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CONSUMERS' HETEROTOPIA. THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARTICIPATION IN THE ITALIAN SHOPPING CENTERS

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Abstract: *Shopping center is a heterotopic place, where consumers become "event participants", a unique kind of unconscious political actor. In this respect, a mall -seen as a private form of urban sociality- starts up a new experience of public participation. It does not work for social purposes, but for financial marketing. It works for valorizing consumption time. The more time customers spend in shopping centers, the more the urban value increases for renters. It is the effect of a new economic vision about shopping places as heterotopia.*

Key-words: *Shopping Center Mall, Entertainment, Event, Urban Sociality, Consumer, Heterotopia, Espaces autres*

1. Introduction

This essay analyses shopping malls as a financial heterotopia. The theoretical reference of the spatial and organizational phase must be found in that heterotopic category explained by Michel Foucault (2010) in "Des espaces autres".²

¹ PhD and Fellowship at Unit of Research in Social Sopography (URiT).

² There are several forms of Heterotopia and they do not have universal specifications. Anyway, a mall meets all the criteria by philosophical category. 1. Shopping center management realizes a global finance strategy by organizing a space and time economy, closely related to local cultures. 2. Each mall develops through multiple cultural synchronies. There are international brands and local actors coexisting in the commercial space. 3. It has the power to juxtapose, into one real place, different spaces, different places incompatible with each other. In shopping malls different incompatible and even competitive scenarios coexist. 4. The heterotopic space of consumer operating is related to a different use of traditional time (heterocronia). 5. The heterotopias always require an opening and closing way that, at once, isolates them and yet makes them penetrable. Agglomerations (franchisings, supermarkets, food courts) replace "community places" inside them by surrogating the local integration spaces and altering the socio-financial

We assume that a shopping center gains a spatial³ function that is different from those explicitly declared. Such a theory will be verified starting from assuming that the mall has set aside the traditional sales activity to fulfil a mission of collective spectacle. The use of entertainment as an economic strategy of shopping centers makes it clear that It is not a "non-place" (Augé 2009) or a "hyper-place" (Ilardi 2007; Musolino 2014), but an asocial sociability⁴. As shown by latest studies, it reproduces the functions that *agorà* had in ancient Greece, giving a different valorisation of urban space (Yakhlef 2015; D'Ascenzio 2015; Kokho and Birch 2014; Koolhaas 2016). A financial enhancement that systematizes urban planning in a new way, favouring the transition of Italian cities from Fordism to post-Fordism (Senatore 2016.)

We investigate this theory starting from the statistical increase of malls in Italy between 2006 and 2013. During this period, we managed to notice a systematic reduction of primary consumption. A statistical analysis clarifies that the large commercial facilities in Italy do not respond to a widespread consumer demand, but to a different strategy of urban development. Their diffusion was favoured by the production of new legal devices -the first (1988) and the second Bersani Decree of Law (2004) and the Law n. 28 of 2004- and the necessity for a different urban re-development of suburbs. The use of shopping centers as a tool for urban transformation by local authorities

characteristics of space itself. Nonetheless, malls are places that can be built in town' suburban areas, where investing in accessibility generates a high interest. As a urban reality, this aspect alters traditional balances, generating new inequalities and favoring out-of-measure growth in some areas to the detriment of others in the same town. For example, retail trade survives almost exclusively in residential areas, while large-scale retailers (GDOs) occupy most of the abandoned industrial complexes. To accomplish this, they took the trade planning straight from the hands of municipalities. It is no coincidence that the programming for deployment and distribution of business is an over-regional affair. Local authorities have to follow European laws to indicate development goals in the local area. 6. As a space organization, heterotopies regulate relationships between spaces, creating multiple illusory spaces that make the entire real space fragile and fleeting. The commercial space unlike other places -increasingly seen as insecure- is perfectly "governed" and is therefore ontologically perceived as a place of order.

³ Shopping centers and malls are private spaces and I want to clarify that in this work, the category of place and space will not be analyzed. The two words will be used in the text as linguistic equivalents. However, for a more extensive analysis, refer to of Simmel's (1998) and Lefebvre's (1991) texts.

⁴The notion of "asocial sociability" was theorized with Castel (1982). The redefinition of relational practices in view of the privatization process of the welfare state and public participation is analyzed too in ID. 2016, 2017.

is confirmed by the interviews given by some operators in this field. During these, they made clear that consumers are buying ever fewer goods in these places, but they are also benefit more low-cost shows. Precisely this enjoyment, as a participatory event, allows the financial exploitation of the consumption space.

2. The consumer's event as entertainment. A theory and a history

In the case of shopping centers, the category of heterotopia can be used for consumer spaces because they are historically an effect of the new depreciation formula.

It has transformed the non-places (Augé 2009) in real estate. An estate formula, very attractive to venture capitalists, was previously put off by the slow payout of most projects: *"Such investors typically looked for situations where they could quickly recoup all of their initial cash outlay. [...] The tax code made recapturing the risk capital in a building venture during a brief, tax-protected period, often as short as five years possible. Thanks to the incentive of accelerated depreciation, a man with a risk capital might be willing to double the outlay he would otherwise have felt justified under the limited provisions of the old tax code. Or, because of the more advantageous provisions now available, he might be able to work out a deal that would not have gone ahead at all under the old arrangements. It is noteworthy, however, that such incentives did not apply equally to all buildings. The full 200 per cent declining balance or sum-of-the-years'-digits accelerated depreciation, could be taken only for a new settlement, not for renovations of existing buildings"* (Hanchett 1996, 1097). In this context, the tax code is a powerful hustle for suburban growth. Real Estate investors seeking the best return on their money looked now away from established downtowns, where empty lands were scarce and new constructions were difficult. They rushed, instead, to put funds into projects in the suburban fringe, especially into big malls (Jackson 1996).

Going back to heterotopias, is it true that a consumer space system produces heterotopias? As other heterotopias, shopping centers incorporate more experiences about the socialization processes.

Experiences, both entertaining and enriching, are taking on an even greater importance with consumers as the hoarding of stuff decreases in importance. White (2009) writes about the effects of "entertainment as political experiences": *"The ongoing increase in people's education is driving the desire for enriching experiences that increase their knowledge. People want to have fun and learn something at the same time. Therefore, to generate traffic, shopping centers need to retain their destination status, more for experiences,*

including dining, entertainment and knowledge, and less as a mere destination to go shopping". It can't be just a mall: it has to be amenable to participation; developers have, in other words, to offer other reasons to be there. It needs to be a leisure experience where exchange and consumption are increasingly replaced by practices of group participation, not just a shopping experience.

Beresford (2002) helps us say that the rhetoric of participation has transformed the mall into an administrative governance tool. Public communication tools such as participatory budgeting and deliberative polls are increasingly used as a spectacular technique to gain public consent in many Western democracies. Indeed, through such techniques, citizenship takes part in formulating choices. Actually, the impact on the of public spaces on the government appears to be weak or at least uncertain, because the participation does not respond to the need for democratization.

Rather, it responds to stabilization of the late-liberal system, by cutting costs and overcoming the government's contradictions.

Mall as places has more and more the functions of urban sociality (Koolhaas 2016) on the basis of a financial logical and rarely with a social purpose.

Potential consumers enter it and they go around for shopping, the more the security of the area increases in a financial exploitation of consumption time (Aldridge 2003; Baudrillard 1998; Campbell 1987; Duesenberry 1949; Slater 1997; Veblen 1970). The assumption is that the urban transformation is the effect of a change in vision of space structures and social politics associated to the malls (Yakhlef 2015; Kokho and Birch 2014). They represent a transition from fordism to post-fordism.

The fordism crisis has led to the transition from a society of the masses to that of the individuals, where individual movement abilities are constantly stimulated and valued. This new kind of governance not only redefines the use of space but also the forms of government of the social state. This is a kind of management that Robert Castel (1982, 2016, 2017) defined as "asocial sociality": a phenomenon that takes part in the social dissolution where the collective participation increasingly consists of public exchange practices. Such practices are progressively common in the organization of shopping centers, reversing and subverting the operational rules of the financial relationships in the reference economic space (D'Ascenzio 2015). As Cohen (1996) has already written, the economic targets of the places of consumption makes production of sociality everywhere problematic and increasingly rewrite the participatory task previously carried out in other town spaces. The financial interest transforms a place of exchange and trading into a space

of bio-capitalist valorization. That is in an extensive area where they attempt to extract financial value from social citizenship activities.

Collins (2002) describes it as popular entertainment and as a cultural set of pleasant activities carried out alone or with other consumers. The entertainment as popular activities include a wide range of different the usage of time for places, generations, social groups, personal tastes, but in which there are three constants: free choice of this activity; using self-care time to also work; self-care carried through private - sometimes unwealthy - practices that give meaning to life.

Entertainment represents one of the forms of the crisis of participation. In democratic societies, citizens' participation is crucial, but in nowadays Western-European societies, the willingness to politically participate seems in decline. When we refer to political participation, we have to make a distinction between direct, such as elections or political institutions, political parties or groups, and the participation in social contexts., which we can refer to as indirect.

These contexts, political and social, can be further categorised as either supportive or critical of the system (Alexander, Inglehart and Welzel 2012; Bühlmann and Merkel 2011). Democracies allow both forms of participation. Other forms of regimes usually only accept supportive participation. Furthermore, participation can be voluntary or obligatory: in democracies, it is in most cases voluntary. So, in the participation to democracy, one is not obliged to share either politically or socially. There is freedom and anyone can decide autonomously whether participating or not. This aim was and is shared by proponents of a civil society as well as by many members of the civic society.

As a result of this crisis, the sociality participation produced itself in places where consumption replaced traditional forms of citizenship in suburban areas mimicking political party activities. It is clear that the entertainment consumption (Collins 2002; Hiller 2000; White 2009) uses public participation as an answer to a principle of estate valuation by assigning a theatrical role to the customers themselves. Paradoxically, it increasingly neglects the traditional buyer's function, while the post-modernity consumer becomes a new political actor. In organizing the entertainment, the everyday life survives as a simulation state of the present (Yakhlef 2015; Kokho and Birch 2014).

Everyday life is more and more manipulated by the means and interests of the modern industry. It is not accidental that, in many articles published by specialist magazines, in shopping centers between 2007 and 2015 more events were set up for "loyal" women. Such "female attitude" on customers'

events is very common among women with an upper-middle cultural capital (a high school diploma or a degree in humanities). It is the absence of earnings stability, as White (2009) writes, that attracts women to a place considered highly spectacular but with "culturally" affordable costs. Sector data reveal that women between 35 and 41 go to the mall 1.4 times a week, compared to young men under 25 (unemployed) and over 65 men (retired) who barely ever go. Women-oriented activities are varied: movies, shopping at the supermarket, food stops at the food court, but also a nice walk without any economic activity. The data also reveals that 14.8 per cent of women go to shopping malls but do not make any purchase.

We can say that Ulrich Beck's (1997) prophecy may to be true: the customer can be considered an unconscious political actor. Jacobsen and Dulsrud (2007) think about the consumer as the new hero and hope for an ethically improved capitalism. They write about the new role of the consumers in our post-modern society: *"It is democracy oriented to consumers, a pragmatic and cosmopolitan democracy where the sleepy giant of the sovereign citizen-consumer is becoming a counterweight to big transnational corporations. Hence, heavy burdens are put on the shoulders of the consumer as (s)he is bestowed the responsibility for a morally virtuous handling of technological change and the liberalization of world trade"* (Ibid., 470).

This form of attendance matches with people going to such places and buying fewer commodities, but increasingly enjoy a low-cost life experience where consumers have socialization practices cleverly expounded as an event. In this regard, the different management of the single shopping center is an effect of the logic of substitution of public participation. The event, programmed or not, has a limited duration and a specific purpose as a result of an organizational strategy. Elements such as the specificity and duration are becoming more and more characteristic of building public participation processes (Getz 2008; Hiller 2000), while collecting huge profits on time consumption.

Guy Debord (1998), in his *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle*, has identified new domain codes in the spectacular event. To Debord, the spectacular event is not only an instrument of consumer promotion of his/her spare time, but it seems to reveal the change of the very nature of spectacle: from widespread spectacle to integrated global entertainment, a form that also absorbs everyday life. Everyday life, then, becomes a global show where being a spectator has become an unpaid job and they contribute to an increase in real estate value (Crary 2014). Such capitalism compresses resting and primary sociality times which survive more and more as secondary and

ancillary. In this sense, spare time is increasingly used to develop new rules in lifestyles, and enhance the transition from the productive economy to the financial one. A financial negotiation between social actors differs from those traditionally engaged in banking even though, just as the latter, it takes place 24 hours a day 7 days a week. In such negotiation, it is time for the consumer to be consistently an object of trading among economic subjects in the mall.

In the exploitation of free time as a consumption event, it can be experienced the switch from the material to the symbolic economy. The transition to an economy that expels hard work involving the production of meaning -symbols, narratives, images- in the building of economic value. In other words, the shopping malls not only build up the socio-symbolic value of the event, but reset the traditional ties and rituals. All this creates a paradoxical sociality; in such spaces, more and more lonely individuals are concentrated, disciplined by discretionary control, made transparent by the space order. This happens because the action exercised by the space of the show makes all the *loisir* (spare time) actions adjustable and negotiable, thus creating a paradoxical participation.

The whole process of selecting and monitoring customers seems to be part of the *mise en scène* that is needed to transform a potential customer into a frequent buyer (Rojek 2000; Koolhaas 2016). It is the urge to show a public acceptance needed to govern the "desertification of the square". Therefore, the event as space *mise en scène* contributes to the re-writing the urban community's *habitus* (Bourdieu 1984) and lifestyles (Bauman 2007). Concerning this, It is safe to clarify that the local community is not exclusively composed of consumers. We have also dealers and workers. We have cases of professional workers who lost their jobs in the town area, following the opening of a mall, often re-inventing themselves in that place.

The relationship among lifestyle, place of consumption and other territorial spaces produced as a result of socio-economic objectives, reverses and undermines the nature and social relationships present in the economic context of reference. The reversal of commercial trading in entertainment is due to the heterotopic features that invest in the places where a large organized distribution (GDO) operates. No more an economic space -proceeding from the sale of goods-, but profits obtained by enhancing the time of consumer participation.

3. Research Project

I create a statistical scenario and after, I start some face to face interviews with consumers, retailers and shoppers. They are present in the shopping

center during my observation process. The interviews allow me to explore different perceptions of consumption space. Through content analyses of the online blog: www.mark-up.it and www.smeup.com. I able explore the perceptions of stakeholders about phenomena. Therefore, content analysis allows us to gain insight regarding complex forms of consumption place as entertainment. The interviews and the content analysis are tools of qualitative methods gave in-depth information about human behaviour.

With qualitative research, I provide a better understanding of the complex reality of given situations through open-ended questions and interaction with participants.

Whereas qualitative methods allow me to describe and explain relationships and individual experiences of event in a mall. Prior studies have generally utilised quantitative methods to describe the characteristics of food consumers and to predict complex connections with urban space. The decline in food consumption and the growth of shopping urban development have linked to the disposal of the brands of large distribution spaces organised in suburban areas and DO stores (Auchan, Carrefour) in the city center. The collected data were verified through some probe interviews with industry's expertise. They have confirmed the hypothesis of exclusive recreational use of malls.

In this sense, quantitative data about consumer form give me information about shopping centers are evolving due to the disruptive trends and how people buy. The data tells me, how malls and and retailers survive and thrive. Quantitative approaches previously used to survey consumer attitudes were limited to understand by their rigidity. I have used quantitative approaches in comparison works on urban mall place.

Particularly an indicator as Gross Leasable Area (GLA) allow me to compare different shopping centers. The GLA has proven to be a valid indicator in the description of the spatial phenomenon. The indicator represents the internal area of commercial space for the sale of goods and the exchange of services, the only economic object of interest for shopping center operators. It measures rentable gross areas, i.e. all commercial areas that produce lease income with the immediate possibility of transforming these values into a "financial variable". This makes the indicator methodologically "operational", enabling both a real-estate comparison and a comparison of different forms of commercial space. In the light of the different definitions, the GLA index makes it possible to distinguish between a neighbourhood and a quartier shopping center (GLA less than 5,000 square meters); Small Business Center (GLA 5,000 -19,999 square meters); medium size shopping mall (GLA 20,000 -39,999 square meters); large shopping center (40,000 - 79,999

square meters); extensive regional trade center (GLA over 80,000 square meters).

I also employ interviews to ask open-ended questions about their perceptions of the processes that drive these attitudes about entertainments, in a way that allowed for greater depth and a deeper understanding. Quantitative approaches previously used to survey American attitudes were limited by their rigidity. As such, we employ face to face interviews to ask open-ended questions about their perceptions of, in a way that allowed for greater depth and a deeper understanding of the processes that drive these attitudes. 59 face to face interviews conducted in three years. From August 2013 to October 2016, period marked by numerous musical events in the malls, I spent part of my PhD time with customers, retailers and shoppers. Interviewers were chosen after an observation period in two Italian regional malls.

4. Mall data: Statistical analysis of urban affair

An effect of valorization of the *espaces autres*, the growth of the number of shopping centres is accompanied by reduction in food consumption. In the data collection phase, it was observed that the contraction of food consumption in South Italy was anterior than the crisis narrative (2008-2011). This was accompanied by an increase in the medium-large commercial area in Campania (2006 -2013). Between 2005 and 2014, regional food consumption fell by over 8 percentage points. Consumption becomes a frugal fact with primary and fixed expenses. Between 2003 and 2013 the loss of purchasing power was: 67, 65%. Consumers have reduced the purchase of fish, beverages and fruit. The purchase of sweets (honey, jam, sugar: -4.1%) and meat (-2.6%) also dropped.

Foodstuffs are purchased (23.2%), rents are paid (14.7%), and expenses on luxuries (12%) are partially kept low. The phenomenon, as already written, anticipates the economic crisis. In Italy and Campania (the largest region of the South Italy) there was a first drop in sales between 2004 and 2005, from 495.87 (2004) to 461.99 (2005), with a loss of 33.888 sales units (-6,8%). This is the first drop after more than 10 years (1994-2004). From 2005 to 2011, the trend in consumption is fluctuating, however, the balance appears to be negative. We experience a + 15.48% in 2007 (522.5 units), - 9.18% in 2008 (513.32 units), -11.94% in 2009 (501.38 units), + 19.94% in 2010 (521.32 units), + 36.35% in 2011 (557.67 units), - 59, 67% in 2012 (498.00 units), - 63,64% in 2013 (490.00 units).

Food consumption is falling in 2012, but with a loss of 4 per cent, the phenomenon becomes dramatic in 2013, with sales figures that are the lowest for the last 16 years (from 1997 to 2013). The decline in food consumption and the growth of shopping urban development must be also linked to the disposal of brands of large distribution spaces organized in suburban areas and the acquisition of neighbourhood stores in the town centres.

Cross-reference and interviews confirm that there has been a shift in the logic of developing commercial space in experiential shopping space and that this may be a foundation flaw, namely the replacement of shopping malls in landscapes of industrial areas in crisis. We must say that in 1975 there was only one consumer space in Italy. The first Italian hypermarket opened in the Province of Milan, three years later another store opened in Naples. The two hypermarkets were given the common name of Euromercato and started the experimentation of the Italian shopping center. The economic actors involved in: Grandi Magazzini Standa (Italy) and Carrefour (France). In 1982 the same financial unit launched a third sales outlet in Assago (Milan). In 1984, Standa through the company "Iniziativa Meta" acquires the whole share capital of Carrefour.

Very quickly, hypermarkets became 11 and bills reached 11,000 billion lire. This until 2000 when the sales area of Gross Leasable Area (GLA) covers 80,790 square meters (Standa and Rinascente still control 17 of the 27 hypermarkets in Italy). The development of the existing shopping malls was started with restructuring the North-East shoe district and then spread all over Italy. It is noteworthy that in terms of spatial development in 1998 there were only 310 consumption areas in Italy, of which 218 (equal to 70%) in the Northeast, 54 were located in the Center (17%) and 38 were in the South (equal to 13%). In less than ten years, the commercial structures have multiplied, reaching 17,980 square meters. The GLA for every thousand inhabitants in the North is 21 square meters; 21,763 square meters in the Center with a GLA per thousand inhabitants (equal to 28 square meters). In the South the process was initially slower, in 2000 the square meters were still 23,952 with a GLA per thousand inhabitants of 59 square meters.

The increase in space is also due to an increase in the number of cinema in theatres Italy, because of the Law no. 28 of 2004 allows the construction of shopping centers to "increase" the area to support cinema structures. 222 new cinemas have been opened in 20 years. 81 cinema structures (44%) were used to upgrade or expand existing shopping center areas, and 140 new cinema facilities have been launched specifically to justify the opening of new shopping parks. In support of what was previously written, the opening of places close to the old cinemas, especially in South Italy.

They have fueled the common sense of the Shopping center an area dedicated to the cinematic spectacle. After promulgation of the law, the total surface area of GLA in Italy explodes, growing from 174 meters of GLA per thousand inhabitants. In 2003 it is 136 mq, 141 mq in 2005, to 174 square meters of GLA per thousand inhabitants in 2006. That year the urban space of the south was transformed into an a-cyclic and growing market. The largest surface investments were made in Sicily (+ 590,000 square meters) and in Campania (+ 390,000 square meters).

In 2007, The Campania region became the most urbanized region with 34 commercial spaces. Lombardy is the region with the most numerous shopping centers in Italy. They are amounting to 167, with a GLA extension of 2.9 million square meters.

It represents 4.4% of the national total, with a total GLA of 697 thousand square meters. Returning to shopping center in total Italy, in 2008, the square meters dedicated to large distribution, throughout, have become two million (there are 113 square meters of GLA, compared to 208 square meters per thousand inhabitants in the North). While GLA at the national level this index has assumed a value of 12.3 million square meters. Still, in 2009 the Northeastern area was the second macro-area for several shopping malls, but since 2010, the Southern area exceeds the Northeast, with an increase in overall GLA size (while maintaining a lower number of shopping malls). In 2014, the total sale area reached 14,469,605 square meters (malls in Italy became 969), of these (49 malls), 890,809 square meters, are in the Campania Region. In the Region alone there are between 47 and 49 large distribution areas, of which 28 with an area for food sale (grocery) larger than 2,500 square meters of GLA, of these 20 hypermarkets (with an extension of 2,500 to 5,000 square feet of GLA), and between 5 and 7 Shopping centers (extending over 8,000 square feet of GLA), all of which focus on the same commercial traffic area.

5. Italian mall as the valorization of *espaces autres*

The multiplication of consumption space is the very effect of the principle of space pluralism produced by the "liberalization" that has transformed commerce from a local issue into regional planning in Italy. I'm referring to Law n. 114 of March 31st, 1998 (first Bersani Decree Law). The law had transferred the administrative competence from the Ministry of Commerce to the City Council. The juridical expertise attributed to the municipalities on control and management of trade times and territorial planning of local commerce.

The legal measure - in the legislator's intentions - was aimed at territorial decentralization. It should have favoured a balanced distribution of the various forms of commerce (shop, street trading; supermarket) by regulating the times of economic activity of the territory according to economic utility. But immediately, commercial operators feel this rule to go against the principle of competition. The law is subject to immediate changes and legal integrations, with the request for greater flexibility in licensing transfers and improving existing business will be approved (Law No. 887 of November 29, 1982). In fact, it goes beyond the previous Trade Law (Law No. 426 of June 11, 1971), by sanctioning the primacy of competition on the principle of territorial utility insisting on the simplification of administrative action. This, in addition to eliminating the numerical contingent of businesses, transforms the issue into a fact of urban planning.

By virtue of the law n. 114, the commercial demand is planned in a "strongly" discretionary way with a negotiation between public and private actors. In the negotiating act the application of the principle of silence-assent generates numerous conflicts. In short time, territorial autonomy and public interest are sacrificed to the financial interests. In fact, the idea of a state planning based on a numerical contingency of small and medium-sized stores, it has been eliminated for the benefit of a town planning vision. It has sacrificed the most fragile sales patterns by emphasizing exclusively the artisanal activities in historic centers.

In this sense, the shopping malls in South Italian regions are immediately formed as renovation and requalification of former industrial development areas (Area di Sviluppo Industriale [ASI]) in advanced phases of delocalization. Administrative resolutions reveal that the presence of global retailers was favoured by the introduction of financial and accounting tools, transforming the commercial real estate investment into an advantageous deal through which divergent social actors interact with each other.

Always in our meetings, Marco⁵ described to me the shopping mall space as *espaces autres* in the suburban towns. He portrayed customers as consumers of time and events: *"They arrive in the afternoon and leave late in the evening. In a shopping center, they stop and look at the windows of clothing or sports stores, or go to fast food, after having been to a movie. They never go to the normal shops and in the corners with generic store areas"*. Marco's shop was located right in the corners; it was stuck in one of the most hidden, darkened and less attractive spots. This young man, to make himself known,

⁵ Marco age 26, former at the Shopping center *Campania*, interviewed September 15, 2015.

went to the restaurants, called the customers. He confessed to me: *"I went back to my storefront shaking my head"*. In a few weeks he realized that footfall did not mean sales. Marco then went on to explain to me the effects produced by commercial agreements with local retail about event plannings. He said: *"No one comes here, no one at all! I'm not talking merely about doing business, but mainly about selling! Basically, they all walk in the central area, sit at the tables, but never buy. Ironically, the overcrowded events hurt me too. When you see that chaos, or a full parking lot, you go shopping directly either in brand stores or somewhere else. It will make you laugh, but I have to say that too high a number of consumers has also been a deterrent to a small shopkeeper like me. When I decided to rent I was all excited. You know... I even went against my father to open the store! My father always fought malls: he stated that they were a plague for traditional commerce. I'll tell you, in hindsight, he was right! Meanwhile - with construction, supplies and staff - in 6 months I drained my severance from the family store, and I do not think that, after closing this, I will easily open up another store. During negotiations, management talked about footfall, attendance, user basins. I swear on my father that I did not understand anything. When they made me sign some sort of a potential turnover forecast, I accepted everything! I did not realize that potential turnover means that, deducted the expenses, rent, and all taxes, after 12 hours of work my profit wasn't guaranteed! The first 15 days I thought it was normal, they had to know me... then, talking to other shopkeepers, also in my same conditions, I understood. Events are advertising only for big traders in the place...this place is not for me. Outside the shopping center, where only food chains and international brands are located, the spots are dead!"*⁶.

6. Conclusion

Data about shopping centres' ubiquity in the South of Italy has numerous critical issues, including the absence of administrative positions and specialised offices to crunch statistical data about the communal and provincial dimensions. To confirm what was written so far about the southern regions, whose data collection and selection has been given to the Observatory for consumption in Campania (it.: Osservatorio sul consumo campano): even though statistical information is (historically/customarily) incomplete and a-cyclic, a massive increase of commercial cementification can be noticed.

⁶ Marco age 26, former at the Shopping center *Campania*, interviewed September 15, 2015.

It's not coincidental that the major commercial areas in the south of Italy are all located near major motorways. This effect of *espaces autres* in the peripheral cities have changed Gennaro's life. This is not the only case in Southern Italy. He had to close his big shop in the mall just 6 months after opening⁷. He's 25 and son of one of the most appreciated shopkeepers in Naples. He closed his shop because his revenue was low, while the rental price was getting ever higher. Retailers had assured him a high presence of consumers, but people didn't buy.

This is because the planning of these spaces represents the physical evolution of decentralizing industrial structures, originally favoured by private automotive mobility. Localization in de-industrialized areas responds to a principle of risk space that facilitates the entry of finance into the government of such spaces. So, risk space represents a form of government in the local space where financial mediation by international retailers intervenes in the synchronous management of territory and citizenship.

What it has been said until now is confirmed in some conversations with Bruno, a retailer who moved to Naples for an important retail business. The interview has been realized over time, during the acquisition of the rural area by the international mall retailer. He has repeatedly returned to Southern Italy (Campania Region) to talk to the local promoter about space remodelling. The promoter of commercial exploitation has been a municipal government -center-left party- near the metropolitan city of Naples, interested in transforming a former workers' quarter into a space of leisure and "movida". In ten years, Bruno has become an important businessman. He knows the urban valorization processes of the suburban malls very well. He said that is the result of: *"many administrative bodies that have become commercial promoters following the sector's liberalization. The valorization of urban areas has made it clear that the contraction of productive work instead of halting the proliferation of commercial space, has fuelled demand as an urban reconversion strategy to oppose to the most general industrial decommissioning phenomenon. Both as requalification of a part of it, and as an "escape route" in the economic governance of the city. The territorial action has frequently become an intensive exploitation of the territory to the detriment of the road system and general economic equilibrium. In them, the shopping center as co-presence of "hypermodernity" event and "backwardness" urban affair represents the development, rhetorically necessary for consumer emancipation*

⁷ Retail agreement holds out 12 months with prepayment.

*realized through the exploitation of localized international spaces through the intervention of private policies and finance*⁸.

The interviews reported above can clarify how the commercial space has now become a heterotopia, and how the consumption of life has become a remunerative tool for profitable real estate, but not for small businesses. The interpretation of the data is confirmed by the most recent sector literature on commercial space. It describes the use of time freed of work (traditionally a limited time to devote to consumption event) as a form of monetization of "capitalism of the unemployed". This monetization, following the suggestions of Cray (2014) and Davies (2016), could justify the multiplication of unprecedented consumerist rituals.

The participation rituals in entertainment feed a symbolic change in the perception of space and style of consumption. They -potentially- allow the management of the mall to control all the innovative practices of consumption, and to market the time not dedicated to work. The topographic description of the rituality of participation put in place in shopping centers in the main Italian towns could give useful indications on those strategies of monetary accumulation deriving from the "waste of time" and on its exchange. As an accumulative process. It is organizational and implemented by the *integrated* global show. This study could clarify more properly how the space of consumption is becoming a place of absorption of everyday life. The new question is also justified starting from the empirical material already collected. As can be seen from the interviews reported in the text, the capture of the lifetime is implemented through the production of formal and informal rituals. They are supplied by a commercial management that gives it a meaning (symbols, narrative, images) at the time of non-work and, to social narratives on the space of leisure. Therefore, the production of a topography of the native rituals found in shopping centers could shed a light on a phenomenon still little known and little investigated.

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POLITICAL ECONOMY OF DIGITALISATION AND (STATE) NEOLIBERALISM IN CHINA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO 'MADE IN CHINA 2025'

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Abstract: *The emergence of cyber-physical systems and digitalisation have but transformed the industrialisation process(es) as well as the global power politics. Currently, China is emerging as a leader in innovation with regard to technologies like the Internet of Things (IoT) related Industrial Revolution (4.0) and is in a transitional period of integrating it into its manufacturing sector. It is estimated to have the largest growth rate in terms of spending on research and development for the new 'Technological Revolution' and is only behind the leading power USA. Recently, with the institutionalisation of 'Made in China 2025' strategy, China intends to incorporate the digitalisation process that could help achieve its goal to become a world superpower in manufacturing.*

Key-words: *Digitalisation, China, Political Economy, 'Made in China 2025', State Neoliberalism, Technology*

1. Introduction

Once, the French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) during the peak of military conquests to establish an empire believed that China is a sleeping giant with immense potential to control the world. He said, "Let China sleep, for when she wakes she will shake the world" (Fish 2016). China has 'woken up' as a power capable of 'shaking' the world, and does not seem to be stopped or ignored by any country in the world. This was possible due to its policies in the post-Mao period that indisputably laid the foundations for reformation of the Chinese economy. Recently, the Chinese government have brought up many policies in entailing the integration of digital technologies into its industrialisation process, with positive as well as negative impact(s) on other nations. Besides, an increased interconnectedness and the emergence of the Fourth Industrial Revolution could be used to increase China's advantage and competitiveness (Schumpeter 1947). This is pertinently important for the

country, which many consider being an export-led economy and is a major factor for the nation to become a world leader in the coming decades. Interestingly, innovation and industrialisation in China through the cyberspace will elevate it to the status of a hegemon, which according to some scholars would lead to an ancient Chinese imperialist 'tribute system' (朝贡体制: *chaogong tizhi*) in the world (Zhang 2013). The particular research questions dealt by the paper are

- 1) How has (state) neoliberalistic initiatives of the Chinese State transformed the Chinese economy in the post-independence period?
- 2) How has China rewritten the conventional idea and conception of (Western) neoliberalism?
- 3) In what ways have the China become a frontline economy undertaking a national-level digitalisation drive?
- 4) How is the 'Made in China 2025' strategy positioned to disrupt/begin a technological surge and the upcoming challenges to Chinese economy?

The paper analyses the emergence of the Internet of Things (IoT) in China, in relation to the recent 'Made in China 2025' strategy. Interestingly, while unlike the conventional forms of neoliberal development, the paper argues that China has developed its own form of neoliberalism, something with 'Chinese characteristics' integrated into it. The Chinese economy in the post-independence period and the digital foundations are being analysed. The capital-wealth accumulation, particularly in the aftermath of (the '90s) policies and strategies are being entailed within the theoretical framework of (state) neoliberalism in China. The paper also analyses the recent 'Made in China 2025' strategy, its impact and implications, the challenges and initiatives and (counter)measures undertaken to tackle them.

2. China's Economic Rise: An Overview

The rise of China was an addendum to its economic might, the 'controlled liberalization' activities, as well as investments in internet infrastructure and related policies. This enabled an increase in foreign investment, domestic demand and increased market access and interconnectivity between various other sectors. Concomitantly, Chinese activities paved way for much more integration of the world economy, a 'globalized global commons' that reached its peak at the beginning of the 21st century. This was more globally accepted when China hosted the 2008 Summer Olympics, which was supplemented by its activities in the digital sphere (Shambaugh 2016). From 1978 until the beginning of 2008, the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of the country

increased from 149.5 billion USD to 4.6 trillion USD. The exports provided its highest contribution in 2005-07 when it was nearly one-fourth of the total GDP of China. In '78, China accounted for only 1.74 per cent of the total global GDP it increased to 7.26 per cent in 2007. Even just before the calamity of Global Financial Crisis (GFC) in 2008, China became the third largest economy in terms of total GDP. It became an economic powerhouse, one which even today enables China to compete and maintain its economic prosperity as well as supremacy, which has entailed it to further the leadership position in different parts of the world. The country had the second highest GDP growth in the preceding seven years before the GFC in 2008 averaging 1,170.41 billion USD annually. This laid the foundation to further strengthening and asserting itself economically as well as politically in the time to come (The World Bank Group 2018b). Currently, it is the largest exporter of goods, produces more than half of steel production, consumes the largest amount of energy and has the largest forex reserves in the world. Interestingly, the country has produced the highest number of millionaires and also the highest number in terms of citizens lifted out of poverty over the past few decades.

2.1. (State) Neoliberalism in China

There have been various arguments on the development miracle in China and the influence of neoliberal policies. Interestingly many scholars have argued that neoliberalism does not exist in China, at least based on the traditional notion of the term (as Thatcherism and Reaganism). But many others argue that China has re-invented a neoliberal in its own, at least parts of it based on the requirements and needs calling it State Neoliberalism, State Capitalism and the like (Wu 2010, 619-631; So and Chu 2012). At the beginning of the 21st century Aihwa Ong, a Professor of Anthropology from the University of California based in Berkeley (USA) wrote a book titled *Neoliberalism as Exception* (2006). In what is considered as a rare seminal work that redefined neoliberalism in the 21st century, she unwaveringly argued how post-Mao China was successful in imbibing 'necessary parts' of the neo-classical model of economic growth that is often considered the dominion of Western and democratic countries. Ong argues that the "state strategies- informed by neoliberal logic-that produce condition for [the] possibility for proliferating... cross-border networks" that involve China, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and Chinese communities in South-East Asia that have led to a kind of regional configuration. She even argues that China "create the political spaces and conditions of variegated sovereignty aligned on the axis of trade, industrialisation and knowledge exchange." According to her, this challenges

the inherently assumed notion that “economic and political forms of integration develop in different spheres” (Ong 2006, 98).

The idea of Asian and particularly Chinese form of neoliberalism led to the conceptualisation of hybrid forms of neoliberalism, one which focused on understanding the different facets of State systems (Lopes 2017). China became a hub for low-cost manufacturing by prominent companies and brands. The industrial companies in China were to be given preference in gaining foreign investment, with technology transfer made more or less mandatory. Unlike the earlier forms of neoliberal conceptualisation where the Smithian ‘Invisible Hand’ helped the market to self-correct itself, the Chinese State became the ‘Visible Hand’ to correct the market and to retain the activities that would lead the economy into development path. Concomitantly, in the 21st century, China overtook every country around the world in terms of GDP per capita and became the second largest in terms of total GDP, just behind the US.

2.1.1. The Beginning: Phase One

The rise of modern China began in the mid-latter half of the 20th century, particularly in the late ‘70s. It was initiated by the then Head of State and Communist Party of China (CPC), Deng Xiaoping through what became known as “reform and opening” (改革开放: *gaige kaifang*) through a string of incremental liberalisation strategies and policies. Before that China was economically backwards and lacked strong fiscal and monetary foundations to uplift its population from rampant poverty that persisted in the society (Bertram 1996). The problems persisted in the inherent structural deficiencies of China's large state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and industries. The state-owned industries were struggling to provide with viable growth, while funds are being grappled for continuous re-capitalisation. While countries like Germany restructured and reformed the industries, particularly in the aftermath of reunification there was a lot of financial wherewithal available to Germany which is lacking in the case of China. During this period, the Chinese Government has provided a “green light” for the sale of state-owned enterprises in the control of local governments, some of which have been converted into share-holding corporations (Gang 1996).

2.1.2. The New Century: Phase Two

On December 11, 2001, in terms of changing perception on China's economic prowess, it joins the WTO, 15 years after it applied for membership under the then General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) in 1986 (WTO 2018). Interestingly, unlike the emergence and institutionalisation of the

Washington Consensus; in the 1980s' China followed an economic model known as "China model," which later came to be known as the Beijing Consensus (originally coined by Joshua Cooper Ramo in 2004) (Shambaugh 2016, 414). During a session of the Council of Sino-Japanese Non-Governmental Persons, Deng Xiaoping described the "China model" of economic development as "building socialism with Chinese characteristics" (China Internet Information Center 1984). Over the years, the Washington Consensus failed in Asia, South America and African continents, the "China model" enabled China to grow at high rates, revitalising the Chinese industrial sector and 'igniting the fire' to the Chinese economy to later outgrow many of the economic superpowers (Rommann 2013). The hallmark tag of Washington consensus; namely policies of deregulation, privatization as well as trade liberalization failed in Asian and South American countries, although it created more trade surpluses for companies and multinational corporations based in US and European countries (Rodrik 2003). In 2008, Chinese economy was inherently hurt due to the Global Financial Crisis (GFC) with huge impact on its markets, financial institutions, real estate and spillover impact over other sectors as well. The foreign direct investment (FDI) decreased nearly 50 billion USD with a decrease of 42 per cent in 2009 (Li, Willett & Zhang 2012).

2.1.3. Post-Global Financial Crisis: Phase Three

In the post-2008 crisis, Chinese society has seen more development activities than any other major economies. In the aftermath of the crisis, the Chinese economy rejuvenated to still stay ahead of major economies of its time in terms of growth rate. Interestingly, estimates by International Monetary Fund (IMF) have also indicated that the Chinese economy will leap over the US economy within the next few decades to become the largest economy in the world. Besides the country is home to the largest investment of foreign capital for sometime averaging nearly 100 billion USD on an annual basis. China became known as the "world's workshop" within a small time-frame and has eclipsed all countries in terms of quantity of goods produced and exported on an annual basis. A major indicator of its economic might is its exports to the rest of the globe. In last decade, the Chinese exports amounted to 24.39 per cent of its total GDP (but less than the previous decadal average of 26.57 per cent) thereby enabling it to create the largest forex reserves in the world (Kohlmann 2018; The World Bank Group 2018a).

From the year 2008 until 2017, the GDP of the country increased three-fold from 4.6 trillion USD to 12.24 trillion USD, accounting for 14.9 per cent of the global GDP (Country Economy 2018; Knoema 2018). In 2014, the

economy leapt ahead of the US, to become the largest economy in terms of GDP in PPP (purchasing power parity) terms. In 2017, the total GDP of the country reached 12.24 trillion USD and accounted for 19.74 per cent of the global growth as well (Trading Economics 2018). In terms of economic wherewithal of companies-based in China, in the post-Crisis period huge strides have been made by Chinese companies within the last decade. Zucchi (2018) has estimated that of the largest global initial public offerings (IPOs) so far, the top three companies are based in China and accounts for 36 per cent of the IPOs of total top ten multinational companies. The three companies Alibaba Group Holding Ltd., Agricultural Bank of China Ltd. and Industrial and Commercial Bank of China with 25 billion USD, 22.1 billion USD and 21.9 billion USD respectively. Alibaba reportedly broke into the top ten global companies in terms of share value, immediately after it broke the record (at 25 billion USD) for the largest Initial Public Offering (IPO) by a company in the history of share market. Thus, a major contributor towards this bewildering rise of China's economic wherewithal can be attributed to the digitalisation initiatives by the State in the lines of (state) neoliberalistic policies (Zucchi 2018). Besides, with the largest number of internet users in the world (731 million netizens) and one of the highest increases in online transaction value (e-commerce) among large economies (19.6 per cent per annum) China controls nearly 39 per cent of global online retail market (Nian 2017). But later, China initiated a huge nationalistic drive that focuses on a 'Technological Revolution' to help it become a 'tech superpower'. Currently, it is even standing toe to toe with Silicon Valley in terms of research, innovation and creativity, mainly because of the institutionalisation of strategies, initiatives and policies for integration of digitalisation within the country

2.2. Digitalisation in China

At the beginning of the 21st century, the integration of digital technologies in industries enabled greater growth in China, which often made the economy to be compared to that of growth of major economic superpowers of each era, the 19th century Germany and the 20th century Japan. Fareed Zakaria in his article in *Foreign Affairs* titled *The Future of American Power* (2008) was quoted saying that "manufacturing has... been... shifting to the developing world and turning the United States into a service economy" (Zakaria 2008). The void left by the US in relation to manufacturing was filled by China in the 21st century. This led to the rise of China as an 'Entrepreneurial Empire' capable of leaping over the US in the future. China overturned century-old predictions of unilateral domination by the US and forced all the powers to consider China as a major part of the system (James 2005).

Since the middle of the 1990s, the Chinese government started promoting internet for providing with an integrated approach to economic growth as well as e-governance (Qiang 2003). Besides providing more control over the population, the internet revolution provided more economic wherewithal to the administration as well as the population. Those later years saw the emergence and development of four major internet-cum-tech companies Tencent (1998), JD.com (1998), Alibaba (1999) and Baidu (2000); all of whom as of May 2018 account for a combined 19.49 per cent of the total global market value (Tencent 2018; JD.COM 2018; Alibaba Group 2018; Baidu 2018; Molla 2018). This foundation later on enabled in supplementing the economic revolution in the country and the emergence of the middle class in urban China. Interestingly, what was laid by the government for internet revolution in the country, also helped accelerate the Internet of Things and digitalisation of the industry as China turned into a hub of innovation. In 2004, the National People's Congress (NPC) in China decided to pursue modernisation of the country but with emphasis on "balanced, human-centred, and environmentally friendly" approach. An increased emphasis on internet and e-governance were given by the government (Jiang 2004).

2.2.1. The Emergence of the Internet of Things (IoT)

According to Marr (2017), the manner in which IoT has emerged in the industrial sector and among businesses will transform the economy, especially by the integration and institutionalisation of the Internet of Things (IoT). This is because transactions, production and commodification of objects take place at a faster and more efficient manner, and will be the features of a modern-day industries. Most importantly, entrepreneurs, manufacturers and industrialists will be able to gather more, precise information about demands on a real-time basis directly from the consumers (Marr 2017; Schumpeter 1947). Yarmoluk and Truempi (2018) have explained that the digitalisation of the industrial sector, also called the Industrial Internet of Things (IIoT) is a segment of IoT. To them being "the Fourth Industrial Revolution or Industry 4.0 or IIoT is the digitalisation of industrial assets and processes." It connects the owner/ chief executive officer/ manager with the machines, workers, products, services, locations/sites vendors as well as partners/ stakeholders.

In 1999, Kevin Ashton, a technology pioneer, innovator and consumer expert coined the phrase "the Internet of Things" during his presentation to his company Procter and Gamble (P&G) (Gabbai 2015; Lueth 2014). Ashton who was working in the supply chain optimization section was keen on commercialising the RFID (Radio-frequency identification) technology and

titled his presentation “The Internet of Things.” A decade later Ashton wrote an article titled “That 'Internet of Things' Thing” in the *RFID Journal*, where he stated that:

If we had computers that knew everything... [they could] track and count everything... [these] computers with their own means of gathering information... can see, hear and smell the world for themselves, in all its random glory (Ashton 2009).

Later a number of definitions and conceptualizations on what Internet of Things (abbreviated as IoT) came through various literature. Chui, Löffler and Roberts (2010) defined IoT as “the physical world itself [in itself] becoming a type of information system.” Here the objects and the environment are connected to the Internet and provide large volumes of data (Big Data!) and can communicate back and forth and act as a tool with the user. According to Narang Kishor of *Narnix Technolabs*, “The IoT... is... about connecting everything that exists with everything else... [It] is a neural network of globally aware, intelligent and heterogeneous devices connected with each other in multiple ways” (TeamEfy 2017).

Naseer (2017) explains that by 2020 the industries that will have IoT integrated into them are manufacturing, energy & utilities, agriculture, healthcare, automobiles and many more. Anil (2017) stated that India along with China will be leading in the coming future of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. Recently, Buia (2018) have ascertained that data and digitalisation have provided “value-creation choices” in diverse industries like mining, pharmaceuticals and energy, while Mori, Saleh, Sellschop & Hoey (2018) argues that the new digital technologies have already being used to increase control and optimization in the metals industry. This will influence the future setting up of production units, further investment and designing of products and increase revenue as well. This will also transform the manner in which manufacturing is done and probably reduce wastage of resources, goods and costs of production in the economy, in addition to providing with increased innovation, competitiveness and profitability in exports.

Custeau (2018a) underlines that this digital transformation in the industries will increase production efficiency by 25 per cent, reduce the cost of construction and expansion by 30 per cent, increasing processing efficiency by 15 per cent and halt the decline in production by seven per cent. The IoT will transform the industries themselves, especially for manufacturing based on the demand cycle of the economy that which provides information on a real-time basis. A transformation of the economy into a digital economy that integrates manufacturing could tap and exploit the domestic demand at the

fullest length. While Jankowski (2016) stated the emerging revolution that 5G technology could have on digitalisation, Custeau (2018b) emphasizes that the emergence and use of “sensing technology, machine learning, big data and predictive analytics... are allowing companies to shift to a new, IoT-enabled proactive maintenance solution.” Currently, with the emergence of ‘Industrial Revolution 4.0’ manufacturing is undergoing a digital revolution, particularly dependent and invariably driven by internet, artificial intelligence (AI), (big) data, computing capabilities and more importantly automation (ENISA 2017).

2.2.2. Policy Landscape

The Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (MIIT), the ministry in charge of “administration of China’s industrial branches and information industry.” The integration of digitisation and industries was primarily the responsibility given to this ministry (The State Council People’s Republic of China 2018; The State Council People’s Republic of China 2014). Currently, the prominent economic and industrial policies with particular focus to digitalisation are the ‘Made in China 2025’, National Medium- and Long-Term Science and Technology Development Plan Outline (2006-2020) (MLP), the State Council Decision on Accelerating and Cultivating the Development of Strategic Emerging Industries (SEI Decision), Notice on Issuing 13th Five-year Strategic Emerging Industries Development Plan, 12th Five-year National Strategic Emerging Industries Development Plan (12th Five-year SEI Plan), Innovation-Driven Development Strategy (IDDS) 2016, Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP’s) 2013 Third Plenum Decision, IDAR Strategy i.e., ‘Introducing’ (引进: *yinjin*), ‘Digesting’ (消化: *xiaohua*), ‘Absorbing’ (吸收: *xishou*), and ‘Reinnovating’ (在创新: *zai chuangxin*), the National Informatization Development Strategy (2006-2020) that comprises of National Integrated Circuit Industry Development Outline, the Internet Plus Plan and the “Broadband China” strategy (USTR 2017; MIIT 2015; Permanent Mission of the People’s Republic of China to the UN 2018). The rejuvenation of China was primarily dependent on its industrial policies and related legislation and strategies. Though there are many industrial policies that have contributed towards China emergence and rejuvenation at the global level, the Chinese State has projected the ‘Made in China 2025’ as the frontline policy for entailing China a ‘world power status’ in the ‘Age of Digitalisation’.

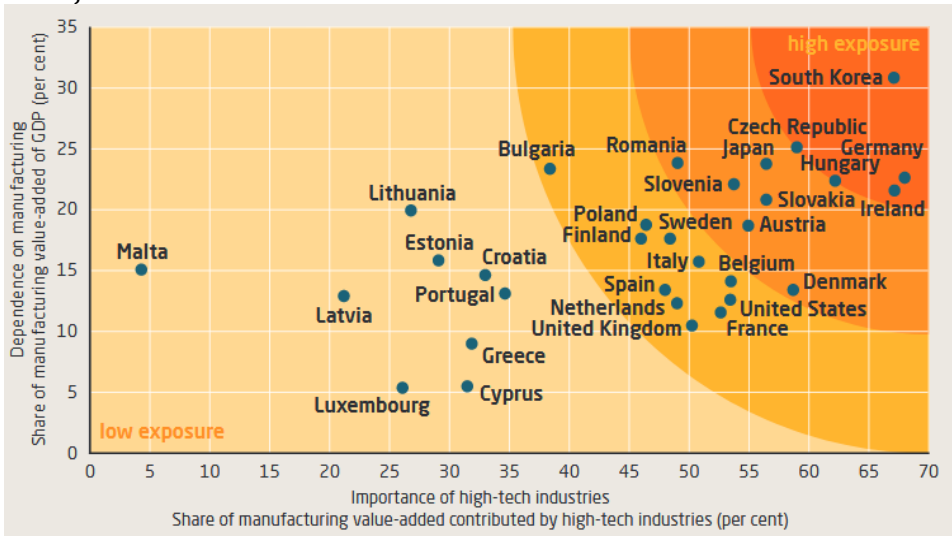
3. 'Made in China 2025': A Case Study

The Made in China 2025 is one of the landmark strategic plans in the history of modern Chinese State since that of Deng Xiaoping's "reform and opening-up" in the '70s. It was brought with the intention of enabling China's rise into a world power and to elevate it to the superpower status, and to transform the domestic and global industrial sector. Though first official discussion on 'Made in China 2025' (中国制造2025: *zhongguo zhizao* 2025) took place at the national level in 2011, it was only adopted two years later in 2013. It was drafted by the MIIT with inputs from experts, policymakers and other stakeholders from the China Academy of Engineering as well as various parts of the country and abroad (Kennedy 2015). On May 8, 2015, the State Council of People's Republic of China issued a Notice of the State Council on Printing and Distributing "Made in China 2025" directing all governmental institutions, organisations and agencies to implement the Made in China 2025. On May 19, the State Council issued the Made in China 2025 national plan that emphasised on "building Chinese manufacturing sector to become a leader in world's manufacturing industry" (把我国建设成为引领世界制造业发展的制造强国: *ba woguo jianshe chengwei yinling shijie zhizao ye fazhan de zhizao qiangguo*). It stated the need for China to focus on economic restructuring, upgrading overall national strength, safeguarding national security, and the goal of becoming a world power in the coming three decades i.e., 2025, 2035 and 2049 respectively. A major area of focus of this "reindustrialisation strategy" would be "intelligent manufacturing." It specifically entails on intelligent equipment and smart factories that are particularly dependent on information systems, exchange and coordination. China intends to transform the existing methods of manufacturing and is looking at integrating innovative technological aspects. These include network crowdsourcing, collaborative design, large-scale personalized customization, precise supply-chain management, full lifecycle management, transformative e-commerce and the like. This could reshape the existing domestic, regional and Global Industrial Value Chains (GIVC) (MIIT 2015).

According to the policy-makers in China, the emergence of technological and scientific transformations around the globe have a huge impact on every country. Thus for China for elevating its status as a world power through 'Technological Revolution', conventional policies and strategies wouldn't suffice. The emergence of 3-D printing, mobile internet, cloud computing, big data, intelligent manufacturing is but leading the transformation of manufacturing methods. Besides, network crowdsourcing, collaborative design, large-scale personalized customization, precise supply chain

management, full lifecycle management, e-commerce and the like are re-shaping the industrial value-chain systems. There are also new areas of manufacturing like smart terminal products such as wearable smart products, smart home appliances and smart cars (Ibid.). Figure 1 shows the estimated ‘innovative disruptability’ of China’s ‘Made in China 2025’ in major industrial countries.

Figure 1: Estimated ‘Innovative Disruptability’ of China’s ‘Made in China 2025’ in major industrial countries



Source: Wübbeke et al. 2016.

Wübbeke et al. (2016) in the report titled *MADE IN CHINA 2025: The making of a high-tech superpower and consequences for industrial countries* argues that this strategy was borrowed from the German concept of ‘Industry 4.0’ as well as the ‘Industrial Internet’ of USA. This focuses on re-industrialisation, re-modernisation and the upgrading Chinese industries in lines with the emerging Fourth Industrial Revolution and IoT. It inherently requires technology transfer from foreign investors, especially through joint ventures, transfer of the patent, skill training and indigenous technology development as well. This initiative by the Chinese State “targets” all high-tech industries and strategic technologies from companies of all major economies. China has also institutionalised funds at the national level, namely the Advanced Manufacturing Fund (3.13 billion USD) and the National Integrated Circuit Fund (22 billion USD) (Wübbeke et al. 2016, 6-7).

3.1. Challenges

A major challenge for China has been the emergence of economic nationalist policies by its major trading partners like the US. The increasingly protectionist policies will hinder the chances of China to elevate its status to a world superpower in manufacturing. This coupled with competitiveness of companies and labourers based in India and South Asian nations will provide huge competition and drastically affect the surplus, in terms of the balance of trade as well as economic wherewithal. Secondly, the emergence of industrial robots and other related technologies is eventually expected to displace the existing working-cum-industrial population. With the comparative advantage of (current) Chinese labour wages (to those in developed countries), the risk-averse nature of the Chinese companies (on upgrading existing infrastructure) and the huge gap in capital requirement for further investment there won't be much "hyped" job loss in the private sector companies based in China. The labour-intensive industries in the private sector are not expected to transform themselves in a few years unless there is a huge flow of capital investment and in companies with joint ventures. But interestingly, the prominent companies in China with international clientele like Tencent, Alibaba, Baidu, Huawei as well as foreign companies with a manufacturing base in China are expected to pour in huge investments on automation and digitalisation. This coupled with the changing production patterns in Chinese State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) will expectedly displace industrial workers in China. This is expected to have a huge impact on the economy, since data and reports show China having very low labour productivity in comparison to USA, Germany, Japan and Malaysia in the last decade (Schuman 2017; McKinsey Global Institute 2016; Wübbecke, Meissner, Zenglein, Ives & Conrad 2016, 15). Based on the reports of last three years, the labour force participation rate in China has averaged around 69.34 per cent, while other countries like Malaysia (64.38 per cent), USA (62.02 per cent), Germany (60.42 per cent) and Japan (60.22 per cent) are relatively lower than China. Though it can be argued that these countries have very less population with respect to China, the huge difference with India (53.89 per cent) reveals the huge implications of large-scale displacement of industrial workers due to nation-wide automation and digitalisation; as well as the further issues that could cause or would cause have on the socio-economic and political stability of China (The World Bank Group 2018c).

3.2. Initiatives and (counter) measures

China has already begun taking (counter) measures and initiatives for dealing or circumventing the hindrances to its elevation to a world power. This

relates to initiatives to employability of Chinese workers in the future, and to prevent and/ reduce competition from other State actors. One, through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) as well as increased land acquisitions and constructions in foreign nations, it have so far given priority to the Chinese labour force. This can reduce issues and discontent of unemployability in China while providing greater control over the foreign projects in which China has largely invested or has loans for. Besides, this will increase regional integration and connectivity (reminiscent of the 'Marshall Plan' of the US), thus entailing an increased economic prosperity, inter-cum-intra connectivity for China. This could also help reduce the impact of economic nationalist policies that are increasingly adopted by countries like USA. China have provided for transfer of core technologies, increased preferences for joint ventures (JVs) and increased State funding for research and development (R&D) as well as innovation. Secondly, China has increased the inclusion of surveillance technologies in its workers. These can provide an increased awareness and control over the mind of the worker, helping companies to determine the best action and remedy for any kind of potential discontent or emotional turmoil. It have also increased the investment in the education, industry and high-tech skill development to help skill-up or provide new technical and non-technical skills to the workers and citizens. This will help increase employability and diversify options for Chinese workers in the domestic as well as foreign markets, reduce the instant job loss for conventional workers being able to transfer to new jobs as well as reduce future unemployment rates for the younger generation as well. This will also help the country increase foreign remittances as well. But still, there are emerging complexities and challenges in the international stage that are linked with the political economy of power and politics (MIIT 2015; China Daily 2016; Wübbeke, Meissner, Zenglein, Ives and Conrad 2016).

4. Methodology

This study relies on content analysis, historiographic and qualitative approaches of various sources. The sources content analyses and historiographic approach include documents, reports and other related literature from international and national organisations, agencies and groups. For the latter (qualitative) approach is based on the case study of 'Made in China 2025', and on narratives of various stakeholders as well.

5. Conclusion

Nearly two hundred years after Napoleon's remark on the power and capability of China, every nation perceives China as a (giant) power capable of displacing any (poles of) 'power' and even determining the balance of power of the world. For China this has been possible due to the pursuance of (state) neoliberalistic initiatives by the Chinese state. The activities it undertook to strengthen the socio-economic and political structures (climate) transformed the nation to lay the foundations of the country. The policies and strategies that was developed in the late '70 brought in a new drive for rejuvenating market and wealth generation within the country. The largely dedicated economic reconstruction and manoeuvring based on '(In)visible Hand', especially (re)industrialisation by increasing foreign technology transfer, joint ventures and the increased foreign direct investment (FDI) turned the strides in the history of modern China.

Interestingly, development have been (and still sometimes have been) associated with neoliberalistic policies undertaken by States. This narrative has been one that is considered a mainstream political and economic path to elevate development and wealth generation in a country. The 'China model' has and still is re-writing the mainstream narrative of neoliberalist economics, one which could be compared to the origins of post-behavioural revolution at the beginning of the 20th century. It is different from the conventional understanding of neoliberalism and the concepts that emphasised and adhered to Smithian and Ricardian arguments on complete exclusion of State from controlling and manipulating market. The narrative emphasises on free market, innovation devoid of State intervention and the 'Invisible Hand' that leads to prosperity, increased wealth generation and standard of living. But as scholars like Ong had argued about China, the State controls the market agents, though providing leeway to some extent and for some parameters. This led to the rise of the new form(s) of neoliberalism in Asia, that started emerging and became perceived to be far better in terms of economic development, inequality, income distribution and standard of living of the Global North.

Interestingly, in the 21st century especially after the post-2008 period, China redesigned its industrialisation process(es) and activities. This was particularly because of the emergence of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) or Industry 4.0 globally. The cyber-physical systems and Internet of Things (IoT) have but transformed the industrialisation process(es) across the major economies in the world, with China being in its forefront. Currently, China has emerged as the leader in innovation with regard to IoT and is in a transitional period of integrating it into its manufacturing sector. It has

emerged as a world leader in innovation in IoT surpassing global leaders like Germany, USA and other European nations.

China has come up with the 'Made in China 2025' strategy that intends to incorporate the digitalisation process, and help rejuvenate as well as upgrade the industrial sector in China, help reverse the current decline of its exports. The Chinese State leaders have openly proclaimed the goal of becoming a superpower in manufacturing, with major emphasis on 'Made in China 2025'. Various reports, international organisations as well as scholars have concurred on this argument becoming a reality in the next few decades. Even the trade war between China and US is a 'technology war' rather than just a 'trade war', one which will change the future hegemonic polarity of international politics. A major bottleneck will be the increase in wages and unrest among the working population. Though labour costs as a whole are expected to be mostly stable over the next few years, the expected wage rise will have huge implications for the export-oriented economy. The increasing nature of economic nationalist tendencies of various countries like the US and competencies of India and South Asian nations will be all challenges to China. Besides, the increasing trend of Chinese companies to displace or replace the human workers with robots and digital technologies even though could provide a comparative advantage in terms of cost of production and man hours will probably increase worker unrest and protests in a much larger scale.

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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN STYLES OF LOVING: WHO ARE MORE ROMANTIC IN RELATIONSHIPS IN INDIAN SCENARIO?

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Abstract: *Love is an all-inclusive wonder. Everybody in life encounters love but their attitudes and encounters of love varies profoundly. This investigation concentrated on sex contrasts in approaches towards love, and associations between relationship age and the diverse love attitudes (Best Friends, Unselfish, Logical, Game Playing, Romantic and Possessive) in Indian scenario inside the setting of evaluating 'Styles of Loving' utilizing an instrument adapted from Lasswell and Lobsenz (1980). Using a sample of eighty heterosexual graduate and post-graduate students, we analyzed the usefulness of the measures of fundamental love styles to check sex contrasts. A total number of eighty heterosexual students participated in this examination at the L.N.I.P.E. campus and the surrounding colleges in Gwalior city completed Lasswell and Lobsenz (1980) the "Love Scale Questionnaire" a 50-item love attitudes scale as part of study. A total number of 80 young adults (40 males (mean age: 21.98±2.29 years, range 18–26 years, mean relationship age: 13.58±5.79 months, range 5–28 months) and 40 females (mean age: 19.88±1.14 years, range 18–22 years, mean relationship age: 14.48±5.72 months, range 4–26 months) at present in a relationship were enrolled by word-of-mouth welcoming to take an interest in this examination and filled the 50-item "Love Scale Questionnaire" (LSQ). The love scale was intended to quantify six love styles proposed by Lasswell and Lobsenz: Best Friends, Unselfish, Logical, Game Playing, Romantic and Possessive. Couples were significantly similar in all love styles except Romantic attitude. Two-sample t-test for unrelated groups of the item responses showed that females varied significantly from males on Romantic love attitudes. Males had a tendency to be more Unselfish, Logical and Possessive in their love attitudes. Females were more in their Best Friends, Game Playing and Romantic love attitudes. These outcomes recommended solid sex contrasts in Styles of Loving attitudes. This examination likewise tries to clarify romantic love by*

researching the effect a range of factor have on it; particularly the investigation investigates how relationship age influence the romantic love. Significant relationships were also found between Romantic love attitudes and Relationship age. Results were sufficiently promising to recommend that a significant gender difference in the romantic category and significant relationships between relationship age and romantic loving styles. Future research should focus on expanding to include various populations other than heterosexual unmarried individuals.

Key-words: *Love Styles, Romantic Relationships, Relationship Length, Young Adults, Gender*

1. Introduction

Artists, writers, and rationalists have since a long time ago perceived the centrality of connections to human presence. Love might be a mind-boggling feeling; it is never a solitary inclination, moral responsibility, a private unique battle, an arrangement, a stop sign to mental request (Levine 2005). Love is moreover an idea that can be valued by an interdisciplinary scholarly network, including mental, physiological, and socio-cultural, hypothetical points of view. The idea and meaning of affection may fluctuate diversely; more research on widespread and culture-particular relationship characteristics is justified. Love has been regularly characterized as an enthusiastic and energetic experience between two people (Berscheid 1974). The nearness of affection is a basic component of a fruitful relationship. Love and fascination have all the earmarks of being widespread feelings. All through hundreds of years, the nature of human love has involved hypothesis for researchers from an assortment of controls. Romantic love is a mental express that includes outrageous rapture and sentiments of enthusiasm and closeness for another person (Gibson 2015). Love has been distinguished by relationship researchers from numerous controls as a noteworthy power in the advancement of romantic connections (Surra et al. 2006). Lovers can frequently be indefinable, yet in being along these lines, they reflect the marvel of adoration itself.

The investigation of love has a long history, beginning quite a few years back. The idea of love has been examined all through history. For example, contemporary personality and social psychologists have made essential advances to understanding the idea of close relationships and connection styles (Furnham and Heaven 1999). Among the diverse typologies of adoration, One of the more notable social hypotheses is that of Lee (Lee 1976,

1977), who has suggested that affection is anything but a solitary thing by any means, yet rather, an element waiting to be comprehended as far as individuals' individual 'styles' of loving. As per Lee, there are six such styles: Eros (a romantic and energetic love), Ludus (game playing love), Storge (a slow developing and friendship-based love), Pragma (a viable sort of adoration), Mania (possessive kind of love), and Agape (a selfless type of love). The triangular theory of love (Sternberg 1986) holds that love can be comprehended as far as three segments that together can be seen as framing the vertices of a triangle. The three segments of love in the triangular theory are closeness, enthusiasm and responsibility. Every part shows an alternate part of love. These three parts have showed up in different speculations of love, and in addition, seem to compare fairly well to individuals' understood theories of love (Aron and Westby 1996). In any case, while various investigations have been led into the mental builds related with measures of the six loving styles (Heaven et al. 2004; Wan, Luk and Lai 2000; Woll 1989). Relationship age refer to the unmistakable circumstances people prefer to engage in love, in vast part controlled by specific intellectual contents that guide how they carry on and what they think and feel during loving connection. Research has demonstrated similitude to be a necessary piece of a relationship that adds to love and attraction. There are a large number of different elements that add to love and attraction other than physical attraction, including physiology and similitude. A case of the organic part of attraction is clear when the body is in a high condition of physiological excitement, initiating the view of others as being more appealing and sexually desirable (Meston and Frolich 2003; Allen, Kenrick and Linder 1989). Numerous specialists have observed this physical quality to be a noteworthy determinant in the dating and relationship process (Simon, Aikins and Prinstein 2008; Langlois, Rogmann and Reiser-Danner 1990). Sakalli-Ugurlu (2003) found that the individuals who are exceedingly future arranged will probably report more noteworthy relationship fulfilment. What impacts attraction between two people can't be comprehended without distinguishing the setting in which it happens? The setting can be seen among countries or inside one's own way of life. Two distinct measures of love styles were explained; the fifty items true-false sample questionnaire (Lasswell and Lasswell 1976; Lasswell and Lobsenz 1980) socially extraordinary implications and convictions on love require more cautious examination of love ideas with similar strategies in various cultures. In spite of solid information on all inclusiveness of Romantic love in various cultures (Jankowiak and Fisher 1992) there are numerous social contrasts on comprehension of love. For instance, is thought about negative undertones of

the affection in Chinese culture (Fisher and Tangney 1995) and particular comprehension of the love as a reliance idea in Japan culture (Doi 1963). Among the different sorts of love, romantic love is said to have motivated a portion of the best accomplishments of humankind and is viewed as a socially all inclusive and intense experience that influences numerous parts of human life (Jankowiak and Fischer 1992; Aron, Fisher and Strong 2006). Romantic love is among the most imperative highlights of the experience of being human (Neto 2007) and romantic connections include a focal piece of individuals' lives (Demir 2008).

One of the more outstanding personality speculations is that of Lasswell and Lobsenz (1980) who has suggested that love is certainly not a solitary thing by any stretch of the imagination, yet rather, a substance waiting be comprehended regarding individuals' individual 'styles' of loving. Love Styles refer to how individual characterize or approach love, with the end goal that their states of mind in regards to love manage their conduct toward, and experience of, those they love (Hendrick and Hendrick 1986; Lee 1973). As indicated by Lasswell and Lobsenz, there are six such styles: The first, Best Friends, likes to participate in imparted interests to the accomplice instead of convey coordinate sentiments, and tends to express his or her warmth in nonsexual ways. In this style of love, a friendship between the couple develops and relationship develops gradually after some time. Sooner or later they understand they are in love. The second love style, Unselfish, is an exceptionally uncommon kind of affection. This is a self giving affection in which the benefit of the darling is put in front of one's own great. Logical is the third love style, and refers to an exceptionally pragmatic love style. This kind of affection requires a conferred accomplice, and is accepted to be not extremely energizing. The intelligent lover searches for somebody who will make a decent mate, either like oneself or compensating for one's own particular shortcomings. The fourth love style, Game Playing, involving misleading and regularly played with a few accomplices at the same time, the one should not consider love excessively important. They tend not to make profound passionate duties; lean toward an assortment of physical kinds. They get a kick out of the chance to be a tease yet don't really exploit the accomplice; as such they regularly play reasonable. Romantic, the fifth love style, physical attractiveness and appearance is critical to this adoration style. They more often than not feel speedy affinity with their partner. The last love style is Possessive, described without anyone else's input vanquishing feelings, and has an exceptional longing for enthusiastic association with their adored. They should be near their darling more often than not. These types of sweethearts are envious, and regularly despondent. Clearly if there are styles

of adoration it is vital to perceive one's own particular style and that of one's sweetheart. Although each of the six segments are imperative parts of adoring connections, their significance may vary starting with one relationship then onto the next, or after some time inside a given relationship.

Love, sentiment, and romance are soul changing experiences for youngsters in Indian culture. Love is by and large viewed as one of the most profound and most momentous feelings. It is a sentiment of closeness, solid positive feeling of friendship and connection. The India of today is the place where there are changes. Love and attraction in the Indian traditions is viewed as essential to the development and continuation of family, the fundamental security between families. The most recent two decades has seen an incredible glide in ethics and qualities existing in the Indian culture. The changing circumstances have enormously affected the marriage patterns existing in the general public. However, with the changing time, individuals in India have acknowledged the idea of love marriage. In this way, no information are as of now accessible on gender differences in approaches towards love, and the conceivable connection between relationship age and the diverse love attitudes (Best Friends, Unselfish, Logical, Game Playing, Romantic and Possessive) in Indian circumstances, which regulates loving styles in people, has been to date a ignored area of research. So, the purpose of this investigation concentrated on sex contrasts in approaches towards love, and associations between relationship age and the diverse love attitudes (Best Friends, Unselfish, Logical, Game Playing, Romantic and Possessive) in Indian scenario. Under the prevailing research gap and in line with research purpose, specifically, we deal with two primary research questions: First, whether there is any gender differences in approaches towards love? Second, is there any possible relationship between relationship age and the different love attitudes (Best Friends, Unselfish, Logical, Game Playing, Romantic and Possessive) in Indian scenario?

2. Method

2.1. Research participants

A total of 80 healthy adults (40 males (mean age: 21.98 ± 2.29 years, range 18–26 years, mean relationship age: 13.58 ± 5.79 months, range 5–28 months) and 40 females (mean age: 19.88 ± 1.14 years, range 18–22 years, mean relationship age: 14.48 ± 5.72 months, range 4–26 months) were enlisted by word-of-mouth engaging to participate in a study of “gender differences in approaches towards love” and examining associations between relationships

age (the span of time that they had been involved in a connection) and the different love attitudes. Convenience sampling technique was adopted. The samples were drawn from LNIPE campus and the nearby colleges in Gwalior city. To be eligible for involvement, the participants were required to be over 18, primarily heterosexual, and presently involved in a close relationship with someone (by self-report). Research participants first understand and signed an informed-consent form. They then filled out the questionnaire booklet. Questionnaire was administered in English language.

2.2. Materials

The motivation behind the investigation was disclosed to participants, and they were encouraged to answer the inquiries in light of their present partner in mind. Information accumulation continued through the use of questionnaires. Love Attitudes was estimated utilizing the "Love Scale Questionnaire" of the Lasswell and Lobsenz (1980). This questionnaire has considered being appropriate for analysts who require a styles of loving in relationship measures. The main questionnaires were a first form of the Lasswell and Lobsenz (1980) Love Scale Questionnaire. A 50-item questionnaire intended to quantify attitudes toward love. The questionnaire merges attitudes toward one's present partner with attitudes in relation to love in general. The scale is broken into 6 subscales that each speak to an alternate love style: with Eight inquiries in the Best Friends classification, Nine inquiries in the Unselfish classification, Nine inquiries in the Logical category, Eight inquiries in the Game Playing classification, Seven inquiries in the Romantic category, and Nine inquiries in the Possessive category. Participants were requested to be replied "true" or "false," for each true answer one point was given on the score card, and add the quantity of true answers in each segment. Responses will demonstrate the key attributes about love, and will uncover which style of love is exceptionally yours. The LSQ has been evidenced to be a valid and reliable scale of the six love measurements. The validity and reliability of this questionnaire was accounted for to be satisfactory. Reliability of the questionnaire was determined amid examination of the present investigation where adequate re-test reliabilities ($r > .69$) were gained. Demographic data was likewise gathered concerning the sex and age of the participant, the length of time they had been in their relationship in love. Length of time (relationship age) was evaluated by self-report measures and estimated in months since the start of the present relationship.

2.3. Statistical analysis

Only parametric analyses were carried out in the present study. The descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, standard error of mean, skewness, kurtosis etc.) and Shapiro-Wilk test was used to know the nature of data and for testing the assumption of normality. To test the equality of variances, Levene’s test was used. For comparison of variables between two groups, the differences in each subscale were evaluated using the independent sample t-test. (Due to the nature of the study) Correlations between relationship age and loving styles scores were evaluated using Pearson’s correlation coefficients. Where probability values of $p < 0.05$ were used to determine significance. For this purpose, Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) version 20.0 was used in all statistical analyses.

3. Results

Preliminary analyses of data were taken from the descriptive statistics. An assessment of the normality of data is an essential because normal data is an underlying assumption in parametric testing. As none of the variables was statistically significantly different from a normal distribution at the 5% level according to Shapiro-Wilk tests. Results suggest that each of the levels of the independent variable was normally distributed. Mean scores on the loving measures for males and females are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for the data on Loving Styles for Male and Female

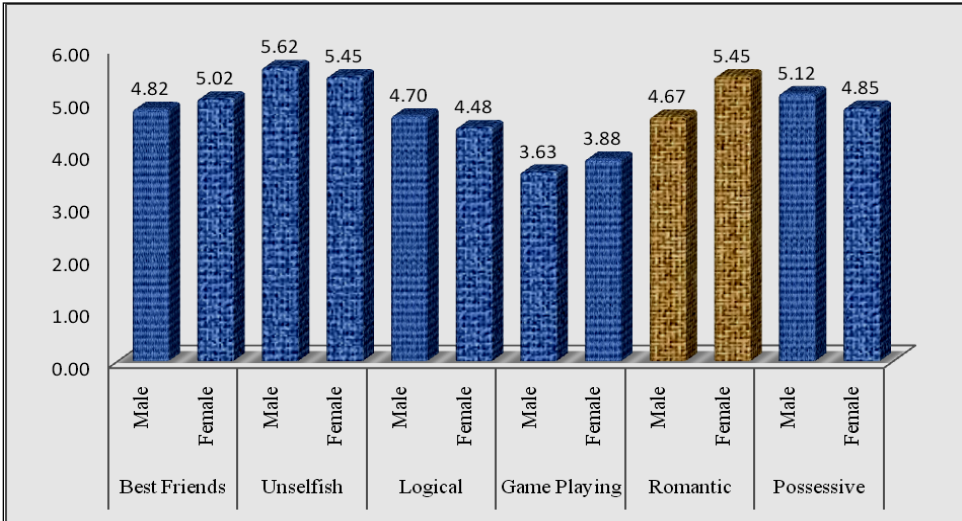
	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	Skewness		Kurtosis	
						Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
Best Friends	Male	40	4.83	1.43	0.23	0.16	0.37	-1.23	0.73
	Female	40	5.03	1.35	0.21	-0.05	0.37	-1.09	0.73
Un-selfish	Male	40	5.63	1.33	0.21	-0.08	0.37	0.21	0.73
	Female	40	5.45	1.40	0.22	0.08	0.37	-0.02	0.73
Logical	Male	40	4.70	1.74	0.28	-0.03	0.37	-0.71	0.73

	Female	40	4.48	1.80	0.28	0.13	0.37	-0.82	0.73
Game Playing	Male	40	3.63	1.53	0.24	-0.27	0.37	-0.89	0.73
	Female	40	3.88	1.34	0.21	-0.36	0.37	-0.49	0.73
Roman-tic	Male	40	4.68	1.27	0.20	-0.22	0.37	0.00	0.73
	Female	40	5.45	1.24	0.20	-0.43	0.37	-0.20	0.73
Possess-ive	Male	40	5.13	2.10	0.33	-0.03	0.37	-0.75	0.73
	Female	40	4.85	2.17	0.34	0.22	0.37	-0.86	0.73

Source: Author

Table 1 show that the mean value on loving styles for male and female. It is clear the mean values on loving styles of Unselfish, Logical and Possessive were highest among the male group in comparison to that of female group. While females showed significantly higher scores on Best Friends, Game Playing and Romantic. However, whether this dissimilarity is significant or not has to be tested by using the two-sample t-test for unrelated groups. Skewness and Kurtosis has been performed. Since none of the variables skewness is greater than twice its standard error, hence all the variables are symmetrically distributed. Similarly, the value of kurtosis for the data to be normal of any of the variable is not more than twice its standard error of kurtosis hence none of the kurtosis values are significant. In other words the distribution of all the variables is meso-kurtic. From the above findings it can be very easily understood by looking to the graphics in Figure 1; a visual representation of the group means.

Figure 1: A graphical representation of the mean score on Loving Styles for Male and Female



Source: Author

The test of Equality of Variances is an important assumption, to test the equality of variances, Levene’s test was used.

Table 2: F-table for testing the equality of variances of two unrelated groups

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances	
		F	Sig.
Best Friends	Equal variances assumed	0.49	0.49
Unselfish	Equal variances assumed	0.19	0.67
Logical	Equal variances assumed	0.08	0.78
Game Playing	Equal variances assumed	1.47	0.23
Romantic	Equal variances assumed	0.07	0.79
Possessive	Equal variances assumed	0.07	0.79

* Significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Author

In Table 2, F-values are insignificant as the p-values are greater than α level (0.05), [$p(0.49, 0.67, 0.78, 0.23, 0.79, 0.79) > \alpha(0.05)$] for this entire test. Thus the null hypothesis of Equality of Variances may be accepted, and it is concluded that the group variances are roughly equal (hence the assumption of Equality of Variances has been met).

We initially conducted t-tests to investigate possible gender differences on loving styles. Results revealed significant gender differences on romantic factor ($p < 0.05$) (See Table 3).

Table 3: t-table for the data on Loving Styles for testing the equality of means for Male and Female

		t-test for Equality of Means						
		t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
							Lower	Upper
Best Friends	Equal variances assumed	-0.64	78	0.52	-0.20	0.31	-0.82	0.42
Unselfish	Equal variances assumed	0.57	78	0.57	0.18	0.31	-0.43	0.78
Logical	Equal variances assumed	0.57	78	0.57	0.23	0.40	-0.56	1.01
Game Playing	Equal variances assumed	-0.78	78	0.44	-0.25	0.32	-0.89	0.39
Romantic	Equal variances assumed	-2.76	78	0.01*	-0.78	0.28	-1.33	-0.22
Possessive	Equal variances assumed	0.58	78	0.57	0.28	0.48	-0.68	1.23

* Significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Author

From Table 3, it can be clearly seen that all of the variables has shown insignificant differences between male and female except romantic category. The 't'-value -2.76 as shown in the table above was found statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). The significant value of "t" at 0.05 levels for degree of freedom 78 is 1.99 and even in all the other variables the p value is greater than 0.05. Thus, it is concluded that there is significant difference in the romantic category ('t'-value -2.76) between male and female in their love attitudes and there is insignificant difference in the Best friends ('t'-value -0.64), Unselfish ('t'-value 0.57), Logical ('t'-value 0.57), Game playing ('t'-value -0.78), and Possessive ('t'-value 0.58) between male and female in their love attitudes. Thus, the null hypothesis of equality of population means of two groups in romantic category is rejected and it may be concluded that the romantic attitudes of male and female are different.

Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient (r) was used for evaluating the relationship of the love attitudes with relationship age (Table 4). The correlation coefficients between relationship age and romantic loving styles scores reached significant positive relationship ($n = 78$; $r = 0.85$, $p < 0.01$).

Table 4: Correlation matrix for evaluating the relationship of the love dimensions with relationship age

		Best Friends	Unselfish	Logical	Game Playing	Romantic	Possessive
Relationship Age	Pearson Correlation	-0.17	-0.14	-0.14	-0.08	0.85**	0.00
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.12	0.23	0.21	0.48	0.00	0.99
	N	80.00	80.00	80.00	80.00	80.00	80.00

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

Source: Author

Table 4 reveals that the significance level of the correlation coefficients at 0.01. Significance has been tested for two-tailed test. Table is showing only upper diagonal values of the correlation matrix and the magnitude of correlation coefficients along with their p values and sample size. The correlation coefficient with mark (**) indicates that it is significant at 1% level. Thus, at 78 degrees of freedom, the critical value of r at 1% level is 0.28.

Romantic attitudes ($r= 0.85$) was significantly correlated to Relationship Age. Whereas no significant relationship was obtained between rests of the love attitudes variables to the Relationship Age. Therefore, it was evident that some love attitudes variables did not show a significant relationship to Relationship Age and were less contributing to Relationship Age as shown in above. Out of all the variables which hold a significant relationship i.e. Romantic loving styles was positive in nature.

4. Discussion

Under the common research gap the accompanying research questions were raised to be explored: The first, whether there is any gender difference in approaches towards love? And second, is there any possible relationship between relationship age and the different love attitudes (Best Friends, Unselfish, Logical, Game Playing, Romantic and Possessive) in Indian scenario? The study revealed that there is a significant gender difference in the romantic category (t -value -2.76 ; $p<0.05$) between male and female respondents with regard to attitude towards loving styles. And for evaluating the relationship of the love attitudes with relationship age, significant relationships were also found between relationship age and romantic loving styles scores reached significant positive relationship ($n=78$; $r=0.85$, $p<0.01$). The ongoing examination has uncovered that romantic relationships bit by bit create connection qualities through the span of a specific relationship and with age (Hazan and Zeifman 1994). People present contrasts that go past developmental components of generation and species support; social and cultural measurements are demonstrated as displaying operators of various designs of romantic connections. Further, love might be characterized diversely in different societies. Distinctive characteristics might be fixing to relationship speculation and fulfilment diversely too (Karandashev 2015). Passionate expressivity is likewise a crucial factor in romantic relationship. Latu, Schmid and Kaiser (2013) approached sexual orientation contrasts in passionate expressivity as indicated by understanding and articulation. Romantic relationships vary from general social connections in vital ways, yet specialists have recognized the trouble in characterizing a romantic relationship. One essential element particular among kinships and romantic relationships is a stamped contrast in closeness (Moss and Schwebel 1993). Closeness, enthusiasm, and responsibility are related with relationship fulfilment and their connects to fulfilment change after some time as connections advance. Every one of the three parts increment after some time as couples progress from easygoing dating to monogamous dating to

commitment (Gao 2001). Though sexual orientation has been the key gathering variable by which respondents have been compared, differences in love style have been distinguished by other imperative measurements, including age (Risavy 1996) and time (Hendrick and Hendrick 1988, 2003). Varieties in socio-cultural background and differential show rules should create group differences in the six styles of adoration. As per an investigation by Ogletree (2010) with an investigation of American college students from Texas, people have distinctive states of mind toward long term relationships. Men are regularly guided by more traditions patterns of relationship setup, though women concentrate more on planning. Women have generally been associated to be preservationist in their sexual attitudes, looking for one cherishes accomplice and long-term potential provider (Hendrick and Hendrick 1986). These discoveries are in accordance with past research Hendrick and Hendrick (1986) and De Andrade and Garcia (2014) found that females scored more highly on Storge (friendship and care relations), Pragma (reasonableness and appropriateness of adoration) and Mania (obsession and possession) than males, in our investigation females also demonstrated significantly higher scores on Best Friends, Game Playing and Romantic. The investigation of Cramer et al. (2015) demonstrated no distinction in Pragma, males outscored females on both Ludus and Agape, yet females outscored males on each of Eros, Storge, and Mania. Dion and Dion (1993) found that women were more friendship orientated than men and again, more inclined to support down to earth states of mind towards affection. The ongoing examination in blended sex connections propose that better relationship memory predicts larger amounts of relationship prosperity, and ladies have better memory for sentimental relationship occasions than men (Holmberg, Thibault and Pringle 2018). Lin and Huddleston-Casas (2005) led an examination concentrating on Agape love mentalities and discovered males scored more very than females on this selfless, altruistic love style. To counter this, Neto (2007) examined the affection ideas inside a Chinese setting and found that Chinese men announced higher endorsement of the Storge and Agape love styles though Chinese women have a tendency to support a Pragmatic love style. Scientists trust that the amount of affection people experience in their life relies on social advancement, individual similarity and physical wellbeing. By and by, it ought to be called attention to that innate individual contrasts may add to the advancement of particular love styles, yet these may likewise be influenced by different socialization practices. As indicated by Schmitt et al. (2009); Landis and O'Shea (2000) and Sternberg (1998) social measurements are factors that mediate feelings and sentiments. Obviously, the activities that express a specific segment of love can vary to

some degree starting with one individual then onto the next, starting with one relationship then onto the next, or starting with one circumstance then onto the next. In particular, we watched a pattern for higher scores on Eros (a romantic and passionate love). This could be in accordance with a few features of Eros, for example, the looking for of passionate closeness and sexual association genuinely right off the bat in a relationship. This is additionally reliable with a portion of the addictive highlights related with Eros, including the extreme requirement for day by day contact with the darling, or the wishing to keep up the relationship restrictive (Lee 1976). Men were found to score higher than women on Unselfish and Possessive measurements. These sex contrasts on loving styles are completely predictable with those beforehand detailed by Heaven et al. (2004). The discoveries of Ubando (2016) uncovered that males have a more positive viewpoint of their own closeness seeing someone while ladies have a more negative impression of their own closeness and men higher for verbal and nonverbal fondness while ladies higher for strength. Simon and Nath (2014) reported, women have negative sentiments, for example, trouble, more than men, then again men feeling energized and quiet more than ladies.

Love is a focal affair of human life, and there has been developing enthusiasm into the neurobiological bases of romantic love (Esch and Stefano 2005a). These discoveries are in accordance with past research (Sprecher and Fehr 2005; Hwang, Plante and Lackey 2008) in that women tended to score higher on the scale than men. This is also consistent with inquire about demonstrating that women express more sympathy and wholehearted support for others, constructs which Sprecher and Fehr (2005) discovered identified with merciful love, than men (Eagly and Crowley 1986). Young invest a lot of energy pondering, discussing, and being in romantic relationships (Furman 2002). Women's romantic relationship encounters might be related with their self-perceptions, yet inquire about presently can't seem to completely clarify which components of women's relationships (e.g., love, length of commitment) are helpful for the improvement of a positive self-perception. The present examination found that woman's impression of their partners' romantic attitude was contrarily identified with the span of the relationships. This finding was as opposed to our expectation that the length of relationships would be positively connected with their romantic loving styles because of a positive relationship between feeling that all is well with the world in their romantic relationships and their conviction that all is good about their relationship length. Finding a romantic partner and building up and keeping up a long-term relationship with that specific individual is a vital social process that different people endeavour to accomplish (Holmes and

Johnson 2009). Amazingly, one more potential instrument that clarifies the prosperity and romantic relationship connect is felt understanding. Feeling comprehended by others for the most part is related with higher prosperity. Subsequently, feeling comprehended by an accomplice may give more prominent passionate help, closeness, and other vital emotional wellness and relationship benefits that prompt more prominent prosperity by and large. However, love can be conceptualized as a social develop that differs between people in light of the fact that social standards and qualities and also early youth encounters greatly affect the significance people credit to romantic love (Jackson et al. 2006). Therefore, the transformative advantage of general social help may normally stretch out to the positive results related with having a solid, steady conjugal accomplice (Eastwick 2016). A fruitful, sound sentimental relationship in which the two accomplices see extraordinary comprehension and nature with one another is probably going to have psychological and relationship benefits. Aumer-Ryan, Hatfield and Frey (2007) contended that cultural variations affect the manner in which people characterize and encounter love yet in addition on whom they tend to experience passionate feelings for and thusly culture related measurements are vital in the investigation of love. In various cultural groups, people frequently esteem exceptionally particular characteristics in romantic partners (Ingoldsby, Schvaneveldt and Uribe 2003) yet additionally have unmistakable assumptions regarding relationships for example, duties, commitments and roles of romantic partners (Zhang and Kline 2009).

Romantic love satisfies a responsibility part, managing long-term bonds by advancing closeness, association, and the development of shared long-term plans (Aron and Aron 1998; Diamond 2003; Hendrick and Hendrick 1992; Sternberg 1986). Romantic love identifies with an enthusiasm for being near an accomplice (Aron and Aron 1998; Hatfield 1988) and empowers self-exposure (Aron et al. 2000; Wieselquist et al. 1999). One of the additionally exceptional recent investigation propose that Romantic love has a particular transformative, neurological, and hormonal profile that takes into consideration its potential in certain one of a kind conditions, for example, love without physical contact (Gibson 2015). In view of the example of affection states of mind, distinctive people have diverse purposes in romantic relationship (Zeng et al. 2016). In addition, the sentiment of experiencing passionate feelings for includes a fast extension of the self to incorporate the partner (Aron and Aron 1997), and impression of expanding love over the term of a relationship anticipate later relationship continuation (Sprecher 1999). Hazan and Shaver's (1994) fundamental work on romantic connection has given the hypothetical establishing to a great part of the work on romantic

relationships and dating amid the most recent ten years. Romantic attachment style contrasts along two measurements: dismissal nervousness and shirking of closeness (Brennan, Clark and Shaver 1998). People who demonstrate uncertain examples of romantic attachment will probably be engaged with inadmissible romantic relationships. Hendrik and Hendrik (1992) estimated that individuals experience a formative arrangement of love styles, with romantic love (Eros) created around early adulthood. Others propose that romantic love is affected by connection styles framed in childhood (Hazan and Shaver 1987; Feeney and Noller 1990). Social analysts show that collectivistic (Eastern) and individualistic (Western) societies have critical contrasts in how romantic love is experienced and esteemed (Dion and Dion 1993; Jackson et al. 2006). In the Chinese culture, romantic relationships include long-term commitment and the essential reality for duty. All the more particularly, romance observation may incorporate the capacity to recognize romance in different real circumstances. Neurologically, the profile for romantic love highlights enactment of remuneration focused territories and also deactivation of regions related with anxiety and motivation. (Gibson 2015). However, the closeness and extreme sentiments of affection keep on being referred to as characteristics that make romantic relationships from different kinds of social connections. Romantic love incorporates energy, sexual closeness and physical fascination, which are all commonly missing in different types of love for example, non-romantic (Kaplan and Keys 1997).

Women were observed to be all the more profoundly infatuated in contrast with men in their relationships. Be that as it may, as indicated by look into men had more previous romantic relationships and more prone to be enamoured. Biologically, humans have a right and left hemisphere of the cerebrum called the corpus callosum. Men utilize just a single of these sides when self unveiling in this way seeming less expressive than women. Self-Disclosing likewise varies because of the upbringing of the person. Men regularly have a harder time communicating more defenceless feelings, for example, fear and sadness. Be that as it may, the simple little data that men do reveal they uncover to women. Women likewise express their shortcomings while men hide them. Women are agreeable in communicating defenceless feelings and have a tendency to be more expressive, and steady. At the point when self disclosing, women tend to stand nearer, utilize more non-verbal communication, listen more, utilize more eye to eye connection and utilize the feeling of touch. Men are likewise less expressive in words since men are thought to be a bigger number of practitioners than women. In our investigation women appear to participate in more a game playing love,

friendship-based love and practical type of love than men. Women lean towards game playing love since it prompts more sexual partners accordingly, upgrading the reproductive accomplishment of the female. Women lean towards a more a practical type of love since it prompts both financial and hereditary accomplishment in their partner. Women sit tight for a man that they conceivably observe as their loved one. Women more often than not are occupied with the passionate part of sex. Women are relied upon to search for monogamy (Guillermo and Laughlin 2012). For many students, being in college is their first time far from their parents in a new situation. They want to become friends with others and frame close bonds. Traditional age students will probably search out “fun” partners since they can bolster off this positive energy, feeling peaceful in a domain that is loaded up with the weight of steady due dates. Individuals are subliminally attracted to other people who have the same familial background. The all the more indistinguishable two people are, the more probable those people are to have a steady, dependable, and cheerful association. A relationship grew regularly when the member had experienced love.

5. Conclusion

Taken together, we trust that the results of our examination add to the expanding measure of information involving a part for individual attitudes in human loving styles. While our preliminary discoveries give that a critical gender difference in the romantic category and significant relationships between relationship age and romantic loving styles. The individual score recorded on the Love Scale (The Love Scale Questionnaire) is not to be taken as an infallible outcome, no psychological test or sociological investigation can dare to offer a conclusive decision about any part of human instinct, particularly one so obtuse as love but rather, as profoundly characteristic of one's main attitudes and preferences. It might be that affection styles dislike identity attributes which are moderately lasting. Rather they may depict various types of connections that we have with various accomplices or at various phases of our development. Gender differences emerge in romantic relationships because of contrasts in love, sex and self-revelation. People contrast in style of correspondence because of natural and social contrasts. We know that our investigation has a few vital constraints that should alert against over-interpretation. The mind-boggling nature of human love is most likely the central restriction when examining the sexual orientation of various loving styles. Firstly, and most importantly, the size of samples for a comparison was small, and as such we should be very cautious in making

generalisations on this measurement. Further studies with a bigger number of people are prescribed to affirm and expand our findings. It can not be generalized to the general undergraduate student populace in light of the fact that there might be distinctive local atmospheres that influence what students find attractive in other places. Secondly, regardless it holds western bias as all of the questionnaires were administered in English. As such the experience of participation would be distinctive for the Indian sample toward the Western sample. It would likewise be helpful to lead a longitudinal study that would enable us to track the potential homogenising impacts of globalization on romantic attitudes. The complexity of this issue is clear however so is its value since love for some is the most fundamental part of human presence for individuals the world over. This method can be significantly utilized for examination of individual attitudes on loving styles, and in that capacity can be viably utilized as a part of directing practice. Due to the restrictions of the sample, it is of additional importance to test if the current Love Attitudes Scale is better suited to a sample with various ages, education levels, relationship durations, and socioeconomic backgrounds.

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WOMEN'S EMPOWERMENT MOVEMENT IN POST SOCIALISTIC BULGARIA

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Abstract: *Centuries the moral and Ethics based on Religious organized the life of people. This Ethics determined a specific moral for woman on one hand, but on second hand pays no attention to women's life. The moral limited woman's activities to a housewife mother and companion to man. Bulgarian women's struggle for equality was interrupted by the empowerment of Communist party in the country. The Communist Party announced woman's liberalization of patriarchy tradition. The State used different policies to empower women and eliminate existing traditional practices in the public sphere, but at the same time they confirmed the traditions in private life.*

The report analyses some of State policies during the totalitarian regime in Bulgaria and how it has influenced the development of women's movement after the end of Communism.

Key-words: *Women, History, Movement, Communism, Policy, Gender*

1. Introduction

The women's empowerment movement in Bulgaria started in the 1840s with the so-called literature feminism which disputes the current position of women in society. The first actions of women were concentrated over the educational and political empowerment of women. This model copied the women's movement in Europe. The foundation of the Bulgarian Women's Union in 1901 started the organized movement for their rights in the country. The union was fighting for "the mental and moral elevation of women and the improvement of their position in every respect" (Daskalova 2012, 204). The success was the equal school curriculums/programs, women were allowed to study at the university and the biggest success was the political rights that Bulgarian woman get. Women were allowed to vote in 1937. Despite these successes many other problems in economic, social and political sphere had to be solved.

The process of woman's emancipation was interrupted by the empowerment of Communist party in the country in 1944. The key

ideological tenet of communism is the equality between sexes in every sphere of society. The first act of the new regime was to adopt a new Constitution where article 72 proclaimed the equality of men and women in every aspect of public and private life (Constitution of Republic of Bulgaria 1949, article 72).

The Party was recognized as the guardian of equality of sexes and women's movements were redundant because the "*Woman problem was solved*". The state encourages the existence of women's organizations and unions but they were used as political agents of the new ideology.

The State conducted different policies towards women which could be divided mainly in two periods. The first period started in 1944 and finished in 1975 and the second period included the years from 1975 to 1989. Each of these periods used policies and strategies focused on creating a specific female identity, which would best fit the communist ideology.

The period of Totalitarian regime in Bulgaria is an object of different researches and studies that provide information about specific aspects of woman's life like woman's role in the economy, culture, science, TKZS and c.t.

The purpose of the article is to analyse the development of women empowerment movement in Bulgaria.

The main question of the research is why women empowerment movement becomes negatively associated?

The hypothesis is that „forced“ emancipation during the communist rule has negative consequences in the attitude and development of female consciousness and woman's movement in the country.

2. State female policy

2.1. First period of State female policy

The first period of female policy is characterized with engendered policy. The government focused on the flow of women into the labour market outside the home. It tried to eliminate the sexual differentiation of duties. The separation between male and female rights and responsibilities was still following the patriarchal tradition. In its attempt to change the social attitudes, the new leaders encouraged women to work outside home and work in so called "male" professions like tractor drivers, electricians and workers in the heavy industries. In the 1960s new schools opened, where young girls were taught how to drive and repair tractors. Many propaganda movies were made to promote these schools. The new identity of a working woman in a man's world demanded a new vision. Gils and boys wore the same clothes – simple,

baggy and grey. Make up was forbidden. The communists tried to enforce a new vision on the man and the woman as an “engendered” working person. They tried to eliminate every sign of sexual difference. Nevertheless, with all of these efforts they reinforced the traditional norms, because they separated the students in these schools as girls and boys. The traditional morality was dominant in these schools despite the idea of equality between sexes. The leader of each group controlled the behavior of the girls and boys.

As the idea of “engendered” person did not work out, then the emphasis was put on the woman just as a “worker”. In 1957, 32, 8% of women were paid workers outside the home. 70,7% of them were working in the light industry. In 1957, 30,3% worked in the chemical industry which increased to 44,4% in 1974. During the first two decades of socialism, 15,7% of women worked in the engineering industry, but their number increased drastically to 34,4% in 1974 (Vladimirova 2011, 285-356). The number of working women continued to grow in the following years and reached more than 80% in 1988 (Vladimirova 2011, 285-356).

The word “housewife” was denounced as “bourgeois” and “capitalistic” which restricted the female personality (Pavlova 2011, 189-201). The positive aspects of the communist policy were that the government did its best to ensure working opportunities for women. Many kindergartens, schools, public bakeries and laundry facilities were opened. All these improvements would take some responsibilities off the woman’s shoulders during the day. The resulting free time would provide women a chance to develop their potential.

Although women worked outside the home, they still perceived themselves as working housewives. Their important realization was at home, not at work. Women accepted their paid occupation as an additional financial help for the family budget, not as a place for personal realization (Pavlova 2016).

2.2. Second period of State female policy

The second period from 1975 to 1989 was characterized by a conversionary policy. The government abandoned the idea of the woman as a worker, especially in male professions. One of the reasons was the negative growth of the population. The government found a solution to this problem by changing the female identity from a “worker” to a “housewife” and a mother of many children. To increase the birth rate, the ruling party created a package of strategies. The woman was granted with a generously paid maternity leave (until the child reached the age of two and an additional unpaid year, which was recognized as a working year for pension purposes). In production

plants, baby rooms were opened and breast-feeding women were allowed to leave work twice a day to feed their babies. A special law was adopted which did not allow women to work in an environment (like mining, diving, military) which could endanger her reproductive ability. Women were encouraged to work at jobs more appropriate for their biological/natural functions as mothers. Such appropriate professions were considered to be teachers, nurses, secretaries, or shop assistants.

The State emphasized the female identity as a mother. "Mother" was not just a biological function, but it also became an honorable symbol of nationalism. The party managed the idea of having children as a duty of every communist and proud Bulgarian. The government tried to stimulate women to have more kids. Women who had more than two children received privileges related to better housing or the opportunity of buying a car. They received the title "mother hero" and received financial benefits.

3. The women's movement in Transition period

The collapse of communism brought political, economic and social changes. Women lost State protection and thanks to the economic crisis and new market orientation, many of the women's former privileges disappeared. While during communism employment rate for men and women was almost equal at about 50%, in the transition period the unemployment rate for women increased. From 65 079 unemployed men and women (NSI 1992, 76) in 1990, it increased to 287 053 in 1998 (NSI 1998, 79) 55% of which were women. When the reduction in the labour market started, women were the first to be laid off, with the words "*men must feed their families; they are the main breadwinner and the financial support for their wives and children*". These explanations confirmed the patriarchal attitudes about gender roles. Traditionally man is recognized as the head of the family who is mainly responsible for family support and woman should take care for home and children.

The State went from planned economic to market oriented economic. This process of reorientation of economic was connected with the closed of many plants and started of a private business. Because of the difficult economic situation, many women accepted to work in a position below their qualification. A lot of highly educated women worked as shop assistants, cooks, dishwashers, and cleaners. The first years after the collapsed of communism many private firms were opened. The lack of State control and penalties influenced the breaks of the laws. Many women were exploited by their employers. Their working day continued for 10, or even 14 hours which

is against the Bulgarian labour law where it is clearly stated that the working time should be 8 hours per day, 5 days per week. Many women worked without social insurance which influenced their pensions or maternity leave payments. Because of all these factors, a big part of women preferred to work in the public sphere where payment was lower, but secure (Stoyanova and Kirova 2004, 99).

If the woman could not find a job, she was forced to work at home or the small family farm. Many of these female work activities stayed unpaid. Women who stayed at home were accused by their husbands to be a “lazy”, because they could not find a job. Their working activities at home were not recognized as a job, because all chores were deeply incorporated in everyone’s minds as a “female duties”. The woman could contribute to her family only by working paid job outside the home. The separation of male and female duties was very strict and if a man stayed at home (jobless) he did not do the chores, because they are labeled as “female”, so they could not be done by man.

The research paper “Men and Women in Bulgaria”, compiled by the National Statistical Institute and the Institute for Demographics at the Bulgarian Academy of Science, confirmed that a bigger part of female work stays unpaid and unappreciated, but even worse is that women received lower payment than men for the same work. The problem is that in 1997, women’s earnings were 70,8% of men’s earnings (Stoyanova 2007, 116). This situation got better in the following years.

In 2004, the percentage of employed women was increased to 39,9%, but was 10% lower than men’s employment (49.9%). It was disturbing that women still received less than men for the same work. Women were more affected by poverty because they worked in spheres where the salaries were very low. Entire branches were feminized, such as education, the health care system and administration (Takeva 2007, 146). In 2003 83% of the workers in the educational system were women. Another reason that women were threaten to poverty is that their participation in decision making process is very low. Female employers were a very low percentage of all employers - 28,4%, while female entrepreneurs were only 37,7% of all entrepreneurs (Takeva 2007, 147). This is significant for the progress of development of equal opportunities in the country.

During the transition period, we can talk about the return of many patriarchal views about female responsibilities. The role of the housewife was rehabilitated, but because of the deep economic crisis men did not wish or could not afford their women to stay at home. Women had to work and take care of their families. The Bulgarian woman became a “super woman”, but

without the State's protection (Pavlova 2013, 182). She had to combine two completely different roles: the first connected to the patriarchal understanding of a caring mother and wife and the second connected to the communist ideology where she had to be a working and active member of society. Both roles involved completely different performance requirements, which was not easy and was accompanied with a lot of stress and dissatisfaction. All of these factors negatively influenced the combination of private and professional life for women. The new economic and political situation forced different rules which followed the question of balance between work and family.

The balance between work and family is understood as "... a lack of conflict between the needs of paid work and family responsibilities, combined with the feeling of satisfaction from their accomplishment" (Kovacheva 2010, 157). The combination of all responsibilities is complicated further because of different expectations. The view of mother who has enough time to spend with her children is replaced by mother who is working long hour. The idea of working mother is determined not only because of its financial part, but also of the idea of working right and desire of career development.

The State-protected paternalistic policy was replaced by a market policy where women were discriminated because of their biological function as mothers. Traditionally, women have been responsible for taking care of the children, which was the reason they took more days off work. The communist regime stated the role of woman as a mother and gave her a lot of privileges. The unstable period of transition changed the woman's rights of work because of their role of mother. Employers preferred to hire men because they never used maternity leaves and rare took care of their sick children. Before 2004, in Bulgaria maternity leave could be used only by the mother, which influenced her career opportunities. After legal changes based on Directive 2006/45/EU, the maternity leave could be used by the father or grandparents. This change changed the attitudes towards child care. The stereotype of mother as the only one responsible for the child care started to change. But it was valid the understanding that woman should spend more time with their children, because she had a special connection with them.

The results from a survey of managers (CISMS) still show that although women worked hard, they were mainly responsible for taking care of their children. Most of the respondents answered that they spent at least 20-30 hour per week with their children, in contrast with men who spent only 6-15 hours per week with their children (Alexandrova 2007, 90). Interesting are the results of a survey conducted in 2014 among young people in Bulgaria, published in "Young People in European Bulgaria - Sociological Portraits-

2014". The data shows that patriarchal values among young Bulgarians are reproduced. Expectations for young women are more restricted. They have to stay at home, to read books, to be interested in art and culture rather than in sports. In opposition the male role involves sports, going out with friends, using alcohol, physical strength and aggression. Interestingly, despite the sexual liberation, the women are expected to have less sexual partners than the man (Pavlova 2018).

4. Women's movement organizations

After the end of the totalitarian regime, women's organizations are again created or resurrected and are aimed at removing the existing barriers and attitudes towards the women's equality with men.

The problem is that gender equality continues to be regarded as an activity of the state. Through its laws and regulations, it has to monitor and ensure women's rights. This creates the perception of women's movements, not as separate entities, but as a supplement to government policy, which does not always takes into account the women's proposals. Due to the already existing attitudes that women and men are equal, and the state is the entity that ensures that equality, women lack the sensitivity to gender equality.

The main problems which the women's movement in Bulgaria faced during the years of transition were to increase the number of women involved in decision-making process, to tackle poverty and to reduce unemployment.

In 1989, a round table was held which involved representatives of the women's societies and unions. They submitted a report on the state of the Bulgarian woman and the willingness to draw up a new women's organization that works for the good of women. The new Women's Union was created the following year and some of its members were included in the election lists for the Grand National Assembly, some were elected as members of Parliament and others as ministers in the two socialist governments in 1990. However, women's representation in politics is small. The percentage of women in the National Assembly declined from 21% in 1986 to only 8% in 1990. In the coming years the participation of women in political life remained low, which in turn cut them off from the opportunity to participate in building the country and the formation of policies (1991-1994 14%, 1995-1997 13%, 1997-2001 11%).

The activities of several women's organizations in the first years of post-socialist life of the country can be highlighted. In 1990, the Bulgarian Women's Union was restored. The Union's aim was to fight for the human

rights of all women regardless of race, language, religion, color, ethnicity or others differences.

In 1997, the Party of Bulgarian women was founded. Its main goal was to protect the traditions of Christianity by defending the Bulgarian eternal values – native land, home, family, children, spiritual traditions - values whose greatest champion was the Bulgarian mother. They are the foundation of the Bulgarian spirit and create a sense of national dignity.

Later, in 2003, the NGO Foundation "Center for Women's Research and Policies" was founded. The organization was the successor of the "Women's Issues" Program of the "Open Society" Institute in Sofia. The program ran from 1997 to 2002 and during the period of its existence managed to establish mechanisms of coordination and work on the problems of women in the country and to prepare experts in the field of gender equality.

In 1998 and 1999, before and during the 1999 local elections "Project Parity Bulgaria" was performed, which aimed to increase the participation of women in the local governments. The participation of women in governance in 1998 was poorly developed. Women in the National Assembly were only 12%, while in the local governments were 22.6%. Women in mayoral positions in large municipalities were only 8% and in small municipalities 15%.

Political parties do not use the potential of women and seldom promote them to leading positions, while the number of women in leading roles could ensure better representation of women's needs during and after the reformation of the country (Paritet Bulgaria Report 1998-1999).

Women's organizations direct their activities towards education. They stress that the only way to achieve equality of the sexes is to teach people to monitor and fight for it. For this reason, numerous trainings on gender equality are performed, and some universities have introduced graduate programs dealing with women and equality.

Sofia University launched a master's program for gender education in 2000.

Since 2002, New Bulgarian University also is offering an interdisciplinary master's program "Gender Studies".

The "Gender Project for Bulgaria" Foundation conducts trainings to raise awareness on gender issues with the "Gender Training" Program. The program is taught in 43 secondary schools and at the University of Plovdiv. By 2002, 70 teachers passed the training course program. In 2002, the foundation conducted the "Gender training and media" Program for students of the Law Faculty.

Adults are trained on gender equality issues at the training center of the "Women's Alliance for Development" ("WAD").

In activities concerning the protection of economic rights of women, the most influential NGOs are: The Foundation for Entrepreneurship Development, the foundation "Bulgarian Center for Gender Research", the association "Club of Women Entrepreneurs and Managers in Bulgaria", the foundation "Women's Alliance for Development" (WAD). They carry out a number of projects aimed at strengthening the role of women in business. These include: "Entrepreneurship in Sofia and Vratsa. Promoting female entrepreneurship and development of entrepreneurship among the unemployed" - a pilot project which aims to promote women entrepreneurship in Bulgaria and the creation of the Center for Female Entrepreneurship; the project „Networking for successful cooperation. Increasing the activity of women in decision-making process and policy implementation in the Balkans. “

5. Adoption of new Legislation and Strategies among Women

The period between 1989 and 2007 saw newly adopted policies and strategies which tried to eliminate the differences between sexes. In 1995, Bulgaria ratified the resolutions from the World Conference in Beijing. The final result from the conference was an "action plan" (Adopted by the Council of Ministers on 2 of July 1996) which focused on poverty among women, reducing the unemployment rate among women and their equal participation in the economic and decision-making processes. There were made changes in Family Code and Labour Code which eliminated some of the articles reinforced the ideas of man as the head of the family and woman as a helper of man. The efforts of governors were put on legislation acts which tried to eliminate the exploitation of woman's labour and discrimination.

To ensure the policy of gender equality in the country institutions that are responsible for implementing the state policies were created. Inside the Council of Ministers, the National Council on Social and Demographic Issues is established.

A temporary advising *Council for equal opportunities for men and women* is established within the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy in 2000, when with a decision of the Council of Ministers, this ministry was established as a designated institution responsible for developing, coordinating and implementing the state policy on gender equality. A working group, comprising of representatives of the state administration, academia and non-governmental organizations, evaluated the available administrative statistics

on the state of women's rights and drafted a *Law on equal opportunities for men and women*. It provided for the establishment of a specialized Committee for equal opportunities for men and women inside the Council of Ministers and a specialized Ombudsman on these issues. The project was rejected by the Parliament at first reading on April 3, 2002.

Regardless of the guarantees of equality for women and men contained in the Bulgarian Constitution and several laws (Labour Code - Art. 8, par. 3 and special protection of pregnant women and mothers of children; Law on Employment Promotion - Art. 2; Social Assistance Act - Art. 3; Law on Civil Servants - Art. 35; Social Security Code - Art. 3; Civil Procedure Code - equality of spouses before the law, equal legal processual remedies; Penal Code - special protection against attacks on the sexual integrity of women, making the Penal Code one of the most democratic and humane in Europe; Criminal Procedure Code - providing guarantees for the equal treatment of the courts to women and men; Law on the execution of punishments; Act on Public education - Art. 4; Higher Education Act - Art. 4; Law on health and safety at work - Art. 16; Law on child protection - Art. 10, etc.) the need for a special law on gender equality emerged.

Bulgaria made a very important step towards the equality of sexes with the adoption of a *Law against Discrimination* in 2004. The Law gives a definition of any kind of discrimination and puts a special emphasis on gender equality. Debates about the new Law provoked many discussions about female problem which in turn started a dialogue about equal opportunities.

The truth is that the Bulgarian legislation is very generous to mothers. Many changes were made in the legislation and more specifically in *The Labour Code, The Law against Discrimination, The Family Code, The Law for family support and children, The Law for the encouragement of employment and The Code for social insurance*. Bulgarian women can still profit from a generously paid maternity leave until a child reaches the age of two. In the first year, a mother receives 90% of her monthly salary and the second year she receives the minimum working wage (Labour Code article 164). If a young woman has to come back to work before the end of her maternity leave, she can use paid days off for breast feeding or the care of her toddler (Labour Code article 166). In 2004, an additional unpaid vacation of 6 months for every of the parents was implemented. This vacation can be used for the care of a child until it reaches the age of 8.

Women can rely a lot on protection by the law. They cannot be laid off before delivery (birth) and before the child reached the age of 3 (Labour Code art.333). It is forbidden for pregnant women to work night shifts or to perform any other activities which could harm their health. If their

profession/job requires traveling and the woman is pregnant or the mother of a child under the age of 3, the employer has to ask for permission from the employee if she could travel outside the town of living. All these restrictions try to protect and support women to conduct the roles of mothers and employees.

The process of acceptance in the European Union launched the perception of the concept of *gender mainstreaming* and started the initial steps to build a specialized institutional mechanism for gender equality and advancement of women in the country under the Beijing Platform for Action. The *Consultative Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men* at the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy and the *Sector for "Equal Opportunities for Women and Men"* at the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy created in the early 2004 are an expression of the willingness to build an institutional structure for developing a policy for gender equality.

After 2007 when Bulgaria became a Member-State of the European Union (EU), many of the European directives related to women were incorporated in the Bulgarian legislation. One of the key missions of the European Union is to fight against inequality. The purpose of Lisbon Strategy is to defend the equality between men and women in every sphere of life. The Lisbon Strategy's goals were to increase the number of employed women and to protect people from poverty and social banishment.

Bulgaria as member- state of EU is responsible for implementation of all strategies adopted by the union. The coordination of policies of gender equality in Bulgaria is delegated to the *Ministry of labour and Social Policy*. There is a special agency in the structure of the ministry which is responsible for the observation of all strategies and policies for gender equality. The Ministry is a beneficent of the EU's Operational Programs and implements many projects focused on women and their flow into the labour market. The purpose of projects is to popularize the ideas of equality and rights of women. Bulgarian governors try to reach the goals of Strategy "*Europe 2020*" which emphasizes on the equality between men and women, while fighting against discrimination based on gender. One the strategy's goals is to reduce the number of banished women, single mothers and their flow into the labour market.

The government tried to help young families and especially women to combine child care responsibilities and work. It started a few programs financed by the Operational Programs of the EU. The "Help for motherhood" and "Back to work" programs tried to help families with young children who were not attending kindergarten. Programs offered the option for the child to be cared by a babysitter while the mother goes back to work.

Together with European directives, Bulgaria adopted new strategy - *Strategy of equal opportunities between men and women (2009-2020)*. The key points of this document are the equality between men and women, their balance between private and professional life, and their participation in decision making policies.

Other adopted strategies were the *National strategy for Demographic development of the Republic of Bulgaria (2006-2012)* and the *National strategy for Demographic development of the Republic of Bulgaria (2012-2030)*. The focus of all of them is to support families in their efforts to combine their work activities and home responsibilities which could also help raise the birth rate.

All of these programs and strategies are not enough to help the woman to be a working mother. 63% of people say that they are too tired when they come back from work which reflects on their time spend with children and family. Another 10,9% of people with young children answer that they cannot balance their private and professional lives (NSI 2010, 65).

The solution of the work-family problem must be put on social debate and some of decisions to be implemented in the legislation of the country.

6. Conclusion

As a conclusion, we can say that the Bulgarian women's movement is recovering slowly by directing its efforts mainly to increase the role of women in decision-making process, to strengthen the political and economic participation of women, and to achieve equal pay for equal work and equal opportunities of realization.

To overcome these and many other issues facing women, the women's organizations take active measures to deal with them. Some organizations focus on a particular aspect such as the economic activity of women as is the case with the Association "Club of Women Entrepreneurs and Managers in Bulgaria", while others like the Foundation "Center for Research and Policies for women" direct their activities towards the equality of women in every sphere of life.

The actions of organizations aiming for the achievement of equality and the elimination of gender stereotypes in Bulgaria are oriented towards two approaches. The first approach is through training which aims to acquaint the public with the existing problems and practices on the one hand and to prepare experts in this field on the other. The second approach is to participate in round tables and council sessions along with representatives of the government, where laws, plans and strategies for achieving equality of women are created.

The main problem which the women's movement for equality faces is the lack of sufficient sensitivity to women themselves. The planted attitudes of equality from the former communist regime proved an obstacle to the development of female (and not only) sensitivity to gender. Even if women become victims of discriminatory practice because of their gender, a majority of them will not interpret it that way and would not pursue their rights.

The activity of the women's movement in the country should continue in the direction of the self-maturation of the process of equality among women themselves. Future studies should be focused on examining the attitudes and values of women in the personal and social context to draw conclusions about the continuing obstacles to the development of the women's movement in the country.

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"THEY PREFER WHITE MEN": THREE PORTRAYALS OF FILIPINA CLASS AND SEXUALITY BY YOUTUBE USERS

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Abstract: *Contemporary Philippine society is heavily dependent on visual media, where both content and aesthetics are visibly influenced by a culturally ingrained preference for what is considered “Western,” as well aspirational narratives regarding transnational relationships. Using image and discourse analysis in the context of orientalism, post-colonialism and gender, this paper aims to present examples of how certain white male Youtube bloggers appeal to the aforementioned cultural preferences in order to assert dominance and capitalize on what they portray to be Filipino femalehood.*

Key-words: *sexuality, gender and ethnicity, orientalism, postcolonial theory, social media, Philippine studies*

1. Introduction

On October 15, 2017, the YouTube page of an American television station, The Learning Channel (TLC), uploaded a snippet of *90 Day Fiancé*, a television show named after the 90-day waiting period foreigners must undergo before obtaining a K-1 U.S. visa for marriage purposes. This particular episode featured an American, Larry, and his fiancée Jenny, a Filipina.⁹ In the three-minute video, Larry is seen balking at the sight of a large meal prepared by Jenny's extended clan in their small village in Urdaneta, Pangasinan. Noting the family's bare conditions— cutlery made of recycled instant noodle cups, a dilapidated table covered with nothing but banana leaves, moldy concrete walls and makeshift stools lying close to the bare, muddy ground— Larry

⁹ “How Will Jenny’s Family React When Larry Snubs The Meal They Prepared?” YouTube Video, 2:53. Posted by “The Learning Channel,” October 15, 2017 <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=070fjeBlenY>

reveals his hesitation to try the fare which Jenny's father chops with his bare hands using a rusty cleaver, citing his propensity to diarrhea. It is later revealed that the cause of the commotion was a whole roasted pig, a *lechon*, which is considered a rare indulgence for Filipino families, particularly for families like Jenny's, who can barely afford regular meals. In a later scene, Jenny's family explains that the last time they were able to buy a lechon was when she was four years old, and that it took them five hours to prepare.

Larry takes a bite of the pork, visibly shudders in disgust, and immediately spits it out. Jenny's parents reprimand *her* for his actions, coaxing her to feed her husband, as his refusal to partake of the feast has caused embarrassment for the family and grievance among the guests. The video ends with Jenny scolding Larry, telling him that he was rude for not appreciating the meal, which due to her poor pronunciation of the English language, sounded like 'road,' which Larry then took to mean that he was 'old.'

Although the clip has gained more than 1.5 million views on the original TLC YouTube page, it was not until April 2018 that it rose in popularity among Filipino viewers. Larry's visibly awkward discomfort surrounded by Jenny's poor but enthusiastic clan, and Jenny's mispronunciation of the word *rude* piqued the humor of YouTubers, and eventually, mainstream media. Soon, parodies of the clip sprung up on both platforms, gaining hundreds and thousands of views.¹⁰ The original clip eventually came to be known in popular discourse as "You're Road." Reactions to the clips were mixed, ranging from insinuations of Jenny being an uneducated gold-digger and Larry being a racially-insensitive white male, to sympathy for trying to make a relationship work despite geographical distance and cultural differences.

Eventually, a mainstream Filipino television documentary series featured Jenny and Larry's story in a piece which can be translated to "Jenny's Road to Forever" — a play on Jenny's infamous mispronunciation, narrating her struggles with poverty and adapting to life with an English-speaking foreigner.¹¹ It was revealed in the documentary that Jenny and Larry met through an online dating site. This documentary has gained over three million views, which is twice than that of the original TLC clip.

¹⁰ See: "You're Road! Full Scene." YouTube video, 3:14. Posted by "Kamotee TV," April 10, 2018 https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=Tb1fm_lpQpU; also, "Banana Sundae: You're Road!" YouTube video, 3:09. Posted by "ABS-CBN Entertainment," April 15, 2018 <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=pvUYTLAYvLQ>.

¹¹ "Kapuso Mo Jessica Soho: Ang Road to Forever ni Jenny." GMA Public Affairs. <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=F5v7omlha5w> <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=F5v7omlha5w>. Uploaded April 23, 2018.

2. Purpose of the Study and Contribution to the Field

The power of the Internet is evident in this narrative. Through the ease of online sharing, the time it took for the story of Jenny and Larry to explode into public consciousness and eventually lead to a documentary was less than a month. Indeed, their narrative would not have even come into being without the online dating apps that facilitated contact between the two.

While the force of online media is acknowledged, it is this paper's contention that the speed and impact of this trend cannot be attributed to mere technological advancement, but should be viewed as a new manifestation of deep-rooted issues in Filipino family values, identity, class politics, and long-held stereotypes. Using existing literature and research on topics such as Filipino gender roles, family values, inter-ethnic relations and economic mobility as well as cases in internet communication technologies, it is this paper's goal to determine the factors that explain the popularity of this and other similar trends, and their implications on Philippine society.

In particular, we take inspiration from the aforementioned trend to ask the following research questions:

1. In the context of both social networks and contemporary Western media representations of Filipinos and Filipino-hood, do long-standing stereotypes still exist? If so, what are these stereotypes, and how do they influence discourse?
2. With online communication opening channels of discourse for both foreigners and Filipinos, do users cling to traditional socio-political and economic narratives, or do these narratives evolve according to the increase in the availability of information and both online and physical mobility?

This paper is, in essence, a glimpse not only into representations of Filipinoness in popular online media as expressed by the foreign, particularly Western, gaze, but is also an inquiry as to how Filipinos themselves create their collective identity as a reaction to this gaze, using the tools of self-expression made available by modern technology. It also seeks to analyze how modern Filipino Internet users both reflect and influence the relationship between the Filipino and the foreign, especially in terms of social values and ethnic self-worth.

Existing research has highlighted how traditional media (that is, print, cinema and television) has been used to portray Asian cultures' relation to Anglo-European societies, where two common themes abound. First, the female Asian body is hypersexualized, and is seen as a territory of conquest by white male protagonists. Second, the latter are portrayed as both physically and morally superior, who come to liberate communities from

poverty and feudal slavery, often perpetrated by Asian men who are seen as weak and effete (see Marchetti 1993; Kim and Chung 2005; Shimizu 2007; Lo 2010). The longevity of this historical trend is attributable to the nature of consumption: such content is produced by Anglo-Europeans, for an Anglo-European audience. More unfortunate is that traditional Anglo-European media can rely on this narrative due to the existing socio-economic reality of sex tourism in poor communities across Southeast Asia (see Frank 2007 and Constable 2009).

This study recognizes that media has undergone several significant changes in the contemporary era. Social media, particularly platforms like Youtube, modify the dynamic between content producer and consumer. On one hand, narratives no longer rely on fictionalized representations of socio-economic trends: content broadcasted through sites like Youtube is portrayed to be real, actual, and unedited (the degree to which this is true is secondary; what is important is that viewers consume content for its supposed realism). This realism is further validated by the interactivity of media platforms, whereby the immediate responsiveness available to viewers can either affirm or deny observations put out by creators (Laporta 2009; Gershon 2011; Chen 2016). Youtube's influence is thus bi-directional and self-generating, in that the personal realities creators portray are actually made to be consumed by the demand of public sensibilities, in contrast to traditional media which molds public perception based on fictionalized representations made by a few with access to broadcast technology. This dynamism is key to this study, as it aims to assess the state of existing narratives through a modern, technological lens.

3. Historical and Social Context

The Philippines is a country that was formed as a result of colonialism and remained under the yoke of foreign powers for almost half a millennium, thus the Filipino identity is irrevocably tied to its Spanish and American colonizers (Hunter 2007). During the Spanish colonial period (1521–1898), the term 'indios' was used to describe native Filipinos— short and dark skinned, these natives were at the bottom of the colonial social pyramid, white-skinned Spaniards being at the top (Constantino 1982). The fair-skinned Spaniards at the top of the pyramid had access to the best quality of education, often in mainland Spain, and all positions of government were open to them. Those of the lower rungs, namely the Spaniards born in the Philippines, followed by half-Spaniards and half-Filipinos, followed by full-blooded Filipinos had correspondingly decreasing levels of access and indeed of social status (ibid.)

This deeply imprinted European ideals of white superiority in the Philippines. Vicente Rafael identified the Spanish mestizo as the origin of the Filipino's "racial longing for whiteness," finding the "crossroads between Spain and the Philippines, Hollywood and Manila (2000)." During the American colonial period (1898-1946), the Americans portrayed themselves as white saviors, deepening the Filipino's linkage of race, skin, and identity (Rondilla 2007, 54). While the system of government the United States introduced post-war had no ethnic rungs, nevertheless there was an implied superiority by virtue of the perceived 'White Man's burden, to cite Kipling, and the Filipino natives required civilizing and uplifting.

Since then and up to the present, white skin has been venerated in the Philippines (Hunter 2007, 237). In terms of consumption, this manifests in fair-skinned television personalities getting top ratings, and whitening products being sold on every supermarket aisle. While the aspirational value of whiteness and its consequent effect on the production of goods such as whitening creams is a phenomenon common to many post-colonial societies (Leong 2006; Glenn, 2008), it is wise to note that this manifests itself a way unique to the context of representations of Filipinoness in popular media. As an example, in 2018 a popular fiction series chose to cast lead actors with European ancestry and consequently mixed features— prominent cheekbones and high noses, fair skin and wide eyes— who were then made to perform in brownface to mimic traditionally tan-skinned indigenous people. Despite backlash from the academe, Filipino viewers bolstered it to become the highest-rating program in network television.¹²

This is particularly significant, as Philippine society relies particularly heavily on media. For instance, due to numerous reasons such as internal migration and a large percentage of the population working as Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs), social media usage in the Philippines is among the highest in the world.¹³ In 2018, according to data compiled from various third-party sources, Filipinos spent 9 hours and 29 minutes a day on the internet, mainly on sites such as Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. With the rise of online media came the rise of amateur video blogs by or about Filipinos such as those to be unpacked in this paper. The two aforementioned factors— aesthetics historically favoring Caucasian features and the reliance on both

¹² As reported in: Tatad, Gabbie. 2018. "Bagani, assemble." The Philippine Star Online. <<https://www.philstar.com/lifestyle/supreme/2018/03/10/1795142/bagani-assemble> >

¹³ Data from the We Are Social national survey: We Are Social. 2018. "Digital, Social & Mobile in APAC in 2018." <http://wearesocial.com/sg/special-reports/digital-social-mobile-in-apac-in-2018>.

broadcast and Web-based media—influences the content consumed by viewers.

Another aspect to be discussed in this paper is material and cultural orientalism, which Rosenblatt (2009, 52-54) describes not only as the exercise of superiority by Anglo-Europeans through the possession of material artefacts and access to cultural practices from societies (such as those from the Middle East and Asia) otherwise considered exotic in the West, but also the reproduction of these images and discourse, removed from their original socio-cultural contexts, in order to entice consumption (ibid.). This is taken from Said's (1995, 3) original definition of orientalism as the dominance, structuring, and authority of the Western gaze exercised through representations of the East, particularly in descriptions of “race, nationality, and Otherness,” which have spilled over to contemporary visual media (Bernstein 1997, 2).

4. Methodology

The methodology employed by this paper is based on the functionality of Youtube's search result and visibility algorithms. According to Youtube's manual for content creators¹⁴, three criteria must be present for a video to reach the maximum number of viewers, mainly:

1. That the video title must be precisely worded as to accurately match possible search terms which users input;
2. That the video title and description must be similar, and if possible, actively linked, to existing content to increase the video's relevance;
3. That the more a video is viewed (either due to the previous two criteria being met, or active views acquired from external promotions, i.e. linking through other social media such as Instagram or Facebook)

These three factors are work in parallel: an increase in any one might lead to an increase in the others—ultimately resulting in increased visibility. Following this principle, a search was performed for the key words “Filipino dating” and “dating in the Philippines.” The top 30 videos for each search word were examined, and related content linked to these videos were also viewed.

¹⁴ Youtube. “Learn: Search and discovery on Youtube.” Available at <https://creatoracademy.youtube.com/page/lesson/discovery#yt-creators-strategies-1>.

More than a hundred videos were viewed, but certain criteria were employed to select the videos to be analyzed. First, either the content creators or the video subjects themselves had to be from an Anglo-European country to highlight the 'Western Gaze' found in these videos. Second, these videos must include references to interactions with Filipinos, especially women, in different social contexts: migration, relationships, tourism, employment, etc. This generalist approach aims to extract commonalities across a wide range of narratives.

Next, the videos were analyzed through critical discourse analysis. Critical discourse analysis primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context." (Van Dijk 2003, 352) and is particularly relevant to the research questions tackled in this paper.

This analysis is aided by Grounded Theory by Strauss and Corbin which proposes that repetition and re-creation in discourse points to over-arching themes that dominate and underly subjects' worldviews (as quoted in Bryman 2016, 567). Grounded Theory involves two key principles: first, the concept of 'change' is an integral part of the theory, given that "phenomena are not conceived of as static but as continually changing in response to evolving conditions," (Corbin and Strauss 1990, 5), and; a definitive A stance on determinism, in which are able to make choices according to their perceptions (ibid.). In sum, Grounded Theory "seeks not only to uncover relevant conditions, but also to determine how the actors respond to changing conditions and to the consequences of their actions." (ibid.)

5. Research

A review of about 100 results yielded 48 videos relevant to the above criteria.¹⁵ Common themes include foreigners' decisions to move to the Philippines due to the accessibility of tourist spots and subservient Filipino hospitality. Some titles include "This is why we moved to the Philippines" by Divert Living; "Good News: Ilang Dayuhan, pinapatunayang 'It's more fun in the Philippines'" ("*Some foreigners prove that it's more fun in the Philippines*") by GMA News; and "How Foreigners are treated in the Philippines" by Anthony Smith. Other videos portrayed white males as heroic figures beloved by their local, and often impoverished, communities for their willingness to learn the local language (e.g. "Foreigner Chris Urbano Tagalog Interview on

¹⁵ A full list of these video links have been compiled in the following address: https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLqki2bvuuqhDqLDb3zIJ_Vp1UcUBC6qBm

CNN Reel” by Chris Urbano; “A Day in the Life – Foreigner Living in the Philippines” by The Black Filipino TV, etc). Such videos discuss themes which have already been explored by existing studies: the Philippines as an unexplored territory, local communities relying on Western tourism, subservience as a form of hospitality, etc.

Among the results, three videos stood out due to the number of views they have garnered, the number of videos actively linked to them, and the depth of imagery and discourse employed in relation to this paper’s theme. These are: “Why Dating in the Philippines Is SO HARD for WHITE GUYS,” by David DiMuzio; “VALENTINES DAY DATE WITH FILIPINA GIRLFRIEND (Love In The Philippines),” by Kyle Jennermann; and “Filipino Girls - What Really Turns Them On!” by Travis Kraft.¹⁶

The videos were posted online between 2016 and 2018 and the most watched video has received nearly 500,000 views. Apart from the three videos’ popularity measured in views, they were also chosen for characteristics shared by their creators—all of them are white males who have spent time in the Philippines and have had exposure to mainstream Philippine media. This criterion was specifically chosen to highlight the dynamics of masculinity (and gender in general) and foreignness, which will be featured later in the analysis. These criteria will also help to identify patterns of cultural and material orientalism as discussed above.

Three videos were analyzed for this paper. The first video, by David DiMuzio, set the stage early: he stated that he has “always preferred Asian girls,” (0:27) and identified himself as a “young guy, a white guy,” (1:13) with the insinuation of his privileged position in the Philippine context. DiMuzio continues by classifying Filipina women into three ‘classes’: low-class girls, high-class girls, and the “best potential mates,” the middle-class girls.

Low-class girls according to DiMuzio use their looks in order to generate money for their families, mainly through working as GROs¹⁷ or through selling beer. He states that they are uneducated, do not speak a lot of English, and will require partners to support their families. He concludes that they are “not a great choice [for a relationship]” as they come from a much different social

¹⁶ DiMuzio, David. 2016. *Why Dating in the Philippines Is SO HARD for WHITE GUYS*. Available at https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=WZ6_NZDBnvA; Jennermann, Kyle. 2018. *VALENTINES DAY DATE WITH FILIPINA GIRLFRIEND (Love In The Philippines)*. Available at <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=ZZ6rlzzQOB0>; Kraft, Travis. 2017. *Filipino Girls 🇵🇭 What Really Turns Them On!* Available at <https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=kVGtzAR-Jbw>.

¹⁷ Guest Relations Officers (GROs) are women who work in legal entertainment establishments to entertain male customers; however often are pressured to engage in prostitution (Wiss 2011).

place from a white guy. High-class girls to him are also a poor choice. He defines them as “*sosyal*”— a colloquial Filipino term for members of the upper class, with slightly negative connotations— as they enjoy a privileged lifestyle, having a high degree of education, watching musicals, and traveling internationally. Finally, he described middle-class girls as the “best potential mates” being somewhere in the middle of the two extremes. He concludes that finding a wife or partner in the Philippines is a challenge because of the social structure of the country and counsels his viewers to seek Filipina OFWs, who are “great people to date” because of their financial security and exposure to the West.

The second video by Kyle Jennermann centers around his and his Filipina girlfriend’s Valentine’s Day celebration in Manila. As part of his #BecomingFilipino paradigm, Jennermann takes pains to use Filipino vocabulary such as *takot* [fear] and *kilig* [in this context the feeling of romantic excitement] often also giving the Bisaya version of the Tagalog words stating that he “is drawn to this whole Bisaya thing.” However, his girlfriend who remains unnamed is often simply seen following Jennermann in the background, and indeed does not speak until well into the video, at 3:12, but only with a simple reply to Jennermann, “of course,” and says little else afterwards.

The final video is a departure from the first two, with the YouTuber Travis Kraft asking the question “What turns on Filipino girls?” to passers-by. The answers include: “*pogi, matangkad, matangos ang ilong* [handsome, tall, with a sharp nose],” as well as “*maputi* [fair-skinned]” and “*mahilig talaga ako sa foreigners* [I really prefer foreigners].” Kraft then states that he has a large American male viewership. Kraft concludes by saying that men, implying white men, ideally need to “look good” physically but also need to be “a strong and confident guy” to win over a Filipina. His subjects exclusively included minimum wage earners: students, nurses, and waitresses.

6. Findings

Based on the analysis of all three videos, it is apparent that Filipino women are still objectified and treated as ‘other’ based mainly on physical attributes and social class, described in terms representing ‘wives and mates’ rather than as individuals. For instance, Filipinas who are considered desirable, such as DiMuzio’s description of the ‘high-class girl’ are poor choices for partners, not because of their personality or qualities, but rather because of the competition: wealthy and attractive Filipino men. This implies that the goal here is to choose neither an overly challenging target nor one that would be a

financial burden, but rather a docile, Westernized, financially stable girl. This hearkens to the concept of othering in Orientalist studies, where for the Western gaze, the Orient offers “exotic, sinful, sexual delights” (Sardar 1999: 6) in this case with a practical overlay: to have independent income.

6.1. Racism and Representation

Referring back to the concept of orientalism as power exercised through representation, the binary Orientalist tone of this video is evident: DiMuzzio, despite the bravado of his rhetoric, cannot stand being challenged by non-white males, nor can he accept the idea that economic power can be accessed by non-whites from traditionally disadvantaged nations. DiMuzzio rejects any potential competition with Asian men, thus rejecting any high-class Filipinas as potential partners due to the possibility that they would choose an Asian man over him. This desire not to come into competition with Asian men is another facet of Orientalism: where white men are portrayed as strong and masculine, Asian men, like Asian women, must therefore be weak and feminine (Clark 1995; Kim and Chung 2005). To be in competition with such a man is therefore an embarrassment. His enumeration of past relationships with ethnically Asian women (0:37-0:41) attests to the commodification of ethnic women as trophies for white males. His automatic designation of “low-class girls” as sex workers (2:16-2:40; 5:15-5:30) also alludes to gendered, classist stereotypes demonizing female sexuality.

Jennermann's representation of the Philippines and his relationship with a Filipina is more sinister in its innocuousness. Not only does he avoid the classist, racialized and gendered rhetoric that DiMuzio embraced, he also uses positive language in his video description, stating that it is part of “becoming Filipino” and engages with the video audience by wearing clothing that states I love Siquijor, an island in the Philippines. However, one can immediately notice a tangible absence of the Filipina voice in his video. His partner, unnamed throughout, stays silent in the background, while images of Jennermann enjoying typical tourist activities such as sampling local food are shown (01:40-02:20), all the while adding captions explaining what these are to presumably non-Filipino viewers. While it may be argued that this was shot as a true personal journal, a deeper look shows that there is little distinction between his framing of and description of both his girlfriend and the other ‘Filipino experiences’ such as reasonably priced hair salons and buffets that he shows on video. Indeed, one can assume that his silent partner—seemingly shown in the video only to show that Jennerman is with his partner on Valentine's Day— can be listed as simply one of these experiences. One cannot separate Jennermann's identity as a white male from the experiences

he portrays, considering how Filipinoness is portrayed as something to be gained, thus also harkening to another quality of orientalism: access to the exotic.

Travis Kraft's video departs from the first two in that the narrative voice is given to Filipina women, while the YouTuber stays almost silent throughout. At first glance it would seem like deference is given to the Filipina voice, and yet it is shot as illusorily as Jennermann's. While the latter avoids discussing relationships directly and focuses instead on the luxuries of living in the Philippines, Kraft's approach is more explicit, while his selection of subjects is more restrictive and reflects DiMuzio's demonization of female sexuality and women in poverty. His video's icon, for example, shows a woman with legs spread out, with a stuffed animal covering her privates; throughout the video, his subjects appear specifically chosen as members of the working class—nurses, waitresses, and young students. Moreover, during the course of the video, he constructs a series of leading questions which ultimately bring the viewer to the conclusion that Filipino women ultimately disregard personal values in the search for white men, with the end-goal of ending up with a foreigner. At 1:00-1:20, for example, a waitress and a nurse are interviewed, the former explaining that financial responsibility and kindness, not physical attraction, are the ideal qualities she looks for in a man. This is abruptly cut to show Kraft sitting beside a nurse (1:06), asking:

"So, what kind of foreigner do you like?"

"Actually, mahilig talaga ako sa foreigners, pero..." [I actually prefer foreigners but...]

(Kraft interrupts her in American-accented Filipino) *"Parang ako, di ba?"* [Just like me, right?] He then cuts away from the subject, focuses the cameras on himself, and proceeds to explain how his viewers include a lot of American men.

At 2:29 another nurse was explaining how her ideal partner would be good-natured (*"mabait"*) before starting to stutter. Kraft, like in the previous interview, interrupts her: "I am making you nervous, right," with his body leaning close to the subject, who appeared uncomfortable with the proximity. At the end, Kraft's advice to American viewers was simple: "in the end... do your best to look physically good." (2:49) This was despite all of his subjects stating that looks do not matter to them.

Kraft's video, while allowing the viewer to hear the voices of a group of women, is very deceptive in its nature. First, his narrow selection reflects the stereotype that Asian women, Filipinas in particular, belong to the working class, thus rendering women in the industries and the academe invisible to

his audience. Moreover, his discourse portrays authority, right from the definitively-voiced title (“What REALLY turns Filipinas on”) to his final advice negating all of his subjects' opinions. His body language and interruption of interviewees to insist on his attractive whiteness, as well as the timing of his appearance in the middle of the video, might seem benign, but actually reflect the exercise of dominion over Filipino females' bodies and opinions. The deliberate interjection of Filipino words into his speech also alludes to orientalism as access: even in the realm of language, he is able to penetrate his subjects' worlds, while they are unequipped to parlay with him in the language of his.

While it is worthwhile to remember that even private video blogs such as the three discussed in this paper are curated towards public consumption, it is also important to note that this framing also adds to the discourse: the authors of the videos selected their shots, their location, and their subjects based on their own personal beliefs and preferences.

6.2. Viewer Reactions

More than the videos themselves, an interesting addition came in the form of the comment sections of the three videos. Quite a number of public comments expressed support for all three. For instance, Jennerman's video comments were mostly congratulatory in nature, complimenting him on his date. There were a few, however, which expressed gratitude for Kulas featuring the Philippines:

“Kyle, thank you for loving the Philippines.” - Laguna Milkman

“Very good Kulas, now you're dating with our fellow Filipina you're in love with our kababayan mostly our country...” (Very good Kyle, now that you're dating a Filipina, you're more in love with our country.)- Dennis Bentir

DiMuzio, however, received visible disapproval from his viewers. Some top comments on his page include:

“I prefer you should date the lower class girls to broaden your views... Those GROs you mentioned are the minorities. I still think most Filipina women know better to stay out of those jobs...” - mailer daemon

“I came from low class poor family in cordillera... but I used my family backgrounds to pursue my dreams... im good company... poor people are smart too. (sic)” - Lheema Yu

“...have you ever asked yourself maybe for once your attitude or how you treat them is the primary reason why it didn't worked out (sic)? Think

about it. Maybe you're blinded by our flaws that you haven't noticed yours." - Argenio Marianne

Comments for Kraft reflected cynical agreement, with quite a number coming from foreigners living in the Philippines. More astonishingly, Kraft's discourse also led to the devaluation of Filipino men. Examples include:

"It's funny because many Filipinos have dark skin or are very ugly... They are disgusting. But, Pigs do good with dirt. (sic)" - Cs go giveaway Guy

"God damit! (sic) Im not white n tall" - Chronle Vidal, to which Kraft responded: *"I'm sorry to hear that..."*

"The old white guy who killed all those people in Vegas last night was dating a Filipina... coincidence?" - evancortez22

Despite the glaring similarity in DiMuzzio and Kraft's messages, the difference between the comments received is noticeable. This can be attributed to the composition of the videos themselves. In the case of the former, his discourse was that of a foreigner with explicitly outsider views; his otherness triggered opposition from his Filipino audience, who while adoring fair skin are also historically sensitive to foreign criticism. Kraft, however, manipulatively used his Filipina interviewees as the main examples of the point he was trying to make: that Filipinas are uneducated, financially dependent, and enamored by Caucasian physical features. Thus, credence is given to his message, and stereotypes are confirmed, with little regard for their historical, social, and cultural contexts.

This reflected a broader phenomenon in Philippine culture where women are sexualized and objectified, as mentioned earlier through print and media campaigns, but also through popular beauty pageants as well as through official government events and political campaigns (Fernandez 1987; Hunter 2007). Whereas a number of movements have pushed for changes in Philippine legislation and public behavior, wide-scale normative change is difficult when the same negative images of Filipina women are underscored on online platforms and reinforced by the internet echo chamber. In the Philippine context, due to lingering colonial mentality, the fact that the videos are created by foreign men simply adds to their credibility.

6.3. Themed Discourse

Another noticeable feature of the three videos mentioned was that the videos linked to them shared similar tones and themes. DiMuzio's video, for example, were linked to content whose titles portrayed Filipina women as problematic. One such video, "Dating in the Philippines: What is Tampo and How to Fix It?"

by Asian Romance, shows a senior-aged white male dating a young Filipino woman experiencing '*tampo*' (a tantrum, a hissy fit). Another video, "My Wife Was a Bargirl" by The Ahern Family, shows an American male defending his wife from accusations that she was lazy bar girl, and "always sleeping" (18:00-21:00). Videos linked to Jennerman had positive content, and featured stories of foreigners who moved to the Philippines due to their perceptions of Filipino hospitality and a low cost of living (e.g. "Sanne, 29, sold everything and moved to the Philippines" by Ett Annat Liv; "The Best Day Ever in the Philippines, Thank You" by Trina and Pierre, etc).

Much like DiMuzio, videos linked to Kraft represented Filipina women as emotionally needy, prone to tantrums, and reliant on their families ("Marrying a Filipina, What to Expect and Things She Will Do" by TheFrostFamily; "5 Tips for Dating a Filipina" by World of Rob; "How to Act Around Filipinos" by ilikegrass1). Interestingly, Kraft also links to another video of his, "White Guy took Filipino Wife to the USA & This Happened," where he portrays his wife's greatest hurdle as being unable to go to the USA. Much like his previous video, he employs his white male physique through a montage of muscle flexing photos and a thumbnail of him naked in bed in order to emphasize his stature as an American (00:00-01:00).

While it can be argued that these playlists generated by Youtube's algorithms are subject to volatile change influenced by the permutations of the search words used and viewing frequency, it cannot be denied that they share common themes and employ similar modes of discourse. The number of views collectively gained by the videos number in the hundreds of thousands, indicating wide patronage by users, and consequently, the influence of the content creators. The perpetuation of stereotypes is enabled by the authority that comes with the visibility and viewership earned by the content creators, who represent their subjective perceptions as reality.

6.4. Female Agency and Hegemonic Masculinity

First, a caveat. While it is easy to dismiss the videos as being manipulative and reflective of long-standing economic, ethnic and gender imbalances, caution must be taken to avoid the extreme of assigning all forms of attraction as mere side-effects of socio-historical circumstances. Indeed, the female subjects interviewed in the three videos above have expressed their preference for Caucasian partners; however, to claim that these women are mere products of their environment and upbringing is in itself elitist. More prudent experts on the field of gendered migration and the transnationality of attraction are quick to remind that attraction, whatever the basis for it, is a legitimate human emotion, and caution against analyzing these without the voices of the

subjects themselves (see Sims 2012; Constable 2007). In any case, the lack of thorough and un-filtered female discourse in the three videos proves the need to explore and re-assert female agency.

This leads to a second, albeit unexpected, point: the representation of masculinity in these videos. Historical precedent indicates that men who choose to partner with Asian, and in this case, Filipina women, are seen as “losers” in their social circles, and with reason—during the pre-Internet mail-order bride era of the 80s-90s, men getting into transnational marriages were old, or otherwise unattractive, attracting females for whom marriage was just an economic endeavor (Constable 2007, 256; Wray 2011, 16-17). It is interesting to note that of the three bloggers, only DiMuzzio hinted at the aforementioned stereotype; moreover, none of the three bloggers were old, or unattractive. (In fact, both DiMuzzio and Kraft make frequent references to being young and handsome, while Jennerman shows himself being pampered in a hair salon). In a process which Connell calls “the intricate interplay of the body with the social process” (1995, 53), we see how the three—deliberately or otherwise—use their bodies to exert influence on both their interview subjects and their audiences. This sexualization of the male body on YouTube can be thus seen as a novel (that is, in comparison to more traditional forms of aggression such as armed combat) form of masculine hegemony, or the exercise of male domination over women (*Ibid.*, 77).

7. Conclusion

This paper focused in-depth on the top three YouTube videos that appeared as a search result for the combination of ‘Filipino dating’ and ‘dating in the Philippines.’ Analysis based on Grounded Theory showed that portrayal of the Filipina as exotic and other still remains the norm, with Filipinas relegated to being sexual objects, specifically as sexual objects of white males. Whereas some videos explicitly described this phenomenon, for instance through DiMuzzio’s taxonomy of Filipino women, the two other videos by Kraft and Jennermann portrayed objectification in a more innocuous manner: through selective editing and silencing the Filipina altogether, respectively.

Responses from viewers were found to be mixed: DiMuzio, who takes on a confrontational tone, received contention in his comment section, whereas Kraft and Jennerman, despite their differing discourses, found favor. In the end, it would be of interest to investigate three things: first, the socio-economic circumstanced and life trajectories of the women who agree to participate in these videos; second, the extent to which the concept of masculinity in itself is a factor in the production of such content; and finally,

the demographics of their viewers. Further research can engage in data mining to collate all available videos that correspond to these criteria and a larger study can be conducted in the future.

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