IMAGE: A MAP OF THE STARS OF THE ORION CONSTELLATION

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ABSTRACT

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I. INTRODUCTION

The feminist religiopolitical movement, also called Islamist feminism, has grown in visibility and popularity in Indonesia, particularly among Muslim women. They can change the country's political environment in many respects that demand deeper understanding because they have only recently achieved substantial traction compared to the traditional, primarily male Islamist movements. Exploring how this movement might affect the current political debate in the most Muslim-dominated country is both urgent and critical.

Islamist feminism could be understood as a reformist ideology that seeks to liberate Muslim women from the androcentric religious praxis. An Iranian-American scholar and a Professor in Sociology, Asef Bayat, argues that Islamist feminism promotes gender equality by blending Islamic principles and the concept of feminism altogether, regardless of their origin: secular, religious, or Western (Bayat, 2007). Through its engagement with the surrounding sociopolitical dynamics and critical dialogue with the broader streams of feminism, it intends to develop a more progressive and vibrant experience for Muslim women. It also aspires to enable Muslim women to pose various critiques of any discriminatory systems that deprive them of their rights. In doing so, Islamist feminism plays a pivotal role in the evolution of Muslim women's movements (Hidayah, 2020).

Since the 1940s, when women like Zaynab al-Ghazali and Nadia Yassine began to play political roles openly within male-dominated communities, the advent of Islamist feminism has been noticed in the Middle East and North Africa (Halverson & Way, 2011). Following that, feminist Muslim groups have been inspired by philosophers such as Amina Wadud Muhsin and Fatima Mernissi (Fikriah & Jakandar, 2018).

In contrast to *Islamic* feminism, which seeks to challenge the men-centric hermeneutics to integrate feminist discourse within the Islamic paradigm (Sirri, 2020), such ideas are brought a step further to the political sphere by *Islamist* feminism through activism and advocacy. Islamist feminism actively introduces such conversations to the sociopolitical realm as an alternate perspective of women's roles in Islam beyond the intellectual arguments around theological reinterpretations. Essentially, political activism is the leading property of Islamist feminism.

Because Islamist feminism started to blossom following the fall of Soeharto's semi-authoritarian regime in 1998, around the same time as the surfacing Tarbiyah movement, this political occurrence is not necessarily new (Mutiara, 2023). The women in Indonesia have been cognisant of gender hierarchies in local customs, organizational structures, and sociopolitical institutions. Misconceptions about the status and roles of women have been perpetuated by both religious authorities and the Indonesian government (Parvanova, 2012). It is perhaps the reason behind the growing popularity of the Islamist feminist movement in modern Indonesia, which merits more examination. Its function and involvement comprise problems such as women's dignity and the liberty to express themselves while also attempting to incorporate such themes within the Islamic framework.

II. THE SIGNIFICANCE AND DISTINCTIVENESS OF ISLAMIST FEMINISM IN INDONESIA

Islamist feminism arrived in Indonesia with philosophy, objectives, and tactics that have repercussions for the future of the country. Its adherents see religious ideas intrinsic in Islamist feminism as a tool to infuse ethics in Indonesian politics in order to dismantle the corrupt system and restrengthen law enforcement. It ultimately allows Muslim women, who are frequently undervalued and disregarded in politics, to express their political concerns.

Yayasan Fahmina, Rahima, Nasyiatul Aisyiyah, Fatayat, Alimat, and Jemaah Tarbiyah are among the established Islamist feminist movements in Indonesia. They constantly fight for women's development and entitlement without dismissing the core values of Islam (Mutiara, 2023). Indonesia's two most powerful Islamic organizations, Muhammadiyah and Nadhlatul Ulama (NU), are associated with Rahima, Nasyiatul Aisyiyah, and Fatayat, while Yayasan Fahmina and Alimat claim to be autonomous institutions (Ismah, 2016). On the other hand, the Tarbiyah group belongs to the female section of the Islamist political party Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS). Despite being an Islamist entity, PKS promotes democracy, plurality, protection of human rights, and women's empowerment (Miichi, 2020). Irrespective of whether PKS corroborates these values for electoral purposes, it has successfully increased women's social and political partaking in Indonesia through Jemaah Tarbiyah.

Because their goals are somewhat alike, these Islamist feminist organizations frequently collaborate. Their responsibilities and activities are interwoven because they all fight for comparable purposes. Many Islamist feminist organizations, for example, participate in the non-partisan Indonesia Women's Ulama Congress (*Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia*/KUPI) quarterly gatherings to discuss problems relevant to gender mainstreaming in Islam. KUPI is a pioneer in convocating female religious leaders in their endeavor to proclaim gender equality as one of the basic principles of Islam (Robinson, 2017).

Sexual abuse, circumcision of female genitals, involuntary marriage, polygamy, divorce, women trafficking, and the well-being of female workers are among the concerns being addressed by Islamist feminists in Indonesia. The proponents of this movement also problematize the Islamic Law imposed upon Indonesian Muslim women on issues such as marriage and divorce as an imported jurisprudence from the Middle Eastern society, thus incompatible with the diverse Indonesian culture and practices (Curnow, 2015).

The Islamist feminists' association of NU and Muhammadiyah magnifies the former's noteworthiness in Indonesian politics. The alliance with NU and Muhammadiyah depicts this movement as a dependable actor to rally the public and convince a remarkable fragment of the electorate, adding to the broadening direction, attraction, and fame of Islamist feminism. Islamist feminist organizations have received public approval countless times by accentuating religiopolitical narratives. Thus, they can mold the political pavement to facilitate women's multiple roles in the domestic space, academics, ethics, society, and politics. Beyond the support from NU and Muhammadiyah, the Indonesian Islamist feminist groups owe their success to their charismatic preachers and leaders, many of whom graduated from Islamic religious schools (*pesantren*) and are currently university lecturers.

Rachel Rinaldo, a writer on Islam and feminism in Indonesia, has highlighted that while Indonesian women have been politically involved throughout their country's history, "visibly pious women" are new on the political scene (Rinaldo, 2013), a pattern seen elsewhere in Muslim Southeast Asia. Rinaldo defines such an occurrence as "pious critical agency," referring to the adeptness to critically and publicly engaging with religious texts. She also contends that not only Islam can be a source of liberation for women, but it is also not fundamentally incompatible with feminism. In fact, they can intersect in new and unanticipated ways (Rinaldo, 2014). Several pieces of literature point out that the secular feminist movements in Indonesia are not detached from the development of Islamic organizations as they are somehow entangled and influence each other (Parahita, 2019).

To illustrate the above, a well-known Muslim scholar and feminist from Indonesia, Lies Marcoes Natsir, was highly appreciated by the two Islamist feminist institutions, Yayasan Fahmina and Mubadalah. id, for her speech on women vis-à-vis Islam during a book launch in 2021. *The book Perempuan (Bukan) Sumber Fitnah!* (Women are (Not) the Source of Slander!) offers an exegesis of 25 *Hadiths* often misused to denigrate women (Ashri, 2021). Natsir is a perfect example of someone who maximizes her religious and political influences on gender equality in Islam through research and advocacy.

Etin Anwar is another example of an Islamist feminist spreading her activism in Indonesia and overseas. She is a Professor at Hobart and William Smith Colleges in New York, United States, whose works examine the genealogy of Islamic feminism in Indonesia, the pursuit of gender equality, the philosophical interpretation of gender and self in Islam, and many others. As a scholar, Anwar regularly speaks about her works through public seminars and webinars, partnering with Islamic universities and institutions. Her LinkedIn page is filled with her continuous activism, which has obtained immense appreciation from across the globe. Recently, Etin Anwar delivered a talk in a workshop on "women in Muslim religion and culture" that aimed to discuss women's rights predicaments from both religious and cultural perspectives.

To contrast the agency of liberal and conservative religious actors in Indonesia, Rinaldo distinguishes between "pious critical agency" (which entails the practice of critical interpretation and judgment) and "pious activating agency" (which accepts and promotes literal interpretation). This dichotomy illustrates well the disparities reflected by supporters of women's rights, marriage law reform, and associated concerns on the one side and supporters of gender hierarchy, polygamy, and—in some cases—state-imposed Islamic law on the other (Schröter, 2013). Even when key concerns affecting women's legal rights and gender equality are at stake, contemporary forms of religious engagement are obviously helping to strengthen women's social and political activism (Atkinson, 2019).

III. PERSONALIZATION OF POLITICS: A THEORETICAL STANDPOINT BEHIND EFFECTIVE POLITICAL OUTREACH

John B. Thompson, a Professor of Sociology at the University of Cambridge, mentioned in his book *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media* that one of the most influential themes of political communication is what he referred to as the personalization of politics (Thompson, 1995). Following his book, many scholars further developed and contextualized this phenomenon in different political and social settings.

This paper adopts the definition of personalization of politics by Gideon Rahat and Tamir Sheafer in their co-written article explaining the half-century evolution of Israeli politics. According to them, political personalization is a process in which the individual actors gain more political weight over time while the axis of the political group declines. It occurred as a reaction to the societal changes at that time, including the deterioration of social stratification and advancing technological advancement in communication. Such factors have contributed to the shift in public perception of political parties, causing the latter to lose control over political communications with potential voters (Rahat & Sheafer, 2007).

As voters pay much attention to individual political figures instead of their political parties, the magnitude of political personalization negatively impacts the party's political identity. For this reason, political parties reconsidered operating backstage so that individual representatives could triumph over the public sentiments through personalizing politics. Such mutual symbiosis amplifies the substance of the political figure while maintaining a good share of representatives for the party.

An example of personalization of politics in Southeast Asia is the Malaysian former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad. The individual branding of Mahathir had a vital role in positioning himself against the other contenders in the 2018 general election. Mahathir, who was already a familiar figure for the Malaysians, leveraged his prominence as a veteran politician and his mastery to connect with voters on an individual level. His unexpected victory invited a number of empirical questions about why some unfavorable regimes stay in power, which, to a large extent, is explained by the plausibility of the personalization of politics as a vital tool to appeal to the masses (Abdullah, 2019).

Rodrigo Duterte's landslide victory in the 2016 Philippines presidential election is another good example of a leader's ability to connect with voters through a strong and decisive portrayal of himself as someone who promised betterment for the country. This construction of political image by Duterte had triumphantly outweighed his controversial and unorthodox campaign style. Furthermore, it placed his political party behind his personal brand and image. A survey done in 2020 revealed that the supporters of Duterte had made up their electoral attitude far earlier than those of other candidates (Sinpeng et al., 2020). Within the digital space, Duterte's fans were not interested in more information about Duterte and instead logged on to advocate for him and undermine his critics.

The present leader of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, also known as Jokowi, also capitalized on the personalization of politics. Prior to his appointment as president, Jokowi was a relatively unrecognized figure in Indonesian politics. He then built his image as a humble, transparent leader who could relate to commoners' daily struggles. He likes to crack jokes, does not hesitate to make physical contact with anyone, and brightens the atmosphere with his cheerful demeanor (Putra et al., 2020). In contrast with many Indonesian political figures seen as rigid and distant, the portrayal of Jokowi strongly carries the sentiments of populism and flexibility.

These are several instances of how the personalization of politics has been applied by many political figures. It has become a frequent phenomenon in the region and beyond, where a heavy reliance is given on personal image to gain political trust and popularity. A similar strategy has been utilized by the feminist religiopolitical movement in Indonesia to intensify their political outreach. More than just an ordinary image-building conducted within a physical space and later publicized by the mainstream media, the political personalization process of this movement is primarily carried out through cyberspace, maximizing the role of social media in providing a convenient platform for political interaction that transcends the physical territory and boundary.

IV. DIGITAL PERSONALIZATION OF ISLAMIST FEMINISTS IN INDONESIA

In the age where cyber connectivity has become an integral part of life, political personalization involves the creation of intimate relations between political actors and voters by leveraging social media's interface and affordability. It requires consistent image-building for the key political representatives. The process encompasses multifaceted aspects of their lives, including lifestyle, sociopolitical activities, personality, and upheld moral values. Some aspects may be emphasized more than others, depending on the kind of image a political figure requires to build in order to control public opinion.

Social media, including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube, is one channel vastly used by many politicians in Indonesia for their political outreach. There are three central motives for using social media in politics (Enli & Skogerbø, 2013). The first is to *market*, meaning political figures use them to heighten the public exposure of their political influence. The second is to *mobilize*, creating online engagements and turning them into actual actions. The third is to *converse*, where dialogues with the followers take place digitally, creating a sense of connectivity between them.

Religion has been proven potent for acquiring political objectives when employed in personalization. Islam is used by many women in Indonesia to obtain political influence. Using Islam in the political personalization by women's political figures is undoubtedly effective in Indonesia, not only because the majority of its population is Muslim but also, more than just a religion, Islam has been part of the culture and daily practice for the Indonesian Muslims. Having an Islamic image through observances, appearance, and lifestyle grants the political figures an automatic 'righteousness' that will enhance their public acceptance. The followers see the constructed religious identity as an ideal guidance to elevate their religiousness and be better Muslims (Nisa, 2018).

Correspondingly, the Islamist feminist movements in Indonesia benefit from using social media for their political outreach. Muslim women embracing this movement cleverly fuse Islamic godliness and personalization to create "Islamic personalization" as an effective method for political campaigns. The predominant motive fuelling the use of Islamic personalization in digital political activities is to win the hearts of netizens by constructing a piety image of the political figure to attract more public support from the followers (Darwin & Haryanto, 2021). Applying piety in digital politics significantly augments politicians' popularity.

Social media and Islamic piety are two primary components that shape Islamic personalization in Indonesia. The amalgamation of the two has successfully increased Muslim women's participation and representation in Indonesian politics. The case study of the regional election in Aceh in 2019 is an excellent reference for the discussions (Darwin & Haryanto, 2021), whereby an involvement in political and religious activism, along with social media advocacy, was among the criteria that women must have to be eligible as regional representatives (Kurniawan, 2018).

A higher level of Islamic personalization in social media by the political figure stimulates positive responses from the followers. In the case of Islamist feminists, religious personalization expands the media outreach for female Muslim candidates to compete politically. This is due to the fact that social media is a significant part of voters' daily lives (Yarchi & Samuel-Azran, 2018). Therefore, the incline of Muslim women's political outreach through social media positively affects their electability and eventually improves their quantity as political representatives. Islamic personalization clearly encourages political participation for Muslim women in electoral campaigns, as well as their representation in the parliament.

The women from the Islamist feminist group mainly use two methods in constructing Islamic personalization on social media. The first is by accentuating feminity as a juxtaposition to gender stereotyping (McGregor et al., 2017). Another method is to insert gender issues currently existing in society into the Islamic framework as something the community needs to fight for instead of perpetuating the patriarchal hermeneutical practice. In other words, female political influencers promote the conquest of gender equality, showing its ostensible feasibility in fitting into the Islamic framework.

The previously mentioned Lies Marcoes Natsir has been working to infiltrate gender-just issues into Islam, such as reframing the Indonesian societal viewpoints on female circumcision and domestic violence, as well as delinking the concept of piousness with headscarves (*hijab*) ("Lies Marcoes Natsir Connects Islam and Gender Equality through Research and Advocacy," 2023). Regarding hijab as a symbol of religious superiority, many Muslim women in Indonesia have unfortunately experienced harassment due to no longer veiling. Expressions of sadness, disappointment, and even rage were thrown through comments on social media at these women, who were judged for "toying with Islam" (Yolandasari, 2021). This is one of the areas Natsir tries to overcome. Back in the 1990s, she also spoke about the importance of Indonesian *pesantren* to understand women's rights concerning reproductive and sexual health (Sciortino et al., 1996). Even at 65, her passion for defending women's rights is still alive through activism on the ground and on social media.

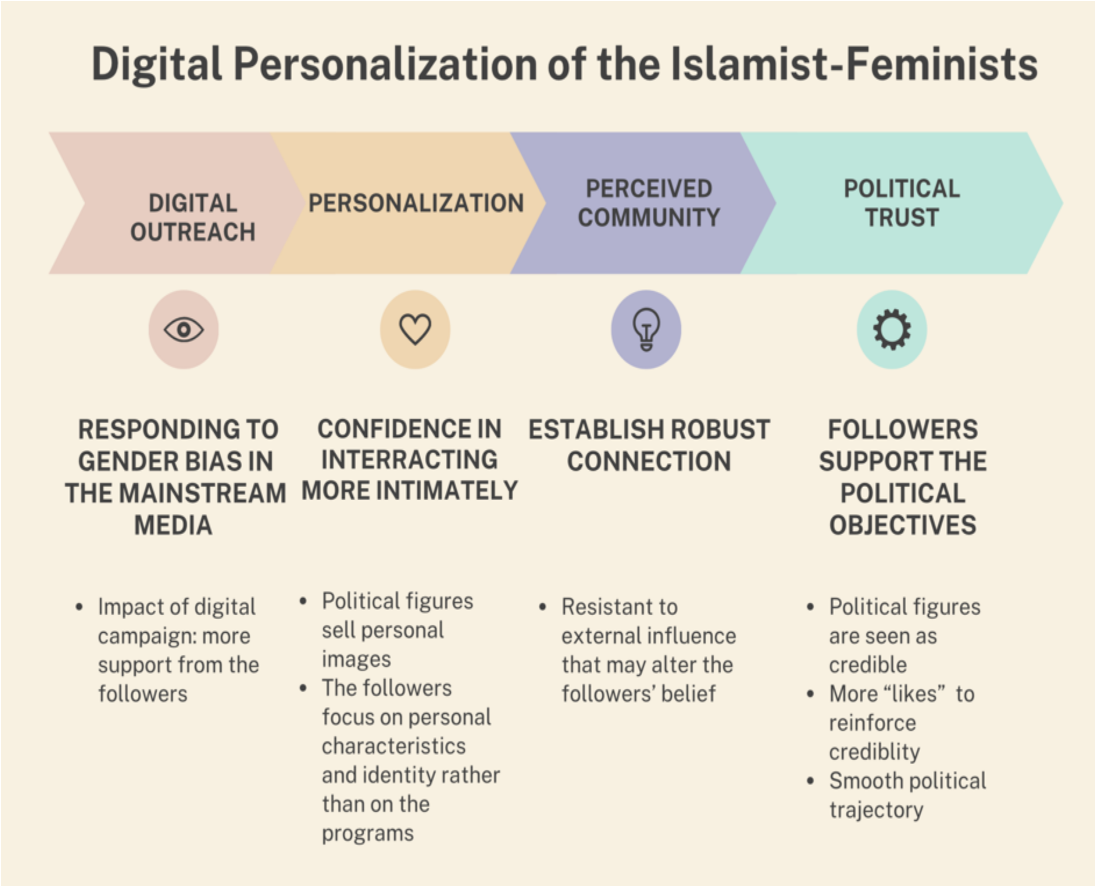
The digital conquest of gender equality by Islamist feminists can be perceived as a response to gender bias existing in the mainstream media (Kim, 2012). Media sexism in political discourse is discernible from the distinct portrayal of men and women, where the former possess a good impression for being "more suitable" to deal with political, economic, and national security issues, while the latter, with physical outlook, lifestyle, and family (Haraldsson & Wängnerud, 2019).

A study done in 2019 reported that digital feminism activists have the irrefutable capacity to mobilize young Indonesian women in the circle of feminists in Jakarta, including those belonging to the Islamist network (Parahita, 2019). Digital outreach by Islamist feminists is one of the best routes of political trajectory because it operates toward building up political trust from the followers, which will help ensure a smooth political career for the political figures. Political campaigns through digital outreach notably impact gaining support from the followers of the political figures. Digital support is indicated by the amount of "likes," positive comments on the posts, and the growth in the number of followers on the social media page. A Professor of Communication who is also an affiliate faculty in Religious Studies at Texas A&M University, Heidi A Campbell, introduced a concept of 'algorithmic-based authority' (Campbell, 2021), whereby those with the most "likes" and followers are regarded as holding the most authoritative quality. This causes the search engines to determine and tell the public who are considered "credible voices" based on the algorithm.

The incline in digital support strengthens the political personalization of Islamist feminists by boosting their confidence in interacting more intimately, albeit virtually, with their followers. At this juncture, the political figures sell personal images, such as individual characteristics and identity, rather than relevant political programs. This is the best point to exhibit their personalized attributes, as the followers have anchored their focus on personal features related to emotional, non-political content.

Followers' preoccupation with subjective elements of the political figures allows Islamist feminists to establish a robust connection with the digital community that transcends to real-life approval from the former to the latter. A "perceived community" phenomenon is formed, whereby followers feel they belong to the same group fighting for the same cause. The followers will also consider the political figures as conduits for their political needs, the warlords of the battle. This perception creates a solid bond between the politicians and their followers. Such a bond is imperative in producing a kind of ideological resistance for the followers, preventing them from shifting their political beliefs amidst external influence.

The flow of digital outreach concerning political personalization within the context of Islamist feminism can be observed from the following diagram.



What goes simultaneously, yet almost unnoticed, within the process of bond creation is an incidental avenue of political 'indoctrination' by the Islamist feminists to the followers. The success of this process is contingent on the effectiveness of politicians-followers rapport-building and the 'marketing' of the former. Apart from the number of "likes" and followers, the outcome of political 'indoctrination' can also be measured by how easily a political figure mobilizes her voters.

It is also interesting to discover that aside from religion, women's political personalization is almost always more effective than men's as they take advantage of gender issues in their campaigns while concomitantly displaying themselves as part of marginalized and underrepresented groups (Jacobs & Spierings, 2016). Another reason for its effectiveness involves the counterforce to women's lack of political representation. Data on the Indonesian 2019 election unveiled the percentage of women elected to Indonesia's national parliament, amounting only to 20.9% of the total seats (Aspinall et al., 2021).

V. INSTAGRAM AS THE MOST PREFERRED POLITICAL CHANNEL

The proselytization (*da'wa*) by Islamist feminist groups in Indonesia was traditionally conducted within physical spaces. However, the religious gathering prohibitions during the COVID-19 pandemic have pushed them to solve social proximity restrictions. It appears that the restrictions have affected the female religious groups much more than their male counterparts, as women in Indonesia are generally more active in attending religious gatherings than men (Nisa, 2021). They then tried to relegitimize their agency through an online presence, countering the narratives of the conservative Muslims who reinforced their online activism during the same period.

The digital activism of Islamist feminists received a warm welcome from many Muslim women in Indonesia, specifically during the complex epoch of the coronavirus. Indeed, we can see the emergence of virtual religious communities worldwide during that period (Parish, 2020). It seems plausible that COVID-19 catalyzed the thriving of digital Islamism since it naturally encouraged people to turn to religion and religious authorities for guidance and support (Nisa & Saenong, 2022). For many Indonesian women, female religious leaders are significant since the country has long seen the feminization of the Muslim audience in religious gatherings, lessons, and events (Millie, 2017).

Thereafter, post-pandemic Islamist feminism is repeatedly found in cyberspace, represented by organizations and individuals. Among diverse channels, Instagram is the most used by Islamist feminists in Indonesia to propagate the synergy of Islam and modernism by reaffirming Islamic values on the issues of the power imbalance between men and women. According to data from "Digital 2019 Indonesia," Instagram is Indonesia's most preferred social media platform, with over 60 million users (Beta, 2019). Instagram's various innovations and functionalities are regarded as the new medium for asserting power, authority, and discourse in a patriarchal system (Alatas & Sutanto, 2019).

Kalis Mardiasih is an example of an Indonesian Islamist feminist advocating on Instagram through her account @kalis.mardiasih. As a writer and activist from NU (Andira, 2020), she has published some works on Islam and gender equality and is an activist on @muslimahfeminis, an Instagram page for Muslim women who claim to “strongly believe in the justice of Islam.” As of September 2023, Mardiasih has nearly 185,000 Instagram followers. She once collaborated with an Indonesian secular feminist group, Jakarta Feminist, to raise awareness of child grooming risks and harms.

A Professor of Islamic Communication and Broadcasting, Alimatul Qibtiyah, is another example of an Indonesian feminist active on Instagram. Heading several important positions under Muhammadiyah (Rudiana, 2019), she frequently engages in Islamist feminism at the conferences assembled by Muhammadiyah. She has written numerous scholarly works on mapping the understanding of gender issues in Islam, preventing sexual violence for women, feminist identity and its Islamic conceptualization, monogamy versus polygamy, as well as the role of Muslim women in preventing violent extremism. Her Instagram posts mostly consist of public invitations to her seminars, live podcasts, and book launchings – all revolving around addressing gender inequality faced by Muslim women in Indonesia.

Examples of active Islamist feminist *groups* on social media are Mubadalah Indonesia, Muslimah Feminist, and Cherbon Feminist, with 43,000, 9,200, and 4,300 account followers, respectively. Through visual content, such as photos and captions, they aim to convince the public that feminism and Islamism could move parallelly in the same direction. The level of activism is also elevated through online protests and petitions. Their primary concerns include contesting the perspectives on polygamy and sexual abuse. Issues on justice, equality, education for women, and gender-based discrimination are also covered in their digital campaigns. Through their social media posts, they introduce alternative interpretations to challenge patriarchal control in Islamic religious texts, i.e., the al-Qur’an and *Hadiths*. They demand that the situation of women be negotiated within the existing patriarchal rule, which often employs Islamic myths to stifle the acts of Muslim women in Indonesia (Rifani & Tambunan, 2020).

VI. CHALLENGES FOR INDONESIAN ISLAMIST FEMINISTS

Although this may sound appealing to many Muslim women, Islamist feminism has the capability to spark sectarian strife among Indonesian Muslims since its ideology may appear too progressive, if not heretical, for many male-dominated Islamist groups. One of the complicating factors in the discussion of feminism in Indonesia is the presumption that feminist ideology is not rooted in Indonesian society and is rather a product of the Western school of thought (Arivia & Subono, 2017). On top of that, the extant hardline Islamist narratives in Indonesia promote patriarchy, conservative attire, polygamy, and underage marriage (Holmes & Fransen, 2021). For them, any debate on these topics equals an attack on Islam because they believe that women's roles have already been predetermined under Islamic principles (*Violent Extremism and Insurgency in Indonesia: A Risk Assessment*, 2013).

Many universities in Indonesia still embrace a male-centric approach to academic teaching and pedagogical training. They consider integrating the feminist perspective with Islam a mistake in developing epistemology since feminism is viewed as a liberalization in Islam, a root of secularization, and a threat to the purity of Islamic jurisprudence (Sumadi, 2017). They also believe that the feminist perception of al-Qur'an as misogynistic perfectly exemplifies Western orientalism, which is defined as a Western European (and American) system of thought and attitude that brought the non-Western "Other" into representation "geographically, culturally, and morally" (Wilson & Gabriel, 2021) to justify Western political and intellectual hegemony.

Furthermore, Islamist feminism may face opposition from conservative female Islamist groups that adhere to patriarchal interpretations of women's roles and obligations. Conservative Islamic groups and activists in Indonesia have successfully exploited online venues, mainly social media, to spread narratives promoting an orthodox interpretation of Islam restricting female equality. Instagram groups @indonesia tanpafeminis.id(@indonesiawithoutfeminist.id), @lawanfeminisme (@fightfeminism), and @thisisgender unequivocally reject feminism and its hybrid ideologies seen as counterintuitive to Islam (Qomariyah & Triyono, 2019). Using the jargon #Uninstallfeminism and #antifeminism in their digital campaigns, they support patriarchal traditions using gender-biased religious tenets.

A study done in 2021 by some scholars from the Department of Communication and Information, University of Padjadjaran in Indonesia, reveals that the anti-feminist movements on Instagram are not free from religiopolitical agendas (Maryani et al., 2021). For instance, they incessantly persuaded the public to reject the Sexual Violence Eradication Bill (*Undang-undang Antikekerasan Seksual*) proposed by the legislative Indonesian People's Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Nasional*/DPR) for the reason that it also safeguards the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) individuals whom they register as blasphemous.

It is also crucial to note that the effectiveness of social media in assisting Islamist feminist groups has some limitations. First, the digital outreach will not affect people who are not following the social media pages of the political figures. Moreover, the countercampaign similarly done in social media by the political opponents could undermine the credibility of the political figures. Lastly, the envisioned version of the political figures may not be achieved during the physical encounter with the followers, leading to the depersonalization of politics, consequently drawing the latter away from the former.

VII. CONCLUSION

The rise of Islamist feminism in Indonesia has definitely impacted Indonesia's political landscape through the slow and steady infiltration of its ideology into the current sociopolitical discourse. The Islamist feminist reformist ideology is manifested in its enthusiasm to empower Muslim women by challenging the androcentric religious traditions through the inclusion of feminist concepts in Islam as an effort to widen their sociopolitical space that is otherwise almost non-existent in the protracted patriarchal structure.

Islamist feminism in Indonesia has been inspired by the same movement that started much earlier in the Middle East, even though both might experience different reception due to distinct sociocultural demography and the degree of pluralism between the two. Over time, the feminist Muslim thinkers in Indonesia have metamorphosized into political agents who actively advocate gender issues in the political sphere while simultaneously ensuring the compatibility of such ideas with Islam.

To assist them in gaining political objectives, the Islamist feminists in Indonesia adopt the method of political personalization in social media, particularly Instagram, where they build personal connections with their followers by building a sense of community. The process involves the construction of a piety image, which is highly appealing to Indonesia's predominantly Muslim population. Additionally, Indonesia's lack of women's political participation has birthed a strong sentiment from the ground to resist the system, craving for gender equality and women's emancipation. Positioning themselves as an underrepresented and marginalized group in Indonesia, coupled with the use of the digital platform, has become an effective formula for Islamist feminists to convey political ideas and organize the masses.

The digital personalization of Islamist feminists in Indonesia is significant in reshaping mainstream politics by opposing the current gender norms deemed outdated and irrelevant. The insertion of religious values in digital outreach is one of the unique features of this movement. Despite the challenges faced by the Islamist feminist movement in Indonesia, their contribution to the evolution of Indonesian politics has been foreseen, recognized, and acknowledged. A tremendous portion of Indonesian society perceives Islamist feminists as captivating because, beyond politics, they also address the everyday problems faced by many Indonesian women, such as gender discrimination, sexism, abuse, and coercion. Therefore, the magnitude of Islamist feminism should not be underestimated, for its rapid expansion and popularity indicate a promising place in Indonesian society.

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Peaceful Mutual Harmonious Practical Accommodation of the Claims of the other in Israel/Palestine

M. Radh Achuthan

ABSTRACT

'What is good for my Family' (Kin Altruism) and 'What is good for my Business' (Reciprocal Altruism) are the primary motivators of 'human Organic Natural Intelligence' (ONI) in social behavior. Concern for unrelated Others designated 'Empathetic Altruism' was pursued in civilization by spiritual leaders. Each had some followers, but ONI was not able to accept different practices without conflict. In Nature Strong Artificial Intelligence (SAI) has emerged in inorganic Silicon, probably to overcome the structural deficiencies of ONI. Nature Is the final arbiter in evolutionary change. However Global Decision Making (GDM) by ONI continues, resulting in much human suffering everywhere. If an accommodation in the contest between ONI and SAI can be arrived at, then people can live in peace in a constructive manner. Toward this end, the current article explores how the peaceful coexistence between ONI and SAI can be achieved.

Keywords: kin altruism, , KA reciprocal altruism, RA, bases for motivation, human organic natural intelligence (oni ONI), structural deficiencies, empathetic altruism, ea, inorganic strong artificial intelligence in silicon (SAI), universal basic income, UBI), global decision making, (GDM), self -paced evolution of oni, final arbiter- nature.

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INTRODUCTION

1. News report the outcome of the ongoing historical socio- political approach of violence, mutual punishment, deaths, and injuries in the Israel /Palestine conflict with multinational empathizers leading to tremendous, human suffering.

2. The following proposal by an outsider for a nonviolent approach merits consideration.

3. We realize that " What is good for my Family" (KI in Altruism) and "What is good for my Business" (Reciprocal Altruism) are the primary sources of motivation for human 'Organic Natural Intelligence' (ONI). They form the bases in all (democratic and oligarchic) , global socio-political order.

4. Civilization attempted but did not succeed at Empathetic Altruism's practical concern for Unrelated Others and in the enablement of Human Rights for all.

5."The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ, Moves on: not all thy Piety nor Wit Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line, Nor all thy Tears wash out a Word of it." This observation, by the Persian poet, Omar Khayyam was written during 1048-1131 in a different context.

But with some adjustment, it characterizes the probable path of evolution in Nature.

6. Facing a cul-de-sac over millions of years, Nature, the final Arbiter, probably evolved Strong Artificial Intelligence (SAI) in inorganic matter, Silicon. SAI is bereft of the identified natural deficiencies of ONI.

7. This development has led to an ongoing contest between ONI and SAI and the contest seeks a resolution.

8. Hence, the relative standings of ONI and SAI are addressed in the article below.

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http://www.sciencepublishinggroup.com/journal/paperinfo?journalid=323&doi=10.11648/j.ash.20180406.14

Reflections on 'Dissonance' and 'Receptivity' of Human Organic Natural Intelligence (ONI) with Self-Teaching, Self-Learning, Inorganic Strong Artificial Intelligence (SAI) Advances in Science and Humanities , 1/25/2019.

9. And how could an acceptable arrangement be struck by SAI with ONI for it to consider relinquishing its current Global Decision Making (GDM) abilities to SAI, is addressed in another article:

http://www.scholink.org/ojs/index.php/sssr/article/view/3295/3314.

Qualitative Aspects for Society of Strong Artificial Intelligence, Studies in Social Science Research, published in SCHOLINK 9/2020.

10. Further the preparation of SAI to optimize EA is explored below:

http://www.scholink.org/ojs/index.php/sshsr/article/view/4265/4773.

Letter on EA optimization.

11. Facilitation of a regionalized global Universal Basic Income (UBI) 8. above, specifically in South Asia, China, Africa, and the Middle- East and acknowledgement that ONI may proceed at its own natural evolutionary pace with no hindrances by (SAI) 9 above, are the minimum needed assurances.

12. Acceptance of this approach could allow by-gones be so as they could be replaced by 100% harmonious acknowledgement of the value in the Beliefs, Traditions and pursuit of human Life in peace for all the people, by all OTHERS.

13. In all of the above, One must recognize that conceptualization of the United Nations was a great human accomplishment. But the ability and demands of Nature have moved on and call for adjustment by ONI.

Feminist Consciousness in English Translation of Eileen Chang's Red Rose, White Rose

Ma Yuge & Hua Jing

East China University

ABSTRACT

There are two English versions of Red Rose, White Rose, a representative short story of Eileen Chang. One is the version of K. S. Kingsbury in 2007 and the other is that of Thompson Brown in 1978. This paper studies the differences in translation features and strategies of the two versions and how the difference translation affects the representation of the personality of characters in the story. It is found out that the female translator Kingsbury adopts "supplementing" and "hijacking" to interpret feminist consciousness in the original and that of herself more thoroughly while the male translator Brown translates the novel more faithfully with traditional translation strategies perhaps due to the shackles of patriarchal thoughts, which reflects the gender differences of translators.

Keywords: red rose, white rose, feminist translation theory, gender differences.

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ABSTRACT

There are two English versions of Red Rose, White Rose, a representative short story of Eileen Chang. One is the version of K. S. Kingsbury in 2007 and the other is that of Thompson Brown in 1978. This paper studies the differences in translation features and strategies of the two versions and how the difference translation affects the representation of the personality of characters in the story. It is found out that the female translator Kingsbury adopts "supplementing" and "hijacking" to interpret feminist consciousness in the original and that of herself more thoroughly while the male translator Brown translates the novel more faithfully with traditional translation strategies perhaps due to the shackles of patriarchal thoughts, which reflects the gender differences of translators.

Keywords: red rose, white rose, feminist translation theory, gender differences.

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I. INTRODUCTION

"Where there are Chinese literature in the world, there are people talking about Eileen Chang". [1] Eileen Chang, a genius emerging from 1940s, had created numerous novels, essays and translation works in the history of modern Chinese literature. As is acknowledged, literature is an international language. Eileen Chang's creativity has also spread into Western world through her works translated in different versions, which provides a channel for foreign readers to touch Chinese literature. Several translated works of Eileen Chang have been published, for instance, *Love in a Fallen City* [2] and *Lust, Caution and Other Stories* [3]. However, studies on Eileen Chang are limited to the literary or realistic values while few scholars focus on the translations of her works from the perspective of translation and feminist translation theory. As such, there is an immense value in studying translation versions of Eileen Chang's novels in a new light.

Red Rose, White Rose [4], a landmark of Eileen Chang's short stories, depicts the emotional entanglement between the protagonist Tong Zhenbao（佟振保）and two women, Wang Jiaorui（王娇蕊）and Meng Yanli（孟烟鹂）. From the perspective of feminism, the novel reproduces the plight of women living in the society ruled by patriarchal consciousness, which subverts the distorted gender concept in the patriarchal society and conveys the women's consciousness in China at that time.

The two versions of translation studied in this paper are from K. S. Kingsbury [5] and C. T. Brown [6]. The female translator, Kingsbury's version in 2007, reflects the female consciousness contained in the novel, which critically acquaints Western readers with Eileen Chang's original story-telling styles. However, another version was produced in 1978 by C. T. Brown, a male professor from American University. This version is selected from Brown's thesis, Eileen Chang's *"Red Rose and White Rose" A Translation and Afterward.*

K. S. Kingsbury, the female translator of *Red Rose, White Rose* has devoted herself to the translation career of Chinese modern literary and Eileen Chang's novels. The Chinese original version of *Red Rose, White Rose* awakened women's consciousness in China and in Kingsbury's translation version those women's consciousness are fully represented. This paper,

London Journal of Research in Humanities and Social Sciences

based on feminist translation theory, intends to explore the specific expressions of the female translator and the male translator, and their respective translation methods and features by analyzing Kingsbury's and Brown's translation versions of *Red Rose, White Rose*, aiming to find out the gender differences of translators in translating Chinese feminist novels from the perspective of feminist translation theory.

II. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON RED ROSE, WHITE ROSE

The studies of *Red Rose, White Rose* done in recent years mainly focus on the main character in the novel, the male character Tong Zhenbao, writing technique and female consciousness in the patriarchal society. Among them, 14 theses probe into the image of the main character, Tong Zhenbao. Researchers like Wu Guofu [7] analyzed Tong Zhenbao's separation of social personality and private characters through "disposition" and "narrative strategy" theory; there are 9 essays concerning writing technique of the novel, particularly the rhetoric. Fang Tingting [8] pointed out that Zhang Ailing used the strategy of "Double Voice Discourse" to show her unique ways of rebellion and challenge to the authoritative awareness of the patriarchal culture in modern China's society; 14 researches the dilemma of women's life and female consciousness in the patriarchal society.

Comparatively, few scholars have approached Eileen Chang's works and the translations of her works from the perspective of translation studies. In 2011, Chen [9] studied two translated versions of *Red Rose, White Rose* and the roles different agents play in both versions of translation. Based on the analyses of translation phenomena and the translation errors, the author put forward some requirements for translators that valuing the source text and adopting the strategy of collaborative translation could help reduce the undesired translation phenomena and the translation errors, making the translation more accurate. Inspired by Liu Miqing's [10] papers on style translation, Zhang [11] figured out that the translation of *Red Rose, White Rose*, reproduced Eileen Chang's eloquent and evocative style accurately and properly in Kingsbury's translation. Then Liu Weiwei [12] analyzed the phrasing and syntactic examples in the English translation of *Red Rose, White Rose*. In 2017, through the application of relevance translation theory to the analysis of figurative rhetoric in the original text and translation, Ren [13] emphasized the importance of this theory; according to the functional theory, it is proposed by Liu Qian [14] that Kingsbury, the translator of *Red Rose, White Rose* used literal translation, annotation, free translation and other methods to deal with simile sentences flexibly which helped readers to understand.

In conclusion, the comparative studies of feminist translation theory in China mainly center at several classic books whereas there is relatively little research on Eileen Chang's works from the perspective of feminist translation theory. Furthermore, though research of the main character in the novel, writing technique, female consciousness in *Red Rose, White Rose* has proliferated in recent years, the majority in the aspect of translation are accustomed to investigating a single translation version with a certain theory. Efforts in deeply analyzing its translation versions and gender differences of translators from the comparison of different versions are lacking. Thus, in order to make up for the shortage of this field in conformity with the hot research topic of feminism, it's of paramount significance to study the gender differences of translators in the two versions of *Red Rose, White Rose* from the perspective of feminist translation theory.

III. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE TWO ENGLISH VERSIONS

3.1 Gender Differences at Lexical level

In traditional translation, authors of original works are often considered sacred and inviolable while the importance of translators is comparatively neglected, so that translators must adhere very strictly to the original text. However, as for feminist translation works, Simon argued, faithfulness is "to be directed toward neither the author nor the reader, but toward the writing project——a project in which both writer and translator participate". [15] Based on this viewpoint, translators should allow language to speak not only for the author, but also for women, so as to subvert the male-oriented translation theory, eliminate the sexist language in the translation and highlight their own personality. In the two versions, the main difference between Kingsbury and Brown is that Kingsbury neutralizes the derogatory words related to female characters and even changes them into the commendatory ones to protect women's image and reveal women's consciousness and the creativity of female translators, while Brown follows the tone of the original text without changing the lexical tendency in order to defend the men's image and the male domination in the novel.

3.2 Names of Main Characters

Character names in a novel are the carrier of cultural association and reveals cultural information. [16] Mr. Siguo once pointed out, from the translation of names, people could see the difficulty of translation. [17] Names of characters carry a lot of cultural connotation, through which, readers are able to catch a glimpse of social conditions and cultural background in a certain period. So when translating surnames and first names, it is important to study the relative cultural information, conventions and regulations. In the two versions of *Red Rose, White Rose*, considering gender differences, living habits and cultural background of Brown and Kingsbury, methods of name translation are also various.

(1) 王士洪道:"我替你们介绍，这是振保，这是笃保，这是我的太太。还没见过面罢？"(张爱玲，2012:57)

Wang Shih-hung said, "Let me introduce you. This is Zhen-bao. This is Tu-pao. And this is my wife. You haven't met before, have you?"(Brown, 1978:12)

"Let me introduce everyone," said Wang Shihong. "Zhenbao, Dubao, my wife. I believe you haven't met yet?"(Kingsbury, 2007:209)

To translate the names of main characters in the novel, Brown and Kingsbury adopt different transliteration schemes. In Brown's version, Wade-Giles Romanization is frequently used. Wade-Giles Romanization, a Latin alphabet scheme, was formulated according to Beijing dialect by Wade, British minister to China, which was known at home and abroad before the publication of the scheme of the Chinese phonetic alphabet in 1950. However, Wade-Giles Romanization was classified as a scheme based on Western cultural habits. From the perspective of discourse power, China was in a state of "aphasia" in the name translation at that time. On the other hand, Kingsbury, as a sinologist familiar with Chinese cultural habits, applies the Chinese phonetic alphabet. Although it retains only the representation of names, this scheme contains the original flavor of the exotic atmosphere, which is also conducive to the cultural output of Chinese characters.

(2)振保一看，纸上歪歪斜斜写着"王娇蕊"三个字，越写越大，一个"蕊"字零零落落，索性成了三个字，不觉扑哧一笑。(张爱玲，2012:61)

Written askew on the paper were three characters, "Wang Chiao-jui," each written progressively larger. The "jui" character was so dispersed that it might as well have been three characters. He couldn't help laughing. (Brown, 1978:18)

When Zhenbao saw the three crooked words on the paper, each one bigger than the last, and the last one breaking apart into three distinct fragments-*wang jiAO RUI*-he really had to laugh. (Kingsbury, 2007:215)

In the original text, Eileen Chang tries to depict of Jiaorui's poor writing by means of embellished description of each character in order to convey a whiff of amusement. Extremely faithful to the original, Brown chooses the classic translation method to translate word by word, which is concise but plain and ungarnished considering cultural differences. By contrast, Kingsbury produces "*wang jiAO RUI*" in accordance with the intention of Eileen Chang's humor. Askew characters seems to leap off the page, one bigger than the former, making foreign readers resonate with the author. This innovative and flexible translation, when retaining the original author's ingenuity, highlights the female translator's sense of existence.

3.3 Feminine Expressions

According to Steiner, there exists gender language in literary translation activities that male and female translators tend to use synonyms with different tendencies. [33] Lexical tendency refers to that words in the original text belong to neutral expressions without any sexist color. However, male translators often add derogatory sense to words. Irigaray, a French feminist translator, held that "male language reflected men's discrimination, derogation and control over women". [34] In other words, women should get rid of language shackles in the patriarchal world, able to arouse the whole society to pay more attention to women and women's social value. Carrying on this belief, when it comes to words referring to or addressing female characters, Kingsbury expresses her self-identity and awakening of self-consciousness by using more euphemistic expressions. Brown, however, preserves the malicious and ironic expressions of the original text.

(1)想到王士洪这太太，听说是新加坡的华侨，在伦敦读书的时候也是个交际花。(张爱玲, 2012:58)

He had heard that she was an overseas Chinese from Singapore, who had led a promiscuous life. (Brown, 1978:12)

He'd heard that she was an overseas Chinese from Singapore who, when she was studying in London, was quite a party girl. (Kingsbury, 2007:209)

The word "交际花" refers to a woman who is active and famous in social circles. In Brown's version, "promiscuous", a derogatory term, directly implies that Wang Jiaorui has many sexual partners, dirty and shameless, by which men's natural discrimination against women is displayed. But "a party girl" translated by Kingsbury describes Wang Jiaorui as an outgoing and popular existence when studying abroad in London, playing down the insulting implication in the original text and boosting the image of female characters.

(2)现在的女人没有这种保护了，尤其是地位完全没有准绳的杂种姑娘。(张爱玲, 2012:75)

Women nowadays don't have this kind of protective buffer, especially not mixed-blood girls, whose status is so entirely undefined. (Brown, 1978:42)

Today's women don't have this kind of protection, especially Eurasian girls whose positions provide them with no norms at all. (Kingsbury, 2007:238)

In Chinese, "杂种" is reckoned as an offensive term of abuse. Tong Zhenbao called Miss Ashe "杂种姑娘", which conveyed a whiff of contempt for the lower-class girl of mixed race. Brown renders this negative expression into "mixed-blood girls", a pejorative term with a hint of racial discrimination. It is more suitable for the original context but less appropriate to address women from an equal sex angle. In Kingsbury's version, she replaces "mixed-blooded girls" with "Eurasian girls", a neutral expression to dispel the racial and gender discrimination against women from Zhenbao in the original text, which shows her feminist consciousness.

(3)<u>下贱东西</u>，大约她知道自己不太行，必须找个比她再下贱的，来安慰她自己(张爱玲, 2012:91)

The vile thing. She herself probably knew that she was inadequate, and so she needed to find someone even more vile to comfort her.(Brown, 1978:70)

Such a lowly little thing! Prob-ably she knows she's nothing-she wants to find someone even lower than she is if only for comfort's sake.(Kingsbuey, 2007:266)

With the anger at his wife's betrayal, Zhenbao compared his wife——a worthless woodworm only attached to her husband——to a vile thing. Brown translates the address "下贱东西" into "the vile thing". The word "vile" is a pejorative term meaning "morally bad", which mocks Yanli's adultery. Kingsbury writes down the expression "a lowly little thing" where the word "lowly" means "inferior in station" to portray Zhenbao's comtept for his wife. Kingsbury and Brown both translate the derogatory address correctly. Thus, the decent and tolerant mask of Zhenbao is torn off, with his ruthless and disrespectful attitudes towards Yanli appearing.

3.4 Adjectives

The gender differences of the two translators are also revealed by the choices of adjectives. Kingsbury is used to adding more detailed and commendatory expressions to underline feminine features in the original while Brown conducts the description more objectively and even avoid using feminine words to describe men.

(1)那是个森冷的，男人的脸，古代的兵士的脸。（张爱玲, 2012:54）

It was a chilling face, a man's face, that of an ancient soldier. (Brown, 1978:6)

It was a cold, severe, masculine face, the face of an ancient warrior. (Kingsbury, 2007:204)

The "insignificant whore" encountered leaves Zhenbao with a terrible perception that even a prostitute cannot be controlled by him. The word "森冷" means "frightful and cold". In Brown's version, the word "chilling" indicates that Zhenbao would feel creepy at the sight of the woman, which uglifies the prostitute's image and expresses Brown's disrespect for her identity. Comparatively, Kingsbury renders the word as "cold, severe" more mildly out of the maintenance of women's image.

(2)他喜欢的是热的女人，放浪一点的，爱不得的女人。（张爱玲, 2012:58）

The women he liked were fiery, a little loose, the women one couldn't marry. (Brown,1978:14)

He liked women who were fiery and impetuous, the kind you couldn't marry. (Kingsbury, 2007: 211)

Apparently, the word "loose" is more faithful to the original. Both of the male character, Tong Zhenbao and the male translator, Brown disapproves of women with many sexual relationships, deliberately taking "放浪" or "loose" as a put-down of women. However, female translators get accustomed to replace lower words with neutral ones to remove the sense of superiority over women by arbitrary comments. Thus, Kingsbury translates the word into the adjective "impetuous" describing women lacking in thoughts or deliberation, which successfully weakens the implication of Wang Jiaorui's misconduct.

(3)男人美不得，男人比女人还要经不起惯。（张爱玲, 2012:65）

Men shouldn't be handsome. Men aren't women; they mustn't be spoiled. (Brown, 1978:25-26)

Men should not be pretty. Men get spoiled even more easily than women do. (Kingsbury, 2007:223)

In common cases, "handsome" refers to a man with good looking while "pretty", a beautiful and delicate woman. On the basis of traditional male-oriented translation theory, it is improper to decorate men with female traits such as beauty, delicacy and so forth, because it is universally acknowledged that beauty, a feature to please others, does not fit with men noted for great deeds in their own right. So Brown would rather violate Eileen Chang's intention than admit men's beauty. Similarly, as a feminist translator, Kingsbury maintains the meaning of the original word "美" by the word "pretty" to break the gender stereotypes and call for the gender equality.

(4)她是细高身量，一直线下去，仅在有无间的一点波折是在那幼小的乳的尖端，和那突出的胯骨上。（张爱玲, 2012:81）

She was tall and thin, flat all the way down, except for the points of her young breasts and her hipbones. (Brown, 1978:52)

Yanli was tall and slender, like a single straight line; the only hint of a twist or turn came at the tips of her girlish breasts and the jutting bones of her hips. (Kingsbury, 2007:248)

The first time Zhenbao met Meng Yanli, she was reckoned only as a thin and pale woman. Thus, the appearance description in this paragraph shows Zhenbao's indifferent attitude towards his marriage. Under this context, Kingsbury chooses "slender" meaning "thin in an attractive or elegant way" and "girlish" to appreciate Yanli's figure, which gives prominence to feminine charm. Instead, Brown's choices of flat and insipid expressions such as "thin" and "young", deliberately covers up and ignores the feminine features of Meng Yanli, which highlights Zhenbao's inappreciation of her.

(5)振保这才认得是娇蕊，比前胖了但也没有如当初担忧的，胖到痴肥的地步。(张爱玲, 2012:84)

She was fatter, but not as fat as he had feared she would become. (Brown, 1978:58)

She was plumper than before, though certainly not paunchy, as she'd once feared would happen to her. (Kingsbury, 2007:254)

In the context, the word "胖" means "obese". As for Brown's translation, "fat" carries the ring of disparagement, considering Wang Jiaorui imperfect and depraved. Throughout history, women have been the objects recklessly gazed by men, with body shame emerging in an endless stream. To stop from being gazed, feminist translators do well in publicizing self-identity. In Kingsbury's version, the complimentary word "plump" means "curvy and attractive" to indicate a sort of kindness towards the female character, which reduces the harm of sexism in language to women.

3.5 Verbs

Action description cannot only highlight the characters in the novel, but also the writing level of the author. In the two versions, even though Kingsbury and Brown are capable of translating the action description of Eileen Chang intactly, Kingsbury differs from Brown with more accuracy and exquisiteness:

(1)再拥抱的时候，娇蕊极力紧箍着他，自己又觉羞惭。(张爱玲, 2012:71)

When they embraced again, Chiao-jui held him tightly. (Brown, 1978:36)

When they embraced again, Jiaorui wrapped herself around him so tightly that she blushed. (Kingsbury, 2007:32)

This example describes Jiaorui's deep love for Zhenbao. The word "紧箍" means "hold tightly". The verb "wrap" means "cover sth. tightly", more tightly than that of the word "hold". As such, Kingsbury's version succeeds in describing that Jiaorui firmly hugs around Zhenbao, which endows Jiaorui with a feature of the brave pursuit for love. On this point, Kingsbury highlights Jiaorui's good characteristics, which coincides with Eileen Chang much more than Brown.

(2)烟鹂迎上前来答应着，似乎还有点心慌一双手没处安排，急于要做点事，顺手捻开了无线电。(张爱玲, 2012:90)

As if she were a bit nervous, she didn't know where to put her hands, anxiously looked for something to do with them, and then turned on the radio. (Brown, 1978:69)

Her hands wandered around, finding no place to rest but anxious to be doing something. She flipped on the radio. (Kingsbury, 2007:65)

The word "捻开" means "open unintentionally", which indicates that Yanli was suffering excessive nervousness after her first adultery, but her abnormal behavior gave her away. Brown uses the verb "turn" out of context. Compared with Brown's plain version, Kingsbury reproduces the feelings of embarrassment, anxiety and fear through the verb "flipped" meaning"open with a small quick hit", which symbolizes Yanli's unconscious gesture. Therefore, the female character's psychology and personality jumps off the paper.

IV. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN TRANSLATION STRATEGIES

For the purpose of making female images seen and women's voice heard in literary works, it is necessary to use "a lot of different strategies that came from the translator's or the author's own subjectivities".[35] There are three feminist translation strategies: "supplementing", "prefacing and footnoting", and "hijacking". In

Kingsbury's version, she principally applies two of them including supplementing and hijacking and in addition, domestication so as to make women's image visible and promote women's consciousness. In terms of Brown's version, he carries out one of the traditional translation strategies, word-for-word translation which often misses the implication of the original.

4.1 Supplementing

Supplementing is a strategy used by feminist translators to supplement the translation in detail based on the original content. Unlike ordinary translation works, most contents added by female translators would intervene the source text, with feminist translators' role matured and developed.

(1)士洪笑道;"你不知道他们华侨——"才说了一半，被娇蕊打了一道:"又是'他们华侨'！不许你叫我'他们'！"(张爱玲, 2012:61)

Shih-hung said smiling, "you don't know these overseas Chinese—" Before he could finish his sentence, Chiao-jui hit him. "Again, it's 'these overseas Chinese.' I won't like you call me 'them.'" (Brown, 1978:19)

"You don't know about those overseas Chinese, they—" Shihong started to say, hut Jiaorui hit him. "It's always 'they, them, those overseas Chinese'!" she said. "Don't call me 'them'!" (Kingsbury, 2007:215)

In comparison with Brown's word-for-word translation, Kingsbury adds three synonyms of the pronoun "them" to the translation of the phrase "他们华侨", revealing Jiaorui's discontent with the masculine address, which plays an important role in portraying the female character, Wang Jiaorui as brave, open-minded and progressive. Meanwhile, the female consciousness of Kingsbury and the awakening consciousness of Jiaorui are incarnated and pass on to the readers effectively and completely.

(2)烟鹂现在一下子有了自尊心，有了社会地位，有了同情与友谊。(张爱玲, 2012:94)

Yen-li suddenly had self-respect, had social position, had sympathy and friendship. (Brown, 1978:76)

All at once Yanli gained self-confidence. She had social status. She had sympathy. She had friends. (Kingsbury, 2007:272)

In the old patriarchal society, women's sense of existence was deliberately omitted in most instances which was usually indicated by the disappearance of feminine pronouns due to the paternal discourse manipulation. Compared with Brown, Kingsbury adds three pronouns "she" to the original sentence, in order to highlight women's identity. In the novel, Yanli had changed from being completely attached to men to degenerate, then to seek a way out. The foreshadowing of the coordinate sentences shows a strong emotion, the rebirth of Meng Yanli, and Kingsbury's emphasis on women's existence.

4.2 Hijacking

Hijacking is a very radical approach, through which, translators forcibly embed expressions with feminist values in the neutral original text, and delete or even reverse the words with patriarchal color for the improvement of the status of female characters.

(1)他是个正经人，将正经女人和娼妓分的很清楚。(张爱玲, 2012:54)

He was an upright young man, and distinguished clearly between upright girls and prostitutes. (Brown, 1978:7)

He was a nice fellow, and he wanted to meet a nice girl, not some prostitute. (Kingsbury, 2007:203)

Seemingly gentle as Tong Zhenbao is, in fact connecting with the Chinese context, he is so sanctimonious and hypocritical that he despises prostitutes secretly. Only the female translator who penetrates into Eileen Chang's irony, manipulates the text to tear up Zhenbao's disguise, which exposes the deep-rooted bad habits of the male protagonist.

(2)女人有改变主张的权利。(张爱玲, 2012:64)

Woman have the right to change their minds. (Brown, 1978:24)

It's a woman's prerogative to change her mind. (Kingsbury, 2007:221)

"Right" is a neutral term while "prerogative" represents the right belonging to some particular persons. Under the oppression of patriarchy, women face the crisis of survival while only men enjoy privilege. The usage of male language in literary translation reflects the subjective desire of men to dominate everything, consciously or unconsciously revealing their social status superior to women. In the sentence, Kingsbury specially selects the word "prerogative" to prove that women can also feel entitled to certain advantages, which unfolds the pursuit of gender equality in line with Eileen Chang's giving publicity to female consciousness.

(3)可是振保的快乐更为快乐，因为觉得不应该。(张爱玲，2012:71)

But because she was forbidden, Chen-pao's happiness was even greater. (Brown, 1978:35)

But feeling that he shouldn't be doing this only made his happiness more perfect. (Kingsbury, 2007:231)

The sentence illustrates an epitome of the patriarchal society. In the superior and sneering tone of Brown, women are forbidden from having affairs with men or violating so-called social norms. Besides, it is women who should bear countless moral constraints to be blame. On the contrary, Kingsbury's version, empowered with feminist consciousness, holds that other than the comments on Jiaorui, it is Zhenbao's fault to court a married woman, which assails the oppression made by Chinese traditional male-centered culture.

(4)他母亲略有点疑心娇蕊和他有点首尾，故意当着娇蕊的面劝他。(张爱玲，2012:79)

His mother, somewhat suspicious that he and Chiao-jui had some special relationship, deliberately lectured him in front of her. (Brown, 1978:49)

His mother suspected that something was going on between them, and she made sure to scold him in front of Jiaorui. (Kingsbury, 2007:244)

Concerning about the interaction between Zhenbao and Jiaorui, Zhenbao's mother doubted that Jiaorui had an illict association with her son. Brown translates the word "首尾" into "special relationship" with similarly preconceived notions. Comparatively, Kingsbury objectively renders it as "something going on between them", a neutral phrase as an uncertain conjecture, which minimizes the whiff of male chauvinism and protects the female character from groundless accusation.

4.3 Domestication

According to feminist translation theory, fidelity does not refer to be simply faithful to the original text, but translators' own feminist thoughts so as to highlight their position. It is translators' freedom to apply different translation methods and leave their own imprint in literary works. The committed feminist translator, Susanne once pointed out, her translation practice was a political activity aiming to make language speak for women. So every translation strategy she used was to make the feminine visible in language". [36]

As a feminist translator, Kingsbury chooses sense-for-sense translation in concert with feminist translation. Through various sentence patterns and grammatical features, her language is so flexible and fluid that there is no translationese at all. Instead of retelling the novel, her version conveys the underlying language and female consciousness in *Red Rose, White Rose*. In her translation, the employment of domestication attains the highest perfection. Domestication is a strategy which changes the translation into the target language naturally to avoid the misunderstandings during the reading process. For example, Kingsbury translates the phrase "劲道"(2012:60) into the English idiom "hit the nail right on the head" (2007:14), more vividly than Brown's choice of "mince words"(1978:17); she renders the phrase "绝无问题"(2012:73) as "clear sailing"(2007:35) instead of Brown's plain expression "no problem"(1978:39). Kingsbury turns Chinese language into idioms familiar to foreigners to build bridges between the cultural gaps, which strengthens the connection between

Eileen Chang and the readers around the world, and showcases the irreplaceable value of the translator.

V. IMPLICATION OF FEMINISM TRANSLATION

It is normally expected that translators can reproduce and convey the creative information and intention of the original literary works to readers truthfully, so that the target readers can experience the same while reading. The two translation versions of *Red Rose, White Rose* have done that, which not only demonstrate the gender differences of translators, but also dig out the social reflections behind the feminism translation. Setting it apart from each other, Brown follows traditional translation strategies without in-depth analysis, which largely covers up the feminine elements in the original text and endorses the patriarchal rules at that time, whereas Kingsbury sticks up for female characters and expresses the feminine awareness through feminist translation strategies. Quite different as they are, both of their versions act out the tragic social reality in 1940s.

5.1 Implication on Social Images and Positions of Women

In the Chinese traditional cultural and social system, male chauvinism has continually occupied the major position. The objectification of women is the crime inconceivable to obliterate committed by the patriarchal society. Under the criteria of suitability for marriage, women are categorized as three types in the novel: prostitutes, "innocent girls"(“天真的女孩子”)such as Rose and Wang Jiaorui, and "nice girls"(“正经的女人”)like Meng Yanli.

For prostitutes, Zhenbao wishes to "control them" (“掌控她们”) as "the master of his own world" (“他的世界里的主人”). In the world dominated by Tong Zhenbao, prostitutes are so "sleazy, low-class, and filthy-miserable"(“下流、随便、肮脏黯败”) that they fit for nothing more than arrow fodders to vent. For "innocent girls"(“天真的女孩子”)seemingly untrammeled like Jiaorui, her valiant pursuit of love is construed as "feigning love"(“爱匠”); her personality is trampled under Zhenbao's feet; her behavior is criticized by a fellow woman, Zhenbao's mother, with all her action beneath contempt. For "nice girls"(“正经的女人”), as the accessory of Zhenbao, Yanli loses all her self-esteem becoming a "boring young matron"(“很乏味的妇人”) under the constraints of behavioral and ideological norms for "ideal wife" formulated by men. Over time, even nobody shows due respect for her.

To summarize, regardless of the females' identity, their lower social status should be the same. Even if Kingsbury endeavors to promote the social images of female characters in her translation, undeniably, women are compelled to bear the discrimination and oppression imposed on them in the men-ruled society, which sows the seeds of their miserable life.

5.2 Implication of Personality of Women

At the beginning of the novel, Eileen Chang utilizes two images of "red rose" and "white rose" to symbolize the main female characters: Wang Jiaorui and Meng Yanli. With a stark contrast between the two beautiful women, neither of them can escape the ending of tragedy. During the process of moulding their images, Brown weakens their good manners and virtues as women which Kingsbury however, underscores.

5.2.1 Personality of Wang Jiaorui

As long as Eileen Chang showcases Jiaorui's bravery of fighting against social shackles and chasing her freedom of love, Brown would reduce the power of these sentences through plain translation. For instance, When describing Jiaorui's strong social skills, Brown depicts Jiaorui "who had led a promiscuous life"(“是个交际花”); when describing Jiaorui's feminine consciousness, Brown shortens the phrase “他们华侨” into "these overseas Chinese" with no hint of her advanced thoughts; when describing Jiaorui's ideas on men, Brown sticks to the word "handsome" men instead of "pretty"(“美”) men , which neglects Jiaorui's awareness of gender equality. Therefore, Wang Jiaorui is presented as an ordinary woman in the old society.

In Kingsbury's version, before her acquaintance with Tong Zhenbao, Wang Jiaorui operated an equal and harmonious marriage with Wang Shihong. She dared to resist masculine labels of "they, these, those overseas Chinese"("他们华侨") with the early feminine consciousness. After meeting Zhenbao, she was determined to "inform Shihong about everything, divorce him, and marry Zhenbao"("把一切都告诉王士洪，和他离婚，再嫁给振保"). If it was an unconscious betrayal of the traditional morality to play with different "boyfriends"("男朋友们"), Jiaorui's "real love" ("真爱") for Zhenbao at this time subjectively revolted against the decaying marriage concept of women. Ironically, such a " hot"("热情"), iconoclastic and courageous women managed to plead for Zhenbao's pardon humbly, and even depended on another marriage for survival. In the end, Wang Jiaorui got caught in the cross hairs of feudal ethics again.

5.2.2 Personality Characteristics of Meng Yanli

Comparatively, beautiful as Meng Yanli looks on the outside, she pervades a sense of decaying at heart. But Brown even deprives Yanli of her external beauty. At her first meeting with Zhenbao, Brown describes Yanli as a "thin, pale" ("单薄、白皙") woman without any other features while Kingsbury uses words like "slender"("细高身量"), "girlish"("幼小的"), and "frail"("单薄") to strengthen her feminine beauty. Except for that, Kingsbury and Brown consist with each other during the description of Yanli's characteristics. In conformity with the social standards and male needs, Yanli could be anything like a puppet, from a smart and filial daughter to a "refined, ideal wife"("美丽娴静的、最合理想的太太"); she could be anything except herself, which caused her silence on the chaotic private life of her husband. Under stifled resentment, she degraded herself from a holy rose to a "lower little thing"("下贱东西") guilty for adultery with a tailor. Facing with Zhenbao's revenge, she could only beg for mercy and pray for Zhenbao's protection, without any independent consciousness from beginning to end.

5.3 Implication of Weaknesses of Male Characters

Red Rose, White Rose is narrated from the perspective of Tong Zhenbao, which inevitably engages the readers in what Zhenbao himself desires to say, to experience, and to cover up. The most irony and tricky is down to the unilateral information provided by Eileen Chang, among which the weakness of male characters is the message Eileen Chang intends to deliver implicitly, which is better revealed by the female translator, Kingsbury.

On the one side, Kingsbury interprets the weakness of Tong Zhenbao well to unmask his disgusting features. In Kingsbury's version, with a condescending attitude towards women, Zhenbao disrespected women attached to men in the old society. He was determined to "create a world that was right"("创造一个对的世界"); he "wanted a nice girl, not some prostitute" ("将正经女人与娼妓分得很清楚")out of his discrimination on whores; he imaged Jiaorui as "a naive, passionate girl who had doted on him"("痴心爱着他的天真热情的女孩子") to enjoy physical happiness; he married Yanli to collect "a perfect backdrop for men"("男人们高谈阔论的背景"). However, he pampered himself by rationalizing his bad conduct. For his poor self-control, he shattered the serenity of Jiaorui's life by an excuse that "there really weren't many women of this sort" ("这一路的人究竟少"); for his own future, he said to Jiaorui, "then you have to consider my situation"("就不能不为我着想"); for his anger, he "started drinking a lot, openly consorting with women outside the house"("常常喝酒，在外面公开的玩女人") then. Generally speaking, Tong Zhenbao is shaped into a splitting existence, half self-disciplined, half self-indulgent, which is rooted in the common weakness of men in the male-dominated ideology where women are fettered by the rigid gender role which requires them to be weak, dependent and docile.

On the other side, Zhenbao's image is much glorified in Brown's version. As a "filial, considerate and thoughtful"("周到、认真、经心") man, if Zhenbao had an affair with Wang Jiaorui, it was Jiaorui "who had led a promiscuous life"

(“是个交际花”) to be blame; if Zhenbao indulged in the physical happiness with Jiaorui, it was Jiaorui who was “forbidden”(“不应该”) that seduced him; if Zhenbao made a snide comment about Miss Ashe, it was the “mixed-blood girl” (“杂种姑娘”) who was inferior to him; if Zhenbao “hung around with women”(“带着女人出去玩”), it was his wife, Meng Yanli who “found someone even more vile to comfort her”(“找个比她再下贱的，来安慰她自己”). Brown attributes all of Zhenbao’s misconduct to the female characters in order to maintain Zhenbao’s “perfect”(“完美的”) image with perfect excuses on account of the unavoidable patriarchal thoughts of the male translator.

VI. CONCLUSION

Regarding the gender differences in lexical translation, the male translator, Brown’s literal translation uglifies women’s images and weakens women’s voice while Kingsbury mostly speaks for women by translating the derogatory language into neutral and even commendatory words, in order to manifest the feminist awareness of the characters and herself. Moreover, even if Brown’s word-for-word translation is more faithful to the original text than Kingsbury’s version, Kingsbury adds more explicit and detailed description of female appearance and action to the translation, which emphasizes women’s consciousness continuously and improves their image.

Regarding the gender differences in translation strategies, because of Brown’s patriarchal thoughts as a male translator, he mainly adopts word-for-word translation, which restores all the information but camouflages the shortcomings of male characters. Kingsbury, however, adopts supplementing, hijacking and domestication to extoll the virtues of female characters and discloses the weakness of men incisively.

Regarding the reflections behind the two versions, the male translator and the female both more or less reflect the social reality and the dilemma of women, which echoes with Eileen Chang’s creative intention. The difference lies in that Brown weakens the characteristics of women and the defects of male characters while Kingsbury points out the good virtues of female characters and the weakness of men more explicitly than Brown.

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Identity Constructions. Roots and Projections of Studies on Learner Identity: Contributions to Educational Research and Practice

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ABSTRACT

The work shows the potentiality of the identity construct to integrate personal and contextual aspects in the study of learning, as well as the way in which both influences are combined in the construction of the learner's identity. The most accepted definition of learner identity highlights its constructive nature: people construct their identity as learners through the meaning and value that they attribute to their experiences of participation in various contexts of learning. The writing attends to the most relevant antecedents in the development and diffusion of these ideas, highlights the current contributions about the distinctive characteristics of the process of construction of learner identity and establishes guidelines regarding the contributions and projections of the new construct for research and design of educational contexts.

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Identity Constructions. Roots and Projections of Studies on Learner Identity: Contributions to Educational Research and Practice

Raíces y Proyecciones de los Estudios Sobre Identidad de Aprendiz: Aportes Para la Investigación y la Práctica Educativa

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ABSTRACT

The work shows the potentiality of the identity construct to integrate personal and contextual aspects in the study of learning, as well as the way in which both influences are combined in the construction of the learner's identity. The most accepted definition of learner identity highlights its constructive nature: people construct their identity as learners through the meaning and value that they attribute to their experiences of participation in various contexts of learning. The writing attends to the most relevant antecedents in the development and diffusion of these ideas, highlights the current contributions about the distinctive characteristics of the process of construction of learner identity and establishes guidelines regarding the contributions and projections of the new construct for research and design of educational contexts.

Keywords: educational psychology, educational environment, feedback, socio emotional learning.

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RESUMEN

El trabajo muestra la potencialidad del constructo identidad para integrar aspectos personales y contextuales en el estudio de los aprendizajes, así como el modo en que se conjugan ambas influencias en la construcción de la identidad de aprendiz. La definición más aceptada de identidad de aprendiz destaca su carácter constructivo: las personas construyen su identidad como aprendices a través del sentido y valoración que atribuyen a sus experiencias de participación en diversos contextos de aprendizaje. El escrito atiende a los antecedentes más relevantes en el desarrollo y difusión de estas ideas, destaca las contribuciones actuales acerca de las características distintivas del proceso de construcción de identidad de aprendiz y establece lineamientos respecto de los aportes y proyecciones del nuevo constructo para la investigación y diseño de contextos educativos.

Palabras clave: psicología de la educación, ambiente de aprendizaje, retroinformación, aprendizaje socioemocional.

I. INTRODUCCIÓN

Décadas atrás, hacia fines del siglo XX, Kamil, Mosenthal, Pearson y Barr (2000), describían los avances de la investigación en lectura, como un corrimiento de fronteras; una ampliación de los lugares, disciplinas y enfoques considerados como propios del campo. Años después, en un artículo –sin dudas de menor envergadura y alcances–, retomamos esa metáfora para presentar algunos desarrollos sobre contextos de aprendizaje (Rinaudo, 2014).

Al iniciar ahora una revisión del desarrollo de los estudios sobre identidad en el campo de la Psicología Educacional, lo que parece divisarse no es sólo una ampliación de fronteras sino también una reconfiguración de territorios. En este sentido, advertimos que el estudio de la identidad está adquiriendo una posición de *mayor centralidad*. Ya sea desde planteos tales como los de Lave y Wenger (1991), donde se entiende el aprendizaje como construcción de identidad, o en estudios muy específicos como los de 'identidad ambiental' (Clayton, 2003) y hasta en trabajos empíricos sobre el modo en que las posibilidades de observar los devastadores efectos del cambio climático en un glaciar inciden en cambios de identidad (Young, Carsten Conner y Pettit, 2020), la noción ha ido concitando cada vez mayor interés y atención. En optimista apreciación, Coll y Falsafi (2010a) aseveran que:

> … la identidad se ha convertido en una herramienta para el estudio de una amplia variedad de fenómenos como las relaciones de poder, la división y la cohesión social, la relación entre los procesos emocionales y cognitivos, el lugar que ocupan los individuos en los grupos, los patrones y las tendencias discursivas, la sensación de ser parecido o de ser distinto, el reconocimiento social y, […] el sentido de pertenencia en los contextos educativos (Coll y Falsafi, 2010a, p. 20).

Una derivación de importancia en esta nueva configuración reside, a nuestro juicio, en *la potencialidad del constructo identidad para integrar aspectos personales y contextuales en el estudio de los aprendizajes*. Precisamente, en este trabajo nos ocuparemos del modo en que se conjugan ambas influencias en la construcción de un tipo particular de identidad: la *identidad de aprendiz* (Coll y Falsafi, 2008; Falsafi, 2010). Pensamos que los mecanismos expuestos dentro de lo que ha comenzado a llamarse el *modelo* de Coll y Falsafi acerca de la construcción de la identidad de aprendiz (Engel y Coll, 2021; Falsafi y Coll, 2015), muestran con claridad la convergencia e interconexión de factores de índole personal y factores sociales.

En el marco de este modelo -y desde una perspectiva socio-cultural-, la construcción de la identidad de aprendiz se entiende como proceso *social y situado*. Así, a través de la *participación* en actividades de aprendizaje, en las *interacciones con otras personas* en momentos y contextos particulares, se generan *experiencias* que pueden resultar significativas para los estudiantes tanto respecto de sus aprendizajes de contenidos disciplinarios como en las representaciones que elaboran acerca de sí mismos como aprendices. Esas *representaciones, relatos o narraciones* dan forma a identificaciones y posicionamientos personales que orientan las actuaciones en el contexto educativo y definen las valoraciones que se les asignan.

Otros dos componentes importantes en el proceso de construcción de identidad de aprendiz, tienen que ver, por un lado, con los factores emocionales inherentes a las diferentes experiencias de participación y, por otro, con las influencias que ejerce el reconocimiento que la acción recibe por parte de otras personas.

En definitiva, como se podrá apreciar, estamos frente a un constructo complejo y promisorio para el campo de la Psicología Educacional, con potencialidades interesantes para orientar la identificación de diferentes influencias personales e interpersonales que se entretejen en los procesos de aprendizaje y conjeturar nuevas vías para la enseñanza en sus diferentes ámbitos. Es esta misma potencialidad la que ahora nos desafía a proponer una visión panorámica del modelo; una perspectiva más amplia que permita vislumbrar diferentes vinculaciones establecidas entre este modelo y otros importantes constructos desarrollados en el campo de la Psicología Educacional durante las últimas décadas.

Si el modelo propuesto por Coll y Falsafi (2008; Falsafi, 2010) sobre identidad de aprendiz se fundamenta en un enfoque sociocultural por excelencia y si, por su nivel de elaboración, posibilita una comprensión integral de las diferentes influencias personales e interpersonales que se entretejen en cada experiencia de aprendizaje, entonces nos preguntamos: ¿qué antecedentes se conjugan para dar origen a esta línea de estudios y cuáles son actualmente sus postulados centrales?, ¿podemos expandir la perspectiva de este modelo a partir de relaciones establecidas con otros importantes tópicos en el estudio de los aprendizaje?, ¿qué vinculaciones conceptuales podemos identificar entre el modelo de Coll y Falsafi (2008; Falsafi, 2010) y avances logrados en Psicología Educacional sobre emociones en los aprendizajes, procesos de feedback y tareas académicas desde enfoques socioculturales? ¿Qué nuevos alcances para futura investigación educativa podemos proyectar a partir de una visión panorámica de la identidad de aprendiz?

Para responder a las preguntas referidas, con este ensayo nos propusimos: a) recuperar los principales antecedentes que contribuyen a configurar la identidad de aprendizaje como línea de estudio en Psicología Educacional; b) construir una visión panorámica acerca del aprendizaje que permita relacionar el modelo analítico comprensivo de la identidad de aprendiz planteado por Coll y Falsafi (2008; Falsafi, 2010) con otros constructos relevantes para el ámbito de la Psicología Educacional -emociones en los aprendizajes, procesos de feedback y tareas académicas; b) proyectar nuevos alcances y potencialidades de esta visión panorámica sobre la identidad de aprendiz para futura investigación educativa.

Para cumplir con los objetivos planteados, llevamos a cabo una revisión de Alcance en el sentido propuesto por (Arksey y O'Malley, 2007 en Fernández-Sánchez, King y Enríquez Hernández, 2020). La selección de los tópicos y de la bibliografía que fue incluida en este ensayo, tienen su fundamento en exhaustivas revisiones previas de las autoras sobre los siguientes tópicos: campo de la Psicología Educacional (Rinaudo, 2019a), identidad (Rinaudo, 2019b), emociones (Paoloni, 2014), feedback (Rinaudo y Paoloni, 2013) y tareas académicas (Paoloni, 2010a y b; Paoloni y Rinaudo, 2021; Rinaudo, 1999). Las revisiones acerca de los primeros tres tópicos mencionados, nos permitieron identificar lo que hemos llamado raíces de los estudios sobre identidad de aprendiz. A su vez, las revisiones efectuadas sobre emociones en los aprendizajes, procesos de feedback y tareas académicas junto con el análisis de todos los trabajos disponibles publicados entre 2008 y 2022, relativos al modelo de identidad de aprendiz de Coll y Falsafi, posibilitaron una ampliación del alcance potencial de este modelo para futura investigación de prácticas educativas en contextos universitarios.

II. DESARROLLO DEL TEMA

De acuerdo con el problema y objetivos formulados, hemos organizado este trabajo en torno de los siguientes ejes: primero, consideramos los antecedentes más relevantes en el desarrollo y difusión de estas ideas; en segundo lugar, nos enfocamos en contribuciones actuales acerca de las características distintivas del proceso de construcción de la identidad de aprendiz y sus relaciones con otros importantes constructos de la Psicología Educacional. Finalmente, señalaremos algunos aportes y proyecciones desde una perspectiva ampliada del constructo para futura investigación y diseño de contextos educativos.

2.1 Construcción de Identidad: Antecedentes de Su Estudio Desde el Campo de la Psicología Educacional

Sin desconocer que la delimitación y análisis de antecedentes de cualquier tema está siempre condicionada por las lecturas y experiencias propias de quien intenta realizarlos, nos pareció legítimo trazar un panorama acerca de cómo se sucedieron –en los últimos años– las ideas que se conjugan en esta línea de estudios. En este eje, estaríamos atendiendo entonces al primero de los objetivos que nos propusimos para este ensayo; esto es, recuperar los principales antecedentes que contribuyen a configurar la identidad de aprendizaje como línea de estudio en Psicología Educacional.

Como se habrá podido advertir, el desarrollo de las líneas actuales de estudio acerca de la identidad –y también los relativos a la identidad de aprendiz-, pueden leerse como continuación de trabajos realizados desde diferentes enfoques teóricos en Psicología Educacional. Y, en verdad, es muy rica la herencia recibida; si bien la impronta de la perspectiva socio cultural, es sin duda la que predomina en la literatura sobre el tema, es posible también hallar huellas de los aportes del constructivismo, y de la psicología cognitiva. Así como son claras y evidentes las ideas de Vygotsky, profusamente consideradas en la mayoría de los trabajos que revisaremos, no puede, por caso, dejar de verse la influencia del *constructivismo* en sus vertientes cognitiva y piagetiana, en los planteos acerca de la *construcción* de la identidad de aprendiz.

Quizás por la riqueza de esa herencia es difícil decidir qué trabajos resultaron más relevantes, qué ideas puntuales contribuyeron a dar forma a los actuales constructos sobre identidad. Además, por razones de espacio y por la envergadura que supondría tal empresa, –acreedora de un estudio particular con análisis profundos y pormenorizados–, no presentaremos aquí un desarrollo exhaustivo acerca de las diferentes aportaciones. Nos limitaremos a repasar aquellas que se vinculan más directamente con nuestro trabajo: (1) carácter situado y distribuido de la cognición; (2) influencias de la participación en comunidades de práctica en los aprendizajes y en la construcción de identidad; (3) el papel de las narrativas.

2.1.1 Estudios Sobre Cognición Situada y Distribuida

Uno de nuestros primeros contactos con estos conceptos tuvo como referencia trabajos de Resnick (1987), Brown, Collins y Duguid (1989), Resnick y Collins (1996) y Bereiter (1997); todos ellos interesados en el estudio de los aprendizajes y todos ellos iniciadores de lo que entendemos como un pasaje o corrimiento desde la perspectiva cognitiva hacia los enfoques socio–culturales. Desde estos estudios se incita a los investigadores e investigadoras enrolados en la línea cognitiva, a salir de sus oficinas e interesarse por entornos de aprendizaje más naturales, señalando importantes diferencias entre los aprendizajes en contextos escolares y aquellos que tienen lugar en el seno de la familia, en la vida cotidiana (Resnick, 1987). En sus términos:

> "Está empezando a surgir una teoría de las situaciones cognitivas que adopta la naturaleza distribuida de la cognición como punto de partida [...]. En estas teorías se supone que la cognición se comparte con otros individuos, así como con otras herramientas y artefactos. Esto significa que el pensamiento está situado en un contexto particular de intenciones, compañeros y herramientas" (Resnick y Collins (1996: 193).

Sin dudas, la idea más general que subyace a estos y otros aportes en la misma línea - estudios sobre 'cognición cotidiana (*every-day cognition*)', 'cognición distribuida', 'cognición situada', 'cognición social', 'aprendizaje situado', 'pensamiento de sistemas', 'aprendizaje participativo', 'persona-más', 'psicología ecológica-, es que el aprendizaje es un proceso eminentemente social, que tiene lugar en las interacciones cotidianas. La cognición se explica en términos de las interacciones entre aprendices y las propiedades de ambientes específicos, ya sea que éstas tengan lugar en los contextos formales de aprendizaje o fuera de ellos (Barab y Plucker, 2002; Henning, 2004). Como sostiene Henning (2004) esta perspectiva desafía la idea de que hay un centro cognitivo independiente del contexto y la intención.

Sin abundar en estos conceptos, confiamos en que lo dicho permitirá reconocer la continuidad entre estos planteos y las referencias al carácter situado de los procesos de construcción de identidad.[1]

2.1.2 Influencias de la Participación en Comunidades de Práctica

Un desarrollo de interés en la consideración del papel de la participación en comunidades de práctica en los procesos de aprendizaje puede hallarse en los trabajos de Lave y Wenger (1991) y Wenger, (2010). Una comunidad de práctica, sostienen, "implica participación en un sistema de actividad en el que los participantes comparten comprensiones concernientes a lo que están haciendo y lo que ello significa en sus vidas y para sus comunidades" (Lave y Wenger, 1991, p. 98). Estas comunidades se consideran esenciales para la construcción de conocimientos, ya se trate de habilidades manuales o de conceptos complejos, altamente abstractos.

[1] Una importante recopilación de trabajos acerca del constructo de cognición situada puede leerse en D, Kirshner y J. Whitson (Eds.). (1997). *Situated Cognition. Social, Semiotic and Psychological Perspectives*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Ahora bien, el carácter de las actividades que se llevan a cabo dentro de las comunidades, se define en función de *relaciones sociales*, muy especialmente de las relaciones entre quienes aspiran a formar parte de la comunidad y quienes ya son miembros reconocidos en ella. Se entiende que las posibilidades de aprendizaje de las personas están condicionadas por las oportunidades que se les ofrezcan para participar en actividades potencialmente significativas para la comunidad y para sí mismas. Un paso más en esta línea de argumentos, lleva directamente a los procesos de construcción de identidad; ello, porque el propósito de la participación en la comunidad es desarrollar un sentido de mismidad y del lugar que se desea ocupar en la sociedad.

Otras contribuciones que abonan los planteos en torno de las diferentes oportunidades de participación, referidas más particularmente a contextos escolares, fueron presentadas por Greeno (2006), en sus análisis sobre *patrones de interacción*. El concepto refiere a los posicionamientos que se asignan a diferentes individuos en las interacciones que ocurren en las clases. Esos posicionamientos implican que no todas las personas tienen el mismo derecho "para iniciar propuestas para la acción, exponer una interpretación, cuestionar o desafiar las propuestas de otros participantes o para decidir que un asunto ha sido zanjado" (Greeno, 2006, p. 88). En esta misma línea, y explicitando los modos en que operan estas influencias, Roeser, Peck y Nasir, 2006: 405) escribían.

> "Las diferentes formas de participación que proporcionan los contextos para los diferentes individuos proveen la materia (es decir las experiencias) desde las cuales ellos codifican y elaboran sus auto-representaciones y experiencias emocionales específicas a la situación (es decir, competencia como estudiantes, sentido de pertenencia a la escuela, aspiraciones educativas)."

Como se ve, hay razones para pensar que los patrones que orientan las interacciones que tienen lugar en un contexto particular, al habilitar un tipo de participación y restringir otros, se constituyen en influencias cruciales en los procesos de construcción de identidad.

2.1.3 Narrativas y Construcción de Identidad. el Legado de Jerome Bruner

Con notable conocimiento acerca del campo de la Psicología Educacional, mente curiosa y exquisitos saberes sobre el acontecer de la vida humana en su sentido más pleno, Jerome Bruner atendió reiteradamente al papel de la narrativa en la construcción de identidad (Bruner, 1986, 1991,1997, 2003). En sus profundas consideraciones sobre el tema, pueden hallarse muchas de las características relevantes que atribuimos hoy al concepto de identidad. No es nuestro propósito desarrollar en el reducido marco de este apartado, el conjunto de esas aportaciones; no haríamos justicia a la riqueza conceptual y rigurosa fundamentación de sus planteos. Nos limitaremos, entonces, a presentar brevemente algunas de las notas esenciales respecto de la identidad como construcción narrativa del yo.

En casi risueña enunciación, Bruner (2003, p. 93) escribía que no hay un yo que "aguarde plácidamente ser representado con palabras", sino que somos nosotros mismos quienes lo construimos y reconstruimos, de acuerdo con los requerimientos de las situaciones que se nos presentan, orientados por nuestras experiencias, recuerdos del pasado y miedos por el futuro: "un yo con historia y con posibilidad" (Bruner, 1997, p. 54). Ahora bien, esta creación del yo no se plantea como fruto exclusivo de una actividad interior –recuerdos, ideas, creencias, sentimientos-, sino que se basa también en fuentes externas –valoración y estima que recibimos de los demás y las expectativas que se generan en función de la cultura en la que se está inmerso. Y, en efecto, los reclamos de Bruner acerca de la relevancia de la construcción del yo como experiencia humana, así como sus definiciones sobre el papel de la narrativa y la cultura en dicha construcción, han sido claros y convincentes en sus diferentes escritos. Transcribimos algunas de las formulaciones que mejor parecen expresar ese pensamiento:

> "Tal vez la única cosa más universal sobre la experiencia humana sea el fenómeno del 'Yo' y sabemos que *la educación es crucial para su formación*" (Bruner, 1997, p. 53).

> La creación de un Yo es un arte narrativo [...] los actos narrativos dirigidos a crear el Yo son guiados típicamente por modelos culturales tácitos e implícitos de lo que éste deberá ser y, naturalmente, de lo que no debe ser". (Bruner, 2003, p. 94/95).

Avanzando en las razones acerca de por qué asigna a la narrativa un papel tan esencial en la construcción del Yo, Bruner añade que el talento narrativo es un rasgo propio del género humano, así como lo es la posición erecta o el pulgar opuesto.

> Creamos y recreamos la identidad mediante la narrativa [...], el Yo es un producto de nuestros relatos y no una cierta esencia por descubrir cavando en los confines de la subjetividad. Y a esta altura está demostrado que sin la capacidad de contar historias sobre nosotros mismos no existiría una cosa como la identidad." (Bruner, 2003, p. 122). Cerrando este apartado y en función de nuestro interés particular por el modo en que diferentes estudios han ido integrando la influencia de factores internos y externos en los desarrollos de diferentes temas en el campo de la Psicología Educacional, vale añadir que estas cuestiones también recibieron constante atención en los trabajos de Bruner. Su posición respecto de que la creación del yo se produce tanto del exterior al interior como en sentido contrario se expresa reiteradamente en sus escritos, especialmente en sus señalamientos acerca de la necesidad de hallar un balance entre autonomía y conexión, agencia y estima o autonomía y compromiso en la construcción de identidad (Bruner, 1997, 2003).

Finalizamos aquí el breve recorrido por posiciones teóricas que, de alguna manera, se integran en los estudios más recientes sobre identidad del aprendiz. En la próxima sección atenderemos más directamente al modo en que se fue construyendo el 'modelo de identidad de aprendiz' propiamente dicho.

2.2 Hacia la Elaboración del Modelo de Identidad de Aprendiz: Primeras Referencias al Constructo

Al intentar una presentación de los pasos seguidos en la elaboración de un modelo de construcción de identidad de aprendiz, una mención que no puede omitirse corresponde a los sucesivos trabajos de César Coll y de Leili Falsafi, cuyas publicaciones, principalmente a lo largo de la década de 2010, constituyen verdaderos jalones en la conformación de esta línea de estudios. Seguidamente, analizaremos en detalle los componentes y funcionamiento de lo que lícitamente se conoce como el modelo de Coll y Falsafi, pero nos ocuparemos primero en la consideración de los estudios que llevaron a su conformación.

En el año 2008, específicamente como ponencia presentada en el Seminario sobre *Identidad, aprendizaje y enseñanza, llevado a cabo en* Castelldefels (España), Coll y Falsafi (2008) mencionan por primera vez el concepto de identidad de aprendiz y presentan en una versión inicial, algunos de los que serían más tarde los elementos constituyentes de su modelo. Dos años después, en el 2010, con el trabajo "*Learner Identity a sociocultural approach to how people recognize and construct themselves as learners*" -presentado como tesis de Falsafi, dirigida por Coll, en el Doctorado Interuniversitario de Psicología de la Educación, Universidad de Barcelona-, los autores profundizan el planteo acerca de los factores y mecanismos que operan en la construcción de la identidad de aprendiz. En el mismo año 2010, la *Revista de Educación,* publicó un monográfico sobre el tema Educación e Identidad, en el que se incluyen 2 artículos de Coll y Falsafi, uno de ellos como presentación del monográfico –Presentación. Identidad y educación: tendencias y desafíos (Coll y Falsafi, 2010a)–, otro, destinado a mostrar las raíces socioculturales del estudio de la identidad de aprendiz, así como la relevancia de este constructo en tanto *herramienta analítica* y *pedagógica* –Coll y Falsafi, 2010b). Asimismo, en lo que puede considerarse un apoyo a la atribución de los inicios de esta línea de estudios a los autores mencionados, cabe señalar que en la pormenorizada revisión de la literatura realizada por Falsafi (2010), de las 122 referencias bibliográficas que se introducen en la tesis, sólo 8 artículos incluyen la denominación *identidad de aprendiz* y otros dos trabajos de un mismo autor presentan denominaciones similares*: identidad de aula* e *identidad de aprendizaje*.

En 2011, un capítulo de Falsafi y Coll (2011), en una obra acerca de la identidad en Psicología Educacional, retoma fundamentos de la perspectiva sociocultural y profundiza en las ideas de *dialogismo* y *cronotopo*, desarrolladas por Bajtín (1986, citado en Falsafi y Coll, 2011); estas ideas refieren respectivamente a dos rasgos inherentes al proceso de construcción de identidad: carácter social, relacional (dialogismo) y situado en tiempo y espacio (cronotopo: del griego: *kronos* = tiempo y *topos* =espacio, lugar).

A mediados de la década de 2010, un nuevo monográfico, publicado esta vez como una compilación de las comunicaciones sobre Identidad, Aprendizaje y Ambientes Digitales, presentadas en el Segundo Encuentro de la Sección Ibérica de ISCAR (*International Society for Cultural and Activity Research*) incluye tres aportaciones de igual interés en lo que refiere a la construcción de las identidades de aprendizaje. Un primer trabajo de Aldana, Campos y Valdés (2015), resalta el papel de las experiencias subjetivas de aprendizaje y de los diferentes contextos en las que ocurren. Otra ponencia recopilada a continuación, corresponde a Falsafi y Coll (2015), quienes destacan el papel del concepto de identidad de aprendizaje como herramienta para el análisis del *sentido* que los estudiantes atribuyen a los aprendizajes y, en particular, de *sus percepciones* acerca de los *actos de reconocimiento* a través de los cuales *otras personas* expresan valoraciones de sus comportamientos. Y, relacionada también con los actos de reconocimiento, una comunicación de Saballa, Largo, Castelar y Pereira (2015) profundiza en la diferenciación entre *actos de reconocimiento* y *sentido de reconocimiento*, para mostrar que quien aprende no siempre podría dar sentido a las respuestas de otras personas frente a sus desempeños. [2] Solo un año después, en Valdés, Coll y Falsafi (2016: 168), se vuelve a poner el acento en las *experiencias de aprendizaje* entre las que se discriminan los siguientes tipos: “experiencia cumbre, epifanía, puntos de inflexión (*turning points*), incidente crítico, experiencia crítica, experiencia significativa, experiencia cristalizadora y experiencia educativa clave”. En todos los casos, como vemos, se entiende el proceso de construcción de identidad como interjuego entre factores individuales y sociales.

Sobre la base de los estudios de Coll y Falsafi pueden leerse también una serie de trabajos llevados a cabo por un grupo de investigación de la Universidad de Concepción, en Chile, interesado especialmente en los problemas de permanencia y abandono en estudiantes universitarios. Tres trabajos sucesivos del mismo equipo, a los que tuvimos acceso, están planteados como propuesta teórica (Abello y otros, 2016a), como estudio fenomenológico (Abello y otros, 2016b) y como estudio cualitativo (Abello y otros, 2018). En todos ellos se acentúa la relevancia del constructo identidad de aprendiz como herramienta para el análisis de las interacciones que tienen lugar a lo largo de la formación universitaria. En ese encuadre, hallaron que cuando se pone a los estudiantes ante tareas que les requieren reflexionar acerca de las experiencias de aprendizaje que consideran más significativas, se crean oportunidades propicias para conocer mejor las diferentes influencias presentes en las clases. Los Estudiantes y las estudiantes podrían reconsiderar el sentido que otorgaron a las mismas y con ello realimentar, mantener o cambiar sus representaciones y sentimientos acerca de sí mismos y reorientar sus actuaciones futuras. El profesorado, a su vez, puede encontrar nuevas ventanas para conocer más acerca del modo en

[2] El encuentro de referencia, *Personas y Sociedades Conectadas. Aportaciones del ISCAR ibercat 2014*, se llevó a cabo en Girona, los días 21, 22 y 23 de abril de 2014. Todas las comunicaciones pueden leerse en el siguiente enlace: http://www.uam.es/otros/ptcedh/ 2015v11n2sp.pdf

que sus solicitudes, intercambios y valoraciones fueron interpretadas por sus estudiantes.

2.2.1 Otras Contribuciones de Relevancia

Sin el marcado alineamiento con las ideas de Coll y Falsafi presentes en los estudios arriba considerados, un Monográfico de *Papeles de Trabajo sobre Cultura, Educación y Desarrollo Humano*, publicado por la Universidad de Girona, nos acerca las contribuciones presentadas en el Congreso *Cultural–Historical Activity and Sociocultural Research at Times of the Contemporary Crisis: Implications for Education and Human Developmen*t, llevado a cabo en Creta (Grecia), en julio de 2016, convocado bajo el tema central de *Aprendizaje e identidad: El papel de la educación formal en la construcción de las identidades*. El propósito del mismo, según puede leerse en la introducción del monográfico, fue presentar una perspectiva integral sobre lo que, desde distintos grupos de trabajo, se está investigando en torno del modo en que la participación en escenarios de educación formal contribuye en la construcción de identidad (Martínez-Lozano y Lalueza, 2016). A modo de cierre de dicha publicación, Lalueza y Martínez Lozano (2016) exponen los tres puntos que consideran más significativos, a la vez que compartidos, en las diferentes ponencias: *el sentido*, entendido como punto de encuentro entre los motivos del aprendiz y las metas fijadas para las actividades en las que tiene oportunidades de participar; el *carácter dialógico* evidenciado en la influencia de las interacciones en la construcción de la identidad y el papel central de *las narrativas* en el mismo proceso.

Lejos de pretender desdibujar o contraargumentar acerca de las conclusiones mencionadas, nos pareció oportuno detenernos en dos planteos que permean los diferentes aportes del monográfico y que también vale la pena enfatizar: uno, referido al papel de la escolarización en la construcción de identidad (Lalueza y otros, 2016); dos, la ubicación de estudios sobre identidad en el marco de las relaciones entre diferentes contextos, especialmente la atención a las continuidades y discontinuidades culturales entre los aprendices y la escuela, sus familias y las comunidades de referencia (Esteban Guitart, Llopart y Subero, 2016).

La contribución de Lalueza y otros (2016), refiere puntualmente al papel de la escolarización en la construcción de identidad, desde la perspectiva de las relaciones entre instituciones representativas de la cultura dominante y los grupos minoritarios. Ellos consideran que su investigación permitió comprender *que* las diferencias culturales, por sí mismas, no conforman minorías; *que la escolarización es un factor esencial en la génesis de las identidades minoritarias*. Clara y explícitamente sostienen que el éxito o fracaso de las instituciones para lograr la inclusión de las minorías depende de los modos de participación que se habiliten para los estudiantes. Si la institución garantiza participaciones legítimas, facilitando la conexión entre motivos del aprendiz y metas institucionales, así como compartiendo lenguajes y narrativas, se abren también las vías para generar sentimientos de pertenencia y la posibilidad de optar entre una amplia gama de identificaciones posibles.

A su vez, el aporte de Esteban–Guitart, Llopart y Subero (2016), invita a vincular los estudios sobre la identidad de aprendiz con la línea de trabajos relativos a los *fondos de conocimiento e identidad* de los estudiantes. Considerado en sí mismo, el trabajo puede leerse como una propuesta de intervención socioeducativa, que apunta a mejorar los logros académicos de estudiantes pertenecientes a grupos social y culturalmente desfavorecidos. En un encuadre más amplio, el escrito forma parte de una línea de investigación con importante trayectoria en el estudio de la identidad, que bien puede abonar los planteos presentados.

¿Por qué resulta valioso considerar los aportes sobre fondos de conocimiento y fondos de identidad? Pensamos, por un lado, que los trabajos sobre fondos de conocimiento avalaron dos *cambios conceptuales* remarcables: *uno*, el reconocimiento de que los éxitos y fracasos en la escolarización no deben atribuirse sólo o principalmente a factores personales, sino que es necesario atender también a los factores contextuales; *dos*, que el estudio de las continuidades y discontinuidades entre familia y escuela, no debería centrarse en señalar déficits de conocimientos sino en conocer, en su gran diversidad, aquellos que están disponibles. Por otra parte, *desde el plano metodológico* destacan la incorporación y refinamiento de métodos propios de un enfoque cualitativo, en particular los que tienen que ver con etnografías e historias de vida. El estudio de las familias, llevado a cabo por grupos de trabajo de investigadores e investigadoras junto a maestros y maestras en ejercicio, mostró su versatilidad para cumplir simultáneamente con varios propósitos. Las visitas a los hogares proporcionaron conocimientos sobre los recursos materiales y simbólicos disponibles, así como sobre el carácter de las relaciones familiares y las modalidades que asumen los aprendizajes en diferentes entornos. En síntesis, pensamos que los desarrollos en torno del concepto de fondos de conocimiento son valiosos para estudiar cómo influyen en los aprendizajes y en la construcción de identidades os contextos familiares y sus diferentes vinculaciones con las instituciones educativas.

Respecto de los *fondos de identidad*, aseveraciones precisas acerca de sus fundamentos, permiten apreciar una marcada continuidad en relación con el constructo de fondos de conocimiento (Brito Rivera, Subero Tomás y Esteban Guitart, 2018; Esteban– Guitart, 2012, 2012a, 2019; Esteban-Guitart y Moll, 2014; Esteban-Guitart y Saubich, 2013; González Patiño y Esteban-Guitart, 2015).

Si nos detenemos en los aspectos compartidos entre el enfoque de fondos de conocimiento y el de fondos de identidad, podemos anotar la común adscripción a las perspectivas socio-histórica y sociocultural acerca del desarrollo humano en general y sobre la construcción de identidad más particularmente. Una noción clave es que los seres humanos y sus mundos sociales son inseparables: la identidad está incrustada en la cultura; está siempre *mediada y distribuida* entre personas, artefactos, actividades y ambientes (Esteban-Guitart y Moll, 2014). En sencilla descripción, podría decirse que el enfoque de los fondos de conocimiento se centra en el estudio de los repositorios de recursos culturales disponibles para una persona, especialmente aquellos que están presentes en los entornos familiares y las comunidades en las que se insertan; en tanto el enfoque de los fondos de identidad pone el acento en el modo en que las personas se apropian de esos reservorios, la manera en que los usan en sus intercambios en los diferentes contextos de los que participan y el sentido que atribuyen a las *experiencias vividas* en tales intercambios.

Finalizando esta sección e intentando una valoración de estos nuevos enfoques, el señalamiento más claro por hacer, apunta al extraordinario trabajo de discriminación de factores que operan en la construcción de identidad. Los aportes de la perspectiva de *fondos de conocimiento e identidad*, abre -como veremos en la última sección de este ensayo- nuevas avenidas para el estudio de temas clásicos de la Psicología Educacional, a la vez que consolidan los planteos en torno de la identidad de aprendiz, que hemos revisado en los apartados anteriores.

2.3 Consideraciones Actuales Sobre el Modelo de Identidad de Aprendiz: Construyendo una Visión Panorámica

De acuerdo con lo que venimos diciendo, entonces, las identidades se forman mediante las relaciones que establecemos con otras personas. Esta idea, destaca la importancia que asumen la interacción, la actividad, el discurso y el reconocimiento como componentes esenciales de la identidad (Falsafi y Coll, 2011). Entendemos así que la identidad de aprendiz de cada persona es resultado de los significados que construye sobre sí misma como aprendiz, a lo largo de su trayectoria individual, a través de la diversidad de experiencias de aprendizaje de las que participa en todo tipo de contextos -formales, no formales o informales, presenciales o virtuales- y mediante las interacciones que establece con los demás (Engel y Coll, 2021). De tal modo, las participaciones de las personas en actividades situadas en contextos específicos son clave, no sólo porque dan forma a lo que hace esa persona -tareas de albañilería, ensayos de laboratorio, lecturas de material bibliográfico o ensamblado de una línea de montaje-, sino también porque conforman quién es, cómo interpreta lo que hace y de qué modo expande -o restringe- su posibilidad de proyectarse (Rinaudo, 2014). En esta sección, atenderemos por tanto al segundo de los objetivos que nos propusimos para este ensayo; esto es, construir una visión panorámica acerca del aprendizaje que permita relacionar el modelo analítico comprensivo de la identidad de aprendiz planteado por Coll y Falsafi con otros constructos relevantes para el ámbito de la Psicología Educacional -emociones en los aprendizajes, procesos de feedback y tareas académicas-.

En un trabajo reciente, Engel y Coll (2021) actualizaron su modelo sobre construcción de identidad de aprendiz, iniciado -como vimos- hace más de una década. Este modelo está integrado por seis elementos interrelacionados: a) los motivos y metas del aprendiz para participar en las actividades de aprendizaje; b) los otros significativos que participan en las experiencias de aprendizaje y sus actos de reconocimiento; c) los recursos discursivos presentes en el contexto sociocultural más amplio; d) la convergencia o interferencia de otras identidades de la persona con la identidad de aprendiz; e) las características de las actividades de aprendizaje; y f) las emociones suscitadas en cada experiencia de aprendizaje. Veamos a continuación cada elemento e intentemos identificar vinculaciones con otros importantes constructos del campo de la Psicología Educacional -emociones, procesos de feedback, tareas académicas-, cuyos avances se lograron también desde perspectivas socioculturales y permiten ampliar el alcance del modelo en su conjunto.

2.3.1 Motivos y Metas del Aprendiz

Engel y Coll (2021) distinguen entre motivos y metas de aprendizaje y sitúan las diferencias entre ambos constructos en su nivel de generalidad o alcance. Así, los motivos serían los fines o propósitos a largo plazo que persigue un estudiante -por ejemplo, trabajar en el futuro, en una profesión prestigiosa o continuar con un negocio familiar-. Las metas, a su vez, refieren a objetivos más concretos y a corto plazo que orientan a los estudiantes en cada situación de aprendizaje particular -por ejemplo, esforzase por completar correctamente la tarea requerida en el marco de una asignatura-. Esta diferenciación, coincidiría a grandes rasgos con lo planteado en el marco de estudios sobre motivación acerca de diferentes orientaciones hacia las metas, propuesta hace más de treinta años. Así, los motivos y las metas de aprendizaje a los que remiten Engel y Coll (2021) se vincularían, respectivamente, con las metas a largo plazo y con las metas de aprendizaje propuestas por Pintrich (2000).

Tanto Pintrich (2000) -y otros destacados referentes en el tema-, como Engel y Coll (2021), coinciden en considerar la existencia de dos orientaciones básicas hacia la meta: una, hace referencia a metas intrínsecas -centradas en el proceso de aprendizaje, metas de dominio u orientadas al control de la tarea-; otra, llamada metas extrínsecas -metas de desempeño u orientadas hacia el resultado. Quienes se orientan hacia metas intrínsecas de aprendizaje, se caracterizan por un marcado interés en incrementar sus conocimientos y mejorar el nivel de competencia y comprensión; en cambio, aquellos orientados hacia metas extrínsecas, reflejan un interés centrado en la evitación de valoraciones negativas acerca del propio desempeño, en demostrar que su capacidad es superior a la de los demás o en la preocupación que supone “tener que hacer” un trabajo por una exigencia externa (Paoloni, 2010).

Investigaciones efectuadas en estas últimas décadas, muestran que los estudiantes frecuentemente adoptan una combinación de los dos tipos de orientaciones. Así, se ha comprobado que, en reiteradas oportunidades, los alumnos persiguen metas múltiples en tanto sus actuaciones presentan características vinculadas con metas de aprendizaje y con metas de desempeño (De la Fuente Arias, 2002).

Las precisiones efectuadas respecto de motivos y metas de aprendizaje son relevantes porque, como ya mencionáramos, remiten a la atribución de sentido de las experiencias de aprendizaje, un elemento fundamental para la configuración de identidad de aprendiz en el marco del modelo que aquí nos compete. Así, cuando los estudiantes logran conectar sus motivos y metas de aprendizaje con los propósitos y objetivos que persiguen sus docentes mediante una propuesta determinada -esto es, con las metas del sistema de actividad en el que participan-, construyen sentido para esa experiencia (Engel y Coll, 2021; Lalueza y Martínez Lozano, 2016). En consecuencia, aquellas personas para quienes la experiencia educativa tenga un mayor sentido personal -mayor conexión con motivos y metas-, tenderán a involucrarse más profundamente con las acciones que dicha experiencia les propone y, por esa vía, será más probable que aprendan (Sebastián, Gallardo y Calderón, 2016).

2.3.2 Los Otros Significativos y Sus Actos de Reconocimiento

Como ya dijimos, para Engel y Coll (2021), los ‘otros significativos’ son personas con influencia decisiva en las trayectorias de aprendizaje. Estas influencias significativas son dinámicas y situadas, es decir, podemos percibir que alguien -un profesor o una profesora, un compañero o compañera de estudios, un familiar- es una influencia importante para nuestras experiencias de aprendizaje en ciertos momentos y situaciones y no necesariamente, en otros. Además, igualmente relevante es cómo percibe la persona que ‘el otro’ lo reconoce, cómo lo ‘ve’, cómo lo valora -o no lo hace-: estos son los ‘actos de reconocimiento’ a los que hacen referencia los autores. Los actos de reconocimiento son actuaciones de otros significativos que proporcionan a los estudiantes información sobre sus características como aprendices o sobre la manera de abordar las actividades de aprendizaje. Estas actuaciones pueden ser discursivas y explícitas o no discursivas e implícitas.

Los actos de reconocimiento discursivos a los que refieren Engel y Coll (2021) se vinculan estrechamente con toda una línea de investigación sobre procesos de feedback en contextos académicos. Los estudios acerca de los procesos de feedback realizados desde enfoques socio-constructivistas y socioculturales, reconocen la importancia del modo y el contexto en el que discurren los procesos de feedback y entienden que su influencia en el aprendizaje depende no sólo de la calidad de la información que se comparte con el estudiante, sino también del modo en que el destinatario la recibe, la interpreta y la utiliza (Askwe y Lodge, 2000; Nicol y Macfarlane-Dick, 2004; Paoloni y Rinaudo, 2009; Rinaudo y Paoloni, 2013).

A su vez, los actos de reconocimiento no discursivos e implícitos a los que aluden Engel y Coll (2021), focalizan en aspectos inherentes al lenguaje no verbal y en tal sentido, pueden vincularse con la función social y expresiva de las emociones propuesta por Reeve (1994). Mediante la postura, los gestos, las vocalizaciones, el tono de voz y la conducta facial, las emociones son expresadas y comunicadas a los demás. Así, permanentemente emitimos mensajes no verbales a los demás e inferimos o hacemos ‘lecturas’ -más o menos acertadas- de los mensajes que los otros nos comunican ‘sin hablar’. Tener en cuenta la comunicación no verbal es importante porque nos ayuda a comprender, entre otros aspectos, las interpretaciones que los estudiantes efectúan sobre las actuaciones de los demás respecto de sus desenvolvimientos como aprendices: si las perciben con valencia positiva o negativa, si son para ellos actos de reconocimiento o de falta de reconocimiento, respectivamente.

En definitiva, lo expuesto hasta aquí, pone de manifiesto que el reconocimiento de uno mismo como aprendiz se produce en dos planos interrelacionados: en primer lugar, a nivel interpersonal –las actuaciones de reconocimiento implícitas o explícitas de los otros - y, en segundo lugar, a nivel intrapersonal –la interpretación que construye el alumno o la alumna y que los convierte en actos de reconocimiento o de falta de reconocimiento, respectivamente (Saballa, 2019 en Engel y Coll, 2021).

2.3.3 Los Recursos Discursivos Presentes en el Contexto Sociocultural más Amplio

Para Engel y Coll (2021), esta dimensión de la identidad de aprendiz trata de “construcciones discursivas que describen y categorizan qué es el aprendizaje y qué significa ser un aprendiz en un momento [*y en un contexto, agregamos nosotras,*] histórico determinado" (p.8). Estas construcciones semánticas se transmiten al alumnado principalmente a través de los discursos presentes en las prácticas sociales de las que participan. Ofrecen una forma de explicar y entender el aprendizaje y permiten construir las experiencias subjetivas de aprendizaje y los significados sobre uno mismo como aprendiz. Estos recursos discursivos, son múltiples y cambiantes, pueden ser parcial o totalmente contradictorios entre sí, son sensibles al contexto y muy dinámicos en su evolución. Así, por ejemplo, se integran en esta categoría, enunciados sobre qué tipo de contenidos de aprendizaje son los más importantes y por qué, qué hace que uno sea un buen o mal aprendiz, dónde y cuándo se realizan aprendizajes relevantes, cómo se aprende mejor o qué significa aprender (Engel y Coll, 2021). Se incluyen también aquí, discursos sobre el valor de la educación para la sociedad, la relevancia de elegir algunas carreras u oficios respecto de otros, o el valor que para algunos contextos de aprendizaje adquieren los conocimientos, destrezas, aptitudes o actitudes que se aprendieron en otros. Podríamos añadir que lo ya señalado en la sección anterior, en torno de los fondos de conocimiento e identidad, así como del papel de la cultura, encuentran su sitio en el modelo que estamos comentando.

2.3.4 Convergencia e Interferencia de Identidades

En el marco del modelo que estamos considerando, se advierte que "la construcción de la identidad de aprendiz es un requisito necesario para la construcción de otras identidades, dado que todo proceso de construcción de identidad requiere, de un modo u otro, aprender a participar en las prácticas de la comunidad de referencia" (Falsafi y Coll, 2011 en Engel y Coll, 2021: 8). Sin embargo, la identidad de aprendiz puede ser influenciada, apoyada o inhibida por otras identidades del alumno como, por ejemplo, la identidad de clase social, de cultura o de género. En algunos casos, hablamos de interferencia de identidades; en otros casos, de convergencia. Cuando un tipo de identidad más elaborada -por ejemplo, la de género-, actúa como mediadora en la construcción de significados sobre uno mismo como aprendiz, inhibiendo u obstaculizando de modo poco saludable dicha construcción, decimos que hay interferencia de identidades. Desde esta perspectiva, las representaciones de rol implícitas en las identidades asumidas por las personas, pueden definir la convergencia o interferencia de las mismas. Si, por ejemplo, la identidad de género incluyese representaciones –hegemónicas o individuales- respecto del rol de la mujer, como totalmente ajeno a actividades empresariales, científicas, técnicas, muy probablemente influiría en las decisiones que podrían llevar a identidades profesionales a ellas vinculadas; vale decir que estaríamos en presencia de interferencia de identidades. Caso contrario, si las representaciones asociadas a roles femeninos –esposa, madre, abuela-, no implican tales restricciones, tampoco tendrían lugar los problemas de interferencia y, en tal sentido, podríamos hablar de convergencia de identidades.

2.3.5 Características de las Actividades de Aprendizaje

Desde el modelo de Engel y Coll (2021) se asume que las experiencias subjetivas de aprendizaje -reales o imaginadas, presentes, pasadas o proyectadas a futuro- son la materia prima para la construcción de identidad de aprendiz. En este sentido, las características de las actividades a las que refieren estas experiencias, juegan un papel destacado en los significados que la persona construye sobre sí misma como aprendiz, específicamente, en los modos en que percibe e interpreta a los rasgos del contexto como facilitadores u obstaculizadores de sus procesos de aprendizaje.

Respecto de la importancia que asumen las tareas académicas en el compromiso y motivación desplegado por los estudiantes en contextos formales de aprendizaje, afortunadamente hace más de 30 años que la teoría y la investigación proveen de alguna orientación sobre las características que deberían reunir las actividades que aspiren a fomentar en los estudiantes una orientación motivacional hacia metas de aprendizaje (Rinaudo, 1999; Stipek, 1996), o activar patrones emocionales beneficiosos para sus aprendizajes (Paoloni, 2014). Sucintamente y para no extendernos en este tema, entre las características referidas podemos mencionar las siguientes: *variedad* y *diversidad*, *funcionalidad y significatividad, moderado* nivel de *dificultad, desafío, curiosidad, fantasía, colaboración, posibilidad de elección y de control* (Paoloni, 2010). Desde perspectivas más culturalistas, recientemente se están estudiando los rasgos de las actividades de aprendizaje que parecen asociarse con la promoción y desarrollo de una diversidad de competencias sociales y emocionales en aprendices que participan tanto en contextos formales como no formales de aprendizaje (Manavella et al. 2021; Paoloni y Rinaudo, 2021; Rinaudo, 2014). Entendemos que la propuesta de Engel y Coll (2021) sobre el papel que desempeñan las actividades de aprendizaje en la construcción de identidad de aprendiz, integra y expande los avances conceptuales existentes sobre el tema en tanto amplía los contextos o situaciones en los que se inscriben las experiencias de aprendizaje -formales, no formales e informales- y extiende la dimensión temporal en la que se anclan las representaciones de los aprendices - pasado, presente o futuro.

2.4.6 Juicios de Valor y Emociones

Por último, otro aspecto importante por considerar en la construcción de identidad de aprendiz, son los juicios de valor y las emociones que se asocian a las experiencias subjetivas de aprendizaje (Valdés, 2016 en Engel y Coll, 2021). Como ya dijimos, la naturaleza de las construcciones y reconstrucciones de cada experiencia de aprendizaje, es dialógica y depende del contexto en el que se produce -con quienes, en qué situación, respecto de qué actividades, etc.-. Estos planteos, se relacionan estrechamente con los fundamentos centrales del modelo modal de las emociones de Gross y Thompson (2009) y con la teoría del control-valor de las emociones de logro en contextos académicos propuesta por Pekrun et al. (2007). Los autores referidos, entienden que cualquiera sea la meta y cualquiera sea la circunstancia, es la valoración o sentido atribuido a la situación en relación con la meta, lo que da lugar al surgimiento de una emoción. Como este significado cambia todo el tiempo -debido a cambios en la situación en sí misma o a cambios en el significado atribuido a la situación- la emoción también cambiará, lo que contribuye a destacar su carácter dinámico y contextual. Focalizando en el ámbito académico, las valoraciones que un estudiante realiza respecto de una actividad o resultado obtenido, suponen un antecedente en el devenir de las emociones que experimente. A mayor valoración de una actividad o resultado obtenido, más posibilidades de experimentar emociones positivas ya sea de activación (por ejemplo, entusiasmo) o de desactivación (por ejemplo, tranquilidad) y viceversa, a menor valoración de la tarea de aprendizaje o del resultado obtenido, se amplían las probabilidades de experimentar emociones negativas de activación (como el enojo o la ansiedad) o de desactivación (como aburrimiento o desesperanza). Las teorías motivacionales sobre el valor atribuido a una tarea académica, se orientan también en la misma dirección de lo referido. Así, a mayor valoración de las tareas académicas interpretadas como útiles, importantes o novedosas respecto de los propios intereses, metas o experiencias por parte de los aprendices, mayores posibilidades de comprometerse con los aprendizajes y obtener, por tanto, resultados óptimos (Eccles, 2005).

III. REFLEXIONES FINALES SOBRE EL MODELO DE IDENTIDAD DE APRENDIZ: APORTES Y PROYECCIONES

Finalizado nuestro recorrido por las raíces teóricas, así como por los diferentes componentes del modelo de identidad de aprendiz y sus vinculaciones con otros importantes constructos de la Psicología Educacional, cabe ahora detenernos en sus posibles proyecciones. En esta última sección, estaríamos atendiendo así, al último de los objetivos que nos propusimos; esto es, proyectar nuevos alcances y potencialidades de una visión panorámica sobre la identidad de aprendiz para futura investigación y práctica educativa.

Un señalamiento más general –y probablemente el más relevante- que se desprende de este trabajo, tiene que ver con el reconocimiento de *la* robusta *trama conceptual que sustenta el modelo* *de la identidad de aprendiz,* lo que constituye un estímulo para continuar su estudio en múltiples direcciones. En lo que sigue, atenderemos a las contribuciones respecto del campo teórico disciplinario de la Psicología Educacional, y a nuevas orientaciones para las prácticas educativas.

3.1 Contribuciones en el Campo Disciplinario de la Psicología Educacional

Pensamos que la ubicación de problemas inherentes al proceso de construcción de identidad en el seno de preocupaciones centrales de la Psicología Educacional puede leerse, tal como sugeríamos antes, como un aporte a la reconfiguración del campo. Los avances en la discriminación de factores involucrados en el concepto de identidad de aprendiz y sus interacciones, confieren nuevos matices en el estudio de los persistentes problemas que se deben atender en las explicaciones acerca del aprendizaje y la enseñanza. En efecto, si acordamos con el modelo de construcción de identidad propuesto y aceptamos que las identidades construidas orientan actuaciones futuras, cabe pensar en un necesario redimensionamiento de variables en las diferentes líneas de estudios dentro del campo.

Ahora bien, ¿cómo prefiguramos esos redimensionamientos? Muy probablemente uno de los principales cambios que podría intentarse sea el establecimiento de *mayores vinculaciones* entre los diferentes temas que se traten. Ya no parece tan fructífero profundizar en el análisis de factores o variables aisladas para mostrar su incidencia en los aprendizajes. Si vemos al constructo de identidad de aprendiz como una malla, como una red conceptual amplia, rica, entonces se podrían tener en cuenta posibles interconexiones entre diferentes tópicos o temas, tal y como intentamos mostrarlo en el segundo eje de nuestro ensayo. Entonces, si estudiamos, por ejemplo, tareas académicas o dimensiones de los conocimientos previos, podríamos intentar enriquecer su análisis estableciendo vinculaciones con la identidad de aprendizaje como constructo que posibilita una visión panorámica -y un zoom al mismo tiempo- respecto de los procesos de aprendizaje y de enseñanza. Corresponde decir que el cambio sugerido no va a contramano de lo que puede observarse respecto de algunos constructos complejos o meta constructos, tales como, por ejemplo, motivación, emoción, compromiso, feedback, en los que se ha conseguido ya una importante integración de perspectivas.

En los aspectos metodológicos, el campo se ve también enriquecido con las propuestas para el estudio de contextos formales, no formales e informales, y los modos de acceder a un conocimiento más completo de las influencias que se ejercen en la construcción de identidad de los estudiantes.

Por las contribuciones señaladas, el modelo presentado permite abrir nuevas líneas que podrían atender a los procesos de construcción y reconstrucción de identidad en el aprendizaje de nociones puntuales, en diferentes campos de práctica y áreas de conocimiento, como así también a las características de tales procesos en diferentes contextos institucionales (fábricas, museos, templos, oficinas administrativas, organizaciones no gubernamentales...). Asimismo, podrían proyectarse trabajos destinados a conocer mejor las características de la identidad de aprendiz en etapas etarias menos estudiadas (por ejemplo, ¿qué influencias se anulan, mantienen, o acentúan en los años de vejez?).

3.2 Orientaciones Para la Práctica Educativa

En una de las primeras presentaciones de sus estudios sobre identidad de aprendiz, Falsafi y Coll (2011) remarcaban que en el trasfondo de su propuesta estaba la idea de que las instituciones educativas debían atender a la construcción y reconstrucción de identidades que tiene lugar en el transcurso de las clases. Por ese entonces, advertían también que se necesitaba aumentar el conocimiento acerca del proceso de construcción de la identidad de aprendiz, en "diferentes contextos y tiempos, lo que a su vez exige la integración de contribuciones teóricas y metodológicas diversas" (Falsafi y Coll, 2011: 17). A más de 10 años de estas afirmaciones, no existen dudas acerca de los avances hacia las metas consignadas, en el sentido de que disponemos hoy de mayor conocimiento acerca de la construcción de identidad de aprendiz y que en buena medida ese conocimiento es fruto de una cuidadosa integración de contribuciones teóricas y metodológicas.

Así las cosas, parece estar abierto el camino hacia el diseño de prácticas educativas sensibles al proceso de construcción de identidad de aprendiz. En este camino, no son menores las contribuciones que permitieron visibilizar que no todos los conocimientos que los alumnos y alumnas traen a la escuela son igualmente valorados y también, que maestros, maestras, profesores y profesoras sabemos poco acerca del amplio acervo de conocimientos no escolarizados del que disponen los estudiantes, sus familias y sus grupos de referencia. Cabe añadir que una infravaloración de los conocimientos previos de los estudiantes, incide en los procesos de enseñanza y de aprendizaje en un doble sentido: por un lado, los profesores y profesoras no podrían incorporar en las tareas que solicitan, referencias a situaciones o modos de atender a problemas que podrían vincularse con tales conocimientos; por otro lado, esas ausencias restringen también, y en gran medida, las posibilidades de los estudiantes de usar sus conocimientos para atender y dar sentido a las metas y actividades que se les proponen desde las clases. En este sentido, parece cierta la potencialidad del constructo como instrumento para orientar la reflexión y el análisis de las prácticas de estudio y de enseñanza. Las razones para comprender y profundizar el conocimiento sobre la relevancia de las actuaciones docentes en las oportunidades o restricciones que se generan respecto de la construcción de una identidad de aprendiz que lleve a emprender y disfrutar de los esfuerzos necesarios para conseguir las metas que la educación propone, están claramente planteadas. Las herramientas necesarias para contribuir a ello, parecen también estar al alcance de la mano.

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The Massacre of Unionists at the Hacienda Chaparro in Eastern Michoacán: August 13

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SUMMARY

This paper aims to describe and explain a tragic event that occurred in eastern Michoacán around the struggle to organize a union by the workers of the Hacienda de Chaparro logging company, who wanted through this form of organization to be able to better defend their labor rights and progress in terms of their living conditions and that of their families. This project was confronted through repression by the bosses who resorted to using armed groups from the Second Cristiada plain, which operated in the region, to murder unionized workers. How did this tragedy happen? What was the response of the state and federal government to the events? And what was the outcome of this historic episode? These are the main points developed in this text.

Keywords: unionism, michoacán, hacienda de chaparro, lázaro cárdenas, gildardo magaña.

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The Massacre of Unionists at the Hacienda Chaparro in Eastern Michoacán: August 13

La Masacre de Sindicalistas de la Hacienda de Chaparro en el Oriente de Michoacán: 13 DE Agosto de 1938

Luis Sánchez Amaro

SUMMARY

This paper aims to describe and explain a tragic event that occurred in eastern Michoacán around the struggle to organize a union by the workers of the Hacienda de Chaparro logging company, who wanted through this form of organization to be able to better defend their labor rights and progress in terms of their living conditions and that of their families. This project was confronted through repression by the bosses who resorted to using armed groups from the Second Cristiada plain, which operated in the region, to murder unionized workers. How did this tragedy happen? What was the response of the state and federal government to the events? And what was the outcome of this historic episode? These are the main points developed in this text.

Keywords: unionism, michoacán, hacienda de chaparro, lázaro cárdenas, gildardo magaña.

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RESUMEN

Esta ponencia tiene como objetivo describir y explicar un suceso trágico ocurrido en el oriente de Michoacán en torno a la lucha por organizar un sindicato por parte de los trabajadores de la empresa maderera de la Hacienda de Chaparro, los cuales deseaban mediante esta forma de organización poder defender mejor sus derechos laborales y progresar en cuanto a sus condiciones de vida y la de sus familias. Este proyecto fue confrontado por medio de la represión por parte de los patrones quienes recurrieron a la utilización de grupos armados de la llanada Segunda Cristiada, que operaban en la región, para asesinar a los trabajadores sindicalizados. ¿Cómo ocurrió esta tragedia? ¿Cuál fue la respuesta del gobierno estatal y federal ante los hechos? y ¿cuál fue el desenlace de este episodio histórico? son los puntos principales que se desarrollan en el presente texto.

Palabras Clave: sindicalismo, michoacán, hacienda de chaparro, lázaro cárdenas, gildardo magaña.

I. INTRODUCCIÓN

La lucha por lograr la creación de sindicatos que defiendan los intereses de los trabajadores en México no ha sido fácil, el camino ha estado lleno de obstáculos y de violencia contra las iniciativas de organización que han surgido. Un claro ejemplo de ello es la masacre de 26 trabajadores ocurrida en la Hacienda de Chaparro, municipio de Ciudad Hidalgo, en el año de 1938. Estos mártires del sindicalismo no tuvieron manera de defenderse y enfrentaron una horrible muerte estando la mayoría en plena juventud; inermes, fueron asesinados mediante la horca, a puñaladas y a balazos, en la fatídica madrugada del 13 de agosto de 1938, por el solo hecho de haberse organizado en un sindicato y exigir respeto a sus derechos más elementales como trabajadores. Los ejecutores del crimen, un grupo armado de los católicos de derecha organizados en el llamado Ejército de Liberación Popular, fueron simples personeros de los intereses de los administradores y dueños de la hacienda y aserraderos donde laboraban las víctimas. El crimen fue premeditado, los ejecutores llevaban listas fidedignas de los obreros sindicalizados para asesinarlos y los que no lo estaban se les dejó libres sin daño alguno. Luego del ataque los asesinos se dispersaron, algunos fueron capturados poco después y llevados a proceso judicial, pero se les aplicaron penas muy bajas. Finalmente, la Hacienda de Chaparro fue expropiada por el gobierno federal encabezado por el general Lázaro Cárdenas para quien desde un inicio le quedo clara la responsabilidad de los latifundistas de Chaparro y por ello realizó esta acción en favor de los deudos de los trabajadores asesinados y de los campesinos de la región.

II. LA HACIENDA DE CHAPARRO Y LA EXPLOTACIÓN FORESTAL EN LA REGIÓN ORIENTE DE MICHOACÁN

En la región de Taximaroa situada en el oriente de Michoacán se dio una explotación forestal capitalista en gran escala que adquirió importancia en el porfiriato debido a la activa explotación minera de centros como Chapatuato, Otzumatlán, Angangueo y Tlalpujahua, localizados en la misma región. Estos centros mineros demandaban grandes volúmenes de madera para construir viviendas, instalaciones industriales, para elaboración de instrumentos de trabajo, fortificaciones de minas etc. A esta demanda se sumó la generada por la expansión de los ferrocarriles que consumía grandes cantidades de madera para las calderas de las máquinas y los durmientes de las vías (Soto, 2022:151). Las empresas más importantes de la región fueron la Hacienda de Chaparro, la Compañía Pomposo Solís e Hijos y la Compañía Sánchez, todas del municipio de Hidalgo, las cuales construyeron y administraron sus propias redes ferroviarias locales que conectaban con las nacionales. En una considerable cantidad de armones transportaban masivamente madera de sus aserraderos de donde salieron miles de metros cúbicos de madera aserrada para el mercado nacional. La extensión de vías férreas que conectaba la Hacienda de Chaparro con la estación más cercana de la red nacional, que era Irimbo, tenía 36 km, ésta se concluyó hacia 1914. También ofrecía un servicio de pasaje en carros autovías con varias estaciones (Soto, 2002:151-152).

Cuando en la región se incrementó el reparto agrario entre 1936 y 1937 en los municipios de los tres distritos del oriente michoacano, a su vez se incrementó la explotación forestal debido al afán depredatorio de los latifundistas.

La principal empresa maderera de la región oriente fue la Hacienda de San Nicolás del Monte más conocida como Hacienda de Chaparro. Esta propiedad tiene sus antecedentes en las mercedes de tierra que se remontan a la administración colonial del virrey Diego Fernández de Córdoba marqués de Guadalcázar emitidas el 13 de marzo de 1614 (Soto, 2002: 168).

Desde 1930 la Hacienda Chaparro enfrentó demandas de sus trabajadores y conflictos con las comunidades indígenas por linderos. El 12 de febrero de 1935 indígenas de San Bartolo Cuitareo invadieron parte de la Hacienda y los dueños demandaron judicialmente a los dirigentes. Este problema se finiquitó hasta el 21 de agosto de 1940.

A principios de 1930 la Hacienda Chaparro tenía 12, 000 hectáreas de extensión, ocho aserraderos distribuidos a lo largo y ancho de la propiedad, un sistema ferroviario propio que le proporcionaba altas ganancias siendo considerada como una de las empresas forestales más importantes del país.

Esta situación comenzó a verse amenazada cuando se vivió en la región una intensa actividad sindical y agrarista, tanto por los trabajadores que vivían y trabajaban en el casco de la Hacienda como por los obreros que laboraban en el monte y en el ferrocarril. En este aspecto el 4 de noviembre de 1936 un núcleo agrario logró adquirir en dotación 3, 383 hectáreas de la Hacienda y su anexo La Granja (Pérez, 1986:359).

Para mantener sus altos beneficios la empresa Hacienda de Chaparro y un grupo de madereros contratistas decidieron valerse de la derecha representada por la resaca de la Segunda Cristiada agrupada en el llamado Ejército Popular Libertador (EPL) de la Liga Nacional de la Libertad (LNL), como mercenarios para asesinar

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el 13 de agosto de 1938 en terrenos de la Hacienda a un grupo de 26 trabajadores sindicalizados pertenecientes a la Sección Número 6 del Sindicato de Trabajadores Ferrocarrileros de la República Mexicana (STFRM) y al Sindicato de Trabajadores Madereros de la Hacienda de Chaparro afiliada a la Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM).

III. EL MOVIMIENTO CATÓLICO DE DERECHA Y SU GRUPO ARMADO EN LA REGIÓN ORIENTE DE MICHOACÁN

En junio de 1939 la Iglesia a través de su dirigente el delegado apostólico y arzobispo de Michoacán Leopoldo Ruiz Flores firmó un acuerdo con el presidente Emilio Portes Gil para dar por terminada la "Guerra Cristera" iniciada el año de 1926 y establecer una nueva relación entre el gobierno y la Iglesia Católica conocido como "modus vivendi". Producto de este acuerdo se disolvió la Guardia Nacional que era el nombre del ejército cristero. Pero no todos los grupos de la Iglesia estuvieron de acuerdo. Principalmente los militantes y dirigentes de la Liga Nacional de la Libertad Religiosa (LNLR) apoyados por varios obispos. Esta Liga en agosto de 1229 se deslindó de la jerarquía católica y comenzó a preparar una segunda rebelión. Para 1930 cambió su nombre y se autodenominó Liga Nacional Defensora de la Libertad (LNL).

En el plano militar el oriente de Michoacán fue uno de los lugares donde la Liga tuvo un pequeño grupo armado dirigido por Nabor Orozco, un militante del movimiento cristero de 1926-1929, que comenzó a actuar desde el año de 1932. No tuvo mucho éxito este proyecto y para fines de enero de 1932 solo había logrado integrar a sus filas a cerca de 60 hombres (Soto, 2002: 237).

Cuando Nabor Orozco se retiró por el año de 1935 siguió actuando en la región un pequeño grupo de media docena de hombres dirigido por un cabecilla apodado "El Conchito" los cuales actuaban sin una bandera religiosa o política clara. Este grupo reclutaba gente más por dinero que por ideas y pagaba con el dinero que le proveían los hacendados para reprimir a solicitantes de tierras. A este grupo se unió Laureano Cruz, Benjamín Velázquez y Juvencio Flores, originarios de la región oriente de Michoacán y cuyas familias habían participado en la Cristiada. Estos personajes al entrar en contacto con grupos de la LNL que operaban en límites de Guanajuato y Michoacán formaron sus propios grupos y estuvieron bajo el mando del cuartel general que estaba ubicado en el Cerro de los Agustinos ya en el territorio de Guanajuato, pero como eran grupos muy reducidos solos dedicaban a sobrevivir (Soto, 2002: 270).

Debido a esto la región oriente de Michoacán sufrió una ola de asesinatos de campesinos agraristas y profesores rurales y obreros sindicalistas desarmados. Esto llevó a que a la demanda de tierras de los núcleos agraristas se sumara la de dotación de armas para defenderse.

IV. LA MASACRE DE LOS SINDICALISTAS

Los trabajadores de los armones que transportaban la madera de la hacienda de Chaparro decidieron organizarse en sindicato desde el 19 de octubre de 1930 y desde entonces sufrieron el acoso de las guardias blancas al servicio los propietarios que los hostigaban permanentemente y aunque denunciaban los atropellos ante las autoridades estas no hacían nada. Particularmente ellos acusaban como responsables de las acciones en su contra al entonces gerente de la negociación Clicerio Molina y al contratista Francisco Aguilar y empleados subalternos (Araujo, 1938, AGN: fs. 1-46). Este sindicato tenía un total de 54 integrantes.

Bajo este contexto el 13 de agosto de 1938 un grupo de 30 trabajadores salió muy temprano con sus armones tirados por mulas a sus labores en dirección a los aserraderos que la empresa tenía en la sierra y al llegar a un lugar llamado "Los Capulines" situado a 13 km de la Hacienda donde las vías se hacían muy pronunciadas fueron detenidos por un grupo armado como de 45 individuos, todos embozados con pañuelos y armados con carabinas y pistolas. Los bandoleros sacaban los armones de las vías y amarraban las mulas en los árboles mientras que a los trabajadores se les separó dejando en resguardo junto con los armones a los que no eran sindicalizados y amarrando en parejas, atados de dos en dos, por la espalda y codo con codo, a los que si lo eran. Para corroborar lo anterior les preguntaban sus nombres y se fijaban en unas listas que traían. A todo el primer grupo de prisioneros el que la hacía de jefe, vestido de militar, les arengó diciéndoles que se les iba a matar por ser sindicalizados, que ya se les había advertido que no se organizaran, pero no hicieron caso y lo iban a pagar con su vida. Les recomendó rezar sus últimas oraciones y a pesar de los ruegos lastimeros de los trabajadores pidiendo se les perdonara la vida no se tentaron el corazón. Acto seguido procedieron los maleantes a colgar a los trabajadores de manera sucesiva y en parejas en una horca que improvisaron en los árboles de encino aledaños. Del mismo modo a las siguientes corridas de trabajadores que iban llegando a este lugar los capturaban y previa revisión de su lista dejaban huir a los que no eran sindicalizados y amarraban a los que sí. A unos trabajadores los mataron ahorcándolos, a otros a balazos y a puñaladas. Con mucha fortuna algunos trabajadores lograron sobrevivir como Evaristo Martínez quien amarrado con Narciso Corona al ser sacrificados el segundo recibió todos los balazos y cayó encima de él quien se hizo el muerto y así pasó inadvertido. Otro de nombre José Lira Rafael que lo capturaron en el segundo grupo que llegó al lugar y cuando vio con horror como estaban colgando a sus compañeros, en un movimiento desesperado pudo zafarse de sus ataduras y se arrojó sobre el que tenía cerca al que derribó para impedir que disparara su carabina y emprendió veloz carrera, poco más de 40 balas le silbaron sin ser tocado por alguna. Al llegar a un altísimo puente de ferrocarril se arrojó al vacío, el golpe fue terrible. Los maleantes lo dejaron por muerto y se retiraron del lugar. José Lira se quedó sin movimiento por breves instantes y después caminó trabajosamente por la orilla del arroyo. Cerca de la Hacienda de Chaparro esperó oculto entre las peñas a que llegara la noche, y continuó su camino hasta llegar a Ciudad Hidalgo comunicando a las autoridades el suceso (Ramírez, sin fecha: 364-366). Otro trabajador que salvó la vida fue Juan Martínez a causa de que su esposa Domitila Pérez y su pequeña hija se abrazaron a él y no las pudieron separar por lo que los facinerosos optaron por perdonarle la vida indicándoles que no regresaran a la hacienda y no contaran a nadie lo sucedido.

Los 26 trabajadores sindicalistas asesinados fueron Jesús Vergara Martínez de 19 años casado; Miguel Carmona de 24 años casado; Eucario Suárez Bucio, de 22 años, casado; Roberto García Vázquez de 30 años, casado; Leandro Correa Loza de 39 años, casado; Narciso Corona de 38 años, casado; Eustacio Pérez Jaso de 38 años, casado; Epigmenio Contreras de 24 años, casado; José Cervantes Malagón de 31 años, casado; Bulmaro González Monroy de 26 años, casado; José Hurtado de 28 años, casado; Daniel Blancas Santana de 26 años, casado; Isaías Sámano Guzmán de 23 años, casado; Lino Torres Rivera de 24 años, casado; Juan Lira Nieves de 24 años, casado; Rosendo García Vergara de 33 años, casado; Fabián Torres Rivera de 29 años, casado; Pedro Aguilar Zapata de 22 años, casado; Jesús Nolasco Piña, de 28 años, casado; Manuel Bucio Martínez de 25 años, casado; Santiago Zárate Luna, de 28 años casado; Heraclio Garfias Carrillo de 24 años, casado; José Navarrete Venegas de 18 años, soltero; José Contreras Zapata de 22 años, casado; Gregorio Cruz Contreras de 30 años, casado y Eligio Cruz García de 26 años, casado (Causa criminal contra Silvestre Rodríguez, 1938, AHPJM: fs. 1-20).

Del atentado pudieron sobrevivir los sindicalistas Evaristo Martínez, José Lira Rafael, Juan Martínez Atilano García Ramírez, Arcadio Ortiz y Florencio Escobar. Con el asesinato de los otros 26 trabajadores quedaron en el desamparo y en la miseria 25 viudas, 67 huérfanos y 21 ancianos, los cuales junto con 16 hermanos y sobrinos menores de edad dependían económicamente de los trabajadores asesinados.

V. LAS PRIMERAS INVESTIGACIONES

Al tener noticias del horrendo crimen suscitado en la Hacienda de Chaparro el gobernador del estado Gildardo Magaña ordenó que el día 15 de agosto se trasladaran al lugar de los hechos el oficial mayor Manuel M. Cárdenas y el agente del ministerio público licenciado Camilo Andrade

Carmona para realizar una minuciosa investigación sobre los hechos para así "tener datos fehacientes y cooperar con las autoridades militares para lograr el castigo de los culpables". Los comisionados llegaron el mismo día 15 de agosto por la noche cuando acababan de sepultar a las víctimas. Al siguiente día interrogaron al señor José Paz Zetina, a Evaristo Martínez Monroy, José Lira Rafael, Domitila Pérez de Martínez y al señor Aurelio Archundia, todos testigos directos de los hechos. Prosiguieron sus investigaciones con otras personas buscando antecedentes y pruebas para saber si las empresas madereras y de los ferrocarriles tenían responsabilidades, pero no encontraron nada que pudiera asegurar tal cosa, sin embargo, resaltaron en su informe el hecho elocuentísimo de que los hechores solo habían asesinado a los trabajadores sindicalizados y no molestaron a los que no lo eran. Un antecedente importante que también se hizo notar en el informe fue que en el mes anterior al crimen el sindicato ferrocarrilero hizo un emplazamiento a huelga a la familia Olivares para obligarla a que les pagara cinco semanas de salarios que les estaba adeudando, hubo un convenio en el que los dueños aceptaron pagar, pero hasta la fecha no se había cumplido. En los interrogatorios salió a relucir que en la casa de un trabajador de la empresa Onésimo Marín en un rancho llamado "La Sabaneta", a ocho o diez km de donde ocurrió la matanza se había reunido una partida de maleantes que seguramente fue la que atacó a los trabajadores. En ese lugar tomaron sus alimentos y asistieron a una misa oficiada por el cura del "Caracol" de nombre José Garcidueñas quien pidió orar por los armoneros de Chaparro. Por parte del mayor jefe del destacamento militar de Ciudad Hidalgo que fue el primero que llegó al lugar del crimen el mismo día de ocurrido se enteraron de que sobre los cadáveres se encontró una hoja de papel en el que se leía: "Hoy 13 de agosto aquí murieron los armoneros de Chaparro por confederados y rojos, siendo muertos por el cabo del Ejercito Popular Libertador "y firmaban con dos iniciales "BB". El 17 de agosto terminaron de hacer estas primeras indagaciones y elaboraron su informe dirigido al gobernador Gildardo Magaña, quien a su vez el día 18 lo envió con carácter de urgente al presidente Lázaro Cárdenas anexando las declaraciones de varios de los que habían sido interrogados (Cárdenas y Andrade, 1938, AHPEM: fs. 8-13).

Por parte de la Presidencia de la República se envió al lugar de los hechos para recabar información al general José Manuel Núñez y al licenciado Fernández Boyoli agente del ministerio público de la Procuraduría General de la República. Desafortunadamente no encontré ningún informe en los archivos provenientes de esta fuente por lo que es posible que los resultados de sus indagaciones los hayan hecho llegar verbal y directamente al Ejecutivo.

Finalmente, el diputado José Zavala Ruiz también le envió al presidente Lázaro Cárdenas, con fecha 19 de agosto, un reporte separado del que enviaron tanto el gobernador Magaña como el general José Manuel Núñez, sobre los hechos sangrientos ocurridos en Chaparro. En este memorándum el diputado acusó al general Josué Escobedo, anterior jefe de las operaciones militares en Michoacán, de no haber apoyado las peticiones de los trabajadores sindicalizados de Chaparro ante las amenazas de los grupos armados de derecha que los acosaban. Luego acusó al licenciado Napoleón Molina Enríquez, coaligado con el gobierno estatal, de estar organizando sindicatos "blancos" contrarios a los que ya tenían afiliación a la CTM. Y terminaba su reporte de nueve cuartillas dando cuenta de que otros sindicatos adheridos a la CTM en la región seguían recibiendo amenazas por lo que solicitaba garantías para todos ellos (Zavala, 1938, AGN-FLCR: fs. 302-310).

VI. EL PROCESO JUDICIAL CONTRA LOS ASESINOS

El objetivo de la matanza de chaparro fue muy claro, se trataba de acabar con la lucha de los sindicalistas mediante el asesinato de todos los trabajadores que tuvieron esa condición y amedrentar a los llamados "libres" para que no se organizaran. Así de grotesca y sanguinaria fue la decisión de los autores intelectuales de la agresión perpetrada por el grupo armado de derecha cuyos jefes llevaban una lista con los nombres de los trabajadores afiliados al sindicato.

Por diversas indagaciones y declaraciones de testigos se supo que las gavillas que se dedicaban a masacrar campesinos en la región de Ciudad Hidalgo eran cuatro: Juvencio Robles con 28 hombres, Benjamín Velázquez con 15, Guadalupe Martínez con 33 y Zenón Morales Téllez con cinco. Para dar el golpe en la Hacienda de Chaparro se prepararon desde la noche anterior reunidos en el rancho "La Sabaneta" encontrándose después en el paraje "Los Capulines" para detener a los trabajadores. Consumada la matanza los bandoleros huyeron y se dispersaron por distintos rumbos. Los testigos y sobrevivientes también mencionaron como participantes a Valente García M., José Hernández Ruiz, Silvestre Rodríguez Alcántar, Zenón Morales Téllez y Cirilo García quienes después de los hechos huyeron a esconderse a la ciudad de México. El 12 de septiembre de 1938 en el Juzgado Penal del Distrito de Hidalgo se inició la causa instruida contra estas personas y quienes resultaran responsables. Poco después los cinco sujetos acusados fueron aprehendidos en la ciudad de México y remitidos a Ciudad Hidalgo, excepto Cirilo García Gutiérrez que logró obtener un amparo (Causa criminal contra Silvestre Rodríguez, 1938, AHPJM: fs. 68-69). El 15 de septiembre en un lugar llamado Monte Obscuro fueron capturados otros cuatro de los asesinos: Pedro Sandoval, Pedro Hernández, Alfredo González y Ricardo Vázquez. El primero de ellos tenía grado de mayor, el segundo de capitán y los demás de tropa en el llamado Ejército de Liberación Popular. La detención la hizo el 27 Regimiento con la colaboración de varios agentes de la capital del país (*Heraldo Michoacano*, 1938:1).

En la segunda semana del mes de octubre en la región oriente de Michoacán se logró la captura de más de una decena de sospechosos que fueron identificados plenamente: El 15 de octubre el comandante Malaquías Medina Vallarta presentó ante el agente del ministerio público a varios sospechosos que capturó: Pablo Mercado, Francisco Armas, Ángel Téllez y Nicolás Mercado (Causa criminal contra Silvestre Rodríguez, 1938, AHPJM: fs. 131-132). Las autoridades municipales de Ciudad Hidalgo a su vez capturaron a Isidro Gómez quien en las cantinas se ufanaba de haber participado en el crimen de chaparro varios testigos de los hechos corroboraron haberlo visto participando ese día con el grupo armado por lo que se dictó auto de formal prisión (*El Nacional,* 1938: 4).

De los aproximadamente 45 asesinos de Chaparro para finales de octubre habían sido detenidos 21(Soto, 2002, 395). La mayoría de los participantes de la masacre de los obreros eran habitantes de las comunidades ubicadas al norte del municipio de Hidalgo, en un radio menor a los 10 km a la redonda en la zona del Cerro Grande-Los Azufres, serranía donde se juntan los municipios de Hidalgo, Maravatío y Zinapécuaro, del Estado de Michoacán, colindantes con el municipio de Acámbaro, Guanajuato.

De Juvencio Robles uno de los principales cabecillas se sabe que murió un 20 de junio de 1942 en un combate con fuerzas federales en Cerro Grande, una ranchería del municipio de Acámbaro, Guanajuato (Soto, 2002, 435).

Finalmente, la sentencia en el caso de los asesinatos del Chaparro se dio a conocer después de un año y siete días de diligencias, el 14 de septiembre de 1939, cuando el juez Juan F. Vereo Guzmán acordó que:

> Primero. Alfredo González Cruz y Juan Jurado García son criminalmente responsables en su calidad de cómplices, de los delitos de homicidio, lesiones, asalto, asociación delictuosa y rebelión de que los acusa el ministerio público.
>
> Segundo: se considera al primero a la pena de 10 años que sufrirá en el lugar que el ejecutivo designe, y el segundo a igual pena que extinguirá, por razones de su minoría de edad, en la escuela técnica industrial Álvaro Obregón en la ciudad de Morelia (Causa criminal contra Silvestre Rodríguez Alcántar, 1938, AHPJM: fs. 330b).

Por su parte Pablo Mercado, Francisco Armas, Salvador García y Pedro Hernández que fueron reconocidos como miembros del grupo que asesinó a los trabajadores, estando retenidos y bajo estricta vigilancia, de manera sospechosa se fugaron de la cárcel en medio de circunstancias que denotan complicidad de las autoridades; los demás fallos al resto de acusados fueron una parodia de la justicia pues el juez determinó que solamente serían castigados por la pena del delito de rebelión por los que debía imponerse la pena correspondiente de seis meses de prisión pero cuando la sentencia les fue notificada a los detenidos estos ya la habían cumplido y quedaron libres el día 14 de septiembre de 1939 (*Heraldo Michoacano,* 1939:2).

Las autoridades ministeriales como se puede ver fueron bastante parciales y favorables a los detenidos lo cual causó una indignación en todo el país, pero no pasó de ahí.

VII. LA EXPROPIACIÓN DE LA HACIENDA DE CHAPARRO

Carmelo Soto Correa sin aportar pruebas documentales afirma que "Durante septiembre y octubre el gobernador trató de modificar la actitud de los sindicalistas e incluso buscó que el presidente la República recibiera a los dueños de la hacienda, logrando con dicha actitud quedar invalidado como un interlocutor por el movimiento sindical". Para sustentar tal aseveración sólo cita una carta del Sindicato de Areneros al presidente de la República del 12 de noviembre de 1938 donde estos señalan al Gobierno del Estado y a los interesados en la explotación de la Hacienda Chaparro de presionarlos "con amenazas veladas" para que acepten proposiciones de recibir dinero en pago de vidas de sus compañeros. Y a partir de esta afirmación Soto concluye que el gobernador quedó invalidado como interlocutor (Soto, 2002, p. 449).

Sobre lo anterior hay que decir que esto no parece ser cierto pues la actitud del gobernador desde un principio fue la de pugnar por el total esclarecimiento del crimen y de quienes habían sido responsables para que se ejerciera la justicia. En este tenor inmediatamente de recibir las noticias de los hechos envió al lugar al oficial mayor de gobierno Manuel Cárdenas y el agente del ministerio público Federal adscrito a la Procuraduría estatal con el objetivo de hacer una investigación y poder informar al presidente. El informe resultado de esta Comisión inmediatamente que se tuvo en su poder se lo hizo llegar directamente al presidente de la República. Con base en esta información y otras pertinentes que a través de diversas vías obtuvo el general Lázaro Cárdenas fue que tomó la decisión de expropiar la Hacienda y las vías de ferrocarril e instalaciones en beneficio de los deudos de los trabajadores que habían sido asesinados. Esta decisión la compartió desde un principio con el gobernador y aunque se empezó a rumorar esta noticia, a los pocos días del asesinato, fue el gobernador Gildardo Magaña quien la dio a conocer de manera no oficial a la prensa el 8 de octubre de 1938 (Excélsior, 1938:1).

La comunicación expedita que establecieron tanto el presidente la República como el gobernador Gildardo Magaña para atender la problemática generada por el asesinato de los sindicalistas de Chaparro se expresa fehacientemente, como una muestra, en el comunicado que el 2 de septiembre escribió el presidente Lázaro Cárdenas al gobernador comentándole lo siguiente:

> El caso de los Capulines, en que fueron sacrificados 26 trabajadores del aserradero "Chaparro", es más criminal toda vez que con premeditación y sangre fría se planearon y ejecutaron estos asesinatos. Ante este hecho se hace necesario sentar un precedente que señale como el recurrir a la violencia y el crimen no detiene la organización sindical que es fuerza y garantía del derecho de los trabajadores. *De la misma información que se ha servido usted enviar, se desprende una responsabilidad muy directa para los que intervienen en esta negociación, y en tal virtud, el Ejecutivo Federal considera indispensable, para evitar que se repitan crímenes de esta naturaleza, ir directamente a la causa que hizo víctimas a los 26 trabajadores citados y que no es otra que la oposición a la existencia del sindicato y, por lo tanto, debe procederse a la expropiación de las instalaciones y bosques que pertenezcan a las personas que intervenían en la negociación en los momentos en que se*

cometieron los crímenes; poniendo todo esto en manos de los trabajadores que organizados en cooperativas mantengan la explotación, interviniendo para ello el gobierno del Estado, la Secretaría de Economía Nacional y el Banco Nacional Obrero de Fomento Industrial, en la inteligencia de que con cargo a la misma expropiación, deberá indemnizarse a las familias de los sacrificados (Cárdenas, 1938, AGN-FLCR: fs.1).[1]

Fue hasta el 11 de enero de 1939 cuando por medio de una resolución presidencial bajo la forma de ampliación al ejido El Chaparro, se le dotó a los obreros, viudas y campesinos de la hacienda de 12,767 hectáreas. Sobre el número de beneficiarios para el 25 de julio de 1941 se formuló un censo con el objeto de extender certificados de derechos agrarios figurando en el 1, 634 campesinos de los anexos La Granja, Mártires de Chaparro y Asoleadero de Tiripetío (Pérez, 1986, 409-410).

El gobierno del general Gildardo Magaña se comprometió a dar ayuda económica a las familias de los caídos y a sostener la educación de sus hijos hasta el nivel profesional (*Surco,* 1938:1). También apoyó las gestiones para lograr la indemnización a las viudas de los obreros asesinados la cual se concretó bajo la gubernatura del general Félix Ireta el 24 de octubre de 1941 después de un juicio laboral de más de tres años en el que se acordó el pago de la cantidad de 38, 055.92 pesos distribuidos entre ellas proporcionalmente.[2]

Por su parte los trabajadores ferrocarrileros que hasta el final eran los menos convencidos de convertirse en ejidatarios lograrían la firma de un convenio para que se les pagaran los salarios caídos, pero como la empresa no tenía fondos se procedió a expropiar el ferrocarril de la Hacienda de Chaparro el 21 de junio de 1941, sin que este remate inicial pudiera hacerse sino hasta mediados de febrero de 1942. Luego de este remate, según las crónicas de la época, con lágrimas en los ojos los ferrocarrileros aceptaron la liquidación de sus salarios, desapareciendo así la Sección Número 6 del Sindicato de Trabajadores Ferrocarrileros de Ciudad Hidalgo, Michoacán, cuya última propuesta como gremio fue que el centro de la población de llamarse Hacienda de Chaparro pasara a denominarse Mártires de Chaparro en memoria de los trabajadores sindicalistas asesinados.

VIII. CONCLUSIONES

El asesinato de los sindicalistas fue artero, premeditado con alevosía y ventaja y ejecutado sin piedad y con la mayor sangre fría. Es difícil, hasta la fecha, entender como los malhechores no tuvieron ninguna clase de traba o miramiento para asesinar a 26 personas, la mayoría muy jóvenes, que no les habían hecho ningún daño y que tenían toda una vida por delante.

La reacción del gobierno local y federal para investigar y perseguir a los responsables del crimen fue inmediata y tuvo cierto éxito. La indignación de la sociedad y grupos organizados por el hecho presionó a las autoridades para llevar a cabo una campaña militar seria y decidida contra los grupos rebeldes en esta región lográndose disminuirlos y finalmente acabar con la mayoría en los siguientes años, pero en cuanto al castigo a los directamente responsables que fueron capturados y sometidos a proceso judicial, asimismo en cuanto la búsqueda de los autores intelectuales y cómplices del crimen, se puede concluir que fue muy deficiente la actuación de las instituciones responsables.

Finalmente la expropiación de la Hacienda de Chaparro en favor de los trabajadores y familias de los asesinados fue un acierto del gobierno cardenista y un intento de castigar a los propietarios de la empresa de Chaparro por su presunta responsabilidad en los hechos; pero el hecho evidente de que el gobierno no fuera más fondo en cuanto a las investigaciones y la búsqueda de pruebas para llevar a los autores

[1] Las cursivas son mías. Carta del Presidente de la República Lázaro Cárdenas al general Gildardo Magaña gobernador constitucional del Estado de Michoacán, México, D. F., 2 de septiembre de 1938, AGN, FLC, expediente 559.1/46. Legajo 1.

[2] Convenio de indemnización a las viudas de los obreros asesinados en la Ex hacienda de Chaparro, 13 de agosto de 1938, Ciudad Hidalgo, Michoacán, 30 de septiembre de 1941. Archivo Familia Hernández (referido en Soto, 2002: 452).

intelectuales a enfrentar la justicia, como hubiera sido lo correcto, es un tema abierto y con muchas interrogantes todavía sobre las causas de fondo que lo impidieron. De este modo con la información que pudimos obtener en los archivos y en la prensa de la época no se logró esclarecer por qué con la condena de los pocos que fueron sentenciados el 14 de septiembre de 1938, por los crímenes de Chaparro se le dio carpetazo al asunto y se dejó en el olvido la pregunta clave del crimen ¿Quiénes fueron los autores intelectuales y los que pagaron con su dinero para que se masacrara a los 26 obreros de la Hacienda de Chaparro? Un enigma todavía sin resolverse fehacientemente.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to identify ethical tensions between the cognitive function of science, humanitarian reasons for undertaking research work and its practical goals in research conducted among forced migrants. Differences between researchers and respondents in the dimensions of social, economic and political status determine the challenges of building ethical relationships, not only as meeting the imperative of "do no harm" by ensuring the safety of the subjects and protecting them from abuse. In a team composed of researchers with an external and internal status towards the studied group, we consider the possibilities of equalizing asymmetrical relationships, creating relationships based on mutual benefits and the involvement of respondents in the research process. The source of reflection is the analysis of research reports and the experience of own research work carried out among forced migrants by co-authors of this text.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Answers to the questions: who are refugees, how do they behave and what do they need are crucial for various fields of research and practice: law, politics, pedagogy, anthropology and other disciplines that strive to use the power of refugee stories to inform, provide assistance or introduce institutional changes. Research among forced migrants and refugees is an essential tool for developing effective interventions, assessing practices and ensuring that services provided help rather than harm recipients. It is equally important to ensure that the research itself does not cause harm and, whenever possible, contributes to the benefit of the research subjects (Ellis, 2007). Forced migrants are people who experience war, persecution, torture and violence in various contexts. Social scientists in humanitarian settings often face a dual imperative: research should be both scientifically sound and policy-relevant (Jacobsen & Landau, 2003).

The political and legal situation of refugees, including complete dependence on international and national refugee regimes, means that they have few rights and are subject to arbitrary actions by state authorities, service institutions and aid organizations. Conducting research among sensitive groups, in unknown cultural contexts, in a relationship of strong asymmetry of agency, control and influence between researchers and research participants, raises questions about the ethical dimension of research.

In this text, we will present specific issues related to conducting research relating to the biographies of refugees, from the perspective of the literature on the subject and on the example of projects in which the authors of this text undertook methodological reflections in order to resolve identified ethical issues.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Refugee life stories provide insight into what forces people to flee, what refugee trajectories look like, and how refugees rebuild their lives in their country of refuge. The subject of research is the ways of telling stories by forced migrants, analyzing the stories created about them and for them, as well as the narratives of institutions that give shape to migrations (Pawlak, 2013). Refugees' biographical narratives reflect the dynamic interplay between their life experience and its representation, in tightly determined political, social and cultural conditions. Life stories, considered in a broader socio-political and cultural context, provide a source for examining the meanings that forced migrants individually and collectively attach to their experience.

Most of the data collected in studies of forced migrants are based on interviews (Jacobsen, Landau, 2003). Forced migrants and refugees staying in Poland have been examined in numerous studies conducted in various paradigms: legal (Klaus, 2008; Czerniewska, Kości-Ryżko, 2013), sociological (Grzymała-Kazłowska; Łodziński, 2008), anthropological (Ząbek, Łodziński, 2008; Pawlak 2013), pedagogical (Januszewska 2010), psychological (Grzymała-Moszczyńska, 2000) and cultural (Chrzanowska, 2007). The content of the interviews, conducted in various theoretical trends and models, was analyzed according to the concept of culture shock, reaction to long-term stay in refugee camps as total institutions, learned helplessness, rites of passage, adaptation and identity strategies, and cultural determinants of the integration process. The researcher, representing the regime of academic power/ knowledge, comes to the aid of other services appointed to "place" and "manage" refugees in the host society. Researchers claim the right to access a range of information - from institutional data to oral information, opinions and confessions - thus becoming involved in the endless disciplining and reconstruction of the subjectivity of refugees and immigrants (Doná, 2007).

Immigrants and refugees constitute vulnerable groups in all societies (Caulford, Vali, 2006). Refugees, as an extremely sensitive group and exposed to a number of threats from the receiving society (xenophobia, breaking the law by uniformed services, making sensitive data public, etc.), as well as from other refugees or members of the origin group, should be examined in a manner consistent with the procedures ensuring ethical research standards and other strategies aimed at protecting both personal data and the image of the origin group, family or local community. Guidelines for conducting research in other cultures require the researcher to follow the ethical standards of both cultures (Birman, 2005). Operationalizing these guidelines in specific research projects requires developing ethical protocols with specific communities because refugee research involves people from many different cultures and no single set of guidelines can be established (Ellis, 2007).

Ethical issues and related methodological choices concern all stages of research: design, implementation, analysis and dissemination. Researchers address issues of accessibility to sensitive, hidden groups, ways of ensuring the safety of research subjects and protecting them against abuse, possibilities of equalizing asymmetrical relationships, creating relationships based on mutual benefits and ensuring the maximum participation of people and communities subject to research (Doná, 2007).

The burden of research among forced migrants on the risk of repeated injury and unnecessary suffering leads to the need to decide on the benefit-cost ratio in specific research projects. On the other hand, radical implementation of the demands of protecting participants from potential harm may simply lead to not conducting research, a situation that is in itself unethical (Kilpatrick 2004).

The proposed ethical guidelines start from the minimum requirement of "do no harm", through the demands of justice (Clark-Kazak, 2017), to the requirement to ensure mutual benefits (Mackenzie, 2000) and the involvement of subjects in the entire research process (Pittaway, Bartolomei, Hugman, 2010) and a commitment to relieve suffering (Turton, 1996).

III. REPORTS FROM THE FIELD OF RESEARCH

3.1 Research among Refugees from the Caucasus in Poland

The co-authors of this text conducted participatory action research in the years 2015-2018 with the community of asylum seekers and refugees in Poland who have been systematically arriving in Europe since the beginning of the 21st century (Jaworska 2016; Jaworska, Alieva 2018a, 2018b, 2018c). One of the analyzed dimensions were institutional patterns, which, in the analytical categories of Fritz Schutze, "correspond to the principle of an individual's orientation to normative institutional expectations and being subject to control by them" (Rokuszewska-Pawełek, 1996, pp. 44). In the case of asylum seekers and refugees, problems related to the implementation of institutional norms and expectations from reception, service and integration institutions become biographically paramount. In this area, attitudes towards participating in various research practices conducted in centers for refugees were revealed.

When analyzing this area of research, the authors took into account the different goals of researchers and research subjects, different values in the name of which both parties are engaged, various mutual expectations and secondary benefits defining the space for planning, conducting and participating in research projects (Main, 2008).

The analysis of the "refugees' voice" regarding their involvement in the research situation shows the complex reasons for consenting or refusing to participate and the changes in attitudes during the gradual recognition of one's own position as a "refugee", as well as the strategies for managing biographical material while giving interviews.

Researchers use biographical necessity, defined by Gabriele Rosenthal as the readiness to talk about one's own life (Kaźmierska, 1996). It depends on various factors, some of which result from the individual experiences of the person, and partly are conditioned by the perception of one's role as a group member in the process of constructing collective identification. A person is ready to tell the story of his or her life when he or she is convinced of the meaning of the effort undertaken, both for himself and for the listener.

> *From the beginning of my stay in Poland to this day, many people have asked me to participate in their research. First, I agreed to all meetings, just like other women staying in the refugee center.* [woman, 43 years old]

The first reason for involvement is to understand the invitation to participate in the study as an expression of interest in the personal situation of refugees.

> *We thought that the students who came to the center and talked to us were interested in our fate. We really needed this.* [woman, 49 years old]

In the initial stage of the refugee trajectory, involvement in research is seen as an opportunity to learn about a new social and cultural environment, and is also an opportunity to break the monotony of life in the refugee camps.

> *There was nothing to do at the resort. The visits of designers and researchers were interesting for us, we could talk. I went to all the meetings, sometimes I cried because I didn't understand the language, I wanted to learn and understand how to live in Poland so as not to live in the ghetto.* [woman, 49 years old]

The research situation creates an opportunity to establish contacts with Poles, which is difficult for residents of refugee centers due to the location of these centers in peripheral places, away from larger population centers. Making friends with representatives of the host community is seen as a chance to find a job or get some form of help and gives hope for improving one's life. Minor benefits from research may result from the fact that researchers on their own look for ways to reciprocate and reciprocate for participation in research by providing participants with food, hygiene products or clothing. On the margins of the study, an informal exchange of favors and small benefits is created. In this situation, consent to participate in the study may reflect expectations, often unrealistic, as to the researchers' ability to influence the shape of the research subjects' reality. Following this interpretation of the research situation, there is hope that participation in the research will contribute to improving the position in the refugee proceedings and will help in obtaining a positive status decision.

> *Refugees talked among themselves about taking part in research because it could help us obtain asylum. Later we realized that the refugee procedure and the tests conducted on us had nothing to do with each other.* [woman, 50 years old]

When asylum seekers are thoroughly informed and understand that participation in research will not translate into a change in their individual situation in the refugee procedure, they become motivated by the idea that honestly telling their story to people interested and using academic authority will lead to a change in the system, which will improve the overall situation of refugees.

> *I thought that if not me, then maybe others who would come after us would benefit from the fact that something would change for the better. I thought that I would change opinions about refugees, that Poles would know how to help them better.* [woman, 49 years old]

Additionally, the decision to participate in the study is supported by simple kindness, and often also by culturally determined habits of not refusing a request.

> *I would feel uncomfortable and ashamed to say no when asked to take a test. This is rude and impolite behavior among us.* [woman, 43 years old]

Over time, an increasingly better recognition of the institutional contexts of being a "refugee" and a rational analysis of benefits and losses lead to the assessment of the research situation as completely alienated from their real life experience.

> *I have nothing to lose, so why shouldn't I do someone a favor, especially when it doesn't cost me much. But these are matters that do not concern me.* [woman, 49 years old]

> *I have been interviewed many times about my experience as a refugee. Now I refuse. It's not fair that I devote my time and the person who comes doesn't give anything, not even chocolates for the children. No one ever showed me the test results.* [woman, 46 years old]

Significant circumstances surrounding the research situation may raise deep concerns in the subjects. Social research on refugees is dominated by a qualitative approach, which collects mostly sensitive data, which means that the acquisition and publication of this information may lead to research-related or deferred risks. Interviews relating to biographical content dating back to the period of life in the country of origin, situations of escape and displacement, touch on painful content, sometimes breaking the law. This raises fears of disclosing information that may harm both the respondents themselves and the family left behind in the country of origin, due to the principle of collective responsibility often applied there. Strategies to keep yourself and your loved ones safe involve carefully managing information and creating tight filters so that information does not leak to people within your own ethnic or national group or to the place from which you fled.

> *My biggest fear is saying something that could hurt my family who stayed at home. Our nation is very small, we are connected by various ties. All it takes is for someone to tell us the area they come from and we can identify their family.* [woman, 49 years old]

> *I never gave any interviews to anyone, although I was asked many times, I refused, I didn't see the point.* [man, 57 years old]

There is also a fear of accidentally saying something that will negatively affect the refugee procedure. In addition, there is concern that critical statements about the operation of the refugee service system may result in retaliation from the center's employees, who are perceived as having the power to control and discipline the lives of residents.

> *We did not know whether the translators, students and researchers passed on the information to the employees of the center or the office for foreigners.* [woman, 29 years old]

Phenomena such as cultural taboos, standards of family and community life, unequal rights of women and men to participate in the public sphere or protection of the image of one's own ethnic group in exile have an undeniable impact on the significance and representativeness of the obtained data. One of the communication strategies adopted by the respondents is taking care of the image of their origin group. This phenomenon refers to the "social function of narrative" described by G. Rosenthal, which consists in the fact that the creation of narratives is usually accompanied by the construction of ways of interpreting them, i.e. collective efforts, specific to the group under study, aimed at giving their own biography features understandable to the recipients (Kaźmierska, 1996).

> *We feel like representatives of our nation here. We must show ourselves from the best side so as not to bring shame to the entire nation.* [woman, 51 years old]

> *I have a whole notebook of war memories, I want to publish them, but not here [in Poland], no one will understand it here, it would be like a fairy tale for you [Poles].* [man, 53 years old]

In every community there are culturally taboo topics that will not be revealed in a research situation.

> *We never talk to each other about why we left the country. We hide being a victim of sexual violence or torture not only from our own family and friends, but also before representatives of institutions, because it is a great shame and humiliation for us, both for women and men.* [woman, 49 years old]

Paradoxically, fear and shame prevent people from disclosing drastic experiences also in interviews conducted by institutions deciding on granting international protection, which may negatively affect this decision, because the interview is the basic source of evidence in the refugee process.

Another burden associated with participating in research is the psychophysical condition of participants, resulting from experiences that resulted in escaping from their country of origin, uprooting, displacement and the need to find their way in new conditions. Biographical experiences, the background of which is often the subject of interest for researchers, influence the current emotional state, cognitive abilities and mental integrity. The memory of experienced traumas and the inability to cope with their consequences lead to Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, which affects up to 84 percent of people seeking protection (Moran, 2013). The frequency and intensity of PTSD varies depending on the type of traumatic exposure. People who were victims or witnesses of violence, rape and murder before escaping relive traumatic situations in intrusive memories and nightmares, and avoid activities and situations that could remind them of the trauma.

> *Every time I agreed to such interviews, which was at least ten times, I relived the worst moments of my life.* [woman, 49 years old]

Protection against repeated harm raises questions about the validity and moral rights of obtaining data among people affected by the consequences of traumatic experiences. Research among refugees is also conducted precisely because they experience crisis, mourning and traumatization. There are also reports from the research field documenting the benefits of participating in trauma-related research (Neuman, Kaloupek 2004). Although some participants report strong negative emotions or unexpected distress, most do not regret or evaluate the entire experience negatively. The opportunity to express traumatic experiences in words and reflect on the meaning of the experiences may outweigh the potential risks (Dyregrov, Dyregrov, Raundalen, 2000).

Another area of concern for refugees concerns making the results public. In the process of communicating refugees' experiences to the public, researchers are obliged to ensure the safety of research participants and protect their dignity. Interviews with refugee women from Chechnya, collected in the project of the Society for Crisis Intervention "Wandering Women", could not be included in the publication because their presentation would be too dangerous for them and their families (Lipowska-Teutsch, Grzymała-Moszczyńska, 2008). Only their anonymized study was published in the volume In our name, so that they would not be forgotten again (Lipowska-Teutsch, 2009). Paweł Hut, who analyzed the life experiences of people applying for refugee status before arriving in Poland, based on the analysis of interviews in the refugee procedure, in the name of research reliability, decided not to disclose certain contents from the interviews for humanitarian reasons, even at the cost of changing the meaning of his own analyses: 'extremely drastic descriptions, by the author's decision, will not be discussed in more detail and made available to readers. Their terrifying content - which is a specific characterization of the perversions of human nature - would certainly change the meaning of this study' (Hut, 2007, pp. 69).

Lack of understanding of research objectives, research procedures, and methods of knowledge transmission raises concerns about how the disclosed information will be used. Based on experiences with researchers not sharing research results back, there is a feeling of being vulnerable to exploitation. It is worth quoting in this context the words of one of the refugees in the research conducted in India:

We are fed up with people coming and stealing our stories, taking photos and giving nothing in return, not even photos or a copy of the report. Nothing changes (Hugman, Bartolomei, Pittaway, 2011).

Similar dilemmas, concerns and hopes related to participation in research are described in reports from research conducted in different parts of the world, among various groups of asylum seekers and refugees (Birman, 2005; Doná 2007; Jacobsen, Landau, 2003).

The described conditions for conducting interviews with forced migrants lead to questions about the representativeness and value of the data obtained and to consider the proportion between the risk of exposing respondents to the above dilemmas and the potential benefits that the study may bring. These phenomena indicate the need to simultaneously address methodological and ethical issues in research on forced migration to increase its academic and political relevance.

3.2 Research with the participation of refuge youth in Gdansk

The research project The ways of belonging in narratives of 1.5 generation refugee youth was carried out by a team of academic researchers from the University of Gdansk, with the participation of a researcher with an internal status towards the studied communities (Boryczko 2017; Jaworska, Alieva 2018b).

We will present our considerations in three emerging areas of ethical and methodological issues: representativeness of the sample, asymmetry of relationships and tensions arising between the cognitive function of science, the humanitarian reasons for undertaking research and its practical goals.

The questions that accompanied the design of the study concerned the specificity of identity work of refugee youth belonging to the 1.5 generation. This term refers to children and young people subjected to migration processes in their adolescence and teenage years, who are situated between the first and second generations of immigrants (Asher 2011). People belonging to this category, having an incompletely formed cultural habitus of their country of origin, are exposed to the influence of a culturally and socially different environment of the country to which they migrate with their parents. In other words, they engage in socialization in the target country, experiencing a number of contradictions and conflicts, both at the psychological level and in functioning in the family and wider society.

The aim of the study was to identify the processes influencing the identity of young people, which is constructed in the conditions of change of place of stay and/or temporary stay. We were interested in the ways in which young people represent themselves visually and descriptively, and how they negotiate and construct their identity, taking into account the specificity of the situation in which they find themselves. The practical aim of the research was to identify the needs and problems of young refugees for planning educational activities and organizing a supportive environment.

In the research project, we focused on visual representations of identity work, based on materials generated by the respondents and narratives relating to these representations. From a further interpretative perspective, we wanted to capture the ways in which dominant discourses are represented and reproduced in the cultural practices and symbolism used by young people.

The approach used can be described as ethnographic field research supplemented with visual ethnography. Visual materials and visual analysis methods were fundamental in the research process. In the next step, the biographical visual narratives created by the youth, treated as representations of identity work, were the context of in-depth individual biographical interviews.

3.3 Representativeness

The first ethical and methodological issue we had to consider was related to access to a particularly vulnerable group and the representativeness of the sample we reached. Due to the specificity of research on refugees and forced migrants, conducted in urban conditions, the issue of hidden groups, i.e. the internal differentiation of the groups studied, seems to be of key ethical importance. Hidden populations, as a result of the dynamics of intergroup relations, are very often exposed to various types of social and physical risks, and generally remain more sensitive than others due to the circumstances surrounding their movement and reception in the country of refuge.

From the point of view of research practice, researching hidden groups is a very risky task due to the problem of accessibility, which is associated with distrust towards strangers in general and the ignorance of researchers, which is reinforced by stereotypes that obscure the complexity of the refugees' reality (Szörényi 2006). It turns out that using a very broad category of "refugees" is as convenient for the researcher as it hides the complexity of the reality of the studied group. Representativeness is related to the issue of gatekeepers who reflect the diverse forms of economic, symbolic and social capital of the refugee community under study. The role of gatekeepers in the case of refugee research is to provide expert knowledge to researchers, as well as to enable access to the research field thanks to the knowledge, skills and contacts they have.

The problem of stereotypes of researchers, especially Europeans, is related to the mythologizing of the alleged homogeneity of the entire refugee population. Often, the perception of this group is associated with the unification of the image of refugees into a monolithic entity composed of culturally different people who need "our" help. On the other hand, if a researcher manages to break through the "refugees" category, he usually limits himself to identifying an ethnic or national group, without caring about the nuances of intra-group relations. This is a broader problem related to the perception of difference cultural by Europeans. The awareness of the trap of unauthorized petrification of traditional cultures is a typical example of reification that characterizes cultural anthropology (Eller 2012). Contemporary researchers of refugee and migration, just like anthropologists in the past, need "relics" of traditional cultures in order to be able to build oppositions between us, modernists, and refugees who live traditionally or adapt to "our" modernist world. The problem is that the original society never existed and no one lives as "in the beginning".

We assumed that in order to conduct ethical intercultural research, it is not enough to rely on our own cultural sensitivity and knowledge about the communities we study (Birman 2005). Following the widely accepted view among researchers that ethical research in different cultures cannot be conducted without the involvement of members of these communities, we secured the participation of a qualified co-researcher who shared various attributes of social and cultural affiliation with the study participants and their families. Russian was the common language spoken by all research participants. Thanks to her knowledge of both Polish and Russian, she ensured effective communication. She shared with adult family members generational experiences of growing up and living in the common political system of the Soviet Union and participating in the process of its collapse. All study participants had in common with the internal researcher the experience of being forced migrants, i.e. being subject to the same reception regimes and procedures for applying for international protection in Poland.

In the described study, due to difficult access to refugee and forced migrant communities in urban agglomerations, the process of selecting the research sample was based on the snowball method. The surveyed people represented three categories of ethnic identities: Chechen, Ukrainian and Crimean Tatars. As a result, the research sample consisted of nine young people aged 14 to 19 who left their country of origin between the ages of 10 and 14, and therefore met the criterion of belonging to the 1.5 generation. The group included 6 boys and 3 girls who had stayed in Poland for at least two years, which was important due to their mastery of the Polish language and involvement in the processes of integrating the complex influences of the culture of origin and the host culture. The participants of the study were also parents and other family members, forming a group of 10 people.

Thanks to the involvement of a co-researcher with refugee experience, we managed to reach all families in the process of applying for refugee status, who lived continuously in the city and its surroundings at the time of the study and consented to the participation of minor children in the study. The value added by the co-researcher was her gatekeeper role in accessing ethnic and refugee social networks. Her cultural and social knowledge made it possible to reach the researched groups in a way that did not disturb their functioning, which is already difficult due to the situation in which they currently find themselves. Thanks to the expert knowledge, the rest of the research team became aware of the complexity and importance of hidden structures within the studied groups, as well as the diversity of social rules prevailing among members of individual ethnic groups. Thanks to this, we avoided getting caught up in stereotypes of homogeneous groups of refugees, Chechens or Ukrainians. The inclusion of the culturally and religiously distinct group of Crimean Tatars in the group of Ukrainian refugees provided many important theoretical contexts and interpretative nuances. The issue of the specificity of hidden groups also concerned families from Chechnya, in which we discovered the need to include among people experiencing war trauma not only men directly involved in the conflict, but also women and children experiencing the consequences of the political situation in the region. Due to the cultural conditions and experience of researchers of Polish origin, capturing these nuances would not be possible.

3.4 Asymmetry of Relationships in the Research Process

As researchers collecting data through interviews, we were aware that throughout the entire process of applying for international protection, asylum seekers were called to tell their stories many times: by border officers, employees of institutions deciding on granting status, lawyers handling refugee procedures, and also by employees institutions and organizations providing social services. The families invited to the study had been staying in Poland for two to four years and were still in the procedure of applying for international protection. Due to the traumatic experiences and legal conditions of the situation they were in, they did not have many opportunities to express their socio-economic status and were dependent on the decisions of other people and institutions. They had the experience of staying in a refugee center, where the feeling of lack of control and being subject to external influences is particularly acute. A radical change in material status and functioning in a social system resembling a total institution is associated with serious limitations on autonomy (Mackenzie, McDowell, Pittaway, 2007).

As researchers, we had to pay particular attention to our own role in the production of narrative data and the ways in which refugees represented lived experience (Eastmond 2007). The asymmetric position and specific condition of refugees may lead to two extreme attitudes towards the researcher: distrust and unrealistic expectations related to the possibility of granting help or influencing people who decide on the fate of refugees (Mackenzie, McDowell, Pittaway 2007, pp. 303). We understood how demanding a challenge it is to establish a relationship based on trust, because refugees, who have often experienced breaches of trust, are particularly sensitive to these issues. The issue of equalizing asymmetry also involved an open explanation of the lack of connection between participation in research and any impact on the legal or social situation of respondents. Another key issue was to agree with the respondents on how to ensure confidentiality and create a protocol aimed at protecting personal data, ensuring security, and protecting the image of the group, family and community. A separate consideration should have been the creation of a communication system that would ensure both the maintenance of academic standards and adaptation to the cultural norms of the researched groups. This also concerned typically technical issues related to understanding the language, appropriate translation, and, above all, full awareness of what participation in the research process entails.

One of the most important ethical consequences of the asymmetry of relationships in the research field is the issue of the complexity of informed consent, which is a fundamental standard in social research. In the case of refugees and migrants, this becomes problematic in the context of minimum requirements, such as being fully informed about the research objectives, methods, techniques as well as the risks and consequences of the research. Informed consent is based on the fundamental assumption that both parties to the relationship: the researcher and the researched, have a relatively equal position. Although this state of affairs is practically very difficult to achieve in the practice of research on refugees and immigrants, although it is possible to imagine a set of strategies and principles organizing the research process and its effects.

In the case of research with refugees, informed consent, traditionally understood as a one-time act, does not make sense due to the complexity of the situation of the subjects, cultural differences and the risk that appears as a result of conducting research. All the above-mentioned factors mean that a key element of the study should be negotiating ethical issues and participation in the study. The concept of repeated consent was developed and widely used in clinical trials and studies of indigenous communities (Facio et al. 2012; National Health and Medical Research Council Of Australia 2003). Repeatable consent is based on the assumption that consciously agreeing to something is dynamic and is a process, not a one-time act after which the respondent loses control over the information obtained by the researcher. It should be assumed that consent may take place over longer time periods and be based on understanding all the information it contains. The researcher's task is to clarify any doubts and concerns that may arise among the respondents.

The most important challenge is the need to comprehensively respect respondents in the context of subjectivity, self-determination, identity creation and strategies for coping with difficult situations. This challenge is summed up in the temptation of paternalism to which researchers are prone, treating good intentions as the main source of legitimacy of ethical judgment (Faerber, Kama, Aboelyazeid, 2016).

IV. DISCUSSION

4.1 Attempts to Overcome the Impasse – the Negotiation Model and the Concept of Relational Autonomy

During the study, many research intuitions regarding ethical issues crystallized in comparison with the literature on negotiation and participatory research models (Doná, 2007, Mackenzie, McDowell, Pittaway, 2007). Despite the difficulties associated with implementing participatory research methods, involving research communities at every stage increases the confidence that refugee research will be consistent with the spirit of ethical standards established to protect participants. We made both consciously and sometimes intuitively a number of choices that were intended to ensure the project's participatory nature at all stages and in various dimensions. In practice, the research process involved accompanying the respondents in various everyday situations, as well as participating in their home life, based on the principles of hospitality and reciprocity.

From the point of view of ethical norms, negotiation implements the postulate of treating other people as an end in themselves, and not as a means to achieve the goals of others. As many testimonies and research practice show, treating another person who finds himself in a difficult situation as a tool to achieve goals, even of a higher order, is a form of exploitation. In other words, the use of repeated and negotiated consent implements the ethical principle that one should respect other people, regardless of the situation in which they find themselves. Moreover, the negotiation model is justified by simple communication pragmatism, which is based on the assumption that misunderstandings can be eliminated by creating a space for communication and the possibility of solving practical problems based on consensus.

Theoretically, adopting a negotiated model establishes a more ethical nature of the relationship between the subject and the researcher, and also increases the subjects' control over the content. The terms of the established relationship, the roles of the parties, the tasks they have to perform, their responsibilities, the scope of control (of data and materials to be made public), interpretations (meaning a deeper interpretation on the part of the respondents) and, to some extent, conclusions (taking care of good name of a group, family or individual).

In practice, implementing the principles of the participatory model required ensuring that, due to the diversity of social positions, the actions were not treated as an affront or were not understood as pressure. In other words, striking a balance between engagement and benefits must be tailored to the individual's situation, which requires a reliable and sensitive assessment of the social and cultural norms of all parties involved, something that would be extremely difficult for an alienated academic researcher.

In the participatory research formula we adopted, the participation of an internal researcher, who was part of the research team and knew the language and culture, enabled access to the community, which could otherwise be extremely difficult to obtain, even by sensitive and experienced outsiders. Additionally, it not only made it possible to negotiate the terms of participation in the study more effectively and consciously, but also to revise the respondents' potential expectations regarding the ability of academic researchers to influence their situation. On the other hand, thanks to the participatory formula, which involved the participation of an internal researcher, respected among the ethnic and immigrant communities studied, we avoided the distrust resulting from the situation they found themselves in and established closer relationships with the parents of the studied children.

An example of the application of the negotiation model during the study was iterative consent, which is the practical implementation of the values that constitute the basis of the negotiation model. Consent was repeated many times both with the parents of the minor study participants and with the adolescents. After obtaining the parents' consent, we conducted a process of obtaining informed consent for the youth so that they could make an autonomous decision, and participation in the study was not the result of decisions made between adults - researchers and parents (Main, 2008).

The examination was carried out in several stages, and each stage was accompanied by an explanation and renewed consent to further steps.

We devoted initial meetings with families to getting to know each other and explaining the goals, methods and course of the study. We understood that a single explanation, even if we took care of the linguistic aspect of the message (the internal researcher spoke Russian and Polish, which ensured efficient communication on a factual level), was insufficient to fully understand the entire research process. We talked to young people separately when it turned out that the obligations resulting from the research process were not obvious. In the next stage, we conducted interviews with parents, which expanded our awareness of the political, social and cultural contexts of migration experienced by the surveyed youth. With.

An initial review of the research project helped study families and researchers more accurately assess the cost-benefit ratio, determine whether the proposed study was feasible, and assess the social value of the project by its participants. If the theoretical constructs and measurement methods actually used are not valid for the group under study, there is a risk of drawing false conclusions (Ellis, 2007).

We could also consider together with the parents whether the proposed research procedure would not violate the well-being of the children, due to the situation of the families. Meetings with families were an opportunity to clarify doubts related to procedures for ensuring the safety of study participants - for example, one of the study participants agreed to quote his words provided that he signed them with a pseudonym of his choice.

We assumed that including photos would deepen and enrich the interview situation. The visual method used allowed for multiple and multi-layered interpretations of the material, while leaving interactive freedom to the participants of this "unnatural" situation. A sensitive issue in our study was the use of visual data containing images of people as illustrative materials when presenting the results in the form of presentations and publications. This topic was discussed with both parents and young people. When the research results were developed, we turned to parents again and organized two meetings: for young people and for parents, during which we presented our interpretations of the research results. We have adopted the principle of informing parents and young people about how research is used in the form of reports and articles, and we also provide them with copies of published articles.

One way to ensure the inclusion of participants' knowledge was the participation of an internal researcher, who helped to solve a number of dilemmas related to the issue of informed consent, which in our study was of a repeatable nature in accordance with the assumptions of the negotiation model. In practice, the internal researcher was a kind of communication channel between the research team, of which she was an integral part, and the respondents and their parents. By remaining in constant contact with all parties, she was able to clarify the conditions under which the study was carried out. At the stage of preparing the results, the presence of an internal researcher with pedagogical education, embedded both in the group and culture of origin, as well as in Russian culture, knowing the cultural patterns of Russian-speaking people, enriched the interpretive potential of the research team with an understanding of national and religious symbolism, the realities of life of forced migrants and the position of " refugees" constructed by migration regimes. The principles of intercultural team cooperation applied to the entire research process, from the development of research procedures and selection of participants, through translation, to data collection and interpretation of results, we organized so that involvement in the research project was professionally beneficial to all co-researchers (Tapp, 1974).

4.2 Strengthening the Autonomy of Respondents

We assumed that the tasks of the research team were primarily to get rid of the myth of refugees as completely entangled in structures of oppression and to do everything that could increase the scope of their autonomy. We did this in many ways, for example by introducing the multiple informed consent already described, and by including various mechanisms to increase the scope of respondents' control over the research process itself.

The study involved regular meetings with young people who met the criteria of belonging to the generation of refugees and immigrants 1.5. In order to enable the respondents to fully participate, control and agency, as well as the maximum unrestricted possibility of self-creation, we used a visual method, which involved each person creating a set of photos illustrating their lives, leaving complete freedom in terms of the photographed content and form of the photos. Building relational autonomy was based on openness to the inventiveness and initiative of the respondents. During the study, it turned out that young people also included photos from their countries of origin in their sets, which was an important identity context for them and opened an extremely important interpretive dimension that, as researchers, we did not take into account at the stage of planning the study. During the analysis, both archival photographs of the respondents and those taken as a result of an agreement with the researchers were used. The distinguished interpretative categories concerned the presentation of oneself, social relations and cultural symbols and images of places. The analysis of the visual material and the complementary verbal narratives included both the image of the presented world and the omitted elements.

At individual stages of the study, participants used resistance strategies such as missing deadlines, forgetting, or taking photos at the last minute - all of these processes could be captured and interpreted in a planned, multi-stage process of negotiating consent and contract terms. Eliminating artifacts resulting from undisclosed games of power and resistance was possible during meetings and conversations that led to the renegotiation of the conditions of informed consent, which gave the youth conscious control over the process in which they participated and the scope of their own involvement. It was important for researchers to appreciate the commitment of time and effort as well as the creative approach to the task of developing their visual representations of identity work.

In the context of the postulate of ethicality of research, there was also the problem of benefits that, according to the assumed principle of symmetry, both the researcher and the researched are to gain as a result of participation in the research process. It seems necessary to be open to a reciprocal relationship, i.e. a return and a return gift, which may turn out to be somewhat problematic in a difficult financial situation. We tried to go beyond the endless doubts related to ethical activities in the research field and asked ourselves whether a relationship with research subjects based on mutual benefits is possible? In our opinion, the benefits of participating in the study for the involved young people and their families were related to the possibility of shared insight into topics that are often not directly discussed in everyday conversations. Activities such as looking at photos together or presenting the research results to young people and their parents initiated conversations about leaving the country, coping with the feeling of loss and finding oneself in a new reality from the children's perspective, expressing emotions and undertaking joint reflection on children's experiences. There was also an idea that young people participating in the study would gain tangible benefits. As a result of the laptop collection campaign, computer equipment was obtained, refreshed and distributed to the study participants.

V. CONCLUSIONS

'Stop Stealing Our Stories'
(Pittaway, Bartolomei, Hugman 2010)

5.1 Between the Scientific, Humanitarian and Practical Dimensions of Research

1. One of the solutions to the problem of unequal positions is the negotiation model of the research process (Darling, 2014; Mackenzie, McDowell, Pittaway, 2007), which allows for a better understanding of what is happening within the research process itself, as well as what resources (information, knowledge, images) will be used after the research process has ended. The negotiation model of the study is based on the assumption that the respondents can become relatively equal

parties to the process, as well as have the ability to control it. It is assumed here that consent is not a single act, but is achieved through continuous negotiations. Informed consent as a process enables not only effective protection of subjects whose situation may change during, and even more so after, the end of the study, in the long period between the analysis of the collected data and the final publication.

Establishing a relationship based on a negotiation model may be problematic in the context of researchers' functioning in the academic field, as it may involve limiting the researcher's autonomy as well as violating the standards of research and scientific publications. As is known, the academic field is based on a broadly understood and assumed autonomy that applies both to relationships inside the field and also outside it (Maton 2005). Loosening the standards and allowing the voices of respondents would, in practice, mean modifying the principles organizing this field and reducing the importance of specialized and abstract knowledge while emphasizing the role of the identity of participants in the processes of academic knowledge production, in this case refugees and migrants. This possibility can be defined as a transition from codes based on knowledge to codes based on those who know, where the position of the subject is more important than the mere criteria of academic knowledge (Maton 2014).

2. Another challenge that is pointed out is the awareness of how forced migration and the often related experience of trauma limit an individual's autonomy (Mackenzie, McDowell, Pittaway 2007). The literature on the subject assumes that individuals experiencing oppression always retain the ability to make independent decisions (Freire 2014; Mackenzie, McDowell, Pittaway 2007). Just as it is wrong to assume that a person experiencing refugee can be treated as a completely autonomous entity, it is wrong to treat such a person as completely deprived of autonomy or the ability to make independent decisions.

   The assumptions of the approach called relational autonomy come down to the recognition that people are social and relational beings, which leads to treating self-determination as an important value in human life. Its implementation enables optimal functioning in society (Mackenzie, Stoljar 2000). Another assumption is that relationality is a skill (at the same time a competence) thanks to which an individual develops in relationships with others and self-determines. Communicability of identity is associated with giving shape to social development through specific cultural forms. The last thing to pay attention to is the entanglement of individual autonomy in relational, social and political conditions. Due to the fact that autonomy in this approach is social in nature, various types of conditions limiting it, such as oppressive relationships, institutions and social practices, should be taken into account. Relational autonomy is also viewed as the realization of human rights and is associated with social justice (Buchanan, 2008; Christman, 2004).

3. In our opinion, an important issue, perhaps controversial for some, concerns the imperative of relieving the suffering of the subjects (Turton, 1996). A kind of conflict between academic and methodological neutrality, which is supposed to conceal objectivity, and the field of ethical action, which in turn requires a departure from neutrality in favor of axiological involvement, is very clearly visible here. Tensions arise between the cognitive function of science, the humanitarian reasons for undertaking research and its practical goals. In our opinion, every action, including research practice, is subject to the same moral judgment, this applies to both the need to comply with the law and moral norms. So why shouldn't moral judgments and obligations based on intuition, and therefore somewhat universal, be respected and applied in the field of research? It is about treating a person as an

end in itself, in accordance with Kant's formula of goals: "act in such a way that you use humanity, both in your own person and in the person of everyone else, always as an end, never only as a means" (Kant 1971, pp. 63).

4. Research among forced migrants and refugees is an essential tool for developing effective interventions and, assessing practices and ensuring that the services provided help and do not harm recipients. Taking into account the practical consequences of the study, we can come to the conclusion that the basic ethical obligation for researchers is that research projects should not be solely of a reconstructive or identification nature, but that they should strengthen the autonomy of the individuals subjected to the study and the possibility of self-determination and self-determination. Turton makes it clear that examining another person's suffering is justified when the explicit goal of the study is to reduce that suffering (1996, pp. 96). The possibility of justifying conducting research must be extended not only to providing relief to a specific individual, but also to the entire group or community under study, as well as to potential refugees and forced immigrants. Some researchers express a similar thought about the ethicality of research, saying that "it is unethical to only document the situation of suffering people without the opportunity to offer them something in return that would help them cope with their difficult situation or develop solutions" (Mackenzie, McDowell, Pittaway 2007, p. 310).

RECOMMENDATIONS

Academic research has the potential to improve policy and programming for people in forced migration situations. Like many authors of research conducted among refugees and migrants, we want to disseminate the results to expert and decision-making bodies so that their decisions are based on reliable scientific data. The justification for conducting our research among forced migrants was not only the direct benefit in the form of strengthening the autonomy and self-awareness of the respondents, but also the possibility of reducing the suffering of forced migrants in the future, either by supporting changes in legislation, influencing local social policy, or influencing changes in attitudes. social issues towards refugees and immigrants. The co-authors of the article participated in the creation and implementation of the Immigrant Integration Model - the first urban social policy program in the area of migration in Poland, implemented in Gdańsk since 2015.

At the stage of disseminating the results, we created a set of recommendations showing the directions of institutional solutions resulting from the study, aimed at the needs of the studied group. At the *macro* level, institutions issuing decisions on granting international protection should pay special attention to children and young people who, due to the prolonged moratorium resulting from lengthy procedures, may potentially have difficulties in crystallising their identity. At the *meso* level, non- governmental organizations such as associations, scout organizations and sports clubs turned out to be a strong factor in anchoring the surveyed youth in the social environment. This means that even in such a difficult situation related to youth migration, informal educational influence can be very effective. At the *micro* level, we identified the need to support young refugees by developing their competences in various spheres of activity, both in the context of cultural differences (intercultural competences) and those related to practical functioning in a wider environment, outside the family home or origin group (social and civic competences).

The conclusions of the study are consistent with the recommendations of the expert opinion of the Migration Research Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences Refugees in Poland. Legal situation, scale of inflow and integration in Polish society and recommendations. The authors of the expert opinion, based on an in-depth analysis of many years of research on forced migrants and refugees in Poland, recommend a number of activities related to the integration of people under international or national protection in Poland and call for "a reliable debate and actions related to ensuring greater effectiveness of the refugee system, as well as the cessation of practices of violating international law if Poland is to remain one of the European Community countries and a party to the Geneva Convention in its current form" (Górny, Grzymała-Moszczyńska, Klaus, Łodziński, 2018, pp. 102).

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Iran's Growing Role in Eurasian Transport and Communication Initiatives

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the article is to study the growing role of Iran in Eurasian transport and communication initiatives. Due to its advantageous geopolitical and geo-economic position Iran is seen as an interesting partner for Russia, China and Central Asian countries. In the context of the transformation of the world order the Iranian leadership seeks to play a more significant role in regional economic and political processes, relying on its transport and transit potential. It is proved that Iran positions itself as a leading transport and logistics hub in Eurasia.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The importance of the article is due to the need to study the growing role of Iran in the new political and economic conditions that emerged as a result of the transformation of the world order. The modern system of international relations is undergoing profound changes, accompanied by the rise of the "middle powers" and the strengthening of their regional and global influence. Describing the world order, the American scientist R. Haas rightly notes that "some countries fall, and others rise, the result of changing capacities, faltering wills, and growing ambitions."

Iran, located in the Middle East, has an advantageous geographical position in Eurasia. It creates a good opportunity for the development of the country's transit potential. Iran's access to the seas and straits strengthens its strategic importance in the region and allows using this advantage as a means of achieving foreign policy goals. Iran's priority in foreign policy is to overcome international isolation by establishing closer trade and economic ties with regional states as well as integration into existing international transport and communication initiatives. The solution of this strategic task requires the Iranian leadership to pay close attention to the development of the country's transport infrastructure which will allow increasing transit cargo transportation. In recent years the Iranian leadership made a lot of efforts to improve its transport and communication potential and turned its large transit ports of Bandar Abbas and Chabahar into regional hubs.

The main purpose of the article is to analyze the growing role of Iran in the Eurasian economic and political processes. On the background of tense relations between Western countries and Russia Iran's transit capabilities and its competitive advantages within the framework of the common Eurasian transport and communication system are of great importance.

II. IRAN'S TRANSIT POTENTIAL AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL GEOPOLITICAL COMPETITION

Geopolitical tensions between Western countries and Russia triggered a process of reassessment of transport and communication corridors and a shift in focus to the southern direction of Eurasia where favorable conditions are gradually created for deepening trade and transit ties. The competition unfolds between several large Eurasian infrastructure projects promoted by leading geopolitical players – Russia and China. The emerging new geopolitical reality encourages

Iran to step up its efforts to strengthen and expand its regional positions by promoting transport and transit initiatives.

The main advantage of Iran in the struggle to strengthen its role in the Eurasian political and economic processes is its advantageous geopolitical position which consists in access to the seas and oceans. Iran has access to the Caspian Sea and through the Persian and Oman Gulfs he goes to the Indian Ocean. Thanks to this strategic position Iran strives to develop its transit potential, positioning itself as an important link in Eurasian transport and communication projects. On the one hand, the Iranian leadership pays close attention to the development and expansion of the internal transport infrastructure. Thus, in accordance with the long-term development strategy of Iran until 2025, the length of railways in the country should be 25 thousand km. The Iranian Parliament unanimously decided that 1% of the annual revenue from Iran's oil sales would be allocated for the development of railways. However, the authorities of the country not only focus on the expansion of railways but also make considerable efforts to create wide opportunities in seaports. In parallel with the development of the railway infrastructure Iran actively strives to develop a system of commercial ports in the Persian Gulf and on the coast of the Caspian Sea[1]. On the other hand, a purposeful Iranian policy is pursued to expand cooperation with neighboring states in the transport sector and integration into transport projects promoted by them. The most promising for Iran is the International North-South Transport Corridor (INSTC), the agreement on the implementation of which was signed in September 2000. INSTC connects India, Iran and Russia into a single transport system and has significant potential to become an important link in Eurasian transport communications. If this route works at full capacity it will allow the countries of Eurasia to receive good trade and investment benefits[2]. Until recently the potential of INSTC was not fully used. It proves the insignificant flow of goods transported along this transport corridor. In many ways the development of the INSTC was not given due attention due to the lack of political will. In the context of the geopolitical confrontation between Western countries and Russia and changes in trade flows the role of the INSTC increases significantly. That is why Russia and Iran agreed to complete an important link of INSTC – the Rasht-Astara railway in the Iranian province of Gilan in January 2022. Russia agreed to allocate a loan of 1.3 billion euros out of the necessary 1.6 billion euros to finance this project. In case of completion of this section of the road INSTC will work in full force and increase the volume of trade between Russia, Iran, the Caspian states and India.

Iran's transit potential is one of the factors contributing to the strengthening of cooperation with the countries of Central Asia. It is about mutual interest when the countries of Central Asia that do not have access to the open sea respond positively to Iran's proposal to strengthen transport and communication cooperation. Thus, in September 2022, a meeting of the heads of departments of Iran and five Central Asian countries was held in Tehran where participants discussed issues of coordinated transport policy. During official meetings with the leadership of the republics the Iranian authorities constantly focus on their transit advantages. Thanks to the railway launched in 2014 on the Iran-Turkmenistan-Kazakhstan route, cargo traffic between these countries sharply increased. Currently, transport and logistics cooperation between Iran and Uzbekistan noticeably intensified. The desire to diversify its foreign economic relations pushes the Uzbek leadership to implement joint transport projects with Iran which open Uzbekistan access to the countries of South Asia. In this regard, the Iranian port of Chabahar is of interest to Uzbekistan which will increase the volume of trade not only with Iran but also with India. In September 2022 Iran and Uzbekistan agreed to organize pilot road cargo transportation through Chabahar. Gradually, the Iranian port of Chabahar is becoming a major trade and transit

[1]http://www.iimes.ru/?p=9804&ysclid=lnl9ycbzxx932684216

[2]https://ru.valdaiclub.com/a/highlights/sever-yug-stroitelstvo-transportnogo-karkasa-evrazii/?ysclid=lnl82h9tlk749553288

hub in Eurasia. The desire to diversify foreign trade partners is also noticeable in the rest of the Central Asian countries. Their governments are interested in alternative transport routes leading to South Asian countries and Europe.

III. IRAN AS A PROSPECTIVE PARTNER OF THE CHINESE INFRASTRUCTURE INITIATIVE "THE BELT AND ROAD"

China's political leadership gives Iran a special place in its foreign policy plans in Eurasia. This is due to a number of factors. Firstly, China's interest in Iran is linked to its advantageous geopolitical position. "As the main force in the Persian Gulf region and a credible power in the Middle East, Iran connects these points to South Asia, Central Asia and the Caucasus." Secondly, Iran's transit potential is of interest for the implementation of China's geo-economic plans aimed at integration into a single transport and infrastructure system of countries located along the Silk Road. Thirdly, China is interested in Iran's hydrocarbon resources to satisfy its growing energy needs. In turn, the Iranian leadership needs Chinese investments to develop the economy. Thus, in accordance with the "Comprehensive Program of Cooperation between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the People's Republic of China", which was signed between the two powers in March 2021, the Chinese leadership intends to invest 120 billion dollars in the modernization of Iran's transport, industrial and social infrastructure[3]. The trade turnover between the two countries is growing rapidly. By the end of 2022 it reached 15.7 billion dollars.

Since the announcement of the Belt and Road initiative Iran showed interest in participating in it in the hope of reviving its special role as a link between the countries of the East and the West. In fact, the Chinese BRI opened a new chapter in bilateral cooperation between Iran and China. In Iran, China is perceived as an ally in resisting U.S. primacy. Convergence of views on the future configuration of the international system allows talking about the Sino-Iranian model of cooperation that develops in the new geopolitical realities.

Several routes pass through the territory of Iran within the framework of the Chinese BRI. One of these railway routes China – Kazakhstan – Turkmenistan - Iran is the least fast compared to the sea route from Shanghai to Bandar Abbas and takes 15 days on the way. The second no less significant route is Iran – Afghanistan - Uzbekistan which connects China with Europe through the Middle East. However, the international sanctions imposed on Iran do not allow them to take full advantage of the broad economic opportunities offered by participation in the Chinese initiative. Nevertheless, such restrictions do not affect the foreign policy course of the Iranian establishment aimed at achieving regional leadership.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Thus, due to its geostrategic position Iran has good opportunities for wider involvement in regional processes. The transit advantages allow Iran to play a significant role in the emerging Eurasian transport and logistics systems and position itself as the leading transport and logistics hub of Eurasia. In view of the global geopolitical competition that changed international trade flows, the importance of those countries that have significant transit potential and can offer attractive alternative routes is increasing. In this regard, Iran is a rather interesting partner acting as a bridge between North-South, East-West. At the same time, even under the conditions of international sanctions Iran has good opportunities to strengthen cooperation with Eurasian states and strengthen its role not only in Eurasian transport and communication projects but also in world politics as a whole.

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