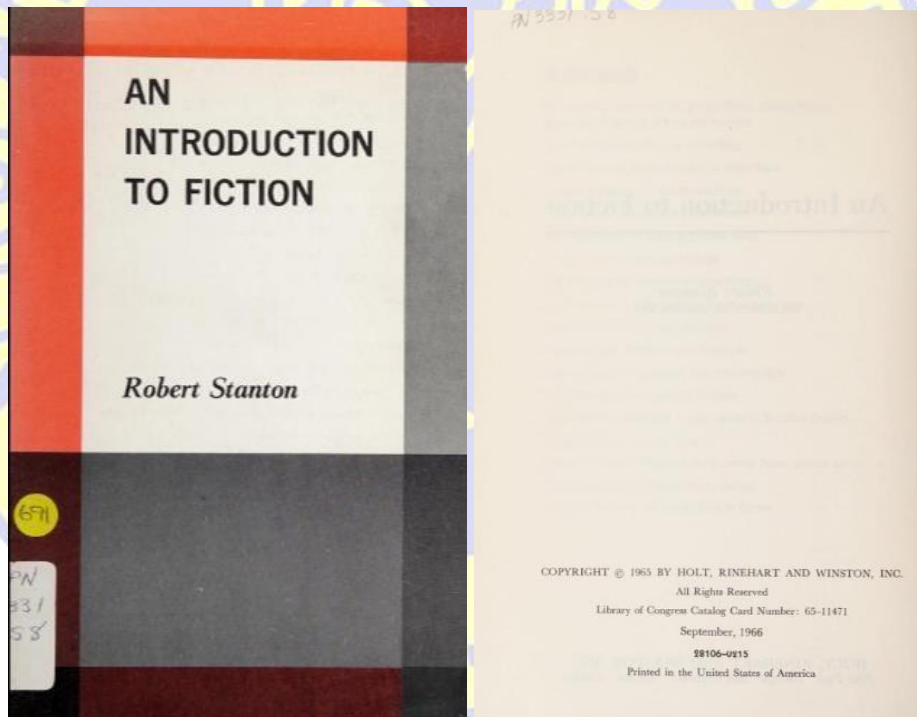
It was exactly this kind of global transformation that world exhibitions were built to promote. The Saint-Simonists, believers in the new religion of 'social science' who had travelled to Cairo in the 1830s to begin from within Egypt their project for the industrialisation of the earth, and had miserably failed, were subsequently among the first to turn to the idea of world exhibitions. Michel Chevalier, editor of the Saint-Simonist journal *Globe*, advocated exhibitions for the same reason he advocated constructing canals at Panama and Suez: to open up the world to the free movement of commodities.⁴⁰ The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations⁴¹ was the full title of the first of them, the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851. In place of the industrial exhibitions exclusive to one nation that had become popular during the first half of the century, all foreign nations and manufacturers were invited to exhibit at the Crystal Palace, reflecting the desire to promote unrestricted international trade on the part of British industrialists. What was on exhibit was the conversion of the world to modern capitalist production and exchange, and to the movements of communication and the processes of inspection on which these were thought to depend. The purpose of the exhibition was to

bring the leading men in manufactures, commerce and science into close and intimate communication with each other - establish an intelligent supervision of every branch of production by those most interested and most likely to be informed - have annual reports made in each department, and let the whole world be invited to assist

Sue Bryant



Robert Stanton p.18 (<https://archive.org/details/introductiontofi0000stan>)



In Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*, Dimmesdale's twisted posture represents his moral deformity, and Dimmesdale's poor health suggests the sickness of his conscience. A third type of evidence is provided by the other characters in a story, even the minor ones. Obviously, their attitudes toward a major character are important. Not so obviously, their similarities to, or differences from, him help to define his most significant traits.

The most important evidence of all is the character's own dialogue and behavior. In good fiction, every speech, every action is not only a step in the plot, but also a manifestation of character. Half the pleasure in reading a story by Henry James comes from seeing the interplay of character in the conversations. It is especially useful to go through at least a few major scenes in detail, speech by speech, action by action, to determine *exactly* what is meant or implied by each of these, remembering that the characters in fiction, like real people, often misunderstand or deceive one another. Perhaps this approach seems objectionable; why not simply read the speeches and actions, instead of treating them as "evidence"? But the point is that we have not really read them until we know how they exemplify character; until then, we know them only as we know the conversations of strangers we overhear on a bus. Through our knowledge of the characters, we understand their actions; through their actions, we understand the characters.

SETTING

The setting of a story is the environment of its events, the immediate world in which they occur. Part of the setting is the visible background, such as a café in Paris, the California mountains, a dead-end street in Dublin; part of it may also be the time of day or year, the climate, or the historical period. Although a setting does not include the principal characters, it may include the people in the background, such as the grim Puritan crowds in *The Scarlet Letter*. Usually, the setting is presented through descriptive passages, and many readers are impatient with these because, understandably enough, they want to get on with the narrative. But during at least our second reading of a story, we should give the setting a careful and thoughtful look, asking ourselves why, out of all the possibilities, the author has chosen just *this* background and stressed just *these* details. One way to answer this question is to imagine the setting changed or described with different details, and then to note how this change would affect the rest of the story. Sometimes we find that the setting directly influences the characters, as in the destruction of Kurtz by the brooding jungle in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. Sometimes the setting exemplifies a theme, as the isolated ship in *Moby-Dick* suggests Ahab's spiritual isolation.

of Sleepy Hollow," decadence and terror in Poe's "The Fall of the House of Usher," unbearable drabness in Orwell's 1984. We call this emotional tone the *atmosphere*. Whether the atmosphere reflects the characters' own emotions or whether it is part of the world outside them, we must be conscious of it if we are fully to understand their behavior.

Theme

The theme of a story corresponds to the meaning of a human experience; it may be anything that could make an experience memorable. Many stories portray and analyze some common human event or emotion: love, grief, fear, maturation, the discovery of faith, man's betrayal of himself or another, disillusion, old age. Some stories convey moral judgments of their characters' actions, as wrong or right. Other stories, while they deal with moral problems, make no judgments but simply say, "Here is what life is like." *A Farewell to Arms* does not imply that Lieutenant Henry and Catherine have done wrong, even though their illicit love leads to suffering. Many stories are studies in character, often revealing an unexpected quality that contrasts with the character's external appearance.

Because the term "theme" suggests a definite statement or generalization, it often sounds inappropriate when the story is a study in character or emotion. It seems clumsy to say, "The theme of 'The Tell-Tale Heart' is horror" or "The theme of *Hamlet* is Hamlet." Critics have introduced alternative terms, but none is ideal. We shall use three terms — "theme," "central idea," and "central purpose" — more or less synonymously, according to the context. Like the meaning of a human experience, a theme illuminates or comments upon some aspect of life, and thus has value outside the story. And again like the meaning of an experience, it gives the story focus, unity, impact, "point"; it makes the beginning seem adequate and the ending seem satisfactory; it is relevant to every event, every detail. Some readers stress the first of these two effects, considering the author a kind of teacher or propagandist. Some stress the second, considering him a pure artist: for them, the theme is a formal or technical device. And some insist that the author merely "tells a story" and is not at all concerned with themes. The best view, probably, is a mixture of these. The author is a storyteller, but unless his story is to be a mere anecdote, it must have a point — and the point is its theme. Presumably, the author considers his theme worth the reader's attention: surely Hemingway, who writes so often of courage, has some personal interest in the subject. But the author

Hugh Holman p.420

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VERSE characteristics in PROSE form, whereas *prose poetry* is predominantly PROSE but borrows enriching characteristics from the RHYTHMS and IMAGERY of POETRY. See POLYPHONIC PROSE, PROSE RHYTHM.

Prose Rhythm: The recurrence of STRESS and EMPHASIS at regular or, much more usually, irregular intervals which gives to some PROSE a pleasurable rise and fall of MOVEMENT. *Prose rhythm* is distinguished from the RHYTHM of VERSE in that it never for long falls into a recognizable pattern, for if it does it becomes VERSE rather than PROSE. RHYTHM in PROSE is essentially an aspect of STYLE. The greater freedom of *prose rhythm*, as compared with the RHYTHM of VERSE, springs from its wider choice in the placing of STRESS. There is no necessity to force a line to a certain rhythmic pattern. The normal ACCENT of words first determines the rhythmic EMPHASIS. But this is augmented by the secondary ACCENTS (in such words as ob"-ser-va'-tion and el"-e-men'-ta-ry) and increased again by the tendency of the reader to emphasize certain words importantly placed or rendered significant because of their meaning. (See RHETORICAL ACCENT and ACCENT.) Attempts have been made from time to time to evolve a system of SCANSION for PROSE, but none of them has proved satisfactory.

Prosody: The theory and principles of VERSIFICATION, particularly as they refer to RHYTHM, ACCENT, and STANZA. See METER, SCANSION, VERSIFICATION.

Prosopopoeia: A term sometimes used for PERSONIFICATION.

Protagonist: The chief character in a play or story. The word *protagonist* was originally applied to the first actor in early Greek DRAMA. The actor was added to the CHORUS and was its leader; hence

chief interest in the play. King Claudius and Laertes are his ANTAGONISTS. The sentence "The protagonists of Christopher Marlowe's tragedies are usually the super-personality type" illustrates a usual use of the word. *Protagonist* is sometimes used in the looser sense of champion or chief advocate of a cause or movement, as when Bryan is called the *protagonist* of the free-silver movement in 1896.

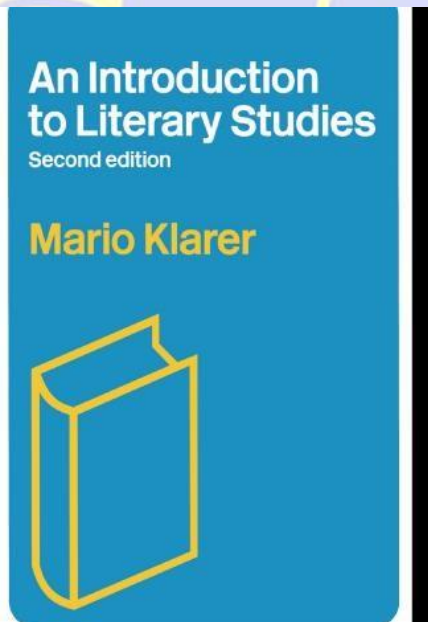
Protasis: The term applied by the classical critics to the introductory ACT or the EXPOSITION of a DRAMA. See DRAMATIC STRUCTURE.

Prothesis: The addition of a letter or a syllable at the beginning of a word for EMPHASIS, effect, or to meet metrical needs, as in Keats's line, "The owl for all his feathers was a-cold."

Prototype: A first form or original instance of a thing, or model or pattern for later forms or examples. Thus the PERIODICAL ESSAY of the eighteenth century as written by Addison or Steele may be called the *prototype* of the FAMILIAR ESSAY as written by Lamb or Stevenson, the later form being developed from the earlier. Or the "Vice" of the MORALITY PLAYS may be regarded as the *prototype* of the clown of ELIZABETHAN DRAMA.

Proverb: A sentence or phrase which briefly and strikingly expresses some recognized truth or shrewd observation about practical life and which has been preserved by oral tradition, though it may be preserved and transmitted in written literature as well. So far as FORM goes, *proverbs* may owe their appeal to the use of a METAPHOR ("Still waters run deep"); ANTITHESIS ("Man proposes, God disposes"), a play on words ("Forewarned, forearmed"); RHYME ("A friend in need is a friend indeed"); or ALLITERATION or PARALLELISM. Some are epigrammatic. Since the true *proverb* is old, its language is sometimes archaic. Words or meanings or idioms or

Klarer p.15, p20



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Mario Klarer is Associate Professor of English and American Studies at the University of Innsbruck.

has to be highly selective, entailing an idiosyncratic temporal dimension that usually focuses on one central moment of action. The slow and gradual build-up of suspense in the novel must be accelerated in the short story by means of specific techniques. The action of the short story therefore often commences close to the climax (*in medias res*—"the middle of the matter"), reconstructing the preceding context and plot development through flashbacks. Focusing on one main figure or location, the setting and the characters generally receive less detailed and careful depiction than in the novel. In contrast to the novel's generally descriptive style, the short story, for the simple reason of limited length, has to be more suggestive. While the novel experiments with various narrative perspectives, the short story usually chooses one particular point of view, relating the action through the eyes of one particular figure or narrator. The **novella** or **novellette**, such as Joseph Conrad's (1857–1924) *Heart of Darkness* (1902), holds an intermediary position between novel and short story, since its length and narratological elements cannot be strictly identified with either of the two genres.

As this juxtaposition of the main elements of the novel and the short story shows, attempts to explain the nature of these genres rely on different methodological approaches, among them reception theory with respect to reading without interruption, formalist notions for the analysis of plot structures, and contextual approaches for delineating their boundaries with other comparable genres. The terms plot, time, character, setting, narrative perspective, and style emerge not only in the definitions and characterizations of the genre of the novel, but also function as the most important areas of inquiry in film and drama. Since these aspects can be isolated most easily in prose fiction, they will be dealt with in greater detail in the following section by drawing on examples from novels and short stories. The most important elements are:

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Plot | What happens? |
| Characters | Who acts? |
| Narrative perspective | Who sees what? |
| Setting | Where and when do the events take place? |

a)

Plot

Plot is the logical interaction of the various thematic elements of a text which lead to a change of the original situation as presented at the outset of the narrative. An ideal traditional plot line encompasses the following four sequential levels:

exposition—complication—climax or turning point—resolution

The **exposition** or presentation of the initial situation is disturbed by a **complication** or **conflict** which produces suspense and eventually leads to a climax, crisis, or turning point. The **climax** is followed by a resolution of the complication (French **denouement**), with which the text usually ends. Most traditional fiction, drama, and film employ this basic plot structure, which is also called linear plot since its different elements follow a chronological order.

In many cases—even in linear plots—**flashback** and **foreshadowing** introduce information concerning the past or future into the narrative. The opening scene in Billy Wilder's (1906–2002) *Sunset Boulevard* (1950) is a famous example of the **foreshadowing** effect in film: the first-person narrator posthumously relates the events that lead to his death while drifting dead in a swimming pool. The only break with a linear plot or chronological narrative is the anticipation of the film's ending—the death of its protagonist—thus eliminating suspense as an important element of plot. This technique directs the audience's attention to aspects of the film other than the outcome of the action (see also Chapter 2, §4: Film).

The *drama of the absurd* and the *experimental novel* deliberately break with linear narrative structures while at the same time maintaining traditional elements of plot in modified ways. Many contemporary novels alter linear narrative structures by introducing elements of plot in an unorthodox sequence. Kurt Vonnegut's (1922–) postmodern novel *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969) is a striking example of experimental plot structure which mixes various levels of action and time, such as the experiences of a young soldier in World War II, his life in America after the war, and a science-fiction-like dream-world in

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the facade of his characters by dwelling solely on exterior aspects of dialogue and actions without further commentary or evaluation. Dramatic presentation, however, only pretends to represent objectively while it always necessarily remains biased and perspectival.

As shown above, one can distinguish between two basic kinds of characters (round or flat), as well as between two general **modes of presentation** (showing or telling):

Kinds of characters

typified character

flat

individualized character

round

Modes of presentation

explanatory method

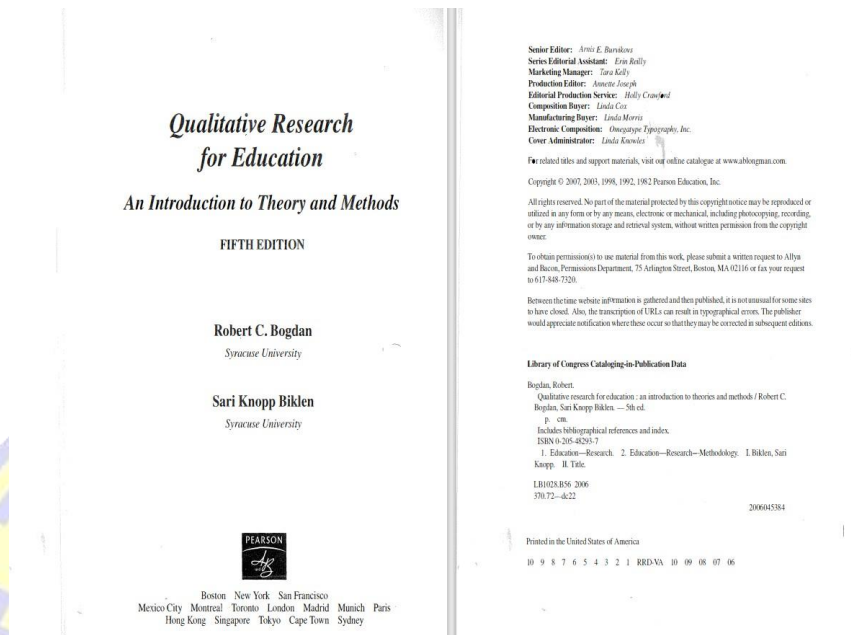
narration

dramatic method

dialogue—monologue

Similar to typification and individualization, explanatory and dramatic methods hardly ever appear in their pure forms, but rather as hybrids of various degrees, since the narrator often also acts as a character in the text. Questions concerning character presentation are always connected with problems of narrative perspective and are therefore hard to isolate or deal with individually. The following section on point of view thus inevitably touches upon aspects already mentioned.

Bogdan n Biklen p.5



Qualitative Research for Education

An Introduction to Theory and Methods

FIFTH EDITION

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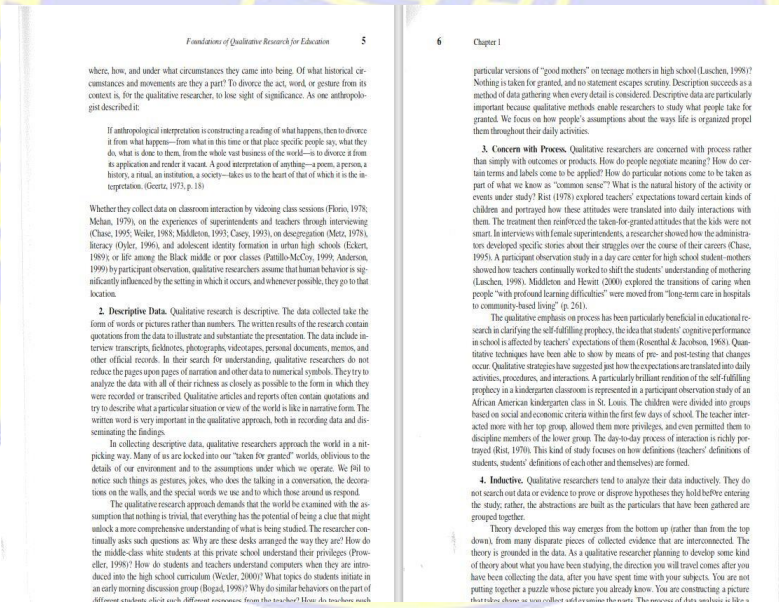
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where, how, and under what circumstances they came into being. Of what historical circumstances and movements are they a part? To divorce the act, word, or gesture from its context is, for the qualitative researcher, to lose sight of significance. As one anthropologist described it:

If anthropological interpretation is constructing a reading of what happens, then to divorce it from what happens—from what in this time or that place specific people see, what they do, what is done to them, from the whole vast business of the world—is to divorce it from its application and reader it want. A good interpretation of anything—a poem, a person, a history, a ritual, an institution, a society—takes us to the heart of that of which it is the interpretation. (Geertz, 1973, p. 18)

Whether they collect data on classroom interaction by videotaping class sessions (Flores, 1978; Mehan, 1979), on the experiences of superintendents and teachers through interviewing (Chase, 1995; Weiler, 1988; Middleton, 1993; Casey, 1993), on desegregation (Meier, 1978), literacy (Oyler, 1996), and adolescent identity formation in urban high schools (Eckert, 1989), or life among the Black middle- or poor classes (Pattillo-McCoy, 1999; Anderson, 1999) by participant observation, qualitative researchers assume that human behavior is significantly influenced by the setting in which it occurs, and whenever possible, they go to that location.

2. Descriptive Data. Qualitative research is descriptive. The data collected take the form of words or pictures rather than numbers. The written results of the research contain quotations from the data to illustrate and substantiate the presentation. The data include interview transcripts, fieldnotes, photographs, videotapes, personal documents, memos, and other official records. In their search for understanding, qualitative researchers do not reduce the pages upon pages of narration and other data to numerical symbols. They try to analyze the data with all of their richness as closely as possible to the form in which they were recorded or transcribed. Qualitative articles and reports often contain quotations and try to describe what a particular situation or view of the world is like in narrative form. The written word is very important in the qualitative approach, both in recording data and disseminating the findings.

In collecting descriptive data, qualitative researchers approach the world in a nitpicking way. Many of us are locked into our "taken-for-granted" worlds, oblivious to the details of our environment and to the assumptions under which we operate. We fail to notice such things as gestures, jokes, who does the talking in a conversation, the decorations on the walls, and the special words we use and to which those around us respond.

The qualitative research approach demands that the world be examined with the assumption that nothing is trivial, that everything has the potential of being a clue that might unlock a more comprehensive understanding of what is being studied. The researcher continually asks such questions as: Why are these desks arranged the way they are? How do the middle-class white students at this private school understand their privileges (Proweller, 1998)? How do students and teachers understand computers when they are introduced into the high school curriculum (Weiler, 2000)? What topics do students initiate in an early morning discussion group (Bogdan, 1998)? Why do similar behaviors on the part of different students elicit such different reactions from the teacher? How do teachers react

particular versions of "good mothers" on teenage mothers in high school (Larsen, 1998)? Nothing is taken for granted, and no statement escapes scrutiny. Description succeeds as a method of data gathering when every detail is considered. Descriptive data are particularly important because qualitative methods enable researchers to study what people take for granted. We focus on how people's assumptions about the ways life is organized propel them throughout their daily activities.

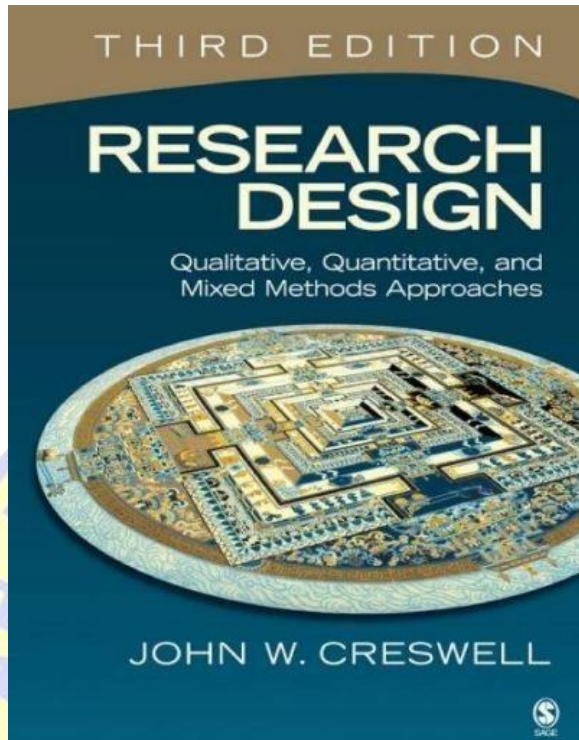
3. Concern with Process. Qualitative researchers are concerned with process rather than simply with outcomes or products. How do people negotiate meaning? How do certain terms and labels come to be applied? How do particular notions come to be taken as part of what we know as "common sense"? What is the natural history of the activity or events under study? Rist (1978) explored teachers' expectations toward certain kinds of children and portrayed how these attitudes were translated into daily interactions with them. The treatment then reinforced the taken-for-granted attitudes that the kids were not smart. In interviews with female superintendents, a researcher showed how the administrators developed specific stories about their struggles over the course of their careers (Chase, 1995). A participant observation study in a day care center for high school student-mothers showed how teachers continually worked to shift the students' understanding of mothering (Larsen, 1998). Middleton and Hewitt (2000) explored the transitions of caring when people "with profound learning difficulties" were moved from "long-term care in hospitals to community-based living" (p. 29).

The qualitative emphasis on process has been particularly beneficial in educational research in clarifying the self-fulfilling prophecy, the idea that students' cognitive performance in school is affected by teachers' expectations of them (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968). Quantitative techniques have been able to show by means of pre- and post-testing that changes occur. Qualitative strategies have suggested just how these expectations are translated into daily activities, procedures, and interactions. A particularly brilliant rendition of the self-fulfilling prophecy in a kindergarten classroom is represented in a participant observation study of an African American kindergarten class in St. Louis. The children were divided into groups based on social and economic criteria within the first few days of school. The teacher interacted more with her top group, allowed them more privileges, and even permitted them to discipline members of the lower group. The day-to-day process of interaction is richly portrayed (Rist, 1970). This kind of study focuses on how definitions (teachers' definitions of students, students' definitions of each other and themselves) are formed.

4. Inductive. Qualitative researchers tend to analyze their data inductively. They do not search out data or evidence to prove or disprove hypotheses they hold before entering the study; rather, the abstractions are built as the particulars that have been gathered are grouped together.

Theory developed this way emerges from the bottom up (rather than from the top down, from many disparate pieces of collected evidence that are interconnected). The theory is grounded in the data. As a qualitative researcher planning to develop some kind of theory about what you have been studying, the direction you will travel comes after you have been collecting the data, after you have spent time with your subjects. You are not putting together a puzzle whose picture you already know. You are constructing a picture that takes shape as you collect and examine the data. The manner of data analysis is like a

John Creswell



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| | |
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- Review the needs of potential audiences for the proposal. Decide whether audience members are knowledgeable enough about the characteristics of qualitative research that this section is not necessary.
- If there is some question about their knowledge, present the basic characteristics of qualitative research in the proposal and possibly

discuss a recent qualitative research journal article (or study) to use as an example to illustrate the characteristics.

- Several lists of characteristics might be used (e.g., Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Eisner, 1991; Hatch, 2002; LeCompte & Schensul, 1999; Marshall & Rossman, 2006), but I will rely on a composite analysis of several of these writers that I incorporated into my book on qualitative inquiry (Creswell, 2007). My list captures both traditional perspectives and the newer advocacy, participatory, and self-reflective perspectives of qualitative inquiry. Here are the characteristics of qualitative research, presented in no specific order of importance:

- **Natural setting**—Qualitative researchers tend to collect data in the field at the site where participants experience the issue or problem under study. They do not bring individuals into a lab (a contrived situation), nor do they typically send out instruments for individuals to complete. This up close information gathered by actually talking directly to people and seeing them behave and act within their context is a major characteristic of qualitative research. In the natural setting, the researchers have face-to-face interaction over time.
- **Researcher as key instrument**—Qualitative researchers collect data themselves through examining documents, observing behavior, or interviewing participants. They may use a protocol—an instrument for collecting data—but the researchers are the ones who actually gather the information. They do not tend to use or rely on questionnaires or instruments developed by other researchers.
- **Multiple sources of data**—Qualitative researchers typically gather multiple forms of data, such as interviews, observations, and documents, rather than rely on a single data source. Then the researchers review all of the data, make sense of it, and organize it into categories or themes that cut across all of the data sources.
- **Inductive data analysis**—Qualitative researchers build their patterns, categories, and themes from the bottom up, by

John & Tajfel 1912

READING 16

The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior

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Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present an outline of a theory of intergroup conflict and some preliminary data relating to the theory. First, however, this approach to intergroup behavior and intergroup conflict must be set in context, in relation to other approaches to the same problem. Much of the work on the social psychology of intergroup relations has focused on patterns of individual prejudices and discrimination and on the motivational sequences of interpersonal interaction. Outstanding examples of these approaches can be found, respectively, in the theory of authoritarian personality (Adorno et al., 1950) and in the various versions and modifications of the theory of frustration, aggression, and displacement (such as Berkowitz, 1962, 1969, 1974). The common denominator of most of this work has been the stress on the intrapersonal or interpersonal psychological processes leading to prejudiced attitudes or discriminatory behavior. The complex interweaving of individual or interpersonal behavior with the contextual social processes of intergroup conflict and their psychological effects has not been in the focus of the social psychologist's preoccupations (see Tajfel, 1981, pp. 13–36, and Turner & Giles, 1981, for more detailed discussions).

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1964). Thus, real conflicts of group interests not only create antagonistic intergroup relations but also heighten identification with, and positive attachment to, the in-group.

This identification with the in-group, however, has been given relatively little prominence in RCT, as a theoretical problem in its own right. The development of in-group identifications is seen in RCT almost as an epiphenomenon of intergroup conflict. As stated by RCT, these identifications are associated with certain patterns of intergroup relations, but the theory does not focus either upon the processes underlying the development and maintenance of group identity nor upon the possibly autonomous effects upon the in-group and intergroup behavior of these "subjective" aspects of group membership. It is our contention that the relative neglect of these processes in RCT is responsible for some inconsistencies between the empirical data and the theory in its "classical" form. In this sense, the theoretical orientation to be outlined here is intended not to replace RCT, but to supplement it in some respects that seem to us essential for an adequate social psychology of intergroup conflict—particularly as the understanding of the psychological aspects of social change cannot be achieved without an appropriate analysis of the social psychology of social conflict.

The Social Context of Intergroup Behavior

Our point of departure for the discussion to follow will be a priori distinction between two extremes of social behavior, corresponding to what we shall call interpersonal versus intergroup behavior. At one extreme (which most probably is found in its pure form only rarely in real life) is the interaction between two or more individuals that is fully determined by their interpersonal relationships and individual characteristics, and not at all affected by various social groups or categories to which they respectively belong. The other extreme consists of interactions between two or more individuals (or groups of individuals) that are fully determined by their respective memberships in various social groups or categories, and not at all affected by the interindividual personal relationships between the people involved. Here

again, it is probable that pure forms of this extreme are found only infrequently in real social situations. Examples that might normally tend to be near the interpersonal extreme would be the relations between wife and husband or between old friends. Examples that would normally approach the intergroup extreme are the behavior of soldiers from opposing armies during a battle, or the behavior at a negotiating table of members representing two parties in an intense intergroup conflict.

Some of the theoretical issues concerning this continuum are discussed by Turner (1982, 1984), Brown & Turner (1981), and Stephenson (1981); the main empirical questions concern the conditions that determine the adoption of forms of social behavior leaning one or the other extreme. The first—and obvious—answer concerns intergroup conflict. It can be assumed, in accordance with our common experience, that the more intense is an intergroup conflict, the more likely it is that the individuals who are members of the opposite groups will behave toward each other as a function of their respective group memberships, rather than in terms of their individual characteristics or interindividual relationships. This was precisely why Sherif (1967, for example) was able to abolish so easily the interindividual friendships formed in the preliminary stages of some of his field studies when, subsequently, the individuals who had become friends were assigned to opposing groups. An institutionalized or explicit context of objective interests between groups, however, does not provide a fully adequate basis, either theoretically or empirically, to account for many situations in which the social behavior of individuals belonging to distinct groups can be observed to approach the "group" extreme of our continuum. The conflict in Sherif's studies was "institutionalized" in that it was officially arranged by the holiday camp authorities; it was "explicit" in that it dominated the life of the groups; and it was "objective" in the sense that, given the terms of the competition, one of the groups had to be the winner and the other the loser. And yet, there is evidence from Sherif's own studies and from other research that the institutionalization, explicitness, and objectivity of an intergroup conflict are not necessary conditions for behavior in terms of the "group" extreme, although they will often prove to be sufficient.

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efficient conditions. One clear example is provided by our earlier experiments (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel et al., 1971), which we shall discuss briefly below, in which it was found that intergroup discrimination existed in conditions of minimal in-group affiliation, anonymity of group membership, absence of conflicts of interest, and absence of previous hostility between the groups.

Other social and behavioral continua are associated with the interpersonal-intergroup continuum. One of them may serve to summarize a quasi-ideological dimension of attitudes, values, and beliefs that may be plausibly hypothesized to play a causal role in relation to it. This dimension

as individuals, to divest themselves of an unstable, factory, underprivileged, or stigmatized group membership. The economic or social realities of a society may be such (as, for example, in the case of the millions of unemployed during the Depression of the 1930s) that the impossibility of "getting out" on one's own as an individual, becomes an everyday reality that determines many forms of intergroup social behavior. But even this example is still relatively extreme. Many social intergroup situations that contain, for whatever reasons, strong elements of stratification perceived as such may tend to move social behavior away from the pole of interpersonal relations toward the pole of intergroup relations. This is the case of

of interests, in which it is extremely difficult for an individual to conceive of the possibility of "getting" his or her own group by moving to the opposite group. Although this does happen on occasion, sanctions for such a move are, on the whole, powerful, and the value systems (at least in our cultures) are in diametric opposition to it. To give an example from social psychological research, a seems hardly possible that one of the boys in Sherif's holiday camps would decide to change sides, even though some of his previously congenial friendships overlapped group boundaries.

The intensity of explicit intergroup conflicts of interests is closely related in our cultures to the degree of conservatism attached to the notion of

members of the out-group. The second statement is closely related to the first: the nearer members of a group are to the "social change" and the "intergroup" extremes, the more they will tend to treat members of the out-group as undifferentiated items in a unified social category, rather than in terms of their individual characteristics. The vast literature in social psychology on the functioning of group stereotypes in situations of intense intergroup tensions is no more than an example of this general statement.

Thus, this preliminary conceptualization represents an approach to the social psychology of intergroup relations that takes into account social realities as well as their reflection in social behavior.

The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior ■ 279

French Canadians, the New Zealand Maoris, or the South African Bantus—have frequently tended to derogate the in-group and display positive attitudes toward the dominant out-group. In other words, deprived groups are not always ethnocentric in the simple meaning of the term; they may, in fact, be positively oriented toward the depriving out-group. Data of this kind are not consistent with a simple application of RCT. (Recent detailed reviews of other field and laboratory data relevant to assessing the validity of the theory are provided by Brewer, 1979; Stephenson, 1981, and Turner, 1981.)

Some writers (including Gregor & McPherson, 1966; Milner, 1975, 1981; Morland, 1969) have argued that the status relations between dominant and subordinate groups determine the latter's identity problems. (By status status we mean a ranking or hierarchy of perceived prestige.) Subordinate groups often seem to internalize a wider social evaluation of themselves as "inferior" or "second class," and this consensual inferiority is reproduced as relative self-derogation on a number of indices that have been used in the various studies. Consensual status itself—where subjective and accorded prestige are identical—is problematic for RCT, which conceptualizes prestige as a scarce resource, like wealth or power. Status differences between groups, like other inequalities, should tend to accentuate the intergroup conflict of interests. Therefore, according to RCT, the impact of low status upon a subordinate group should be to intensify its antagonism toward the high-status group (Thibaut, 1950). Yet, under some conditions at least, low social status seems to be correlated with an enhancement, rather than a lessening, of positive out-group attitudes.

It could be argued that only conflicts of interest perceived as such create hostility. This requires that groups must compare their respective situations. And, according to some views, it is only relatively similar groups that engage in mutual comparisons; therefore, many forms of status differences will reduce perceived similarity (see Festinger, 1954; Kidder & Stewart, 1973). It follows that status systems may reduce social conflict by restricting the range of meaningful comparisons available to any given group. This hypothesis may be a useful tool to account for some of the determinants of social stability; but if it is taken to its logical conclusion, it can account for no more than that. It

fails to account for social change (in the sense of changes in the mutual relations, behavior, and attitudes of large-scale human groups that have been distinctly different in status in the past), particularly when the processes of change become very rapid. Status differences between groups often do not remain unilaterally associated with low levels of intergroup conflict. For example, the generalization made above—that certain forms of political, economic, and social subordination of a social group tend to eliminate or even reverse its ethnocentrism—is already dated. Research conducted over the last two decades reveals a changing pattern in intergroup relations. American Blacks (Brigiam, 1971; Friedman, 1969; Harzi & Braun, 1971; Hrab & Grant, 1970), French Canadians (Berry, Kalin & Taylor, 1977), New Zealand Maoris (Vaughan, 1975) and the Welsh (Bourhis, Giles & Tajfel, 1973; Giles & Powlesland, 1975), for instance, now seem to be rejecting (or have already rejected) their previously negative in-group evaluations and developing a positive ethnocentric group identity. (Milner, 1981, and Tajfel, 1982b, argue that these new data are likely to be a genuine reflection of social change.) This construction of positive in-group attitudes has often been accompanied by a new militancy over political and economic objectives (see Tomlinson, 1970).

But these developments do not rescue RCT in its original form. The very suddenness with which the scene has changed effectively rules out objective deprivation and therefore new conflicting group interests as sufficient conditions for the "subordinate" group ethnocentrism. On the contrary, there has often been less objective deprivation than there was in the past. An active and new search for a positive group identity seems to have been one of the critical factors responsible for the reawakening of these groups' claims to scarce resources (Dizard, 1970).

In summary, RCT states that opposing claims to scarce resources, such as power, prestige, or wealth, generate ethnocentrism and antagonism between groups. Therefore, low status should tend to intensify out-group hostility in groups that are politically, economically, or socially subordinate. The evidence suggests, however, that where social-structural differences in the distribution of resources have been institutionalized, legitimized, and justified through a consensually accepted status system (or at least a status system that is suffi-

ciently firm and pervasive to prevent the creation of cognitive alternatives to it), the result has been less and not more ethnocentrism in the different status groups. The price of this has often been the subordinate group's self-esteem. On the other hand, whenever a subordinate group begins, for whatever reasons, to question or deny its presumed characteristics associated with its low status, this seems to facilitate the reawakening of a previously dormant conflict over objective resources. At the same time, it is likely that one of the counterreactions from the dominant groups in such situations will be to work for the preservation of the previously existing "subjective" and "objective" differentiations.

A tentative hypothesis about intergroup conflict in stratified societies can now be offered: An unequal distribution of objective resources promotes antagonism between dominant and subordinate groups, provided that the latter group rejects its previously accepted and consensually negative self-image, and with it the status quo, and starts working toward the development of a positive group identity. The dominant group may react to these developments either by doing everything possible to maintain and justify the status quo or by attempting to find and create new differentiations in its own favor, or both. A more detailed specification of some of the strategies and "solutions" that can be adopted in this situation can be found in Tajfel (1978a); we shall return later to a discussion of some of them. For the present, it will be sufficient to state that, whether valid or not, the hypothesis raises some important theoretical problems that need to be considered. The first question is: What social-psychological processes are involved in the development of positive group identity? The second question concerns the conditions under which the status differences between social groups are likely to enhance or to reduce intergroup conflict. In order to continue the discussion of these questions, we must now abandon speculation and consider some relevant data.

Social Categorization and Intergroup Discrimination

The initial stimulus for the theorizing presented here was provided by certain experimental investigations of intergroup behavior. The laboratory

analogue of real-world ethnocentrism is in-group bias—that is, the tendency to favor the in-group over the out-group in evaluations and behavior. Not only are incompatible group interests not always sufficient to generate conflict (as concluded in the last section), but there is a good deal of experimental evidence that these conditions are not always necessary for the development of competition and discrimination between groups (Brewer, 1979; Turner, 1981), although this does not mean, of course, that in-group bias is not influenced by the goal relations between the groups.

All this evidence implies that in-group bias is a remarkably omnipresent feature of intergroup relations. The phenomenon in its extreme form has been investigated by Tajfel and his associates. There have now been in addition to the original studies (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel et al., 1971) a large number of other experiments employing a similar procedure (methodological and conceptual issues concerning the experimental paradigm are discussed by Aschennrenner & Schaefer, 1980; Bornstein et al., 1983a; Bornstein et al., 1983b; Brantwistle, Doyle, & Lightbown, 1979; Brown, Tajfel, & Turner, 1980; Turner, 1980, 1983a, 1983b; and the results of the relevant studies are summarized most recently by Turner, 1983a, and in a wider theoretical and empirical context by Brewer, 1979; Brown & Turner, 1981; Turner, 1981, 1982), all showing that the mere perception of belonging to two distinct groups—that is, social categorization per se—is sufficient to trigger intergroup discrimination favoring the in-group. In other words, the mere awareness of the presence of an out-group is sufficient to provoke intergroup competitive or discriminatory responses on the part of the in-group.

In the basic paradigm the subjects (both children and adults have acted as subjects in the various studies) are randomly classified as members of two nonoverlapping groups—ostensibly on the basis of some trivial performance criterion. They then make "decisions," awarding amounts of money to pairs of other subjects (excluding self) in specially designed booklets. The recipients are anonymous, except for their individual code numbers and their group membership (for example, member number 51 of the X group and member number 33 of the Y group). The subjects, who know their own group membership, award the amounts individually and anonymously. The re-

sponse format of the booklets does not force the subjects to act in terms of group membership. In this situation, there is neither a conflict of interests nor previously existing hostility between the "groups." No social interaction takes place

characteristics of the experimental situation—in other words, whether explicit references to group membership communicate to the subjects that they are expected to, or ought to, discriminate. The first point to be made about this interpretation of the

intergroup behavior. In turn, if we assume this—and the assumption is by no means unreasonable—we must also assume that this particular form of intergroup behavior is one which is capable of being induced by the experimenters much more easily than other forms (such as coopera-

large-scale social categories, are that the individuals concerned define themselves and are defined by others as members of a group.

We can conceptualize a group, in this sense, as a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social categories.