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Contemporary ethical implications of Shusaku Endo's *The Sea and Poison*

Atsushi Asai,¹ Taketoshi Okita,² Aya Enzo³ and Yasuhiro Kadooka⁴

Abstract

The 1945 Kyushu Imperial University human vivisections are among the most infamous of medical atrocities involving Japanese doctors. The Japanese novelist, Shusaku Endo published *The Sea and Poison*, a fiction novel based on the incident in 1958. His story features young doctors, Suguro and Toda, and depicts their motivations to join the killing, as well as their regrets or the lack thereof. Endo forces us to ponder why they involved themselves in the human vivisections and what might have dissuaded them from doing so. Even today we lack clear answers to these questions. This paper will present our deliberations on the contemporary implications of Endo's questions and positions set forth in *The Sea and Poison*. We suggest that Suguro failed to refuse participation in the vivisection because of his emotional exhaustion and emptiness, which could have been caused by war, the doctors' true colors, or the dark side of medicine. It is argued that Suguro is no different from many of us, and that Toda's claim that we are, deep down, unmoved by the suffering and death of others describes part of our minds. The meaning of strong conscience and compassion is also discussed.

Keywords: The Sea and Poison, Shusaku Endo, human vivisection, war, Japan, research ethics

Background: The Kyushu Imperial University human vivisection case and Shusaku Endo's *The Sea and Poison*

The 1945 Kyushu Imperial University human vivisections are among the most infamous of medical atrocities involving Japanese doctors or researchers. Japanese doctors at Kyushu Imperial University School of Medicine, at the direction of the Japanese army, vivisected eight American captives, all of whom were killed. The doctors killed the captives by injecting diluted seawater into their veins, removing their lungs or livers, and through other horrific experiments that tested their physical limits. Twenty-three Japanese individuals, including army officials and Kyushu University doctors, were convicted of war crimes and sentenced to death by hanging, life in prison, or other penalties (Kumao, 2015; Takahashi, 2015; Ogaki, 2015; Japan Times, 2015).

In 2015, the Kyushu University Medical History Museum began to display two items related to human vivisections (Japan Times, 2015; Sankei Newspaper, 2015). The exhibit triggered active social discussion. Comments primarily included war criticisms such as, "the war drove the doctors mad" and "the war caused this foolishness," and blame against Japanese militarism at that time such as, "the abnormal atmosphere where the army's orders were absolute caused the atrocity." Moreover, doubts as to why doctors, who are supposed to save human lives, committed such brutal acts were expressed from professional perspectives (Takahashi, 2015; Ogaki, 2015; Japan Times, 2015; Sankei Newspaper, 2015). One individual involved in the vivisections as a medical student confessed that he was not sure whether or not he could have refused participation under circumstances where strong abhorrence to American soldiers predominated if he were a professor at the medical school (Shimosaki, 2015 June 22). On the other hand, one of the senior faculty members concerned claimed "we could have prevented it from happening even in that age if we had been sturdy" (Kumamo, 2015; Shimosaki, 2015 June 22).

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In 1958, the Japanese novelist Shusaku Endo published *The Sea and Poison* (*Umi to Dokuyaku*), a fiction novel based on the incident described above (Endo & Owen, 1971).

Outline of *The Sea and Poison*

In 1945, when defeat in the war was certain, Dr. Suguro and Dr. Toda were both young interns of First Surgery at a University Hospital and had been taking care of many inpatients with tuberculosis. Even though the US Air force had bombed the hospital daily, professors at the University were ardently aiming to become the Dean of the School of Medicine. Professor Hashimoto of First Surgery operated on a young relative of the previous dean, but she died from massive blood loss during the surgery and this failure left him at a disadvantage in the election for dean. To recover from this situation, Professor Hashimoto and two First Surgery faculty members decided to participate in the vivisection of an American prisoner of war at the request of Japanese martial medical officers. Both Suguro and Toda were asked to join and assist the vivisection by their supervising doctors, Dr. Shibata and Dr. Asai. Toda decided to join without hesitation. Suguro was undecided, but did not refuse. They participated in the vivisection of a U.S. military captive together with many Japanese military personnel. After the vivisection, Suguro suffered deeply from remorse, guilt, and self-hatred, while Toda did not experience any psychological change.

The novel describes in detail the background, motives, and conflicts concerning participation in the vivisection, as well as the state of mind after the lethal experiments of the two protagonists, who have distinct personalities. Endo is considered to be the only major Japanese novelist to confront the problems of individual responsibility in wartime (Gallagher, 1971). In *The Sea and Poison*, Endo questions why they involved themselves in the vivisection, an unethical human experiment; what might have dissuaded them from participating in this abhorrent wrongdoing; and in what manner we ought to judge the protagonists' individual responsibilities in their involvement in this atrocity during wartime. He published a sequel to this work, *A Song of Sadness* (Endo, 1981). The sequel depicts Suguro's life about 20 years later as he continues to be nihilistic due to the deep regret and guilt about his participation in the vivisection.

Even today, 60 years later, we lack clear answers to the above-mentioned questions presented by Endo. It is important that we try to answer these questions, and we also need to deeply consider the meaning of the main characters' perceptions in this novel. First, just as Suguro and Toda faced the Second World War 70 years ago, any one of us could confront territorial disputes, terrorism, religious conflicts, racism, discrimination against the socially vulnerable, and indiscriminate mass murder at any time. There is a strong feeling that we are now living in an uneasy, unstable, and dangerous world, and that people could be unknowingly and rather easily swept to the same fate of emotional exhaustion and sensitivity paralysis that Suguro experienced. Second, unethical medical research has not discontinued entirely in Japan or in other countries (Sasaguri, 2012). Some have noted that Japanese medical communities have failed to reflect adequately on the evil actions of Unit 731, a biological warfare unit of the Imperial Japanese Army known to conduct human vivisections (Hickey, Li, Morrison et al., 2015; Shimosaki, 2015 June 25).

This paper will present our deliberations on the contemporary implications of Endo's questions and positions set forth in *The Sea and Poison* from ethical and professional perspectives. First, we consider why Suguro involved himself in the vivisection and what might have dissuaded him from participating. We then present several ethical implications of the novel. We refer to Endo's other works when they are relevant to our themes.

Why did Suguro involve himself in the human vivisection and what might have dissuaded him from participating?

Why did the protagonists in *The Sea and Poison* involve themselves in the human vivisection and what might have dissuaded them from participating? When thinking about Endo's question, we primarily consider the psychology of Suguro. We will touch on Toda's psychology in the following section. First, why did

Suguro not refuse participation? What is most important in considering this question is that nobody forced him to participate, he had adequate time to ponder the implications of participation, and had several opportunities to refuse. Assistant Professor Asai said, "You are perfectly free, you know. Really!" Associate Professor Shibata also added, "No, no! No forcing."

Actually, he did nothing in the operating room when the three professors and Toda were vivisectioning the prisoner of war with the help of two nurses. He screamed, "No, I can't," "Let me go. I want to get out," and just stood beside the wall of the room trying to imagine this was an ordinary patient operation. No one, including military personnel, blamed him for doing nothing (Endo & Owen, 1971). This suggests that there was no coercion or, at least, there was no strong or explicit pressure imposed on Suguro. As a matter of fact, 30 years later in *A Song of Sadness*, Suguro told a young pressman interested in the human vivisection experiments that it would have been possible to refuse participation if he had really wanted to (Endo, 1981).

The reason that Suguro consented to join in the vivisection remains vague, and he himself seems unsure of this point for a while. It could be that his colleague Toda decided to participate without reservation and Suguro just followed his decision. It could be due to headache, nausea, or absent-mindedness caused by the smoke from charcoal fires and cigarettes in the faculty room. However, he soon abandoned thinking of the true reason and rather quickly concluded, "It's all the same." He added, "No matter how much you think, it doesn't help. I'm just one person. What can I do with the world?" (Endo & Owen, 1971). A day before Suguro and Toda were asked to join the vivisection, Suguro's first patient died, in spite of his efforts to make sure she did not die in the midst of everyone being the way out. Her death made him think that, "From now on, for myself, for the War, for Japan, for everything, let things go just as they like" (Endo & Owen, 1971).

It seems to us that Suguro was caught in the insignificance of life and helplessness around him in a time when everyone had been the way out, and he lost all energy to positively commit to anything, judge moral appropriateness, and make his own choices. He suffered from emotional exhaustion and sensitivity paralysis. In *A Song of Sadness* (Endo, 1981), he told the pressman that he had not refused to participate in the human vivisection because he might have been too tired to do so. Thus, Suguro did not refuse it because of his nihilism and despair in the face of the overwhelming fate of war that naturally disregards human lives. A critic pointed out that this overwhelming fate is likened to a black sea in *The Sea and Poison*, and in his dream he saw himself in the dark sea, his figure a battered husk swept round in the current (Endo & Owen, 1971; Saeki, 1958).

Furthermore, we think that Suguro was deeply disappointed in both medical doctors at his medical school and medicine itself, and this disappointment contributed to despair over his life as a young physician. The elderly lady who had been Suguro's first patient had been selected as a candidate of Dr. Shibata's lethal experiments. She died of her underlying disease just before the experimental surgery. A young relative of the previous dean was a means towards Professor Hashimoto's advancement. She subsequently died during the unnecessary operation and, even worse, Hashimoto attempted to conceal the surgical death from the family in an attempt to save his own neck.

At the same time, Toda representatively explained the dark nature of medicine, "Killing a patient is not so solemn a matter as all that. It is nothing new in the world of medicine. That is how we have made our progress." After the young relative of the late dean was killed during her operation, Suguro asked himself, "Is this what it means to be a doctor? Is this what medicine means?" (Endo & Owen, 1971). Therefore, the two kinds of despair caused by the war and medicine exhausted his positive commitment to the world and paralyzed his sensitivity to other's suffering. We would like to add one more possible reason for Suguro's deep despair: the clear contradiction between war and medicine, or the meaninglessness of medicine in the midst of war, which kills everybody. It is possible that Suguro felt the helplessness of medicine in the face of the mass killing of war, especially after he failed to save his first patient.

According to Saeki (1958), this work indicts a Japanese mental and ethical vacuum, and suggests that this state of mind allows Japanese people to avoid making a serious ethical or religious choice when the choice is essential. It has also been pointed out that Endo thought that pantheism in the East does not have

the tension of opposites, such as that between good and evil, or flesh and spirit, and that he saw the calm passivity of pantheism as the dominant Japanese religious mood (Gallagher, 1971). Endo was baptized as a Catholic while a very young schoolboy and he created his works as a Christian (Gallagher, 1971; Saeki, 1958).

Given Endo's basic perception about Japanese spirituality, we think he suggests in the novel that Suguro passively participated in the vivisection because he lacked a strong conscience based in the voice of God. If he had a strong spirit based on religious faith he could fight against his circumstances and refuse participation; no serious choice was made due to his lack of robust conscience. By that token, in the conversation between Suguro and Toda immediately after their consent to participate in the vivisection, Toda told Endo abruptly, "A man has all sorts of things pushing him. He tries by all means to get away from fate. Now the one who gives him the freedom to do that, you can call God" (Endo & Owen, 1971). We think that Endo claims as a Christian that God sets us free from the fate forcing us to do evil; God injects values and a firm meaning of life into a person's empty mind and removes highly-toxic nihilism, and the conscience given by God orders us to love others impartially. In the same way, Endo might think that unethical conduct in clinical practice and research activities in healthcare were problems of our soul and could disappear if the spirit of healthcare personnel was filled with charity. We believe that Endo regards our nihilism as poison in our soul, despite the fact that no commentator has claimed so to the best of our knowledge.

Contemporary ethical implications of *The Sea and Poison*

So far, we have considered *The Sea and Poison's* background, content, and Endo's thoughts concerning conscience as the voice of God and its role. We suggested that the protagonist, Suguro, failed to refuse participation in the vivisection because of his emotional exhaustion and emptiness. His nihilism and despair could have been caused by war, the doctors' true colors, and the dark side of medicine and its limitations. What follows is our argument about the contemporary implications of *The Sea and Poison* where we will deliberate on the words and ideas of Suguro and Toda, although our arguments and claims may differ considerably from what Endo intended to convey to his readers, i.e., the primary importance of the voice of God.

First, all of us are Suguro; he is no different from many of us. He was a doctor who devoted himself to providing care to patients to the best of his ability with no excessive desire for power or promotion. Endo might have created Suguro's character as a typically Japanese person. Endo was a Catholic who kept investigating the characteristics of Japanese existence driven by his perceived contradiction between being Catholic and being Japanese (Saeki, 1958; Ozaki, 1980; Takeda, 2012). However, in our opinion, Endo's inquiry concerning the nature of Japanese people is not limited to the problem of the Japanese and could be universal. We believe that most people, regardless of race, faith, or time, might be unknowingly swept into the same situation of emotional exhaustion and sensitivity paralysis that Suguro experienced if they were placed in the same circumstance. Most of us could similarly remain undermined and passive while only a minority might fight against the overwhelming power of the era. Thus, it can be argued that *The Sea and Poison's* concerns not only address what being Japanese is, but also what being human is.

Everyone has a good side and a bad side that are always engaged in a tug-of-war. Nobody is completely good or bad (Isaka, 2012). A person may do something evil when the bad side predominates. Suguro told one of his patients at his clinic ten years after the vivisection, "From now on, I'm not sure at all. If I were caught in the same way, I might, I might just do the same thing again" (Endo & Owen, 1971). Toda also told Suguro just after the vivisection, "You and I happened to be here in this particular hospital in this particular era, and so we took part in the vivisection of a prisoner. If those people who are going to judge us bad were put in the same situation, would they have done anything different?" (Endo & Owen, 1971) Both Eichmann involved in the Holocaust and Dr. Ishii of Unit 731 were just citizens and good fathers in their ordinary lives (Sato, 2005). If Arendt's claim that Eichmann's evil was mediocre is correct, people could do

serious evil without being especially evil or in a state of frenzy (Arendt, 1963). Milgram's famous psychological experiment also suggests that it is the case (Milgram, 1974). If our claim that we are no different from Suguro is correct, it is likely that we also would involve ourselves in a brutal wrongdoing in a similar situation.

It is possible that we could commit serious evil deeds even without being involved in overwhelmingly merciless circumstances such as war when our spirits are filled with self-loathing, hostility against society, a sense of alienation, distrust against others, and apathy about life as a consequence of various failures, losses, absurdities, or suffering. This is because we may feel, "It's all the same," about ourselves, others, or society as a whole (Endo & Owen, 1971). We should recognize that there is always danger and that even a person of goodwill has the capacity to assist in or initiate an atrocity. It is dangerous to have the conviction that we would never commit any crime or wrongdoing.

Second, it appears that Toda's attitude towards others' pain or suffering expresses part of our mentality. Unlike Suguro, Endo describes Toda as cynical. Toda told Suguro that if the old lady who was Suguro's first patient died during an air raid she would be just thrown away, "But if she gets killed during an operation, no doubt about it, and she becomes a living pillar upholding the temple of medical science" (Endo & Owen, 1971). Toda did not hesitate to participate and volunteered to take part in the vivisection as an anesthesiologist. He justified conducting the vivisection to advance medicine. Toda confessed that, "To put it quite bluntly, I am able to remain quite undisturbed in the face of someone else's terrible suffering and death," and, "A patient would die. The parents and the sisters would wail; and I would put on a sad, sympathetic expression. But once out in the corridor, the spectacle would pass out of my mind" (Endo & Owen, 1971).

Endo depicts Toda as a man who was insensitive to other's suffering and born without a conscience, and writes that Toda joined the vivisection because he desired to feel his own pangs of conscience by killing a prisoner of war in a brutal manner (Endo & Owen, 1971). Endo also suggested that we Japanese do not have an authentic sense of guilt, i.e., the fear of remorse, and that all we have is mere fear of the punishment of our own community or society (Saeki, 1958). Toda is a character who embodies this idea. Toda confessed, "For me, the pangs of conscience were from the fear of disapproval in the eyes of others –fear of punishment which society could bring to bear." Toda asks all of us, "There is something I would like to ask you. Aren't you too, deep down, unmoved by the suffering and death of others?" (Endo & Owen, 1971).

This question should be answered honestly. How much are we moved by the death or suffering of others? How often do we avoid doing something evil solely because we fear the contradiction of our own conscience? We believe the claim that we are, deep down, unmoved by the suffering and death of others to correctly describe at least part of our minds. The person who acts with no concern about social sanction and guilt, but only to single-mindedly defend his or her conscience, might be in the minority.

On the other hand, Endo seems to earnestly desire that everyone feels, "I cannot be unconcerned when you suffer," as the young Frenchman Gaston said, who was described as Jesus in the present Tokyo in *A Song of Sadness* (Endo, 1981). In Endo's novel *Watashi ga suteta onna* (2012), the protagonist, an innocent girl, heard Jesus saying to her, "What you need in this world is to connect your sadness with other's sadness." Also in *The Sea and Poison*, Suguro felt psychological pain when he saw his patient dying of tuberculosis (Endo & Owen, 1971). It is pointed out that Suguro has sympathy and solidarity with others (Endo & Owen, 1971; Kawashima, 2016). We agree with Endo that we need empathy, sympathy, and love for others, and that all are desirable traits in our human world. However, we need to make it clear that our claim does not require the existence of God as a necessary condition.

Third, it is often asked why medical doctors, whose primary role is to save human lives, killed American captives by vivisection. We would answer that they did it *because* they are medical doctors. The risk that medical doctors and researchers would be tempted to plan, assist, or conduct human vivisections is higher than that for laypersons because doctors have the motive, ability, and purpose to do so. Potential benefits obtained through vivisections would motivate them. In *The Sea and Poison*, Associate Professor

Shibata told Suguro and Toda that, “For a medical research man, from one point of view that is, it is the most sought after kind of opportunity” (Endo & Owen, 1971). On the other hand, the layperson would not be interested in human anatomy, physiology, or inventing new surgical procedures. They also would have no capacity or access to conduct a vivisection. We believe that when doctors and researchers regard patients or subjects as the enemy or worthless, an extremely strong or narrow sense of mission may make them reckless and drive them to carry out atrocities. Their devotion to medicine and its progress could thus justify killing people whom they judge worthless in the name of advancing medicine.

We are not suggesting that medical doctors are inferior to laypeople in terms of personality, but they are not accepted to medical school for their strong empathy or excellent character. They are not selected for the strength of philanthropic spirit either. Hence, it is not surprising that some doctors, just like Suguro’s superiors, attempted to obtain new scientific knowledge by killing their enemies in an era of war. There is no strong reason that being a medical doctor would completely prevent getting involved in medical killing. Indeed, German doctors were believed to be willing to participate in brutal human experiments conducted at several concentration camps in the Nazi era (Weinke, 2015). The report about the Kyushu University human vivisections indicates that there were some doctors who visited the operation room to observe the vivisections because it interested them (Kumamo, 2015).

A layperson might stab, beat, or hang a prisoner of war to death against the international law banning inappropriate treatment of captives. Medical doctors might kill the prisoner by medical experimentation. Which is ethically more problematic? We argue that the latter is much worse than the former from a professional perspective because medical doctors have a mission to contribute to the health and welfare of others. In *The Sea and Poison*, Suguro had the impression that the confidence in doctors as medical professionals was quite enough to put the prisoner at ease when he looked at the first victim of vivisection (Endo & Owen, 1971). The captive may have thought it impossible for medical doctors in their white coats to hurt him, even if they were the enemy. We should not ignore the huge gap between doctors’ evil intentions and patients’ trust. Medical atrocities inevitably betray social trust in medicine and are therefore intolerable.

Fourth, we agree with Endo about the importance of possessing a strong conscience that could prevent us from being swept away by a merciless destiny. In general, conscience is an inner sense that distinguishes right from wrong, and it is an individual moral conviction that compels us to do good and not do evil (Thompson, 2010; Benjamin, 2014). In a religious discussion, conscience may be thought of as the “voice of God” speaking within the individual. But, the internalization of parental and social norms, and the voice of conscience, could simply be an echo of social, parental, or religious admonitions (Thompson, 2010; Benjamin, 2014). Thus, doubt can rightly be presented concerning the accuracy of judging right and wrong. Conscience plays no direct role in ethical deliberation and is not an infallible guide to conduct (Benjamin, 2014).

In *The Sea and Poison*, Professor Hashimoto’s German wife Hilda reprimanded a nurse who attempted to euthanize a dying inpatient suffering severely from respiratory difficulty by saying, “Even though a person is going to die, no one has the right to murder him. You are not afraid of God? You don’t believe in the punishment of God?” (Endo & Owen, 1971) We are unsure whether Hilda was undoubtedly right and the nurse was absolutely wrong. In *A Song of Sadness*, Suguro 20 years later conducted voluntary active euthanasia for an old man who had been suffering from intractable pain due to terminal gastric cancer and consistently desired to die. When he was about to inject a large dose of morphine to the patient, Jesus told Suguro that he must not kill the terminal patient (Endo, 1981). However, was Suguro ethically wrong? We wonder how Jesus would deal with the severe suffering of a dying patient. At the very least, it can be argued that we should not treat equally the evil of voluntary active euthanasia and the evil of vivisectioning prisoners of war.

Conclusion: Can we stop future atrocities?

The remark of Associate Professor Shibata to Suguro and Toda, “[t]here are going to be some vivisections performed on American prisoners” is extremely hateful (Endo & Owen, 1971). However, the vivisections actually occurred 70 years ago in Japan (Kumamo, 2015). It could occur again in the future. If there had been a research ethics committee at the medical school in 1945, could it have stopped the atrocity? We are unsure. It is possible that the ethics committee would resolutely oppose it based on international law or universal human rights. On the other hand, the committee might become a follower of the power at the time and its decision, based on the conscience of fascist Japan, could be used to justify conducting lethal human experiments. Toda told Suguro that the conscience of man seemed to vary a good deal from man to man (Endo & Owen, 1971). Indeed, medical research that seriously harms subjects has been happening in Japan from the end of World War II to the present (Sasaguri, 2012).

What should we do to prevent medical atrocities like human vivisections from occurring in the future? It is important to continue current education regarding human rights, professionalism, and medical ethics, including clinical research and medical humanities, for medical researchers, healthcare students, and professionals. We would argue that what is most important is that human compassion, which is a strong feeling that it is unbearable and impossible to remain indifferent to in the face of another's misfortune, is nurtured in as many individuals as possible as an outcome of these educational interventions (Jullien, 2002). We believe this compassion to be the same feeling as Gaston's, “I cannot be unconcerned when you suffer,” and Suguro's emotional pain in the face of the dying patient. However, we cannot expect dramatic effects of these interventions on how we feel about the suffering or pain of others. Given the limited ability of human beings to empathize, sympathize, or love others, how to nurture human compassion is an unresolved issue. To our regret, it is difficult for us to live with philanthropy. In fact, many are killed by terrorism or homicide every day worldwide. Our trial and error continues.

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A comparison of refusals between Chinese speakers in Taiwan and Malaysia

Mei-Ying Chen¹

Abstract

This study explored regional variations in the refusal speech act between Malaysian Chinese and Taiwan Chinese. The results showed that more similarities were found than differences between the two groups. Overall, Taiwan Chinese employed a higher rate of refusal strategies than did Malaysian Chinese. Both groups employed more indirect refusal strategies to higher-status listeners, whereas direct refusal strategies were used more frequently in refusing listeners of equal-status, indicating that both groups were sensitive to the social status of their interlocutors. With respect to individual strategies used, giving a reason and a statement of regret were the first two preferred strategies, followed by a direct refusal strategy and the suggestion of an alternative, across situations and groups. Moreover, that the great majority of the participants addressed a person of higher-status with an honorific title indicated that they conformed to the maxim-of-address of Chinese social norms. Finally, the pedagogical implication of these findings has implications for the field of teaching Chinese as a second language.

Keywords: politeness, face, refusal strategies, Taiwan Chinese, Malaysian Chinese

Introduction

Recently, research on intra-lingual pragmatic variation has contributed to our knowledge concerning the pragmatic differences between varieties of Chinese Mandarin (henceforth Chinese) spoken in different regions. For example, Bresnahan, Ohashi, Liu, Nebash, and Liao (1999) indicated that the higher imposition of a request, the lower request compliance for both Singapore Chinese and Taiwan Chinese. However, Singapore Chinese were inclined to comply with a friend's request, whereas Taiwan Chinese tended to refuse a friend's request and used significantly more strategies. Second, Lin, Woodfield, and Ren (2012) found that both students from Taiwan and China showed a tendency to compliment on one's appearance, possessions and abilities explicitly. They differed significantly in their uses of different syntactic forms. Taiwanese students tended to use the form of a request as an implicit compliment strategy, whereas Chinese students used a want statement. Finally, concerning the responses to compliments, Spencer-Oatey, Ng, and Li (2008) found that students in China showed a higher tendency to express a disagreement on one's compliment than students from Hong Kong. These studies have demonstrated the pragmatic differences between Chinese spoken in different regions.

In line with previous studies, the present study tried to add the list by investigating the regional factor to the refusal speech act between Chinese speakers in Taiwan, a major Chinese-speaking region and Malaysia, one of the biggest Chinese overseas communities. Two reasons underpin this selection of refusals as the target speech act. First, according to Brown and Levinson (1987) the refusal speech act threatens the positive face of the listener and may jeopardize the relationship between the speaker and the listener. Thus, people in every society will soften or reduce this possible threat to the listener by means of politeness measures or strategies. Second, Chinese people tend to avoid conflicts at all costs due to the value placed on social harmony rather than individual interests (Gu, 1990). It is believed that by investigating refusals between these two varieties of Chinese, we shed some light on how Chinese refusals vary from region to region, and what can be incorporated into classes of Chinese as a second language.

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2. Literature review

2.1 Faces and Chinese 'miàn zǐ' and 'liǎn'

A speech act of refusal is a dispreferred response to a request, an offer, a suggestion, or an invitation, by which the speaker refuses to engage in an action proposed by the interlocutor (Chen, Ye, & Zhong, 1995). According to Brown and Levinson (1987), a model person in a society has two kinds of face wants: positive face and negative face. The former refers to a person's desire of being liked and respected; the latter refers to a person's desire of being left alone. Therefore, a refusal threatens the hearer's positive face of being liked, respected and approved of. Generally, out of respect, depending on the situation and the purpose of communication, a speaker will select appropriate linguistic expressions, known as politeness strategies, to mitigate the potential threats of a refusal in interactions. This act of employment of politeness strategies is universal.

Nevertheless, Mao (1994) argued that Chinese *miàn zǐ* and *liǎn*, two equivalents to Brown and Levinson's faces, concern not only an individual's desire of being respected and being left alone, but also one's public image and social value. Specifically, *miàn zǐ* refers to a person's wish to gain and secure one's prestige and reputation in a society, whereas *liǎn* refers to a person's wish to be liked and to be acknowledged in a community. Moreover, in Chinese society, the interests and harmony of the group are always on top of the interests of individual's. In order to build up and maintain the harmonious relationship between the interlocutors, Chinese people would avoid confrontation at all costs. In other words, the first priority for Chinese people in social interaction is to attend to the listener's needs of *miàn zǐ*, being respected, and *liǎn*, to acknowledge the listener's social standing. As a result, while rejecting, the preferred refusal strategies are the ones that not only can demonstrate the gesture of being polite, but can preserve the listener's face.

In line with Leech's (1983) politeness principles, Gu (1990) proposed four Chinese politeness maxims; namely, Tact maxim, Generosity maxim, Self-denigration maxim, and Address maxim in Chinese social patterns. The Tact Maxim refers to the negative politeness strategies that minimize the imposition of a speech act, and the Generosity Maxim concerns the positive politeness strategies that attend to the hearer's interests and needs. However, the Self-denigration Maxim and the Address Maxim elucidate two unique Chinese politeness behaviors in everyday conversations. While the former relate to the strategies of downgrading self and elevating the hearer, the latter centers on the practices of paying respect toward the hearer by addressing the hearer with a professional title (i.e., *lǎo shī* 'teacher', *jiāo shòu* 'professor'), kinship terms (i.e., *yé yé* 'grandfather', *nǚ nǚ* 'grandmother'), or solidarity boosters such as *tóng xué* (classmate). Ma (1996) pointed out that the core of these polite behaviors is to maintain the harmony of a community, and to avoid face-to-face confrontation. Consequently, instead of rejecting directly, Chinese people prefer a contrary-to-face-value communication refusing style depending on the context. However, it is difficult for students of different language background to understand the possible clues in context.

2.2 Chinese refusals

Chinese refusals are complex speech acts that entail not only long sequences of negotiation, but also face-saving strategies to compensate for the face-threatening nature of the act (Yang, 2008). To date, a few related studies on Chinese refusals have contributed to our understanding of Chinese refusals. As mentioned earlier, a refusal is a responding act to a few initiating acts, such as, suggesting, offering, invitation, and requesting. Chen et al. (1995) discovered that there were two types of refusals: substantive refusals and ritual refusals. While a substantive refusal is a real refusal by saying "no" means "no" to a request or suggestion, a ritual refusal is a politeness behavior by saying "no" means "yes" before accepting an offer or invitation. The authors argued that in Chinese culture, such speech acts as invitations and offers are not considered to be face-threatening, rather these acts are seen as increasing the sense of worth that comes from knowing the hearer's social status. However, it is polite for Chinese people to decline the first or two offers or invitations before accepting them. Thus, depending on the context, the Chinese "no" can mean "yes" and "yes" can mean "no" (Ma, 1996).

On the other hand, few Chinese people refuse directly in real refusals because they believe that the speaker's own face can be preserved only when the other person's face is maintained (Ma, 1996). A direct refusal can be either *bù yà* 'No' or *wǒ méi bàn fǎ* 'I can't'. However, an indirect refusal is more complicated, because the speaker has to choose the appropriate refusal strategies to alleviate the bad effects of a refusal (Felix-Brasdefer, 2008). Common refusal strategies to mitigate the threats are giving reasons (e.g. *wǒ yǒu shì qīng yào zuò* 'I have things to do'), expressing regret (e.g. *bào qiàn* 'I'm sorry'), and promising future acceptance (e.g. *xià cì xū yào wǒ, wǒ yī dīng dào* 'Next time, I will be there definitely'). Chen et al. (1995) found that giving a reason as the most useful strategy, the second expressing regret followed by suggesting alternatives, and the fourth direct refusal. In sum, most Chinese people will redress their refusals to imply that the act of refusals is not the speaker's deliberate preference.

In addition, Chinese people are sensitive to power relationships (Chen et al., 1995). For instance, Liao and Bresnahan (1996), comparing refusals by students in Taiwan and in America, found that most Taiwanese students employed address forms with titles (e.g., *lǎo shī* 'teacher', *jiāo shòu* 'professor') to address persons of high-status, whereas the American students did not, indicating Taiwanese students were aware of the power differences. In addition, Taiwanese students observed the principle of *Dian-Dao-Wei-Zhi*, or marginally touching the point approach. That is when dealing with the awkward feeling caused by refusals, Taiwanese students were more economical at employing fewer refusal strategies than did Americans. Moreover, while both groups were keen on giving reasons as the most common indirect refusal strategy, Taiwanese students tended to give more specific reasons, whereas the Americans gave vague excuses. These authors also found that while both Taiwanese and Americans favored a statement of regret when refusing, Americans would express positive attitudes such as "I'd love to, but..." but Taiwanese did not. Finally, it was considered to be more difficult to refuse a family member for Taiwanese students, whereas families and friends were equal for American students.

More recently, Yang (2008) investigated the speech act of refusals in five TV series shown in China. As expected, Yang found that while ritual refusals occurred in responding to invitations and offers, real refusals took place in refusing suggestions and requests. Depending on the types of requests, giving reasons or excuses was the primary strategy in refusing requests for favors to minimize the uncomfortable feelings caused by a refusal, followed by suggesting alternatives and dissuading the requester to drop the request. Moreover, suggesting alternatives and avoidance occurred more often with a hearer of high- or low-status than with a hearer of equal status. Finally, most Chinese people employed an address form to show respect or solidarity with the hearer indicating this is an essential element in refusing.

For many non-native speakers, the speech act of refusal is a major cross-cultural 'sticking point' (Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, 1990). Investigating how American learners of Chinese refused an invitation from a professor, Hong (2011) found that both Chinese native speakers and American learners employed statements of regret and giving reasons with similar frequency. However, while 26 out of 30 Chinese speakers addressed the hearer with the honorific title "professor" plus the teacher's last name to show respect, only 3 out of 30 Americans used addressing forms. Moreover, while some Chinese native speakers employed alternatives, indirect complaining, and promising for future events to ensure their sincere respect and to preserve the face of the hearer, no Americans employed these three strategies. Finally, the percentage of direct refusals used by the American group was higher than that of the Chinese group. As a result, Hong attributed the differences between the refusals strategies to the lack of knowledge of politeness in Chinese culture on the part of American learners.

In short, in cross-cultural communication, people may observe their usual language patterns of their speech community, which may differ from those of their interlocutor's. In terms of teaching Chinese as a second language, misunderstandings sometimes occur if learners use different refusal strategies, but are unable to say "no" clearly and politely.

3. Methodology

3.1 Tokyo metropolitan area

This study aims to investigate the speech act of refusals by two groups of Chinese speakers from two regions, Malaysia and Taiwan. The reasons for choosing these two groups of Chinese speakers is that while Chinese is the main language in schools in Taiwan, Chinese is the instructional language in Chinese schools for the youth of Chinese in Malaysia, a multilingual and multicultural country. Given the fact that pragmatic variations may occur between different varieties of Chinese, there is a need to meet the learners' needs for cross-cultural communication. The present study aims to answer the following questions:

- (1) Do Malaysian Chinese and Taiwan Chinese refuse differently with regard to the number of refusal strategies?
- (2) Do Malaysian Chinese and Taiwan Chinese use strategies differently in equal and unequal status situations?
- (3) Do Malaysian Chinese and Taiwan Chinese use strategies differently in familiar and unfamiliar interlocutor situations?

3.2 Participants

One hundred participants took part in this study: 50 Taiwanese students and 50 Malaysian Chinese students (all 100 were Tourism majors) who attended the same private university in Taiwan. Both Malaysian Chinese and Taiwanese students included an equal number of males and females.

3.2 Instrument

Data for this study were collected via a written Discourse Completion Test (DCT), a useful instrument for investigating speech acts such as apologies, requests, and refusals. DCTs are useful because of the ease with which they can be administered. In addition, the data elicited via a DCT are found to be consistent with naturally occurring speech, although they are often shorter and less redundant language. Finally, this technique allows the researcher to examine the possible influences of two factors: relative power and social distance on the strategies of refusals (Beebe et al., 1990; Blum-Kulka et al., 1989; Kasper, 2008).

Two variables, interlocutors' relative power relation (P) and social distance (D), were embedded in six situations in the DCT. All six scenarios involved an obvious power relationship between the interlocutors: to reject a teacher was to reject a high status (+P), to reject a peer was to reject an equal status (=P), and to reject a college sophomore was to reject a low-status (-P). It is believed that by maintaining unequal power and social distance between the speaker and the hearer will stimulate the use of refusal strategies. Table 1 presents the six situations in DCT.

Table 3.1: Written role-play situations in the DCT

Situation types	Example situation
Situation 1 (+P, -D)	To reject a teacher's request to assist in the freshmen reception.
Situation 2 (+P, +D)	To reject a teacher's request to assist in the freshmen reception.
Situation 3 (=P, -D)	To reject a classmate's request to borrow your notes.
Situation 4 (=P, +D)	To reject a classmate's request to borrow your notes.
Situation 5 (-P, -D)	To reject a student's request to postpone his/her oral presentation.
Situation 6 (-P, +D)	To reject a student's request to postpone his/her oral presentation.

3.3 Data analysis

In total, there were six hundred refusals (300 refusals from each group) collected via DCT. In the present study, a refusal was a negative response to a request by an acquaintance. It might contain just one word or one sentence such as “*bù yà*” 不要 (No) and “*wǒ méi bàn fǎ*” 我沒辦法 (I can’t) which was considered as a direct refusal. It might include a set of semantic utterances such as expressing regret (e.g., “*bào qiàn*” 抱歉 ‘I’m sorry’), and giving reasons (e.g., “*wǒ yǒu shì qíng yào zuò*” 我有事情要做 ‘I have things to do’) functioning as indirect refusals. Following the coding framework of Beebe et al. (1990), these semantic formulas collected were classified into three categories: adjuncts, direct and indirect refusals.

According to Beebe et al. (1990), adjuncts are expressions that cannot work as refusals alone without attaching to other semantic formulas such as excuses, explanations or direct refusals. In the present study, two adjuncts were found: address forms (e.g., “*lǎo shī*” 老師 ‘teacher’, “*jiāo shòu*” 教授 ‘professor’ and “*tóng xué*” 同學 ‘Classmate’) and pause fillers (e.g., “oh” 喔, “um” 唔). In line with Hong (2011), address form is seen as one type of adjunct functioning as a politeness strategy.

In the data, two sub-types of direct refusals were found: unwillingness and inability. According to Yang (2008), a direct refusal is an explicit refusal by using denying vocabulary such as “*bù xíng*” 不行 (No), “*bù kě yǐ*” 不可以 (Can’t be allowed), and “*bù yào*” 不要 (Don’t want), which indicates negative willingness and inability of the speaker. However, the analysis of the present data showed that while the expression of “*méi bàn fǎ*” 沒辦法 (no way) was found in every situation, “*bù yào*” 不要 (Don’t want), “*bù xíng*” 不行 (No), and “*bù kě yǐ*” 不可以 (Can’t be allowed) never occurred in the refusal responses of all the participants in certain situations. This suggests that “*méi bàn fǎ*” 沒辦法 (no way) belongs to the category of direct refusal, carrying a different degree of directness and politeness from the other three negative expressions. Thus, rather than coding these negative remarks under the same strategy of negative ability/willingness, “*bù yào*” 不要 (Don’t want), “*bù xíng*” 不行 (No), and “*bù kě yǐ*” 不可以 (Can’t be allowed) were coded as one type of direct refusal indicating unwillingness and “*méi bàn fǎ*” 沒辦法 (I can’t) another type indicating inability.

Finally, indirect refusals consist of nine sub-strategies: (1) Regret, (2) Wish, (3) Excuse, (4) Alternative, (5) Future acceptance, (6) Hedge, (7) Criticism, (8) Empathy, and (9) Principle. For instance, the response “*bù hǎo yì sī, lǎo shī, wǒ děng yī xià yǒu shì qíng, xià cì xū yào wǒ, wǒ yī dìng dào*” 不好意思, 老師, 我等一下有事情, 下次需要我, 我一定到.” from a Taiwanese student, appearing in the order of Chinese PinYin, Chinese characters, and English translations, was coded as follows:

1. “*bù hǎo yì sī*” 不好意思 (‘Sorry’; Statement of regret).
2. “*lǎo shī*” 老師 (‘teacher’; Address with title).
3. “*wǒ děng yī xià yǒu shì qíng*” 我等一下有事情 (‘I have things to do later.’; Reason).
4. “*xià cì xū yào wǒ, wǒ yī dìng dào*” 下次需要我, 我一定到 (‘next time, I definitely be here.’; Promise of future acceptance).

Based on the occurrence of each semantic formula in the data, strategies such as criticism, threat, and lack of enthusiasm were combined and labeled as a criticism, whereas avoidance, joke, and let the speaker off the hook were combined and coded as a strategy of empathy due to these strategies occurring only one of two times in the data.

To answer the research questions, the frequencies of the refusal strategies were counted and then in turn were classified into three refusal categories: Adjuncts, direct refusal strategies, and indirect refusal strategies. When one specific strategy occurred twice, it would count twice. For example, the response “*bào qiàn, wǒ děng yī xià yǒu shì qíng*, Sorry ‘抱歉, 我等一下有事情, Sorry.’” is counted as using three tokens in

refusing: (1) stating regret (“*bào qiàn*” 抱歉 ‘I’m sorry’), (2) giving an explanation, and (3) stating regret (sorry in English) again. Table 2 presents the categories of strategies used in the present study.

Table 3.2: The classification of refusal strategies

	Refusal strategies	Examples
Adjunct	1 Address forms	“ <i>lǎo shī</i> ” 老師 (Teacher), “ <i>jiāo shòu</i> ” 教授 (Professor), “ <i>tóng xué</i> ” 同學 (Classmate)
	2 Fillers	喔、恩、吼 (Oh, Uhm, Uhh)
Direct	1 Unwillingness	“ <i>bù yào</i> ” 不要 (Don’t want), “ <i>bù xíng</i> ” 不行 (No)
	2 Inability	“ <i>méi bàn fǎ</i> ” 沒辦法 (No way)
Indirect	1 Regret (Apology)	“ <i>bù hǎo yì sī</i> ” 不好意思 (Sorry), “ <i>bào qiàn</i> ” 抱歉 (sorry)
	2 Wish	“ <i>wǒ yě xiǎng bāng nǐ</i> ” 我也想幫你 (I’d like to help, but...)
	3 Explanation	“ <i>wǒ yǒu shì qíng</i> ” 我有事情 (I have something to do)
	4 Alternative	“ <i>wǒ qù wèn qí tā tóng xué yǒu méi yǒu kōng</i> ” 我去問其他同學有沒有空? (I’ll ask other classmates if they are available.)
	5 Future acceptances	“ <i>xià cì ba</i> ” 下次吧 (Maybe next time)
	6 Hedge	“ <i>kě néng bù xíng</i> ” 可能不行喔 (Probably not)
	7 Criticism	“ <i>shuí jiào nǐ bù shàng kè</i> ” 誰叫你不上課 (You shouldn’t skip the classes)
	8 Empathy	“ <i>méi wèn tí de</i> ” 沒問題的
	9 Principles	“ <i>zhè yàng duì qí tā tóng xué bù gōng píng</i> ” 這樣對其他同學不公平 (This is not fair to other students)

4. Results

This section presents the results in terms of the frequency and content of the refusals. The discussion will include the realization of refusals when the hearer is higher, equal or lower in status (P) as well as with whom the speaker is familiar or unfamiliar (D).

4.1 Regional differences in the frequency of refusal strategies

As can be seen in Table 3, on the whole, the 100 participants produced 1571 refusal strategies; of these, 55% (K=867) were produced by the Taiwan Chinese group, and 45% (K=704) were produced by Malaysian Chinese. As Table 4 shows, on average, every Taiwanese subject employed 2.89 refusal strategies whereas Malaysian subjects employed 2.35 strategies. The results of independent *t*-test showed that the mean difference of the overall refusal strategies used between the Malaysian Chinese and Taiwanese Chinese is statistically significant at $p < 0.05$ level ($t = 3.962$, $df = 98$, $p = .00 < .05$). In other words, Taiwanese participants showed a tendency toward verbosity and used significantly more tokens in refusing than did Malaysian subjects across situations.

Table 4.1: The overall frequencies, distributions, means of adjuncts, direct and indirect refusals in each group per person.

Type of Refusal Strategies	Malay (n =50)			Taiwan (n =50)		
	K	%	Mean	K	%	Mean
Adjuncts	89	12.6%	1.78	117	13.5%	2.34
Direct refusals	128	18.2%	2.56	154	17.7%	3.08
Indirect refusals	487	69.2%	9.74	596	68.7%	11.92
Total	704	100%	14.08	867	100%	17.34

N refers to the overall frequency of each type refusal strategy.

Table 4.2: Means and standard deviations (SD) of oval adjuncts, direct and indirect refusals per situation by two groups.

Groups	Statistic	Total strategies	Strategies per situation	Types of refusals per situation		
				Adjuncts	Direct	Indirect
Malaysian (n = 50)	Mean	14.08	2.35	.3	.43	1.62
	SD		.594	.227	.228	.432
Taiwanese (n = 50)	Mean	17.34	2.89	.39	.51	1.99
	SD		.789	.247	.432	.606

4.2 Regional differences in the types of refusal strategies

With respect to the preferred types of refusal strategies, both groups showed more similarities than differences. As shown in Table 3, indirect refusals were the most preferred types of both groups across situations (Malaysian: 69.2%; Taiwanese: 68.7%) followed by direct refusals (Malaysian: 18.2%; Taiwanese: 17.7%), and adjuncts (Malaysian: 12.6%; Taiwanese: 13.5%) respectively. The Malaysian subjects had a higher percentage in both direct and indirect refusals than did Taiwanese students except in the category of adjuncts. Obviously, both groups employed more indirect refusals than direct refusals across situations. While the indirect refusals (69.2%) in the Malaysian group were 3.8 times as frequent as direct refusals (18.2%), the percentage of indirect refusals (68.7%) was 3.88 times higher than that of direct refusal (17.7%) in Taiwanese group. The results of paired-samples *t*-test comparing the mean difference of direct refusals and indirect refusals were significant in each group (Malaysian: $t=-16.966$, $df=49$, $p=.00$; Taiwanese: $t=-15.060$, $df=49$, $p=.00$). Thus, in keeping with previous studies, both Malaysian subjects and Taiwanese subjects showed a preference for indirectness over directness and adjuncts to refusals (Chen et al., 1995; Liao & Bresnahan, 1996).

The independent *t*-test was performed to examine which categories of refusal – adjuncts, direct refusals, and indirect refusals – contribute to the differences. The results revealed that Taiwanese subjects used more indirect refusal strategies than did Malaysian subjects, and the difference was statistically significant ($t=3.459$, $df=98$, $p=.001<.01$).

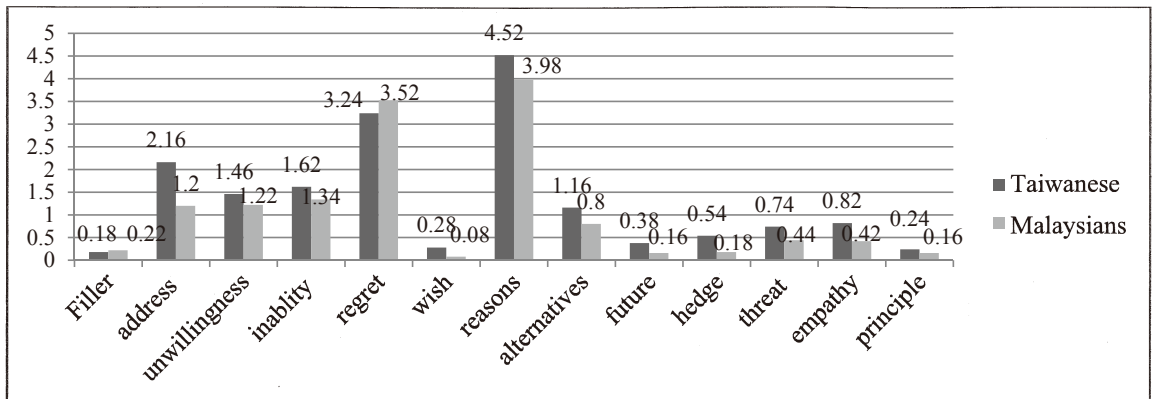


Figure 4.1: The overall frequencies of each refusal strategy used per person in each group.

Finally, Figure 1 presents the most preferred strategies of both groups. Three notable facts were found. First, both groups were identical in terms of the top six favored strategies used; namely, (1) reasons, (2) regrets/apology, (3) address form, (4) inability, (5) unwillingly, and (6) alternatives. These results are consistent with the literature (Chen et al., 1995; Liao & Bresnahan, 1996; Hong, 2011) that Chinese people are inclined to give reasons and express regret while refusing. Second, a few indirect refusal strategies such as criticism, empathy, future acceptances, and principles as well as fillers were rarely used by the participants. Finally, Taiwanese subjects outperformed their Malaysian counterparts on almost every strategy used, except statement of regret (i.e., Malaysian: 3.52 tokens; Taiwanese: 3.24 tokens) and fillers (i.e. Malaysian: 0.22 tokens; Taiwanese: 0.18 tokens).

4.3 Power relationship and social distance on the frequency of refusal strategies

Two social factors, power relationship and social distance, were embedded in each situation to test whether the participants vary their refusing in different situations. Table 5 presents the mean, standard deviation and the total refusal strategies in each situation of two groups.

As can be seen in Table 5, while the total number of refusals strategies used in two power-high situations (situation 1 and 2) were highest, the total number was the lowest in two power-equal situations (situation 3 and 4). The mean number of strategies used by the participants in the Malaysian group ranged from an average of 1.92 strategies in the situation 4 (=P, +D) to 2.86 strategies in the situation 2 (+P, +D). Likewise, the participants in the Taiwanese group produced overall strategies from an average of two strategies in situation 3 (=P, -D) to 3.5 strategies in situation 2 (+P, +D). The standard deviation also reflected a substantial heterogeneity within each group.

Table 5: Mean, standard deviation (SD) and the total refusal strategies in each situation of two groups

Group		S1(+P,-D)	S2(+P,+D)	S3(=P,-D)	S4(=P,+D)	S5(-P,+D)	S6(-P,-D)
Malay	Total Refusals	141	143	96	96	113	115
	Mean (n = 50)	2.82	2.86	1.92	1.92	2.26	2.3
	SD	1.024	.969	.922	.633	1.026	.909
Taiwan	Total Refusals	170	176	101	125	147	148
	Mean (n = 50)	3.4	3.5	2.0	2.5	2.94	2.96
	SD	.857	1.147	.914	1.025	1.420	1.087

Each refusal type includes the frequent use and the percentage (%) in parentheses.

In order to examine whether the power relationship an important factor in the speech act of refusal, One-way ANOVA was carried out to compare the means of situation 1, 3, and 5 (i.e., refusing a familiar person of power-high, equal and low). A multiple comparison of Scheffe was applied if the test results of ANOVA were significant.

For the Malaysian subjects, the results of ANOVA showed the p value was smaller than .01 ($F=10.492$, $df=2$, $p=.000<.01$), indicating there were significant differences between situation 1, 3, and 5, a Scheffe multiple test was performed. The results showed that while the difference of mean between situation 1 and 3 ($MD=.9000$, $p=.00<.01$) was significant, so was the difference between situation 3 and 5 ($MD=.5600$, $p=.021<.05$). However, the mean difference between situation 3 and 5 was not evident. Likewise, for the Taiwanese group, the results of ANOVA revealed that the frequency of refusal strategies used in situation 1, 3, and 5 varied significantly ($F=20.642$, $df=2$, $p=.000<.01$). A multiple comparison of Scheffe was performed. The results showed that while the mean difference between situation 1 and 3 ($MD=1.3800$, $p=.00<.01$) was statistically important, so was the difference between situation 3 and 5 ($MD=.9200$, $p=.00<.01$). However, the difference between situation 1 and 5 was not evident ($MD=.4600$, $p=.113>.05$).

Obviously, a power relationship could predict the number of refusals used for both Taiwanese and Malaysian subjects. Depending on the relative status of the hearers, both groups employed more refusals in asymmetrical situations (power-higher and lower) than they did in refusing a person of equal status. This finding is consistent with Liao and Bresnahan's (1996) in that the refusal expressions used in power-equal situations were semantically less complex than those used in the two asymmetrical situations: status-higher and lower situations. On the contrary, when refusing a person with higher status, the speaker needs to put more efforts to mitigate the uncomfortable feeling causing by a refusal with an expression of regret, reason, and a promising for future events. This finding provides a piece of evidence that lends support to Hong's (2013) statement that Chinese speakers are status sensitive.

Additionally, the influence of social distance (i.e., refusing a close friend or an acquaintance) is tested via Paired-samples t -test to compare the frequency of refusals of three paired situations in three pairs situations: the first pair (situation 1 and situation 2), the second pair (situation 3 and situation 4), and the third pair (situation 5 and situation 6) of each group. For the Malaysian subjects, the results showed that social distance did not significantly affect the frequency of refusals used in the present study (situation 1 and 2: $t=-.292$, $df=49$, $p=.771$; situation 3 and 4: $t=.000$, $df=49$, $p=1.0$; situation 5 and 6: $t=-.313$, $df=9$, $p=.755$).

However, it was a slightly different case for Taiwanese subjects. It is found the difference in the second pair situations, where they had to refuse a person of status-equal, that social distance affected overall refusal strategies used and was statistical significant (situation 3 and 4: $t=-3.412$, $df=49$, $p<.000<.01$), but not in the first pair (situation 1 and 2: $t=-.742$, $df=49$, $p=.462$) or the third pair (situation 5 and 6: $t=-.123$, $df=49$, $p=.903$). In short, when refusing a familiar person of equal-status, such as a classmate, Taiwanese subjects spoke less than they did when refusing an unfamiliar one. Two possible reasons for this talk-less phenomenon between close friends are: First, they knew each other so well that there was no need to state explicitly one's intention. Second, Chinese people are inclined to observe the economic principle — “*diǎn dào wéi zhǐ*” 點到為止 (marginally touching the point principle) when dealing with awkward topics (Liao & Bresnahan, 1996).

To sum up, a power relationship was a strong indicator to the number of refusal strategies used, whereas social distance was not. The participants in both groups showed no difference in their total frequency of refusal strategies used between refusing a close or an unfamiliar interlocutor in the asymmetrical situations. However, in the case of refusing a person of status-equal, social distance affected the number of refusal strategies employed by Taiwanese subjects, but not the Malaysian subjects.

5. Discussion

The above analyses indicated that there were similarities and differences with respect to the refusal strategies used between the Malaysian and Taiwanese participants. On the basis of the frequency of refusal strategies used by each group, the answer to the first research question is affirmative in that Taiwanese participants employed more refusal strategies than that of their Malaysian counterparts. Concerning the three major types of refusals used, the results showed that both groups favored indirect refusals over direct refusals or adjuncts.

With regard to the specific strategies of refusals used in each situation, similarities can be found at the level of individual strategy. Among the thirteen refusal strategies, the top five most used strategies of both Malaysian and Taiwanese subjects were as follows: (1) giving reasons, (2) expressing regrets, (3) address forms, (4) unwillingness, and (5) inability.

In addition, both Malaysian and Taiwanese subjects tended to employ a similar set of indirect strategies. For instance, to minimize the awkward feeling in refusing a person of high-status, some participants of both groups would suggest an alternative or promise to help out in the future. However, in the status-equal situations, some participants criticized their peers for skipping class, whereas others promised their friends to have the notebook later or suggested borrowing notebooks from someone else. Finally, in two situations of turning down the request of a person who is lower in status (i.e., refusing the request of postponing oral presentation of a student), the indirect strategies which were used across the two groups were alternatives and empathy. However, Taiwanese subjects employed these two strategies more often than Malaysians did. Finally, the strategy of principle was seldom used by the participants of both groups. Concerning the effects of power relationship on the use of refusals in each group, the results of the analysis of the frequency and the number of semantic formulas used by the participants in each social situation lend support to the view that the types of linguistic strategies use are strongly influenced by the requester's status. For example, both Malaysian and Taiwanese subjects produced the highest frequency of refusals in status-high situations. On the contrary, they employed fewer refusal strategies in refusing in status-equal situations. While the frequency of statements of regret is the highest in status-high situations, it is the lowest in status-lower situations.

Similarly, differences were observed at the level of individual strategy used in both groups as the degree of social distance increased (i.e., the relative familiarities with the requester). For example, when refusing an unfamiliar professor, both Malaysian and Taiwanese subjects employed more regret than they did to refuse a familiar one. In power-equal situations, both groups showed the tendency of expressing negative willingness to deny the requests of close friends, whereas they indicated negative ability to comply with the requests from acquaintances that they did not know well.

In power-equal situations, while both groups did not hesitate to criticize close friends to whom they knew well, they utilized indirect strategies of empathy or principles rather than the strategy of criticism. Finally, in power-low situations, besides using regret and reason, the participants were found to add more indirect strategies of empathy and wish in refusing unfamiliar young students.

6. Conclusion

This study contributes to the field of intra-lingual pragmatics by investigating the speech act of refusal between two varieties of Chinese spoken in two Asian regions: Malaysia and Taiwan.

On the whole, there were more pragmatic similarities than difference in the speech act of refusals between Malaysian and Taiwanese Chinese. First, both Malaysian and Taiwanese participants exhibited clear preferences for indirect refusal strategies such as regret and reasons, in keeping with previous studies. Second, both groups employed direct refusals comprising unwillingness and inability, though situational differences were identified between these two groups. Inability occurred more often in refusing a person of higher-status, whereas unwillingness more frequently in refusing a person of status-equal or lower. Moreover, both Malaysians and Taiwanese were sensitive to social status and employed address form more frequently to a higher-status than to a status-equal.

Finally, the pedagogical implications of these findings is that teachers should teach the cultural aspects of language and introduce learners to different varieties of Chinese along with the linguistic expressions needed to perform a particular speech act. In addition, because learners may employ one specific refusal strategy to all communication situations without understanding the possible differences in terms of different social factors such as power relationship and social distance in the speech act of refusals, learners should be explicitly taught how to refuse appropriately according to the social status of their interlocutors.

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日本型企業の新製品開発における阻害要因: 基本思想に基づく仮説の提示 (Hindrane issue in new product development by Japanese firms: Proposal of hypothesis based on fundamental concept)

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Abstract

Japanese firms that aim for long-term stable growth and allocate their resource for that seem to be unsuitable to the environment of recent society with its invisible needs. This study reviews previous studies about new product development of Japanese firms to reveal those features. Additionally, management characteristics of Japanese firms have become clear through the comparison of previous literature with American management. Furthermore, the introduction of American management systems by Japanese firms is likely very dangerous for them. Finally, a hypothesis is suggested that the fundamental concept is based on long-term accumulation.

Keywords: Japanese management, new product development, fundamental concept, long-term, accumulation

長期的に安定した成長をめざし、その糧となる新製品開発に資源を動員してきた日本企業であるが、潜在ニーズが求められる現代社会において、その環境に必ずしも適用できていないように見える。そこで本研究では、日本企業の新製品開発に関わる先行研究をレビューし、その特徴を明らかにした。そして、米国との比較を行った先行研究を取り上げることで明確となった日本企業の経営的特徴から、近年活発に行われてきた米国型の経営手法の導入に伴う新製品開発の阻害要因について、長期志向と蓄積に基づく基本思想²という概念を導き、仮説を提示した。

キーワード: 日本型経営、新製品開発、基本思想、長期志向、蓄積

1. はじめに

米国の企業が株主や経営者に報いることを主たる目的とするのに対し、日本の企業にとって第一の利害関係者はその企業に所属する社員であり、共同体として構成員の生活のために長く生き残ることを目標としており長寿である (Abegglen, 2004; 原文 pp. 10-13、訳文 pp. 27-32)。そして長寿企業³は、環境変化によらず活動が活発であり、その変化に適応する能力が高く (柳原 2000; p.46)、安定的な成長を実現し競争優位をもたらす。そのような能力の発揮は、日本の企業に共通する特徴と優位性となって表れる。たとえば、終身雇用、ゆっくりとした評価と昇進システム、専門的でないキャリアパス、といった人的側面に特徴がある (Ouchi, 1981; 原文 pp. 17-37、訳文 pp. 38-63)。そしてこれらの特徴は、複雑な組織マネジメントによる能力であり他社が簡単に真似できない (藤本 2003、p. 112)、持ち合わせた資源を活用することにより偶発的なイノベーションが発生する (石井 1993)、組織人としての洗練度が高い (Clerk, 1979; Pascale & Athos, 1982; Ouchi, 1981; Abegglen, 2004)、などの利点をもたらす。

このような特性を持つ多くの日本企業であるが、その中でも製造業は長く日本経済をけん引してきた。そして、その発展の早い時期から加工貿易として海外との取引が活発であり、多くの製品を輸出してきた。初期は安い労働力を背景としてアジアを中心とした市場への低価格製品によ

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²詳しくは後述するが、基本思想とは、文化、フィロソフィー、遺伝子に似た概念で、長期に組織内部で醸成されるもので、様々な新製品開発に関わる事項を決定したり、活動する際の基になる考え方であり、日本型企業と米国型企业ではこの基になる考え方が全く異なるというのが本研究の主張である。

³長寿企業とは、一般的に創業 100 年以上の企業と定義されている (柳原 2000)。

る進出であったが、生産能力やマーケティング能力の向上に伴い、次第に欧米を中心とした市場へ高付加価値製品を供給するようになった（Yoshino, 1976; 原文 pp. 66-83、訳文 pp. 104-135 ; Kotler et al., 1991; 原文 pp. 6-8、訳文 pp. 17-22）。その結果、英国や米国あるいは独国を次第に追従し、海外に拠点を有する多国籍企業を多く輩出することとなった（吉原 1992; pp. 22-23）。このため日本の製造業は、新興国の台頭、円高、生産の空洞化など、世界規模で起こる問題の影響を受けやすい。特に、中国などの東南アジアの台頭や金融危機に伴う米国および欧州経済の停滞など、市場ニーズの変化により、その業績は左右される。このような市場への対応は、新製品という形になって具現化される。日本経済をけん引してきた製造業にとって新製品開発は、企業の業績に大きな影響を与えるだけではなく、競争優位の潜在的な源泉であり、特別な組織編成により社員を1つの目的へと向かわせ、自ら組織を再活性に寄与する重要な活動である（Brown and Eisenhardt, 1995; p. 344）。このように新製品開発の重要性は広く認識され、多くの研究者がさまざまな角度から取り組み、関連する先行研究は膨大である。

第2次世界大戦後高度経済成長を迎えた日本では、戦後のモノ不足を背景として多くの製造業が成長した。しかしバブル経済崩壊後、国内経済が低成長時代を迎えた1990年代以降、その業績は明暗が分かれており、同業他社間の吸収や合併も起こりはじめた。右肩上がりの経済では、モノの供給を主としており市場ニーズがある程度明確であったが、停滞した経済では消費者にさえ自分の欲しいものが分からず、潜在化したニーズの掘り起こしが新製品開発にとって重要となっている。このような潜在ニーズの発掘に有効な手法を見出そうとそれぞれの企業が懸命に取り組み、経営者自らが関与する事例が報告されている（Markham & Aiman-Smith, 2001）。あるいは、Gupta et al. (1986)、Song and Thieme (2006)、Souder (1988) は、新製品開発を推進する組織に焦点を当て、Gruner and Homburg (1999) や Cooper and Kleinschmidt (1996) は新製品開発プロセスが重要であると主張する。

このように市場の大きな転換期を迎えた現代社会において、製造業に要求される新製品開発は複雑さや困難さを増しており、長寿企業が多い日本企業は安定的な業績確保のために有効な施策を模索しはじめている。

Utterback and Abernathy (1975) は、イノベーションには市場に製品を提供することで起こるプロダクト・イノベーションとその製品を生産する過程で生じるプロセス・イノベーションがあることを指摘している（p. 645）が、日本の製造業はこれまでどちらかと言えば、プロセス・イノベーションを得意としてきた。藤本（2004）は、生産現場から見る製造業の経営戦略という意味で、工場の天井裏から見る「高度十メートルの世界」からの視点を重視すると表現している（pp. 11-12）。一方、現在の日本の製造業に求められているのは変化する市場への対応であり、それは潜在ニーズを発掘した新製品開発により具現化される。つまり、プロダクト・イノベーションこそ、重視されなければならない。ところが多くの国内製造業は、いまだにプロセス・イノベーションを重視するあまりマーケティング志向に欠けたり、市場競争型新製品の開発に多くの労力を割いたり、短命で回転率の高い製品に固執したりと、取り組みが遅れている。この要因は、技術が市場をつくるという過去の成功体験に基づく過信、株主偏重による目先の業績重視、事業部任せで部分最適を優先、IT化の進展による分析能力を超える情報の過多などさまざまに挙げられるが、最も大きな要因は、激しい変革の時代におけるプロダクト・イノベーションの成功の形が見つかっていないことにある。

このような問題意識から本研究は、市場は潜在ニーズを発掘する新製品開発を日本の製造業に求めているという現状に目を向け、先行研究から日本企業の新製品開発の停滞要因を探る。これまでも多くの新製品開発成功のメタ研究が行われてきたが、その企業の新製品開発力が高いかど

うかを判断するには一度の成功では不十分である。特に長寿企業の多い日本企業にとっては、時間軸の長さは重要である。高い新製品開発の能力を発揮している企業は、成功と失敗を繰り返しながらも、長きにわたり高い業績を維持しているものと考えられる。そこで本研究では、先行研究をレビューし、米国型経営手法を導入しようとする日本型企業の課題を明らかにした上で、基本思想という一つの枠組みを提示し、その停滞要因に関わる仮説を提示することを目的とする。

その目的のために、まず日本企業と米国企業を比較する先行研究を中心としながら、日本企業の新製品開発について、新製品開発戦略、プロジェクト組織、マーケティング特性の3つのテーマに沿って、その特徴をどのように表現しているのかについて整理する。次に、日本企業の本質に迫るような研究に絞り、どのような性質や傾向を有しているのかについて考察を行う。

この際、二つの理由で1970年代から1990年代にかけて盛んに行われた日本企業と米国企業を比較した研究を多く引用することとする。その理由は、2点ある。まず初めに、長期にわたり観察研究された日本企業の特徴の基本に変化がないと報告されている点である。たとえば、Abegglenは50年間にわたる比較を行い財務面での変化はあるものの人事面での変化は見られないことを主張し (Abegglen, 1958; Abegglen, 2004)、岡本ら (2012) は年功序列制と企業内労働組合は減退の傾向にあり大勢を占めることはなくなったもののなお多数派であり、終身雇用制についてはいまだ主流派であることを突き止めた。さらに、小野 (2013) は、1985年以降活発化した企業文化論から日本企業も含む文化の比較も盛んに行われたが、それらは近年の研究においても、米国の高コンテクストに対して日本の低コンテクスト、あるいは米国の短期志向に対して日本の長期志向、という特徴が変わっていないことを示している (pp. 191-195)。もう一つの理由は、バブル経済崩壊以降日本企業と米国企業の比較という研究が大きく減少し、豊かさや多様性では1970年代から1990年代の研究が勝っているためである。

2. 日本型企業に関する研究

まず本節では日本型企業に関する先行研究をレビューする。これら先行研究では、日本に本社がある企業を日本企業と表現しており、米国企業あるいは中国企業なども同様である。本研究では、日本企業に共通する特性を持つ他国企業の存在にも配慮し、多くの日本企業が共通して有する特性をもつ企業を日本型企業と呼ぶこととする。同様に、多くの米国企業に共通する要素を持つ企業は米国型企業と呼ぶ。これは、Ouchi (1981) がモデル的な日本企業をJ型企业、モデル的な米国企業をA型企业と呼称したことと、同様である。

2-1 新製品開発戦略

米国市場に参入した日本企業の新製品開発戦略について注目したのは、Kotler, Fahey and Jatusripitak (1985) である。彼らは、日本の経済的業績は、集団指向、教育システム、政府と産業の関係、産業グループと商社、厳しい国内の競争、コンセンサス経営、終身雇用、QC サークル、配置転換、労使協調、国内市場擁護、などの複数の要素の組み合わせであることを指摘した。そして、1950 年代後半の自動車メーカーの失敗やソニーのテープレコーダーの経験を取り上げ、競争力とマーケティングの結合が必須だったと述べた (原文 pp. 37-38、訳文 pp. 24-25)。それを実現したのは1970から80年代であり、その新製品開発戦略は、製品種類の拡大、製品の多様化、製品の改良という3つの戦略だった。このうちはじめの製品種類の拡大は、底辺部から中級部、そして上級部へと進む一定方向への拡大路線と、低級化と高級化を同時に出す両方向への拡大であった。次に製品種類の多様化とは、それぞれの型やモデル、つまり製品種類を増やして、市場要求に応じると共に、様々な流通経路や小売店との結びきに成功するものであった。最後に、顧客の

声に耳を傾ける意欲を持つことで、機能を拡大し、故障率を下げ、保証期間を延長し、サービスを強化する、という製品の改良努力を継続した。このような努力は、マーケティング戦略とも結びつき、米国市場への浸透を促進させた（原文 pp. 104-108、訳文 pp. 91-95）。

違った切り口で、製品に焦点を当てたものとして、藤本（2004）の製品アーキテクチャ論がある。彼は、製品の構造と戦略の關係に着目し、米国型企業はシステムの構想力が偏在し知識集約的なオープン・モジュラー型製品が得意である一方、日本型企業は現場の統合力が偏在しオペレーション重視の擦り合わせ型製品が得意である、と比較した（pp. 23-26）。そして、競争力のねじれ現象について、日本型企業はもの造りの組織能力やもの造り現場の実力を測る指標となる裏の競争力は強いが、顧客の購買時の評価基準である表の競争力や収益パフォーマンスになると弱くなり総合的な経営力で劣っていると、日本型企業の現状を分析した（pp. 43-59）。

次に、経営戦略論と管理論を結ぶものとして、藤本・延岡（2006）は組織能力を取り上げた。この中で、経営戦略論について、脅威の少ない市場・産業を選ぶという「位置取り派（positioning school）」と、トヨタ自動車（以下、トヨタと略す）のような日本の優良製造業は独自の強みを持つという「資源・能力派（Resource Based View、以下 RVB と略す）」の、二つの大きな流れが定着している点を指摘している。その上で、“米国の戦略論では産業間の収益差を論じる位置取り派が先行し、企業間の実力差を論じる RBV（資源・能力派）がこれを追う形になった”と、戦略論の展開経緯を明らかにしている（p. 44）。そして、米国の RBV 研究を深めることがより日本企業の強みや戦略の方向性を示すことに貢献すると主張している（p. 54）。

一方、戦略に関わる経営能力を中心に考えたのは、延岡（2002）であった。企業に対して調査を行い、環境の不確実性と業績の關係を分析した結果、不確実性の高い環境におかれた業界では、業務遂行能力だけでは業績が決まらず、むしろ戦略的意思決定能力が重要となることを明らかにした（p. 26）。そして戦略の選択には、戦略と執行を分離せず業務執行を重視する「日本執行型」、戦略と執行を分離せず戦略を重視する「日本戦略型」、戦略と執行を分離し戦略を重視する「米国戦略型」の3つがあるとした（pp. 35-37）。

2-2 プロジェクト組織：統合問題と組織形態

Gerstenfeld and Sumiyoshi（1980）は、1978 年における民間企業の R&D 投資国際比較で、日本企業の GNP 比が最も高いことに注目し、日本と米国の革新性のギャップにつながっているのではないかと、考えた（p. 30）。そして、日本のどこに強みがあるのかを分析した。彼らは日本企業を訪問し、設計者にインタビューした。そして、日本の組織が欧州や米国よりも固定的でなく、流動的であることを知った。そして、米国では統合よりも差別化が強調されるのに、日本では統合と差別化のバランスがとれていることも分かった。そして、需要けん引型が技術駆動型よりも成功の可能性が高いというこれまでの研究の結果を受けて、日本の設計には需要けん引型が内在しており、リスクの少なさが埋め込まれていると考察した（p. 31）。そして、その背景にある経営機能として、リスクの集団責任性、報酬システムとして労働分配率の高さ、企業毎の革新成功の報酬との概念に基づく企業組合、グループとしてのコンセンサスを重視する集団的意思決定、資源の乏しさからくる政府による企業の輸出政策支援、調和や熱狂あるいは終身雇用による誠誠心に基づく文化などを挙げている（p. 32）。

マーケティングと R&D 部門の統合をテーマとして米国企業の実証研究を行った後、日本企業にも同様の調査を行ったのは、Song と Parry（Song & Parry, 1992; Song & Parry, 1993; Parry & Song, 1993）である。彼らは、日本のハイテク企業に焦点を当てて、シニアマネジメントと両機能部門のマネージャーに調査票を送って、有効であった 264 人のマネージャーについて分析を行った。

その結果、両部門の統合に関して次のようなことが明らかになった (Song & Parry, 1993; p. 131)。

- ・ 予算上の情報共有において、公式化は負の相関がある。
- ・ 新製品開発の初期段階での情報共有において、意思決定への従業員の参加は正の相関がある。
- ・ 新製品開発の初期段階での情報共有において、両部門の関係の質は正の相関がある。
- ・ リスクテイク行動へのシニアマネジメント奨励においては、重要性が認められない。

また、米国マネージャーと日本人マネージャーの違いについて、以下のことを発見した (Song & Parry, 1992; p. 95)。

- ・ 米国マーケティングマネージャーに比較して日本人マーケティングマネージャーは、顧客ニーズの分析において、両部門の協働が重要と認識している。
- ・ 米国企業では両部門のマネージャーが別々に“顧客ニーズ分析”を行っているが、日本企業では一緒に実施している。
- ・ 米国に比べて日本の R&D マネージャーは顧客や競合企業に関する情報の必要性について、より強い意識を持っている。
- ・ 日本人マネージャーは、コンセンサスの構築プロセスをゆっくりと行う。
- ・ 日本人マネージャーは、米国人に比べて新製品アイデアについて協働をあまり重視しない。

このような結果から、彼らは先行研究における日本的経営との関連を、次のように述べた。まず、先行研究で報告されたことが裏付けられたとして、シニアマネジメントによるリスクテイクの奨励と共同報酬システムは年功序列や資格をもとにした教育などに現れていること (Song & Parry, 1992; p. 110)、アイデアの共同審査が不活性であるのは日本企業が手続きをあまり明記しないためであること (Song & Parry, 1992; p. 99)、両部門の統合実現度が比較的高いのは一枚岩的経営と関連があること (Song & Parry, 1993; p. 131)、を挙げた。一方では、これまでの研究との矛盾点として、公式化や意思決定への従業員の参加には関係が見られなかったことを示した (Song & Parry, 1993; p. 131)。

Song and Parry (1997) では、フレームワークを設定 (p. 3) し、米国企業と日本企業の新製品開発を比較する研究を行った。その際、プロセスの柔軟性やスピード、あるいはリードタイムや生産性、そして部門間統合といったさまざまな切り口の新製品開発に関する先行研究の結果を取り入れた。調査の結果、日本企業は米国企業に比べて、潜在的市場を養成し、作り上げ、支配するのに長けており、その優位性は、製品差異における優位性を製品パフォーマンスに変換する能力が高いことを示した。彼らは、それまでの研究では見られなかった重要な発見として実践の品質を挙げ、それは米国企業にも共通する要素が見られるとした (pp. 11-12)。

Clerk and Fujimoto (1991) は、新製品開発を新しい企業間競争の原動力ととらえた。そして、その背景となる力として、グローバルな製品セグメントにより国境を越えた競争の激化、細分化された市場と経験を積むことによる洗練されたユーザーの出現、持っている技術をニーズに適合させ良いタイミングで提供することを実現するためのめざましい技術革新の 3 つを挙げている (原文 pp. 1-4、訳文 pp. 18-22)。その上で、日本市場について各セグメントのトップ争いが激しく、製品のバリエーションが多く、首尾一貫性が重視されると分析した。それに伴い、開発段階の重複化と緊密なコミュニケーション (原文 pp. 215-225、訳文 pp. 276-287) と日本企業で見られる重量級プロダクトマネージャー制 (原文 p. 284、訳文 p. 360)、の重要性が増していることを示した。自動車産業を深掘りした研究とは言え、日本市場のニーズ変化から内部の新製品開発をとらえているという意味では、日本企業の個性を示唆する研究として功績が大きい。

同様に開発フェーズの重複を重要な要素の 1 つに挙げたのは Takeuchi and Nonaka (1984) である。彼らは、富士ゼロックス、キャノン、本田技研工業、日本電気、セイコーエプソン（当時エプソン）、ブラザー工業、3M（当時 Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing）、Hewlett-Packard（以下、HP と略す）の新製品開発プロセスを分析し、米国企業にも共通するものとして、日本企業の 6 つの組織的な特徴があることを明らかにした。1 つ目は、広範な自由度と極端な挑戦目標を与えて不安定さを織り込んでおくことである。次は、自律、自己超越、相互作用を備えた自己組織化するプロジェクトチームである。さらに、長期志向である R&D と日々追われるような生産現場とが個々のリズムとグループのリズムが新しい鼓動を生むようなシンクロナイズされた開発フェーズの重複である。4 番目は、縦方向の階層と横方向の機能とで問題解決のための知識を習得するマルチ学習（multi-learning）である。そして、セルフコントロール（self-control）、同僚からの圧力を使ったコントロール（control through peer pressure）、愛のコントロール（control by love）、を持つ“微妙なコントロール（subtle control）”も重要な特徴である。最後に、他の階層や他の機能部門のメンバーに対する得られた知識の移転、である。それらは、ラグビーの試合でチーム内でボールをパスし、フィールドを動いているようであると揶揄している。さらに、続く研究では、触媒としてのシニアマネジメントの存在を強調している（pp. 138-143）。彼らは企業の広い戦略の方向性やゴールを示してキックオフをさせた後は、広い自由度を与えている（Imai, Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1985; pp. 342-344）。このような自由度や裁量は、あらかじめ仕事の内容が決められている米国型に対して、仕事の内容が曖昧である日本型の企業の冗長性を表すものとして、特徴的である（川上 2005; p. 172）。

田端(1984)は、米国企業に対する日本企業の優位性について、製品の機能や品質の特性を顧客要求に合致させる能力の高さや生産性、あるいは品質の高さを挙げた上で、その根本となる組織スタイルが重要であると考えた。そこで、日米企業の組織特性を表 1 の様に整理した（pp. 155-156）。

そして、組織特性が人的資源の固定性に成り立っており、その基盤の強化に長い時間を要することこそ優位性に結びついていると主張した。また、工程間の協力や低位の職務公式化、あるいは集団責任などの特徴により流動的に人を動かすことができる効率性を指摘した（pp. 159-162）。一方では、米国の高度専門化、高度公式化、個人責任は、日本企業の組織特性と対比するものだが、それぞれの両国の追求しようとしている戦略に適合していることと、米国企業の中にも日本企業に似通った組織を持つ企業が存在しているということを、指摘することも忘れなかった（pp. 176-178）。

表 1 日米企業の組織特性 出所：田端（1984）p.1 をもとに筆者作成

	米国企業	日本企業
組織構造		
専門化 （職務の機能的細分化、成員の技能の専門化）	高度	低位
公式化 （職務公式化、コミュニケーションの公式化）	高度	低位
集権化 （決定に対する影響力の情報集中、影響力の総量R）	高度	低位
責任の形態	個人責任	集団責任
組織風土		
価値・情報の共有 （忠誠心/一体感、価値観、情報共有）	低位	高度
組織過程		
意思決定の様式	個人による 専断的決定	集団的意思決定 （集団志向、コン センサス志向）

これに対し、組織上の役割を重視した小原（2007）は、階層的な企業革新活動を体系的に提示した。米国型 PM（Project Management、以下 PM と略す）は、第 1 世代から第 2 世代の PM であり、エンジニアリング能力を中心とし技術システム構築に限定された「クローズドシステムパラダイム」であるとした。一方日本型 PM は、第 3 世代から第 4 世代に相当し、価値創造の仕組みづくりに焦点を当てた「オープンシステムパラダイム」であるとした。そして、日本型におけるより広い統合マネジメントの重要性を明らかにした（pp. 82-83）。この指摘ならびに Takeuchi and Nonaka（1984）のマルチ学習は、新製品開発において中心議題だった横方向、つまり機能部門間の議論だけではなく、縦方向、つまり階層方向の議論の重要性を着想させてくれるものである。

2-3 マーケティングの特性

Lazer, Murata, and Kosaka（1985）は、米国マーケティングと日本マーケティングの違いを明らかにするために、マーケティング理論の発展のステージ、政府と競争、マーケティングの組織と意思決定ならびに戦略について、先行研究のレビューと考察を行った。その中で、日本は西洋的発想とアプローチを喜んで受け入れたが、日本の西洋化ではなく、米国マーケティングの日本化を起こしたと指摘している。そして、マーケティング活動、意思決定、経営者、市場について次のように表している。まず、日本企業のマーケティング機能定義はゆるやかである一方、全てのマネージャーと経営者がマーケティング活動に参加していることを挙げている。次に意思決定においては、必ずしもボトムアップではなく、どの層からも起案し意見を表明することができ、コンセンサスを構築する機会を設けている。そして経営者は、マーケティングのゴールを設定したり、戦略を決定する時に、直感的で、主観的で、意思疎通を重視し、人間関係志向の傾向を持っている。最後に、日本の消費者の特徴においては、好みにうるさく要求が強い、電気製品のような製品が好きである、小型化と効率化にこだわる、保守的で品質を重視するという 4 つの特徴を挙げている。このため日本企業はこれらの要求に応えることで力を付けた。そして、米国企業が消費者や市場を無視してきたことで、自分たちが作り上げた市場にこのような能力を持つ日本企業を招き入れたようなものであることを主張した（pp. 79-80）。

さらに、マーケティングの研究者である石井（1993）は、マーケティング・マネジメントの違いを明らかにした。米国企業は、資源を機敏に補強したり、取り除いたりするとしている。つまり、まず目的ありきの目的合理性に基づくものであると述べている。一方日本企業は、長期にわたる強力な拘束力をもつ契約関係で資源を固定化させるとしている。つまり、資源ありきの資源先行型と特徴づけている（pp. 165-180）。

2-4 新製品開発における日本型企业の特徴：まとめ

このような日本企業の新製品開発に関する様々な研究は、2 つのことを気付かせてくれる。まず、新製品開発の何にテーマを当てたかにより多少なりとも違いが見られ、これらを並べて比較しても切り口が定まらないことである。たとえば、マーケティングと R&D 部門の統合をテーマにすれば、その構成要素である統合の認知度と実現度、そしてそのギャップという要素が絡んでくるため状況を複雑化させ、把握が困難になる（Song & Parry, 1992; Song & Parry, 1993; Parry & Song, 1993; Song & Thieme, 2006）。一方、Clerk and Fujimoto（1991）のようにプロジェクトのパフォーマンスに焦点を絞ると、新製品の成功の尺度が市場での成功というマーケティングにとって重要な外部評価の要素が薄らぎ、リードタイムや生産性が重視される。Song and Parry（1997）は、新製品のパフォーマンスを尺度とすることで、部門間の統合問題にプロジェクトパフォーマンスや部門間統合の問題を取りこむことを妥協と表現している（p. 3）。次に、新製品開発の成功と個々の要素

との相関関係は明らかになるものの、それが全体としての企業の成長とどのように結びつくのか、漠然としていることである。もちろん、個々のプロジェクトの成功は累積され、企業の成長につながることは言うまでもないと思われるが、多くの小さな成功の集積よりも数少ない大きな成功の方が企業の成長につながる可能性も否定できない。本研究のテーマである長期業績との関わりを確認するには、プロジェクトの新製品開発の成功要因だけを考察しただけでは、情報不足と言わざるを得ない。このため、結果として日本企業の特徴という本質に迫ることができていない。もう少し俯瞰した視点を与えるような考察が必要と考えられる。そこで、次節では日本企業の本質的特徴をテーマとする研究を取り上げ、レビューし考察する。

3. 日本型企業の本質的特徴

日本企業は、1960年代から70年代にかけて目覚ましい発展を遂げ、80年代にはついに世界ナンバーワンとして祝福を送られる（Vogel, 1979）までに成長したため、70年代から80年代にかけては、盛んに米国人の研究者による日本企業の本質をあぶりだそうとする努力が払われた。

明治以降における日本企業の海外進出の歴史を研究した Yoshino (1976) は、多国籍化する流れをとらえて、日本的経営が海外でどのように展開しており、課題は何かを調査した。その中で、2000年以上の小さな島国に閉じこもったことによる一民族化した結果として、日本社会の大きな特徴を3つ挙げている。それらは、均質性 (homogeneity)、集団志向、ピラミッド型の階層性である。これらが工業化において、うまく機能したと評価している。その結果として、終身雇用制と企業との一体感に基づく、個人と企業との間の特殊な関係、集団の生産性を高める日本的リーダーシップ、年功序列と一定ペースの昇進に基づく報酬システム、“稟議”と“根回し”を基本とする意思決定システム、言語に依らない“以心伝心”のコミュニケーションという定着化したシステムを挙げている（原文 pp. 162-167、訳文 pp. 248-256）。その上で、海外における日本的経営の問題点として、親会社と子会社の強い上下関係、職務規定の曖昧さ、非公式な話し合いに基づく意思決定、海外派遣による管理者意欲の低下、現地消費者や流通機構などよりも親会社の意向の優先、などを挙げている（原文 pp. 169-173、訳文 pp. 261-268）。

Vogel (1979) は、日本を米国の鏡 (a mirror for America) と位置づけた。その理由として、まず論理的に考えられる自らの伝統的な制度を調べて、再構築したことを挙げている。それは現代的な他国の制度の長所と短所を分析して、誰も経験したことのない制度を新しく構築したプロセスの結果であり、詳細を見ると米国も含む現代制度が反映されている。次に、唯一西洋ではない産業化された最も典型的な民主主義国家であることを理由としている。その際に日本固有の異なる伝統と結び付けられたことは、今後工業化する国々の例として米国にも参考になる。3つ目は、日本が米国も近い将来悩まされるだろう環境、エネルギー、貿易などの問題のパイオニアである点である。この解決策として、政府のリーダーシップを発揮した対応の重要性を指摘している (pp. 4-8)。最後に日本制度 (Japanese institutions) の成功は、経済的な側面だけではなく、政策や社会性の面も同様である。日本人は米国人よりも人生の質が高い事実も見習う点があるとしている。ただし、将来も日本制度が有効とは限らないことや、全ての制度が評価に値するものではないとも述べている。そして、日本の成功の要因を1つに絞るとすれば、集団志向に基づく知識の探究だと断言している。それらは、教育、官僚機構、経営戦略、コミュニケーション、コンセンサス形態などに表れている (pp. 27-51)。また詳細な制度やシステムとして、企業哲学の明確化、小集団によるボトムアップ、報酬システム、激しい労働と自尊心などに言及した (pp. 131-151)。

一方、米国人である Clerk (1979) は、歴史的風土に触れながら日本型企业の特徴を、明らかにすることを試みた。この試みから日本企業とその産業組織の特徴として、①会社が社会の基本単

位となっている、②会社の専門度が高い、③会社間の階層的な格差がある、④企業集団が形成されている、の4点を挙げている（原文 pp. 49-50、訳文 pp. 3-4）。そして、経営者や雇用など様々な視点で特徴を洗い出し、日本と欧米企業の比較を行った（原文 pp. 221-222、訳文 pp. 258-259）。そして、日本的経営が欧米型に収れんするかどうかという仮説に対して、日本の労使関係の調和など一定の成功を遂げていること、1つの要素を変えることはシステム全体を変えることになりそれが不可能であること、会社と社会の関係が深く社会が会社を支持していることの3つを挙げて、日本企業は欧米企業の経営手法に追随する可能性が極めて小さいとしている（原文 pp. 224-226、訳文 pp. 261-264）。

そして Pascale and Athos (1981) は、フレームワークとして 7S の要素を定義し、長期志向で経営を実践した結果が表れているとした。そして日本と米国の経営全般を比較した後、日本企業としてパナソニック（当時松下電器産業）、米国企業として ITT（国際電信電話会社）を取り上げ、比較分析した。その結果、日本の企業には文化に根ざした優位性があり、スキル（Skills）、スタイル（Style）、スタッフ（Staff）、上位目標（Super-ordinate Goals）、という「ソフト」な S 要素に利点がある。一方、米国の企業は戦略（Strategy）、機構（Structure）、システム（Systems）という「ハード」な S 要素にいずれも優れているとした（原文 pp. 204-205、訳文 pp. 289-290）。そして、傑出している米国企業はソフトな要素にも複雑で微妙な対応のしかたをしており、日米の優良企業には共通点があると述べている（原文 pp. 205-206、訳文 pp. 292-293）。

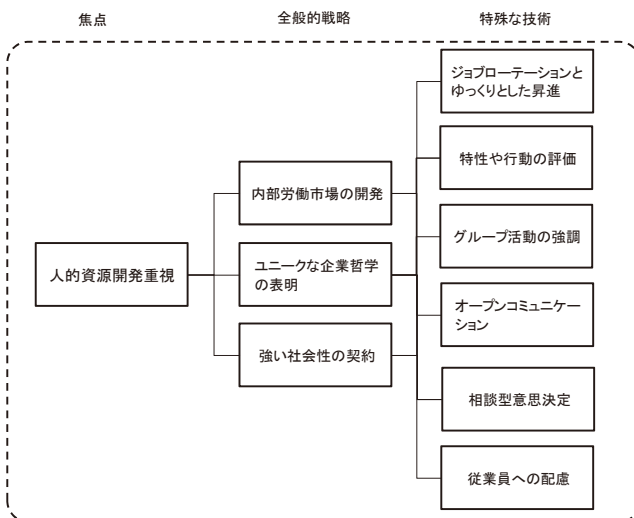


図1 日本の経営モデル 出所：Hatvany and Pucik（1981）p. 470 をもとに筆者作成

一方 Hatvany and Pucik (1981) は、日本的経営の特徴としての人的資源の最大化に着目し、そこには3つの哲学があるとした。それらは、内部労働市場の開発、ユニークな企業哲学の表明、従業員の強い社会性である。このうち内部労働市場とは、必要となる品質の労働力を確保し、企業内にその従業員が居続けるように仕向けることで、内部労働市場を創り上げることである。次にユニークな企業哲学とは、従業員のニーズに関連するものを表明して、共同やチームワークを強調する。時には、仕事や経営の哲学を著書として書き著すこともある。最後に、個々の企業の価値に合っており、そのワークライフの全てのステージで企業に組み入れるような人材を雇い入れることで、従業員は強い社会性を有する（pp. 469-471）。このような日本的経営モデルを図1のように表現している（p. 471）。

これらの技術は、他国の事業にも適用され、長期在職、ジョブローテーション、相談型意思決定など、そのいくつかをトップの米国企業も用いていることを報告した (p. 476-477)。

これを受けるように Keys and Miller (1984) は、いくつかの先行研究をレビューし考察した。そして、日本的経営の成功について視点や論点が異なるものの、それらの根底にあるものを探り出そうとして、日本的経営慣行に内在する基盤要因を整理した。それらは、米国企業よりも長期に計画された展望を志向すること、終身雇用をコミットすること、共同体責任性であることの 3 つに集約された。そしてそれらは、図 2 のような経営慣行として表れるとしている。つまり彼らは、3 つの基本概念が具体的な日本企業の行動を生みだしていると考えた (pp. 349-351)。

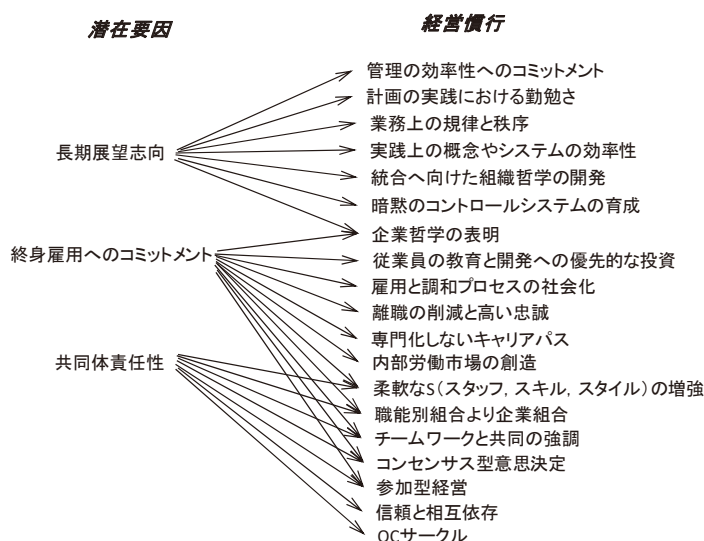


図2 日本の経営慣行に内在する潜在要因：因果関係の提案

出所：Keys and Miller (1984) p. 349 をもとに筆者作成

Ouchi (1981) は、日本の企業が米国でその形式を導入するのに成功しているにもかかわらず、米国の企業が日本でその形式を移植しようとしてほとんど失敗に終わっていることに疑問を抱いた。そこで、両国の企業を調査し、モデル的な日本企業 (J 型企業) とモデル的な米国企業 (A 型企業) を比較することで、2つの相対する抽出モデルを得ようと考えた。そこで、まず日本企業の特徴を詳細に観察し、終身雇用、評価と昇進、など独特の手法を見付けた。表2は、J 型企業と A 型企業の比較を具体化したものであり、重要な点で相互に反対であると指摘した (原文 pp. 57-58、訳文 pp. 87-88)。

そして 80 年代目覚ましい躍進を遂げた日本企業は、労働者の存在が生産性向上の鍵であったとして、その経営から米国企業が移植できるのは、信頼とゆきとどいた気くばりである (原文 pp. 5-8、訳文 pp. 21-26)、と主張した。そして、そのような要素を取り入れた米国企業を A 型でも J 型でもない Z 型であると表現し、そのような Z 型企業を詳細に紹介し (原文 pp. 161-193、訳文 pp. 218-259)、米国企業に組織風土の変革を促した。

表2 日米の会社比較 出所: Ouchi (1981) 原文 p. 58、訳文 p. 88 をもとに筆者作成

＜日本の組織＞(J型企業)	＜米国の組織＞(A型企業)
終身雇用	短期雇用
遅い人事考課と昇進	早い人事考課と昇進
非専門的な昇進コース	専門化された昇進コース
非明示的な管理機構	明示的な管理機構
集団による意思決定	個人による意思決定
集団責任	個人責任
人に対する全面的な関わり	人に対する部分的な関わり

1980年代に起こった日本と米国の貿易摩擦をきっかけとして、Misawa (1987) は日本製品の強さのもととなる日本的経営の特徴を表そうとした。その際、米国企業が日本的経営を追従する変化が起きていることから、日本企業はどのように変化すれば良いのかも考察した。日本的経営の特徴として、労働者と経営者が一緒になって良い企業を作り出そうとしている背景を取り上げた。そしてまず、京セラの経営者が表明した西郷隆盛の“敬天愛人(天を敬い人を愛する)”という言葉挙げ、経営者の哲学の表明を説明した。次に、YKK(当時吉田工業)の“善の循環”を取り上げ、長期志向に基づく安定性を挙げた。そして、トヨタの多能工化による柔軟性、年長者を重視する年功序列、性別や少数派に対する差別、終身雇用とそれにもとづく生涯教育、業績を反映した給与などの報酬にもとづく企業別組合、を特徴として取り上げた。そして、あいまいさなど理解し難い面があることも付け加えた(pp. 10-11)。さらに今後環境変化を受けた日本的経営の変化の必要性について、内部資源から外部資源へ依存した機動性の向上、垂直的で集中的な企業間ネットワークからの転換、生産重視から R&D 重視へ、グループ志向から個別志向の受容などを挙げた(p. 14)。

Abegglen (1958) は、日本と米国の工場を比較し、その経営の大きな違いは、人的側面にあることを見出した。それらは、終身関係、採用制度、報酬と刺激の制度、組織であることを指摘した。このうち、終身関係(a lifetime commitment)が米国と日本の決定的な違いであるとし(原文 p. 8、訳文 p. 17)、他の採用制度などと密接に関連があり、非移動性を有していることを指摘した(原文 p. 18、訳文 p. 36)。約 50 年後に再度日本企業の実証研究を行った Abegglen (2004) は、この 50 年間日本的経営の中で最も変わったのは財務とその周辺分野であり、基礎的な価値観である共同体は未だ変わっておらず、人事の分野は最も変化が少ない、と主張している(原文 p. 9、訳文 p. 25)。さらに、「日本の企業は社会組織、社員の共同体であり、共同体の全員が将来にわたって幸福に生活ができるようにすることを目標にするとともに、十分な業績を達成しようと努力している。」(原文 p. 7、訳文 p. 22) ために長寿であり(原文 p. 13、訳文 p. 32)、人事面では継続性が中心的なテーマとなっている(原文 p. 11、訳文 p. 28)とも述べた。

柳原(2000)は、長寿企業が環境変化に適応し、競争優位を維持した上で、社会的使命を常に果たしている存在と考えた。そして、3M(当時 Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing)、HP、IBM など米国にもいくつか長寿企業があるが、村田製作所、花王、ヤマト運輸、シャープなどの大企業に加えて虎屋などの羊羹製造業にも長寿企業が多いことを特徴として挙げた(p. 46)。そして、終身雇用制度、社内教育、高学歴社会、仲間意識などを日本的経営の特徴として、企業が長寿であることに適していると主張した。長寿である理由として、みんなで考えみんなで知恵を出し合う組織学習、起業買収などの環境不確実性から身を守る安定システムの構築、マイルドな社内競争に表される「足るを知る」価値感の 3 つであると論じた。その上で、現在多くの企業に見られるフロー型経営からストック型経営へのシステム転換が必要であるとした(pp. 51-54)。さらに分析

結果から長寿企業の特徴として、「1. 問題解決を先送りしない、2. 個人的な経営能力に依存せず、システムとして競争優位を確立する、3. 規模拡大・シェア拡大を重視しない、4. 短期環境変化に対して安定的な経営システムを構築する、5. 環境の構造変化に適応する、6. 本業重視、7. 社員重視の経営風土と学習する組織、8. 経営理念の浸透と継承」を並べている (pp. 46-47)。

より基本的な企業経営の合理性の選択に、三品 (1997) は着目した。彼は、日本型の合理性を“蓄積の経済”と呼び、時間の経過と共に経験が積み重ねられ生産性が向上するよう志向すると、理解した。一方、米国型の合理性は“組み合わせの経済”を志向している、とした。それは日本型とは異なり、生産性上昇の引き金は仕事に参加する他のチームメンバーが入れ替わるという条件の変化であると捉えた (pp. 76-77)。そして、蓄積を重視する経営で最も大切なものとして、人の長期安定雇用を挙げている (p. 81)。

以上、数多い先行研究の中から、システムやプロセスなどの表出する部分を取り上げながら、様々な切り口でその根底にある日本企業の本質に迫ろうとする研究に着目しレビューした。

4. 枠組みの提示

先行研究をレビューした結果、3つの視点での議論が必要であることが分かった。

まず1つ目の着眼点として、先行研究はどのようなテーマに焦点を当てたものかによって、全体を図3のように整理が可能でグループ化できる。

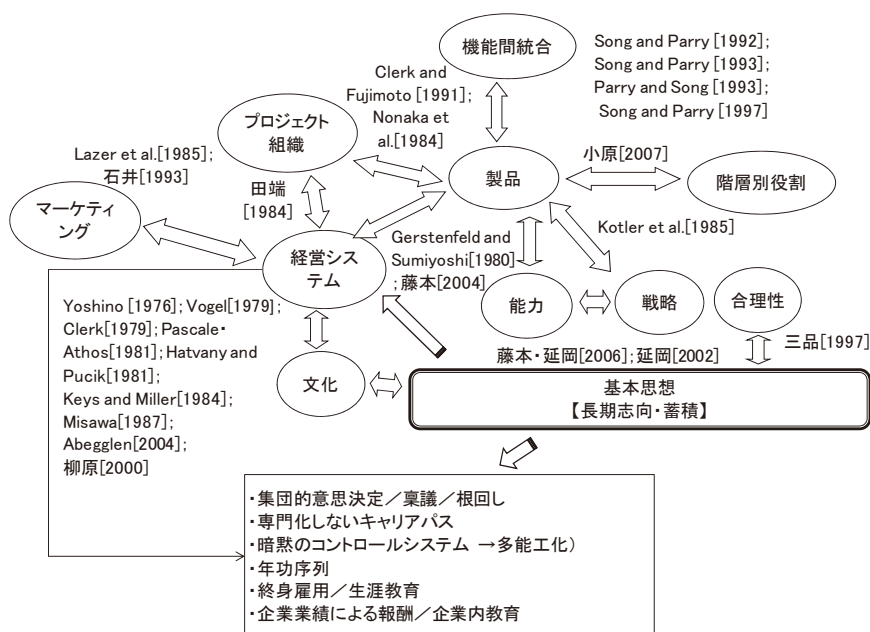


図3 日本型企业に関する研究関連図

出所：筆者作成

これらは、大きく製品を中心として日本型企业をとらえようとするものと、文化などと関連づけながら経営システムを分析しようとするもの、に分けられる。製品を中心とするグループは、

戦略を重視する Kotler, et al. (1985)、能力との関係は藤本・延岡 (2006)；延岡 (2002)、機能間統合からのアプローチは Song と Parry、プロジェクト組織では Clerk and Fujimoto (1991)；Takeuchi, et al. (1984)、階層別の視点を与えているのは小原 (2007)、そして製品と経営システムの関係については Gerstenfeld and Sumiyoshi (1980)；藤本 (2004) である。一方、経営システムを中心とするグループは、組織との関連は田端 (1984)、マーケティングとして Lazer, et al. (1985)；石井 (1993) であり、文化や風土も絡めて考えているのは Yoshino (1976)；Vogel (1979)；Clerk (1979)；Pascale and Athos (1981)；Hatvany and Pucik (1981)；Keys and Miller (1984)；Misawa (1987)；Abegglen (2004)；柳原 (2000) である。この文化や風土を入り口としようとする試みは、米国の研究者が異国である日本を理解するところからはじめなければならないためであり、ごく自然な導入と考えられる。

しかし文化や国民性の議論は、米国企業が日本で成功をおさめたり、米国企業においても日本企業の本質と共通性を有する企業がある (Pascale & Athos, 1981；Ouchi, 1981) 現実を考えれば、必ずしも適切でない。また新製品開発においてはプロセスや手続きはプロジェクトなどの組織に規定されることが分かっており、その組織は新製品開発においては、戦略の決定に左右される。たとえば探索型戦略を採る企業は、不確実性の高い市場に未経験のニーズを発掘する市場創造型製品を選択する可能性が高いため、部門横断的で上から下までの階層をまたがる仕組みを求められるが、分析型戦略ではそれは各事業の責任単位に任せられる。つまり戦略が決まらなければ、組織も決まらない。さらに重要であるのは、どの戦略を採るかという方向性を決めるものとなる考え方である。日本型と米国型のこの基本となる考え方の特徴について、Pascale and Athos (1981) はこれを「ソフト」と「ハード」と区分し、三品 (1997) は「蓄積」と「組み合わせ」と表現し、石井 (1994) は「資源先行」と「目的合理性」と対比している。両者は、これらがチーム編成や競争行動の違いとなって表れるとしている。また、Hatvany and Pucik (1981)、Keys and Miller (1984)、Misawa (1987)、Abegglen (2004)、柳原 (2000) は共通して、長期志向を挙げた。このように意思決定やシステムなどの根本的な基準になるものは、基本となる考え方である。あらためて整理すると、新製品開発においては、プロセスや手順は組織に規定され、組織や製品は戦略に左右され、戦略は基本となる考え方にもとづき決定される。

本研究ではこの基本となる考え方を、基本思想と呼ぶことにする。ここで用いる基本思想とは、戦略の立案や組織編成、あるいは個別の開発プロセスの構築や市場探索など、様々な新製品開発に関わる事項を決定したり、活動する際のもとになる考え方を指している。それは文化、フィロソフィー、遺伝子に似た概念で、長期に組織内部で醸成されるものであり、組織構成員の中に共通して宿っているものである。それは図 4 に示すように、経営資源や経営戦略などの根底をなすものである。顕在化して意識されそれぞれの企業独自の企業理念や企業方針などに明記されている場合もあるが、これまで日本型企业に共通するものとしてはあまり意識されてこなかった。このため、それぞれの基本思想に合わない業務システムや顧客の選定などを行っている場合があり、それが新製品開発の成功の阻害要因となっている可能性がある。それを本研究では、表面化させようとしている。

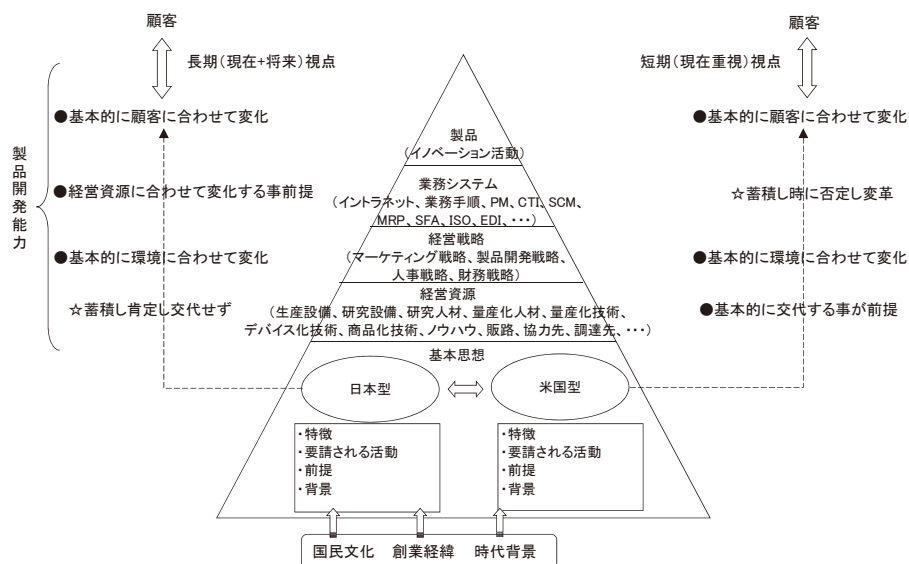


図4 基本思想と仕組みの階層モデルの関係 出所：筆者作成

このような基本思想を重視する時、米国型か日本型か、経営への適合の問題が重要と考えられる。それは、個々の企業により異なる。三品（1997）は、それぞれ二律背反とも言える対照的な存在であることを指摘している。また、それぞれ自国の基本思想を相手国に持ち込み成功している事例を引き合いに出し、必ずしも国民性によるものではない点も挙げている。つまり適合の問題は、企業自身ももつ文化や風土に合致するかどうかで選択されるべきものであり、基本思想との相性と密接に関わるものである。図4では、製品開発能力において、日本型は経営資源を蓄積し肯定し交代せずと表現されるのに対し、米国型では経営資源は交代する事が前提である。一方、業務システムにおいては経営資源に合わせて変化するのに対し、米国型では蓄積し時には否定し変革する。このように基本思想が異なれば、全体に取るべき施策が違ってくる。

さらに別の視点として、日本型の基本思想のどこに優位性があるのかの整理が必要である。これについて、藤本・延岡（2006）は長期に複雑な組織マネジメントにより構築された能力は簡単には他社が真似できない、という点を挙げている。つまり、蓄積された資源にもとづき開発された製品は、他社が容易に追随できず、競争力が高いものとなることを示している。また石井（1994）は、持ち合わせた資源を使おうとする資源先行型競争行動は、計画者が当初想定しなかった「偶然」を取り込むとしている。つまり、資源が多様化したり思いもよらない結びつきといった偶発性によるイノベーションが発生することを明らかにした。さらに Pascale and Athos（1981）は、戦略、機構、システムのハード要素より、スキル、スタイル、スタッフ、上位目標といったソフトな要素で日本型は優位さをもたらすとし、組織人の洗練度の高さを指摘した。このような優位性は、基本思想を選択した結果、表面化し内外に認知されるようになるものと考えられる。

本研究では、日本型企业による新製品開発の特徴を、新製品開発戦略、プロジェクト組織、マーケティングの特性という3つの視点を用いて先行研究の考察を行った。その結果、日本型企业の本質的特徴に関する検討が必要となり、先行研究をさらに拡大レビューすることで、共通する重要な考え方として基本思想が浮かび上がってきた。図4に示される基本思想と階層モデルでは、日本型企业は、長期志向を取り、経営資源を蓄積し、経営戦略は環境に合わせて変化させながら、

業務システムを経営資源に適合させるよう変化させ、顧客に合わせて製品を開発する、という特徴を有する。この長期志向と蓄積を基盤として製品開発能力の構築を行う基本思想こそ、日本型企業モデルの枠組みを提示するにあたって中心とするべき本題である。したがって、「顧客に合わせて製品を開発する」という製品開発に関わるコンセプトが同じであるからと言って、短期志向を重視し、経営資源を交代させる米国型で成功した手法を導入したとしても、うまく行かない可能性が極めて高い。にもかかわらず、導入部分で述べたように多くの国内企業は米国型経営手法を導入しようとしている。そして、それこそが多くの日本型企業の新製品開発の停滞をもたらしている阻害要因になっているものと考えられる。日本型企業は、1970年代から90年代にかけて米国型企業との比較の中でしきりに研究されて明らかになった、その特徴をもう一度思い起こし、基本思想への適合を重視した製品開発手法の導入を目指すべきである。

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Addressing environmental concerns in the Asia Pacific region through community media

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Abstract

Addressing environmental concerns requires transforming norms into desired behaviors. A dynamic and interactive medium such as community media was found to be a potent tool to realize such change. The Philippines, a vulnerable country to climate change, ventured into using community radio stations towards strengthening climate change among Filipinos. Using the case study research design, five community radio stations (CRS) managers in the Philippines, a municipal mayor, the head of the Philippine Federation of Rural Broadcasters, and the president of a community radio-contracting firm were interviewed to determine what makes a CRS sustainable. Sustainability indicators included organizational structure, influential factors, and operational mechanisms that led towards the development of a CRS model.

Results showed that CRS played facilitative and catalytic roles in these social transformation processes. CRS sets social agenda, facilitates governance communication, enables changes in norms, and moves people to action. The synergistic action of Local Government Units, academe, civil society, and relevant national agencies through block time and community programs with guidance from the Community Radio Councils led to systematic programming, and strengthened people's capacities in addressing global issues like climate change.

Keywords: environmental concerns, community radio station, participatory radio, catalyst for change, localized programming, community communication

Introduction

Community radio stations (CRS) classified as community media have been recognized as an effective vehicle not only to inform and entertain but also more importantly educate a large number of audiences especially in remote, conflict-stricken, and disaster-prone areas. Community media are smaller and community-based. They include media such as community newspapers, localized radio programming, cable TV, wall newspapers, puppet shows, theater, or community communication channels. CRS, unlike the big media such as AM and FM radio stations, are community-based and are ideally managed by communities to serve local needs. CRS thrive on the concept of volunteerism and social activism. The existence of these types of media is extraordinary in view of the difference in organizational structure and system of operation. CRSs are not merely tools of communication but a vehicle of development for local communities.

However, sustainability of CRS prompted them to modify their operations such as soliciting support from Local Government Units, NGOs, or benefactors who can sustain their mission. Also, while the permit to operate the radio station is community-based, getting external support violates the permit applied for from the National Telecommunications Commission (NTC). There are also cases when CRSs have been used for other purposes like political campaigns that support the station to get media mileage. At other times, CRSs used sound systems with loud music that annoyed community members. Hence, NTC issued a memorandum in 2003 to close down low powered radio stations of less than 1-kilowatt.

While CRSs are supported by local government units (LGU), this should not be a cause for alarm because the local government code mandates them. The LGUs (as stated in Chap 2, Sections 17 & 23) shall provide basic services and facilities including telecommunication services subject to national policies and guidelines. They have the authority to negotiate and secure grants or donations in support of these basic services from local or foreign assistance agencies. It implies that LGUs through their telecommunication

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facilities cannot only govern, but educate their constituents using community media through the CRS for lifelong learning in communicating the threats of myriad environmental, health, and related issues that will affect lives and communities.

The unique or unfortunate location of the Philippines makes the country vulnerable to disasters compared to its neighboring countries in the Asia Pacific region. While the Asia Pacific is located along the Pacific Ocean, the Philippines sits along a typhoon belt and the so-called Ring of Fire where many of the Earth's earthquakes and volcanic eruptions occur. McGranahan et al. (2007) posits that Philippine coastlines have low elevation. It receives an average of 20 tropical typhoons annually according to PAGASA (Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration), 9 of which made landfall. Thus, the country is prone to storm surges and tsunamis. On the other hand, Rappler.com (2015), reports that the Philippines, like Nepal, is due for a powerful earthquake once the West Valley Fault moves. Solidum, Director of the Philippine Institute of Volcanology and Seismology forewarned the Filipino community through national TV that a 7.2 or Intensity 8 earthquake might strike any time based on historical data. He said that the West Valley Fault moves every 400 to 600 years, and it has been 357 years ago since the last 90-km fault system shifted. This is quite alarming coupled with projections of 34,000 deaths and 1,144,000 injuries. According to Orosa (2014), deaths would increase to 36,000 if the earthquake occurred during the night. How these statistics have been arrived at is something that only scientists are aware of. Suffice it to say that this threat is real; the question is "how do they prepare people to face this catastrophic prediction? The World Risk Index (2011) as well cautioned that many Asian and Latin American countries are prone to disaster risks due to high exposure to natural hazards and climate change, but with weak coping capacities. Top on the list include: Vanuatu, Bangladesh, Timor-Leste, Cambodia, Guatemala, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Tonga, Solomon Islands, and the Philippines.

How should this be communicated to every Maria (female) and Juan (male)? Culturally, people in the ASEAN region are God-fearing or fatalistic, which means, everything is left to God's will. Filipinos residing in vulnerable areas, no matter how many warnings were given would opt to die with their belongings instead of evacuating. This is because predictions seldom come true. Just like the "boy who cried wolf," they do not want to lose again their pigs, refrigerators, or television to thieves who took advantage of the situation the first time they evacuated. This is what happened in Tacloban, when Typhoon Yolanda (International code name Haiyan) brought havoc to affected areas. Looting, according to Director Solidum can generally happen because of lack of food and amenities caused by disasters. Australians, Japanese, or Chinese, on one hand, would ensure safety to save lives and leave their belongings to chance. Hence, deeper conscientization and education processes in the Asia Pacific region are required to make people understand that times have changed, and being resilient is one of the requirements to face those challenges.

While the threats are aired over national radio, national television, the Internet, and the social media, and talks with Local Government Units and academe are conducted, very little has been done to popularize what these mean among the grassroots. Situations such as these would require a different approach for areas located along the fault line that traverses various parts of Metro Manila and surrounding provinces. The effort of Philvolcs is appreciated but the interventions to socially prepare what this disaster would bring about are left unsaid. What should people do? Leave the area? When? Where to go? What about indigenous or tacit knowledge? There are established bio-signals or bio-indicators for a forthcoming disaster exhibited by animals such as the rat, fish, horse, dog, cat, snake, etc. way ahead of the event according to Dr. Rogelio Concepcion, former Director of the Bureau of Soils and Water Management, and climate change expert. This information should be passed on through a medium that can reach a large number of audiences at any one time through advocacy campaigns.

However, communicating environmental concerns is a process that requires a more inclusive and participatory approach that can be addressed through transformational communication using community media, like radio stations. In times of disaster, perhaps, the only practical source of information would be the low-powered radio, assuming that mechanisms for disaster prevention or avoidance have been put in place

before hand and that close collaboration with relevant national agencies through relay stations or through hotlines or communities of practice (CoP), where accurate information is available. Community radio stations now can start educating the community about these forthcoming disasters, teaching them what to do, conducting orientation or conscientization sessions among various sectors, like the youth, farmers, housewives, children, elderly, civic organizations, service agencies, and the like. How can CRS be used to transform existing norms towards unprecedented threats to form new behaviors? Unfortunately, being community-based and inadequately funded, there is a need to find out how sustainable community radio stations are as vehicles of change, and how it can be strengthened as the last mile linkage. Specifically, this study sought to:

1. Determine the organizational structure of community radio stations that warrant sustainability;
2. Identify factors that influence sustainability of CRSs;
3. Assess existing system of operation in terms of resources; and
4. Develop a CRS model that would ensure sustainability.

Review of related literature

Types of radio broadcasting

AMARC (French acronym that stands for the World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters) classifies radio broadcasting into three: public broadcasting which is owned by the state; commercial broadcasting is privately-owned and operated for profit; and community broadcasting as broadcasting service not for profit, owned, and controlled by a particular community under an association, trust, or foundation where CRS belong.

Community radio

The difference of community radio from commercial stations is that CRS requires a two-way process where there is an exchange of views and the adaptation of media by communities. AMARC forwards:

In an ideal world community radio allows members of a community to gain access to information, education and entertainment. In its purest sense, it is media in which the communities participate as planners, producers and performers and it is the means of expression of the community, rather than for the community. (Mtimde et al., 1998, p. 9)

Furthermore, community radio was described as non-profit; community ownership and control; and community participation. According to AMARC,

This non-profit requirement does not mean that the initiative or radio station cannot be operated along business lines nor generate commercial revenues [...]. It does not mean either that the radio station cannot generate income in excess of its basic expenditure [...]. It rather means that any surplus income generated has to be ploughed back into the project, be spent or invested into the development of the station. (Mtimde et al., 1998, p. 17)

Radio as ICT interface

Flor and Ongkiko (2003) describe the advantages of radio as available and affordable even in remote communities; can repeat messages at low cost; reaches illiterate audiences; supports other communication channels; announces events and developments as they happen; is flexible in style (ranging from drama to lectures, folk songs to interviews); and creates awareness and sets an agenda of priorities for people's attention. Furthermore, Barghouti (1973) opined "radio is available in almost all countries, reaching mass audiences cheaply and rapidly."

The Philippines has 366 AM and 290 FM, and five shortwave radio stations broadcasting to 11.5M radio sets (Umali & Paragas, 2004). Of these, 177 are low-powered broken into 47 AM and 130 FM where 35 are in Mindanao, 45 in the Visayas, and 97 in Luzon (NTC, 2013). As an archipelago, it is composed of 81 provinces (includes the new province of Davao Occidental), 145 cities, and 1,490 municipalities with 42,028 barangays, the smallest political unit. Ideally, if all LGUs will establish one CRS each as mandated by law, then there should be at least 1,500 more or less to serve the population of 100M. Unfortunately, this is not the case.

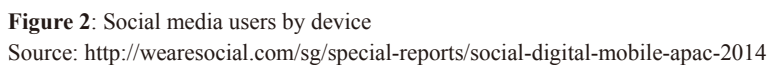
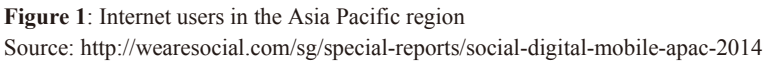
Vulnerable areas, however, are all over the country. With the advent of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), radio access has metamorphosed and is now readily available using mobile technology. The Global Information Technology Report (2014) revealed that the Asia Pacific region is very dynamic and active in developing ICTs. The interface of radio with cellular phones would be very advantageous for community radio stations in the FM band. Based on the 2014 Network Readiness Index ranking, among the ASEAN countries, Malaysia ranked 30th and confirms its leadership as the highest ranked economy in Developing Asia. The government uses ICTs extensively highlighting the high priority of this sector. Indonesia ranked 64th, the third best result among members of ASEAN after Singapore and Malaysia. Thailand ranked 67th and its main strength lies in the relative affordability of ICTs. The Philippines ranked 78th with improved access to ICT infrastructure and better skills. Vietnam ranked 84th and the overall quality of the political and regulatory environment and ICT infrastructure limit the expansion of the ICT sector, while available skills show no signs of development. Cambodia, Lao PDR and Myanmar are at the bottom of regional rankings.

In the Philippines, 12 million households in the country own a radio set according to the National Commission on Culture and the Arts (Infoasaid, 2014). In a study conducted by Kantar Media, entitled *Tuning in to Radio*, the audience spent longer sessions in radio than in television. Furthermore, the most-used device in listening to the radio in Mega Manila is still the traditional radio unit with 52% of its listeners (Lucas, 2014). This implies that radio still remains as a vital means of communication even with the advent of the Internet and its share of listening peaks throughout the day.

In the ASEAN region, one may argue that the booming of mobile technology and social media networks has brought the biggest change in the media landscape. Southeast Asia is enthusiastically surfing the digital wave and it is in the midst of the mobile revolution, which is increasingly enabling people to access e-services and connect with one another beyond physical constraints. In 2014, 38 million out of 100 million Filipinos were Internet users. Figures 1 and 2 show an illustration of Internet penetration, social media mobile users, and time spent on the Internet in the Asia Pacific region.

Premised on strong Internet penetration, prevalence of mobile technology, and access to social media, it is safe to assume then that CRS can use the Internet to “air” their programs online and send SMSs to launch advocacy campaigns, educational broadcasts, or threat alerts in real time.

One concrete example is Sri Lanka’s Kotmale Internet Community Radio initiative. According to UNESCO, this intervention “has been successful in demystifying the Internet to rural communities in the area.” The community radio broadcast on the Internet offered a daily two-hour interactive program that allowed listeners to request, through call or email, specific information from the Internet. What is good about the program is that the host interprets the information in the local language to ensure complete understanding of message imparted. The requested information was then captured in a rural database, which also contained a public domain for FAQs for offline use in the local language. Notable about this project is the nature of callers like farmers, schoolteachers, community health workers, students, and other members of the rural community across topics or issues of concern.



The role of radio in development

In like manner, the purpose of CRS in general can be enhanced to perform multiple functions. In *Philippine Communication in the Digital Age* (2014), Maslog distinguishes three roles that channels of communication, and in particular mass media, play in society. These are political, economic, and social roles.

In terms of the political role, different communication channels provide information from which the decisions of political leaders and those of the general public are based. People still greatly depend on the mass media for information whether this be at the local, national, or global levels (even if this is changing with the advent of new media). It is imperative, therefore, that people as receivers of information are able to read, understand and decide for themselves on issues affecting them. The mass media also has a role to create public opinion. This is true for both democratic and authoritarian countries. While this function is encouraged, some countries in ASEAN restrict information dissemination to limited audiences, especially if this will affect or lead to political and social instability. As a thinking public, members of a population should be able to evaluate and discern what information is being sent to them and what actions must be taken to foster truth and transparency. The media plays an important role both in creating public opinion and reflecting and showcasing the opinions of members of society, for instance, through editorials, columns, commentaries, newspapers, magazines, new media or the Internet, among others. Media also function as watchdogs—raising awareness on issues of public interest and the wrongdoings of institutions and people in power.

The second role of the media is an economic one. Among ASEAN member states, Indonesia leads advertising spending growth in the Asia-Pacific region; its spending is heading towards international levels. While CRS should be non-profit, it is quite impossible to operate without funds. This is the reason why some CRS fail to continue their advocacies. On the contrary, there are other CRS that are “commercial” to ensure sustainability.

The third role of the media is social. “Mass media help strengthen the social fabric of the nation and influence its pattern” (Maslog, 2014). In other words, media are conveyers of culture and shape the ways in which societies are being built. One of the social roles of the mass media is to create a popular culture, which includes customs, fads, fashions, folk songs, pop tunes, folk art, pop art, lingo, technology, norms, beliefs, personalities, and even superstitions. Other social roles are entertainment and development communication. It is in the latter that CRSs are being tapped to play a more proactive role in social transformation processes to prepare every individual to face the environmental threats that may suddenly beset their communities.

Theoretical framework

Anchored on the Transformational Communication Model, Flor (2004) puts forward that environmental communication requires a more comprehensive and holistic paradigm unlike other development communication approaches. Neil McKee as cited by Flor (2004), typologized the modes of development communication into two: social marketing and social mobilization. However, according to Flor (2004), there are four types of development communication approaches that can be used based on their experience such as development support communication; information, education, and communication; social marketing; and social mobilization. These approaches could work well in the agricultural, population, and health sectors. He emphasized that these techniques are meant to employ the behavioral approach in communication such as addressing health issues.

The model proposes the integration of the four major communication modes applied to development undertakings. The model depicts four converging circles representing the four modes: development support communication; conventional IEC; social marketing; and social mobilization. The framework also provides an imaginary line that takes into account the cultural dimension in these approaches. The model also focuses on normative instead of behavioral change because in the environmental field, there are various

environmental friendly and non-environmental friendly behaviors that may be identified and may become endless. Addressing a few defeats the purpose of a holistic approach, hence, the focus was on norms that determine behaviors for social transformation (*Figure 3*).

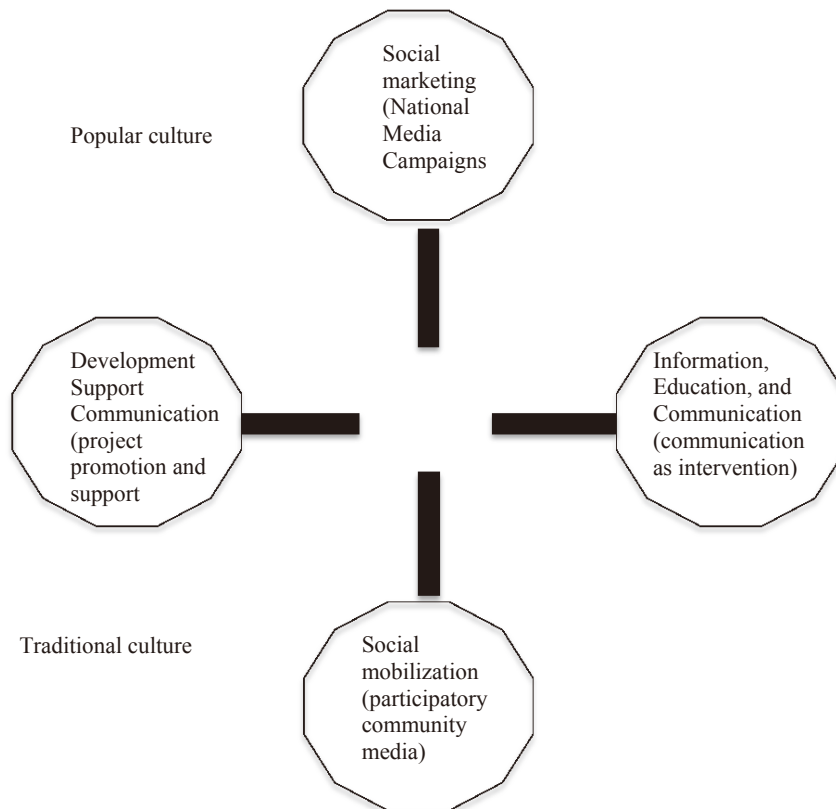


Figure 3: An integrative operational framework (Flor, 2004)

Transformational communication must be multi-level/multi-sectoral. The holistic view of environmental communication should be done at all levels of society from the individual, community, and national levels. It should also involve all stakeholders such as the church, business and industry, schools, law enforcement agencies, the military, the media; Local Government Units (LGUs, NGOs, People's Organizations, women, farmers, the youth, etc. The aim is institutional (network) development and capacity building to achieve sustainability.

The second feature is being process-oriented and synergy-driven. Changes in norms involve social processes such as education, collective pressure, shifts in worldview, and the like. The communicator serves as facilitator and catalyst through social agenda setting, shaping public opinion, and community mobilization.

The third feature is being strategic. It should focus on key players, even if everyone is required to play a part, within the social processes and develop a pool of leaders that would form a critical mass or the champions who will lead in transforming existing behaviors toward new norms.

Methodology

The study employed a case study research design in selected community radio stations in Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao, specifically in Kabacan, North Cotabato, Davao Oriental for Mindando, Iloilo and Aklan for the Visayas, and Cagayan Valley for Luzon. Participants of the study as key informants were five station managers, one mayor, the head of the Federation of Rural Broadcasters, and the President of Media Zone,

Inc. This totaled to eight participants who were purposively sampled in order to accomplish the objectives of the study. While there are many community radio stations in the Philippines, “true” CRSs (where communities participate as planners, producers and performers and it is the means of expression of the community, rather than for the community) are few if not nil. In-depth interviews with key informants were conducted to have a sound basis for data analysis. Interviews lasted for two hours or more to probe further into the responses, and find coherence in the data being collected. A laddering technique was used in doing the interviews. This was done to find out whether the responses were logical and sound. Observations and responses gathered were analyzed using thematic analysis by establishing a pattern in the responses. While the sample cases have unique experiences, common themes arose. Such commonness served as an anchor in building a sustainable CRS model.

Results and discussion

The participants

Participants of the study were purposively chosen in benchmarking good practices to have a sound basis in developing the proposed CRS model. Each station had a different feature in terms of management and control. Observations came from five station managers across the country, namely, DXNQ and DXVL in Mindanao; DWTG and DWRL in Luzon; and DYMI and DYYM in the Visayas, all belonging to the FM band. One mayor in Luzon was likewise interviewed to feature how CRS was used for governance. As oversight of CRS, the head of the Philippine Federation of Rural Broadcasters formed part of the observations to shed light on how CRS can be made sustainable. From planning of CRS to installation and management, the president of a community radio-contracting firm was interviewed about challenges and prospects of CRS installation in the Philippines.

The community radio stations’ profile

Each CRS was profiled in terms of call sign, nature of operation, tagline, frequency, year of establishment, Internet access, type of transmission, power, location, coverage, type of broadcast (live or canned), language used, time of airing, schedule of airing, address, email address, Facebook account, website (URL), and contact details. The profiling was done to determine accessibility, reach, and capacity.

The tagline of each community radio station symbolizes the mission of the station. For instance, the CRSs in Mindanao have very socially sensitive taglines being a conflict-stricken area. The tagline of DXNQ is *Radyo Kalumonan* (Radio Friendship) to symbolize that friendship can be built through radio. Listening to the radio implies that the listener is a friend. It can also be deduced that the role of the radio station is to bridge good relationships among academe, LGU, a national government agency, community, and a local foundation.

DXQL’s tagline, on the other hand, is *Kool FM*, meaning if one listens to the station, one is cool. In war-torn areas, radio can be a catalyzer through the programs they air, music that they play, informational and educational programs produced so that they may be aware. In Luzon, DWTG’s tagline is *Tangguyob ti Gonzaga*, meaning native horn or voice of Gonzaga. It symbolizes that voices are heard especially for the voiceless and the marginalized so that they too can air their concerns. DWRL’s tagline, on the other, is *Atin to!* (This is ours) that symbolizes ownership. It implies that listeners own the station. In the Visayas, DYMI’s tagline is “*sama-sama* (Filipino term for together), *together, always and forever*” which is very obvious that listeners should always tune in because they are one. DYYM boast of its tagline “*Katribo radyo*” which means we come from the same tribe; therefore, we belong to this radio as one. These taglines are not only meant to identify but to convey the message for which the radio station stands for.

There were five models of operation that surfaced in the study. The first model is the Academe-National government-Local government Partnership (ANLP). This is the case of DXNQ. DXNQ (Radyo Kalumonan) was established with assistance from the National Nutrition Council (NNC). NNC had

established more than 30 community radio stations all over the country as vehicles for disseminating information about good nutrition in areas with high incidence of malnutrition. Since Barangay Bato-Bato, San Isidro, Davao Oriental had the highest rate of malnutrition in the area; the radio station was installed there. However, the establishment was done in partnership with academe and the Kalumonon Development Foundation, which is headed by the mayor of the municipality. This is one of the projects of the president of the community-radio contracting firm. Academe needed a radio station as a laboratory for their communication students, hence, the partnership.

DXNQ is a quadripartite ownership structure among LGU, academe, a national government agency (NGA), and a local foundation. The NGA in this case is the NNC who provided the equipment and audio facilities. It started with 100 watts, but will be increased from 100 to 500 watts within the year. The College, on the other hand, provided the radio station (which used to be the office of the school coordinator and converted into the radio station). The NNC trained them on how to run the radio station. The role of the LGU was tapped to meet manpower requirements like the radio communications engineer, announcers, and other personnel who went on board to run their own programs. Mr. Kiko Flores of Media Zone, through the NNC, trained them on reporting, announcing, and the use of audio facilities.

The second exemplar in operating a CRS is the public-academe partnership (PAP) of DXVL. A case in point is the University of Southern Mindanao's community radio station. While the model is not truly a CRS by definition, the practice is worth emulating. Like many universities, USM is no exception. They cannot operate commercially and did not engage in private participation when it first aired. However, when the policy of the university was imposed for all units to become income generating, the Department of Development Communication banked on going commercial in partnership with a public-owned broadcasting services, Philippine Broadcasting Service, the Radyo ng Bayan Network. Their story is something that State universities and colleges can learn from.

The third model is the Academe-LGU Partnership (ALP) operated by DWTG and DWRL. Started by Tambuli project,⁴ a UNESCO project in the late 90s, these two radio stations are community-based. However, securing a frequency for CRS from the National Telecommunications Commission proved difficult but with academe to request one for educational purposes was easier. Hence, the LGUs had to partner with the Cagayan State University, which had campuses in Lal-lo and Gonzaga, where the radio stations are.

The fourth model is the religious/church-managed CRS. The DYMI Spirit FM radio station is a good example of a Religious/Ecumenical-Private Partnership (RPP). DYMI is managed through a corporation named "For the Greater Glory of God Holdings, Incorporated" (FTGGGHI) with community people serving as anchors of the different programs of the station. DYMI Shine Radio/DYMI Spirit FM advocates for building relationships among Catholic parishioners of Iloilo and its nearby provinces. With its tagline "*sama-sama* together, always and forever," the role of the station is to bring people closer to God and help them address issues that concern people (e.g. environment).

The fifth model is LGU-Private Partnership (LPP) that is with the local government unit in partnership with Manila Broadcasting Company. It operates under the leadership of the Local Chief Executive cum Mayor of Kalibo, Aklan. Being a partner of MBC, the radio station follows programming protocols and guidelines observed by MBC. Meanwhile, the public, through the listeners, are tapped as contributors in some of the station's programs. DYYM 98.5 Hot FM informs the people of the various programs initiated by the local government. It makes the public aware of the activities of the different LGU line agencies including the Office of the Mayor. It coordinates with the communities and encourages community people to get involved in the various programs spearheaded by the LGU.

The schedule of airing of all stations was daily except one, which airs every other day, but with an average of 15 hours/day live through a power ranging from as low as 100 watts to 3 kw all in the FM band.

⁴ For more details, view <http://www.unesco-ci.org/ipdcprojects/content/tambuli-community-radio-stations>.

The low-powered CRS had a coverage ranging from as short as 10 km to 50 km across barangays, municipalities, cities, and provinces. This is a good indication that low-powered radios, especially in far-flung areas, could be the only source of information.

In terms of contact, all CRSs have cellular phones, the station manager or the station may own these; some have live streaming, and FB accounts as well. This implies that CRSs have gone beyond the airwaves and are now visible online. Connectivity has expanded, therefore, and points to an expanded network, listenership, and on demand subscription.

Table 1 presents the profile of these CRSs.

Table 1: Profile of community radio stations						
Characteristics						
Call sign	DXNQ 97.3 mhz	DXVL 94.9 mhz	DWTG 102.5 mhz	DWRL 95.1 mhz	DYMI 94.7 mhz	DYYM 98.5 mhz
Tagline	Radyo Kalumonan (Radio Friendship)	Kool FM	Tangguyob ti Gonzaga (native horn)	Atin ito!	Sama-sama together, always and forever	Katribo Radyo
Nature of operation	Academe managed with NGA, LGU, and Foundation	Academe-Government	LGU-managed with academe	LGU-managed with academe	Church-managed with community	LGU-managed
Frequency band	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM	FM
Year of establishment	2012	2006	1997	2010	1998	2005
Internet access	none	http://dxvl949.blogspot.com/p/blog-page_19.html	None	None	Live streaming	Live streaming
Type of transmission	Analog	Analog	Analog	Analog	Analog	Analog
Power	100 watts	3 kw	300 watts	100 watts		1 kw
Location	Hill	Plain	Valley	Valley	Hill	Plain
Coverage	10-15 km radius	40-50 km	20 km radius	30-40 km	Iloilo, portions of Capiz, Antique, Guimaras and Negros	Provincial-wide
Type of broadcast (live or canned)	Live	Live	Live	Live	Live	Live

Language used	Cebuano	English, Ilocano, Cebuano	Ilocano	Ilocano	Hiligaynon	Aklanon (local dialect)
Time of airing	5:00 AM-10:00 PM	5:00 AM-10:00 PM	5:00 AM-5:00 PM	5:00 AM-9:00 PM	4:30 AM-6:00 PM	4:30 AM-7:00 PM
Schedule of airing	Daily	Daily (17 hours)	Daily (17 hours)	Daily (16 hours)	Every other day (M-W-F-S) (14 hours)	Daily (15 hours)
Email address	None	dxvlfm@yahoo.com	None	dwlrl95.1fmofficial@yahoo.com	dymi_shineradio@yahoo.com	ronbautista2015@yahoo.com.ph
Facebook account	None	None	None	None	None	DYYREFM
Website	None	http://dxvl949.blogspot.com	None	www.lalloca gayan.com	None	None
Telephone no.	None	(064) 248-2867	None	None	(033) 330-0604	None
Mobile no.	09105266563	0949-4939-462/ 0947-2890-117	0915 450 8413; 0977 176 8268	2 hotlines – Emergency: 0977 1266669 Greetings and request: 0926 1500951	09097531050 and 09985323896	None

Factors of sustainability

Sustainability was measured in terms of organizational structure, influential factors, and operational mechanisms that led to the development of a CRS model. Indicators of organizational structure include support from stakeholders (i.e. community members, LGU, sponsors, etc.), size of membership/staffing; organizational membership, the mission, ownership, and management system.

Operational mechanisms consist of regularity of support (daily, weekly, monthly, etc.); content providers (materials for airing are regular, up-to-date, etc.); regularity of airing (as scheduled, intermittent, only when needed); consistent anchor announcers/host (regular hosts); functional facilities (transmitter, antenna, computer, etc.); regularity of income (regular, intermittent, cannot be predicted); estimated amount to fully operate a community radio station on a monthly basis (community-based, LGU-supported, church-run, nationally-supported, NGO-supported, etc.).

Influential factors refer to radio attributes such as listenership, support from stakeholders, and topics of interest that matter, type of radio station, size of coverage, and power. These factors were deemed necessary for the sustainability of CRS operations. It was also important to find out what problems do they usually encounter and how they should be solved. This was done to understand the plight of CRSs.

Results of the study showed three thematic descriptions of organizational structure as indicator of sustainability: flat structure; community-participation; and legal mandate. Observations gathered showed that a lean staffing of 3 to 6 people can run and manage a CRS. A station manager, anchorman, and licensed electronics and communications technician are the basic personnel while field reporters would be a plus factor. This constitutes the organic staff. The organizational structure is normally headed by the owner of the

station, in this case, the mayor for LGUs, local parish priest for the religious, head of the foundation, president of the school, supported by members of the community that composes the Community Radio Council (CRC). CRC serves as the governing board of CRS.

In terms of operational mechanisms, the themes that surfaced include: human resources, money, physical infrastructure, and information. Having consistent anchorpersons require regular programming and scheduling. As a non-profit CRS, it does not mean that they cannot subscribe to commercials as defined by AMARC. DXVL, DYMI, and DYYM have opted to have commercials to survive. However, in the Philippines, CRS are non-profit which means they cannot have commercials. This policy should be reviewed and modified accordingly to ensure operations now that radio may be the only telecommunication facility available in times of calamities.

For influential factors or attributes that sustain the operation of CRS, results revealed three themes: content, reach, and power to transmit. While listenership surveys were not normally conducted, feedback through SMS, emails, or calls are proof that they have a following. Their content, also paved the way for their continuous existence. The various programs aired about the environment, health, nutrition, alternative learning systems (such as School-on-the-Air or SOA), old songs, local news, youth programs, religious programs, and local events are the links for CRSs to be strengthened and supported. Low-powered CRSs, though weak in signal compared to high powered ones can be strengthened if they choose to partner with big national networks like MBC (Radyo Natin) and PBS (Radyo ng Bayan). They have the physical infrastructure, but are limited in content. The partnership can be developed if they work collaboratively. Local involvement in community fairs increased; covered local ordinances; covered events like fiestas which is what people want; they cannot connect with the national issues or radios because of television. The needs of local communities include disaster, risk, and reduction councils for flood prone areas, as well as discussion of issues on the peace process (Bangsamoro Basic Law) that Moslems listen to.

Proposed sustainable CRS model

With a transformational communication model as the theoretical framework of the study, it can be assumed that one of the convergent concentric circles, which is social mobilization through participatory community media, must be carried out with ample support from stakeholders to transform people's existing norms to new behaviors. The CRS to be able to play its role must be fully funded by either the LGU, or through private-partnerships. Its sustainability is determined by a well-staffed, but flat organizational structure for faster decision-making. Staffing may include a radio station manager, a licensed radio operator technician, an anchorman/woman, a field reporter, and volunteers from the community. Ideally, volunteers should run the station, but this practice is not sustainable. The lean staffing shall provide the daily services to operate the station. Block timers from relevant government offices should form part of the organization to ensure accuracy and flow of content. The Community Radio Council, composed of the church, academe, elders, and other stakeholders is tasked to oversee the operations of CRSs in terms of programming, and, with the Philippine Federation of Rural Broadcasters, to perform an oversight function.

Community radio stations through participatory radio can serve as major a channel or medium for information dissemination, education, and social transformation. The CRS, at the same time, should collaboratively work with relevant government offices, organizations, groups, and units to ensure a holistic approach in facing the challenges. As information sources, they shall provide content on a continued basis, and properly capture and store information in a database that can be accessed by anyone who would need the information. Crucial to the operation is strong support from the Local Government Unit for funding, and logistical support or a public-private partnership may be resorted to, whichever is applicable and allowed. While the CRS is the major channel of information dissemination, social mobilization must complement the strategy to ensure action on the ground. CRS anchors along with LGU staff, representatives from relevant agencies must join together to explain or demonstrate expected disasters like earthquakes, tsunamis, etc. The telecommunication companies should likewise be involved in providing the last mile linkage to ensure that

CRSs have Internet connections that are linked to PAGASA, Philvocs, National Mapping and Resource Information Authority, Department of the Interior and Local Government, Department of Social Welfare and Development, Department of Health, Department of Education, Climate Change Commission, Philippine Federation of Rural Broadcasters, academe, the Church, Department of Agriculture, Department of Environment and Natural Resources, National Risk Reduction and Management Council, etc. There should be close collaboration among these relevant agencies in giving out information to avoid confusion and miscommunication among CRS anchors, or information officers tasked to gather information. The National Telecommunications Commission, on the other hand, should allocate frequencies to LGUs without a community radio station. Ideally, all municipalities should have one CRS to make sure that they are in the loop and ready to discuss with their constituents relevant topics or issues that they should be familiar with.

The proposed model is not only applicable to Philippine conditions, but also in highly vulnerable areas within the Asia Pacific region. With ICT, information on various environmental concerns can be hooked to Japan, Australia, or China who have better and newer facilities to determine climatic conditions. The need to put in place such networking is crucial to explain extensively, in a popular manner, threats to the people and the environment, along with the concomitant risks. More often than not, threats are communicated, but risks are not. As a result people end up speculating, in limbo, or having cognitive dissonance. CRS announcers when properly trained on these technical issues can better explain such occurrences in layman's terms.

The Head of the PFRB and the president of the community-radio contracting firm also recommended that LGU-partnerships could be the most potent mechanism to sustain CRSs. With mandates to provide telecommunication services, LGUs should be able to provide \$20,000/year for its operation if NTC will not allow them to operate commercially.

Conclusion

The study concludes that a lean organizational structure with ample support from the Local Government Unit, the Church, private companies, or public companies can sustain CRS operations. This should be complemented by worthy contents that are relevant to respond to community needs. Localized programming sustains listenership because a community radio only discusses things that matter. Finally, CRS, as the last mile linkage in times of disaster, may be the only resort to save people's lives.

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Donors, government and society in Indonesia's democratic elections

Asra Virgianita¹

Abstract

Democratization theory suggests that “fair and free” elections tend to decrease government control and strengthen civil society. In Indonesia elections held in 1999, 2004 and 2009 were widely believed to be fair and free, but the effect was to enhance the power of government and weaken the position of donor agencies and civil society. An international context on a new discourse on aid (Paris Declaration) that strengthens the position of recipient governments in relation to donors also contributed to that situation. In particular, governmental control of international assistance has restricted the activities of Indonesian Domestic Election Monitoring Organizations (DEMOS). By enhancing government legitimacy, the elections allowed it to alter its relations with donor agencies and with Indonesian DEMOS. It shows that although theoretically the process of democratization through “fair and free” election is believed will bring positive impacts to a democratic agenda including the decreasing of government control, this study argues that in the case of Indonesia the impact was different. At the same time, DEMOS have found a new method of monitoring through social media and technological means. The method differs from the old way of monitoring by offering cost efficiency, higher participation, and sustainability. In addition, the practice of this kind of monitoring has a flexibility of ways, means, time and people to participate in observing the election, without restrictions from government.

Keywords: donor, government, Indonesia DEMOS, democratization, election monitoring

Introduction

After the 1990s, the interaction between international and domestic actors in Indonesia changed as a result of democratization. The rise of international assistance focused on promoting democracy, including an element of developmental cooperation that allowed the international community to play a role in the democratization process (Ottaway & Carothers, 1997).

The interaction between domestic and international actors in democratization has generally been investigated through the phenomenon of conditionality, which is one way international actors (donors) can play a role in encouraging democratization within a country (Whitehead, 1986). This article adopts a different approach by focusing on democracy assistance. Conditionality expresses the dominance of foreign donors over domestic actors, but the democratic movement in Indonesia was based on pressure from domestic rather than international actors.

Concerning democracy assistance, most discussions have been strongly colored by debates regarding the positive and negative impacts on democratization by stressing the weak relationship between aid and democracy promotion (Finkel, Pérez-Liñán, & Seligson, 2007). Discussions of DEMOS stress the importance of international actors in supporting election-monitoring activities conducted by international observers and DEMOS. However, most studies agree that domestic actors have several advantages when conducting monitoring (Carothers, 1997).

Although several works have discussed DEMOS (Chand, 1997), very few deal with the Indonesian case. In a study of the 1999 elections, Eric Bjornlund emphasized the importance of collaboration between international and Indonesian DEMOS, and the need for international support to work with Indonesian DEMOS as local actors in order to enhance the quality of the elections (Bjornlund, 2004). Based on a study of the first Indonesian DEMOS (KIPP), Mitsuru Yamada stressed the role of international assistance and international networking (INGOs) in the successful conduct of monitoring activities by Indonesian DEMOS in the 1997 and the 1999 elections (Yamada, 2008).

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It is remarkable that there have been so few attempts to explore a comprehensive background and the role of Indonesian DEMOs as new actors after the decline of the Soeharto regime, or the relationship among Indonesian DEMOs, donors and the government after the election of a new government. One exception is Annette Marie Clear, who analyzed donor strategies in supporting democratization in post-Soeharto Indonesia. She identified three different approaches, namely state-oriented, society-oriented and state-society interactive (mediator) strategies (Clear, 2002). She suggested that donors would do better to focus on mediator strategies, and highlighted the value of having donor countries or organizations serve as mediators in bridging state-society interaction.

Using Clear's work as a starting point, this article analyses the relationship between international donors and domestic actors such as Electoral Management Bodies (EMB) i.e. General Election Commission (Komisi Pemilihan Umum or KPU) and Electoral Supervisory (Badan Pengawas Pemilihan Umum or Bawaslu), and Indonesian DEMOs in supporting democratic elections in Indonesia. I argue that the positive results of the transitional elections changed the relationship between donors, EMBs as part of the government body, and DEMOs, as indicated by growing EMBs control over donors and Indonesian DEMOs. The election of a new "democratic" government greatly reduced the role of DEMOs in Indonesia. In addition, I argue that in these circumstances donors find it difficult to play a role as mediators, and have little choice apart from focusing on the government (state-oriented approach) while still trying to promote the necessity of state- society interactions.

This article is divided into four sections. The first examines the scheme of the dynamic relations of actors under the Soeharto regime during three periods: 1) a period of development (1967-1990), 2) of aid conditionality (1991-1996), and 3) of Economic Crisis (1997-1998). Thereafter, the analysis will focus on the relationship of donor, government and civil society in the post-Soeharto period. As in the first section, the scheme of relationships among the actors will be presented. The final section presents the conclusions reached in this study.

Donor-government-society relationship under the Soeharto regime

The period of development (1967-1990)

Donor-government relations were very close under the Soeharto regime. When Soeharto took the position of president in 1967, he faced a dire economic situation. Thus, he made economic stabilization a primary target for his government. One of his strategies was to ask for international development assistance. At the time, the international political situation was dominated by the cold war conflict between communist and non-communist countries. Considering that about 60% of Indonesian debt was owed to communist countries, Soeharto first asked the USSR for help. However, when there was no response from the USSR, Soeharto turned to Japan for assistance. With Japanese help, the first assembly of international donors, omitting the communist countries, was convened. This became the initial force behind the establishment of the Paris Club and the Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), created as a forum for discussion regarding the provision of foreign aid to Indonesia lead by the Dutch government (Clear, 2001).²

Foreign aid was one of the most significant financial sources for the Indonesian National Budget under the Soeharto regime. Foreign aid contributed about one-fifth of the total national income and Japan was a major donor, as approximately 16% of Japanese ODA was allocated to Indonesia. Hence, donor-government relations were shaped by a Soeharto's call for financial assistance to stabilize the domestic economic situation and by the effort of non-communist countries to keep Indonesia away from communist influence (containment policy). Considering that economic stability would lead to political stability under

² The IGGI was replaced by the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) as a respond of Indonesian government towards the Dutch government policy to linkage human rights and economic aid as happened in Dili Incident. CGI was gathering Indonesia's international donors from 1992 to 2007 under chairmanship of the World Bank (Gillies, 1996, 187-189).

Soeharto, donors provided Indonesia with large amounts of development assistance aid, and the restoration of economic and political stability made it impossible for pro-Communist groups to gain political support.

In the case of government-society relations, in the 1970s Soeharto's government restricted political participation under the banner of preserving Indonesian unity. In the 1980s, the Soeharto regime introduced a politics of openness (*Politik Keterbukaan*). Subsequently, public demands for a political opening-up continued, and democratization has been a public issue since that time. However, the government also introduced a subversion law and a Civil Society Organizations Law (UU ORMAS) in 1985 that limited the freedom of individuals and of organizations or associations. Thereafter, government-civil society relations were tainted by conflict because society often resorted to confrontation when dealing with the government.

After the end of Cold War, the "enlargement of the democratic community" became a key element of U.S. foreign policy (Hook, 2002). Soon, democracy, human rights and good governance became objectives associated with aid from donor countries. The emphasis on these issues influenced the development of democracy in Indonesia through aid conditionality at the government level and democracy aid promotion at the grassroots level.

The Asian Financial Crisis in 1997 affected not only the economic and social situation but also domestic politics, giving rise to the demand for political reform that brought down the Soeharto regime. The economic crisis also allowed international actors such as the IMF, the World Bank, the United States and Japan to play a role by emphasizing economic and political reform.

The period from the mid-1980s through 1997 can be categorized as a pre-liberalization period. As O'Donnell and Schmitter argue, "when the authoritarian leaders begin to modify their own rules in the direction of providing secure guarantees for the rights of individuals and groups, it means the transition already started" (p. 6). In retrospect, it can be seen that the protests in the 1980s and early 1990s against the autocratic style of the Soeharto regime mark the start of a period of what Hadiwinata and Schuck term "instrumentalized" liberalization (p. 16).

I prefer the term "compulsive liberalization," by which I mean that liberalization was introduced without being motivated by the regime's enthusiasm for introducing it. It was a response to pressure from people, both domestic and international, who urged the government to create opportunities for political activities that were wider than they were before. Moreover, after the Cold War, the international community, especially donor countries and organizations, emphasized democratization as one of the primary requirements for receiving assistance. Political aid conditionality became a tool for promoting democracy on the part of the donors.

The period of aid conditionality (1991-1996)

In tandem with the end of Cold War in the 1990s, almost all donors and international institutions focused on democracy as a prerequisite of assistance by stressing the conditionality of political and administrative reform in recipient countries. Democracy, human rights, and good governance became objectives of aid conditionality, and all donors except Japan began to call on Soeharto to pay attention to these issues. The Dili Incident in 1991 attracted the international community's concern, especially from donor countries such as the Canadian and Dutch governments (members of IGGI), and resulted in aid freezes (Arase, 1993). While the Japanese Government differed with other donors, it did not conduct any aid sanctions against Indonesia (Furuoka, 2007). Following that time, issues related to human rights and democratization colored the relationship between the Soeharto and aid donors.

Although there were limitations to society-donor relations under Soeharto, international support for civil society, especially from the US, was a primary source of civil society movements and NGO activities in Indonesia. Dinorah Azpuru et.al (2008) noted that the US distributed democracy assistance to Indonesia starting in 1990, before the end of the Soeharto regime. One organisation that emerged as a result of international support was the KIPP, one of the leading Indonesian DEMOs. The activities of Independent Committee for Election Monitoring (*Komite Independen Pemantau Pemilu-KIPP*) were supported by

international donors, which provided funds, technical assistance and training even though the government response to KIPP was negative.

With regard to government-society relations in this period, it could be said that conditionality on the part of the donors indirectly advanced the position of civil society organizations (CSOs). A number of new groups were established in this period, including the Legal Aid Institute (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum-LBH), International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development (INFID) and Indonesian Labour Union (Serikat Buruh Pekerja Indonesia-SPSI) (Mansour, 1996). CSOs and donors had more power and were closer than they had been in the previous period, but the relationship between the CSOs and the government was often characterized by conflict.

The period of economic crisis (1997-1998)

Tensions between the Soeharto regime and international donors reached a climax during the economic crisis that started in mid-1997. Indonesia was hit the hardest. The value of the rupiah dropped from Rp. 2,400 per US dollar in August 1997 to Rp. 4,000 per US dollar in October of that year. Conditions became worse after the Central Bank of Indonesia allowed the currency to float, resulting in devaluation from around 2,600 to nearly 3,000 rupiah to the US dollar. The highest devaluation of the rupiah approached Rp.17, 000 to one US dollar in January 1998.

Soeharto asked for international assistance from the IMF in October 1997, and the first agreement between Indonesia and the IMF was signed in the same month, followed by a second and third agreement on January 15 and April 8, 1998. As a result of these agreements, the IMF became deeply involved in Indonesia's economic recovery program and played an important role in determining the economic policy of Soeharto. The economic crisis made the political situation worse and, finally led to Soeharto's resignation. Regarding this situation, Steve Hanke, an economic advisor to Soeharto, suggested that the IMF package was designed to remove Soeharto from power and create an opportunity for political reform.

CSOs and other social movements applied great pressure to satisfy the demand for democratic reforms, and after Soeharto resigned, students around the country continued to demand economic and political reforms and a change in national leadership. The tragedy that occurred on May 12th as a result of a clash between students and security forces caused a nationwide riot.

The situation described above shows that the economic crisis greatly increased the power of donors and CSOs, leaving Soeharto's government with little choice other than to follow the IMF plan and accede to domestic demand. *Table 1* summarizes donor-government-CSOs relations under the Soeharto regime.

Table 1: Dynamics of donor-government-civil society relations under Soeharto

Period	Indicator	Characteristics of Relations		
		Donor-Govt	Govt-Society	Donor-Society
1967-1990	Form of relations	Harmonious	Conflicted	Informal
	Control of Government	Strong		
1991-1996	Form of relations	Harmonious but Coloured by the Issue of Human Rights	Conflicted	Informal Relations
	Control of Government	Still strong, but donors and society became more powerful		
1997-1998	Form of relations	Tending to be hostile	Conflict	Formal and direct
	Control of Government	Strong, but became weaker at the end of the Soeharto regime		

Note: The table is created by the author.

The relationship between donors, government, and Indonesian DEMOS during the reform period

The election of Habibie as President in the 1998 launched a period of liberalization characterized by political instability and increasing public participation in political activities. Under Habibie the government introduced new regulations and laws that supported democratization, including freedom of the press and of association, a new election law, and a decentralization law. The liberalization period ended with a free and fair democratic election that gave Indonesia a new government with strong claims to legitimacy.

I argue that, although Indonesia had a new political regime and had already implemented three democratic elections, the presidency of Abdurrahman Wahid was part of a transitional period leading to democratization. I divide this period into two phases, the first marked by the organisation of transitional elections and the second by consolidation through a process of formulating new laws and regulations that allowed the public to become involved in the political process.

Changing relations among domestic actors during the transitional phase, and between Indonesian DEMOs and donors, indicate that the case of Indonesia does not support theories of democracy and democratization that see the period of transition as the starting point for the implementation of democratic reforms. The newly achieved legitimacy of government that resulted from democratic elections affected the power of the government to control civil society and donors. Moreover, the 2005 Paris Declaration gave rise to a new discourse on aid that directly affected the relationship between the government and donors, and between the government and society.

The relations among domestic actors

Several types of DEMOs operate within Indonesia's political system. Sharon Lean (2007) identifies two basic categories of DEMOs, organizations created for the specific purpose of monitoring elections (stand-alone DEMOs) and networks or coalitions of previously existing organizations that combine their efforts and create a staff infrastructure (network DEMOs). In Indonesia, most monitoring organizations were established after the start of the reform period, and were not created to monitor elections but focused instead on activities such as empowering women, fighting corruption, dealing with migrant labour issues, and so forth. Furthermore, most of these groups conducted their activities through networking, and only a few organizations can be described as "stand alone" organizations. Although the first of the Indonesian DEMO was of the "stand-alone type," the number of DEMOs that fit this description has not increased significantly.

The dominance of the networking model built good relationships among DEMOs, and Indonesian DEMOs also enjoyed good relations with the governmental supervisory body. However, when the respondents were asked about KPU support for DEMOs' efforts to communicate and conduct their activities freely, most responded positively to each question, but the number of respondents that gave negative answers increased with each election. Moreover, the positive attitude of DEMOs toward the KPU declined in the 2009 election compared to the 2004 election.

Referring to the survey results, most DEMOs reported that the KPU and Bawaslu (both locally and centrally) saw DEMOs as partners whose work complemented the activities of governmental electoral bodies, and that their relationship with DEMOs was close and quite good. Bawaslu has limited personnel and similar responsibilities, and saw collaboration with DEMOs as necessary. However, the KPU at both the local and the central level said that because DEMOs do not share monitoring results with the KPU, its relation with DEMOs is not close.

Most DEMOs felt that there had been no change in their relationships and said they were satisfied with these relationships. However, some leaders suggested that coordination between DEMOs had gradually decreased from the time of Soeharto's regime. As one of them pointed out that "[t]he cooperation between DEMOs had gradually decreased from the time of Soeharto's regime. Now democracy is already running,

then NGOs feel have no common enemy more, so cooperation among each other becomes less than before” (Interviews, Director of LP3ES³, 2009).

Another leader pointed out that budget constraints had reduced the level of cooperation. “DEMOs have not been able to carry out regular meetings or mobilize a network and coordination to conduct the activities together without having enough funding” (Interviews, ex-National Coordinator of JAMPPI⁴, Indonesia DEMOs 2009). Other respondents said that “each DEMOs was now focused on their own program, and do not put the cooperation with other DEMOs as the important aspects for their program” (Interviews, KPU Officer, 2009).

Concerning the satisfaction of DEMOs regarding their relationships with KPU and Bawaslu, most respondents said that they were satisfied. Similarly, although some DEMOs identified changes in relations among DEMOs, most of the DEMOs said that they were satisfied. However, the responses to these questions indicated some level of dissatisfaction, and the number of DEMOs with a positive view of relations with other DEMOs is smaller than the number that are satisfied with the relationship with KPU and Bawaslu.

Considering the above results, the relations between DEMOs and other DEMO or EMBs can be summarised as being generally positive. However, the fact that the dynamics of relations between DEMOs and others has altered, is significant and will be analysed in the next section.

Relations between Indonesian DEMOs and donors

Election monitoring and voter education were the primary activities that donors had funded and these activities involved collaboration between the DEMOs and the donors. Other activities included conducting a quick count, but the complicated procedure used for the quick count and limited funds for carrying it out meant that very few DEMOs were involved. In general, donors provided financial support for DEMO activities rather than providing expertise, training or capacity building. Most of the Indonesian DEMOs acknowledged their dependency on foreign support, but they also identified certain problems connected with communication with donors, domination by donors, and the slow response of donors to DEMO requests (Interviews, Coordinator FPMP⁵, Indonesian DEMOs, 2009).

Under the Paris Declarations, a new mechanism of distributing aid has been designed that regulates the methods and process by which donors distribute their assistance in support of the DEMO’s activities. The Paris Declaration, followed by the Jakarta Commitment in 2009, was signed as a result of the heavily criticised issue of aid effectiveness. The criticism revolved around the belief that foreign aid was a conduit for donor countries political, socio-cultural, and economic interests. The Paris Declaration could be perceived as a triumph of developing or recipient countries in their dealings with donor countries. The declaration agrees on five principles of aid effectiveness: ownership, alignment, harmonisation, results and mutual accountability. The role of recipient countries’ governments is significantly enhanced because the Declaration positions them as important actors in deciding the distribution of budgets and top priority projects.

With regard to aid in the 2009 elections, the Indonesian government did not include election observers in the list of top priority projects. As a result, donor countries did not provide for ‘observation of the election’ in their aid because, according to the Paris Declaration, the donor countries must harmonise their aid with the recipients’ top priorities.

In the 1999 and 2004 elections, the donor countries aid directly to the DEMOs. However, after 2004, the DEMOs have had to submit proposals that are then discussed at a committee meeting attended by

³ LP3ES is *Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial* (Institute of Research, Education and Information for Social and Economy), one of the oldest nongovernmental in Indonesia.

⁴ JAMPPI is *Jaringan Masyarakat Pemantau Pemilu Indonesia* (Society Networking for Indonesia Election Monitoring).

⁵ FPMP is *Forum Pemerhati Masalah Perempuan (Women Forum)*, an NGO in Indonesia that concerned on women empowerment.

Indonesian government representatives (The National Development Planning and Ministry of Domestic Affairs), the KPU and the donor.

Direct aid to NGOs is also technically limited by the implementation of a new mechanism that requires the government's involvement in transferring aid to NGOs, an arrangement that required NGOs to deal with convoluted bureaucratic procedures. Donors emphasized the positive aspects of the mechanism, saying that it could facilitate interaction between governmental and non-governmental actors. The survey shows that most of the DEMOs saw the new mechanism as a poor method for building relations between the government and the DEMOs. They argued that the arrangement could allow the government to control and limit the activities of DEMOs (Interviews, Director of LP3ES, 2009). Implementation of the mechanism had an adverse effect on relations between donors and DEMOs because DEMOs could not interact with donors directly as they had done in the past. Moreover, rather than improving relations between the DEMOs and the government, it made them more complex. Most respondents argued that the previous, direct mechanism was a better arrangement, and they felt that the government should be limited to a supervisory role, with the positioning of the various actors balanced. Most respondents felt that the donors failed to take steps to bridge the relationships between the government and the DEMOs.

The direct observation results of the 2009 elections indicate that international and Indonesian DEMOs monitoring the election process less enthusiastic about the process than they were for the 1999 and 2004 elections. Although some organizations, both domestic and international registered observers at Central KPU, the areas that were monitored by international and Indonesian DEMOs were limited, and many focused their attention on Aceh. Limited personnel from International and Indonesian DEMOs took part, and it seems that their participation was largely symbolic. With regard to Indonesian DEMOs, a lack of funding was an important reason that they were not as deeply involved in monitoring the elections as they had been in the 1999 and 2004 elections.

Bawaslu had more legitimate authority than before, but the limited number of personnel proved a significant obstacle to monitoring on election-day. Although Bawaslu had established a consortium for election monitoring, few organizations took part, and Bawaslu had to rely on volunteer participation.

All political parties had the opportunity to monitor the election, but only the big parties and a few at the middle level arranged for election observers, and those were the parties that won majorities. The limitations of funding and personnel affected the willingness of the small political parties to monitor the election.

A change and implications

The survey and the results of direct observation point to a change in relations among donors, government and society between 1999 and 2009. In the early stages of political liberalisation, relationships among these actors were quite strong. The mature democracy and democratic legitimacy of the government, including KPU members that were selected through a free and fair process, resulted in a change in the relationship of both international and domestic actors. The government has more confidence in formulating and revising election laws, and the 2004 and the 2009 Election Laws restricted the role of Indonesian DEMOs. For example, Election Law no. 12 /2003 states that the election monitoring organizations should register with and obtain an accreditation from the KPU. Election Law No. 10/2008 contains 60 articles related to the existence and activities of Indonesian DEMOs.

The KPU also publishes a manual with a code of conduct that explains which activities should be and should not be conducted by DEMOs. One of the rules that Indonesian DEMOs have criticised prevents them from conducting monitoring activities inside the polling station area. Some leaders of Indonesia's DEMOs see this rule as giving the KPU a way to restrict the role of Indonesian DEMOs. There is also some indication that KPU does not perceive the Indonesian DEMOs as partners, and consider them unnecessary.

Both the KPU and Bawaslu express positive views of Indonesian DEMOs, and they agree with the proposition that the Indonesian DEMOs are needed and play an important role in helping Bawaslu and KPU to conduct a free and fair election. However, the complexity of networking with Indonesian DEMOs and the fact that DEMOs report the results of their monitoring activities directly to funding providers without sending them to KPU suggests that relations are not close.

After 1999, the international society viewed democratization in Indonesia as stable, and this conclusion caused a change in donor behaviour in terms of directly supporting elections in Indonesia, as well as the relations among domestic actors. The internal circumstances of the donors have also influenced their behaviour. In the case of the European Union, the progress of democratization in Indonesia led to a shift of the EU budget to a second objective of aid, enhancing trade and investment, and education.

The UNDP also made changes, in part arising from new internal situations. In 1999, the UNDP was an organization with loose procedures, which made it easy to distribute money. However, as a result of scandals connected with food aid, North Korea, and so on, the UNDP adopted an elaborate internal control framework, and by 2009 the institution had changed in significant ways. Multi-layered procedures have become an obstacle to the distribution of funds. Moreover, Indonesia is now defined as a middle-income country and donors consider the government capable of running elections without international assistance.

The decrease in funding has directly and indirectly influenced the activities of Indonesian DEMOs, most of which still rely on international financial support. In the 2004 and 2009 elections, the Indonesian government still calculated the international contribution as one of the financial resources for conducting the election. In 2004, international donors (UNDP) provided the government with approximately US\$32.67 million for voter education and election monitoring, activities for which there were no government budget. For the 2009 elections, the government provided Rp. 8.6 trillion to conduct the elections, but the budget contained no provision for election monitoring (Berita & Sore, 2008).

Another factor is the Paris Declaration and the Jakarta Commitment that followed, which emphasise five basic principles (ownership, alignment, harmonisation, results and mutual accountability) and stress the role of the government of recipient countries as the key to determining the direction of foreign assistance. This agreement has had a great influence on donor approaches to the relations between government-donors and donors-DEMOs.

Donors and Indonesian DEMOs played a significant role in the democratic elections in 1999 because the government had no choice but to follow the international and domestic demands. Relations changed after 1999 elections. KPU and Bawaslu, both representing the government, were positioned as the dominant actors in the election process, while donors were on the periphery, and Indonesian DEMOs were less central than before. Moreover, donors and Indonesian DEMOs could not communicate with each other directly.

According to democratization theory, the changes described above represent a positive trend toward democratization. As Linz and Stepan argues that, the powers of government in a democratic transition are increased both *de facto* and *de jure* (Linz & Stepan, 1996). However, for Indonesian DEMOs and civil society activities, the change was a backward step in that it increased government control over donors. Because the independence of EMBs is still open to question, the Indonesian DEMOs are the principle representatives of civil society in the democratization process, and independent election-monitoring is important for ensuring and enhancing the integrity and quality of the elections.

Mapping the relations of donor-government-Indonesian DEMOs

This section will map the trends and patterns of donor-government-Indonesian DEMO relations from 1997 to 2009. *Table 2* summarizes trends in the relations among EMBs, DEMOs and donors. In general, governmental control over donors and Indonesian DEMOs has increased since 1999. Under the new election law for the 2004 elections and the terms of the Paris Declaration, KPU and Bawaslu influence over Indonesian DEMOs increased, and donor-KPU relations also improved. Bawaslu and the Indonesian

DEMOs have similar functions, and relations between the two were more flexible than those between the KPU and Indonesian DEMOs.

Although these relations indicate increasing governmental control, an increase in the government's responsibility and confidence in carrying out the elections by minimising the involvement of external actors (donors and DEMOs) suggests a positive tendency towards democratization. Moreover, with the hardware and software of the elections already in place, there was less for DEMOs and donors to do. Donor relations with DEMOs began to change after the 2004 elections with positive implications for DEMOs, whose reliance on aid donors to conduct their activities seems to be decreasing, especially for network DEMOs. While stand-alone DEMOs have reduced their election activities due to a lack of financial resources, network DEMOs have been finding alternative financial resources and no longer rely on international assistance.

Interactions between DEMOs and Bawaslu have gradually increased. Relations began to change with the beginning of the liberalisation period in 1999 (see *Table 2*). Since the legitimacy of DEMOs was recognised both internationally and domestically, Bawaslu had to cooperate and coordinate with DEMOs in order to conduct their duties. However, the relations of Bawaslu and Indonesian DEMOs are still uneasy, and Bawaslu officers observed, "the challenge is optimizing or establishing an effective communication and coordination with DEMOs that spread all over Indonesia" (Interviews, Bawaslu Officer, 2009).

Table 2: The patterns of relations among the actors under democratization

Relations Among Actors	Soeharto Period Pre-Liberalization (1987-1998)	Reform Period		
		Liberalization	Transitional	
			Initial Phase	Deepening Phase
1. Level of Control				
1.1. Government (KPU) to DEMOs	Strong	Weak	Moderate	Strong
1.2. Government (KPU) to Donors	Strong	Weak	Moderate	Strong
1.3. Government (BAWASLU) to DEMOs	Strong	Weak	Moderate	Moderate
2. Level of Cooperation				
2.1. DEMOs- donors	Strong	Strong	Moderate	Weak
2.2. DEMOs-DEMOs	Strong	Strong	Moderate	Weak
2.3. DEMOs-BAWSLU	Low	Moderate	Moderate	Weak

Note: The author created the table above.

Growing governmental control can be viewed both negatively and positively. If it is aimed at restricting the capacity of Indonesian DEMOs to observe the election process, as was feared by some Indonesian DEMOS, it should be viewed negatively. However, if it is aimed at showing the capacity of the government to conduct free and fair elections based on a budget it sets by itself, then control of donors can be viewed positively.

This study suggests three conclusions concerning the phases of democratization in Indonesia. Firstly, during the liberalisation period, because of the uncertainty of the political situation, the government was forced to accede to international and domestic demands. Donors and DEMOs could become intensely involved in the election process because the government needed external funding to conduct the general elections. Considering that the elections in this phase were part of regime change, independent Indonesian

DEMOs were an important source of legitimacy at a time when the societal level of trust in the government was low.

In the transitional period, the economic and political situation was relatively stable and the government had more power to manage the elections by formulating rules and allocating budgets to conduct the elections. Actors had close relations in the liberalization period, but in the transitional period, interaction among DEMOs and between Indonesian DEMOs and donors decreased as the political and economic situation in Indonesia matured, and democracy assistance provided by donors shifted from elections (involved support of civil society) to governance.

Epilogue: The 2014 elections and new methods of monitoring

A consolidated democracy, defined by Linz and Stepan (2001) as a political situation in which democracy has become “the only game in town,” involves five elements: a civil society, a political society, the rule of law, a state bureaucracy and an economic order that mediates between the state and market. These elements need to support each other, and Linz and Stepan (2001) make the point that “democracy is more than a regime, it is an interacting system” (p. 101).

Behind the success of Indonesia's democratization process, which is primarily measured by the implementation of democratic elections, there are developments that cannot be controlled and must be watched in order to prevent negative effects on democracy. Marcus Mietzner (2010) summed up the current situation in Indonesia by saying that “Indonesia's democracy, despite its successes remains vulnerable” (p. 194).

In 2014, election monitoring was conducted through social media and other technological means such as short messages services or SMS (Badrall, 2008), giving rise to terms such as crowd-sourced election monitoring, popular election monitoring and citizen election observation. Election monitoring using social media offers opened a possibility of participation of ordinary people to observe the election, without restrictions from government.

In the 2014 elections, many Information and Communications Technology (ICT) applications supported election monitoring. CSOs and ordinary people helped monitor the whole election process through SMS, Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, etc., inaugurating citizen participation as a way of enhancing the election quality. For example, the application *Mata Massa*⁶ or ‘Eye of the Masses,’ launched by Indonesian Journalist Alliance (Aliansi Jurnalis Indonesia, or AJI) users to report violence through a website, mobile phone, SMS, iOS, Android and Blackberry (Massa, 2014). This kind of monitoring differs significantly from the old way of monitoring by offering cost efficiency, a huge participation and sustainability. Maximizing the various method of monitoring will support the integrity and quality of election that necessary for the future of democratization.

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⁶ Details about Mata Massa at: <http://www.matamassa.org/>

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