



THE STEREOTYPICAL PORTRAYAL OF THE WOMAN IN SAYAKA MURATA'S *CONVENIENCE STORE WOMAN*

Chukwujekwu Orajiuka

Department of English Language and Literature
Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka.

cc.orajiuka@unizik.edu.ng

&

Sylvanus Onyeachulam

Department of English Language and Literature
Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka.

cc.onyeachulam@unizik.edu.ng

Abstract

This article is devoted to the main character of Convenience Store Woman by Sayaka Murata. The novel is in many ways autobiographical and based on Sayaka Murata's own life experience, she managed to deeply reveal many of the current problems of modern society in Japan by the example of the image of the main character in the novel. In the main, the novel depicts the wonder and vulnerability of a culture of convenience and conformity, while also highlighting the gender discrimination faced by women in contemporary Japan. The pivotal issue raised is about the stereotype of women who are influenced by patriarchal culture and gender discrimination in society. This article aims to explain the forms of woman stereotypes and also show how woman characters can break these stereotypes. The descriptive qualitative method was used in this research, which applied Simone De Beauvoir's theory of Existentialist Feminism and Mansour Fakih's concept of Gender Discrimination about the relationship with the concept of gender that leads to discrimination. The results of the analysis show that the stereotype of women consists in three forms, namely: women as mothers, women as incompetent people, women as sex objects.

Keywords: Stereotype, Patriarchal, Discrimination, Dehumanisation.

Introduction

The novel reflects the atmosphere of a store familiar to the Japanese, which is an integral part of city life in Japan. The novel received the Akutagawa Prize in 2016. The work is largely autobiographical. Sayaka Murata has been working in a minimarket for 18 years. Based on her personal experience, she wrote the novel *Convenience store woman*.

In principle, the novel gives more specific information about the female image in modern Japanese literature. The main female image of the novel, Keiko Furukura, has some problems with her temper as she does not fit into the usual concepts of society. She, in her opinion, seems 'normal', but this does not allow her to become part of a society in which her normal behavior is neither natural nor rational, but represents a complete rejection and misunderstanding of her intentions on the part of society, as it differs from the usual stereotypes by its spontaneity and individuality.



At the beginning of the novel, the narrator, Keiko Furukura, has been working in the same store for 18 years. Keiko's direct and independent attitude to the world around her leads to the fact that in childhood she experienced a deep psychological trauma. Everyone concentrated on bringing her to a normal state and forcing her to adapt to society, 'cure' her of an ailment that no one could clearly describe to her. Her only connection to the human world is her younger sister, who overcomes this gap by explaining to her why people find her behavior strange and advises her on how to act in such a way as to avoid condemnation and discontent on their part. Therefore, even as a child, Keiko decides to hide her true character and put on a mask of 'normality'. 'I will no longer do anything on my own', she recalls, 'I will either just imitate what everyone else is doing, or just follow the instructions [4]'.

After graduation, Furukura works as a shop assistant. The Japanese minimarket, like most Japanese institutions, operates in accordance with clearly defined rules: at the entrance, customers are greeted with certain phrases, and perform daily routine tasks (re-stocking on shelves, preparing products, helping customers). For her, this is everything she could have dreamed of, and that's why she has been working in it for 18 years. Keiko finds her destination in the store, which allows her to forget about the impulses of her extraordinary personality. She has practically no life outside of her job. Keiko Furukura also relies on the personality and behavior of her colleagues to maintain her 'normality' [5]. She secretly imitates them in everything. 'My current self is almost completely formed from the people around me', she muses at one point. 'Currently, I am 30 percent made up of Ms. Izumi, 30 percent of Sugawara, 20 percent of the manager, and the rest is occupied by previous colleagues [4]'.

Furukura's sister, who has been a support for her since childhood, helps her to come up with bizarre stories about her parents and ill-fated love relationships to explain her long stay in the minimarket and the status of an unmarried woman. But the older Furukura gets, the less convincing these arguments become for others.

Furukura herself would be happy working in the store for the rest of her life, but that would be unacceptable to the society she lives in. 'If it's very difficult to find a good job, then at least you should get married,' her classmate's boyfriend says at a meeting she attends [4].

However, everything begins to change when she meets Shiranha, a new employee of the minimarket, working for a short time, who did not fit into the automated environment of the store at all. His sullen, negative attitude to everything did not allow him to work in the store for a long time. He is convinced that society has turned away from him and that everyone is hounding and persecuting him. Therefore, he does not even try to seem normal, and very soon he is fired from the minimarket. But when the main character gets to know him better, it becomes clear that Shiranha's initially seemingly hostile attitude towards people is actually rooted in his inability to fit into society. The reason that prompted him to get a job in the store was, as he himself admits, 'hunting for a bride' [4].

Shiranha is a pathetic and at the same time quite typical image of that kind of youth who cannot understand why he is such a loser in life but has neither motivation nor the slightest desire to do anything about it, to change his current situation. Furukura, under her friends' pressure and family, to find a partner, thinks about dating Shiranha: their fictitious marriage will force her friends and family to stop constant interrogations about her, as relatives and friends will be calm about the fact that she has arranged her personal life. And Shiranha's



only requirement is that she allows him to completely isolate himself from the outside world and live in her bathroom and feed him like a pet. In this case, he no longer needs to try his best to justify his existence in a world where society and established stereotypes put pressure on him as well as on the main character. Here we see a modern example of the gender division of labor: Furukura is expected to interact with society, work and provide for both of them, while Shiranha will stay at home and play with his tablet.

In essence, stereotypes will always be a part of life and nobody is ever separated from the stereotypes given by the people around us. According to Narwoko & Suyanto, stereotype is the labeling of certain parties or groups which always results in harming other parties and causing injustice(322) . Stereotypes are a form of judging someone without considering the merits of the value. In this paper, the stereotype is ascribed to women. This proves that women are still shackled by the existence of prejudice and negative labeling, thus giving rise to gender inequality. Patriarchal culture also influences the formation of women's stereotypes. Jane Pilcher & Imelda Whelehan state through Walby, that patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women (*50 Key Concept in Gender Studies*). Walby identifies six structures of patriarchy (household production, paid work, the state, male violence, sexuality, culture) that together are argued to capture the depth, pervasiveness and interconnectedness of women's subordination. Patriarchal culture also affects women's perceptions, according to those who adhere to patriarchal culture, women must follow what is considered appropriate by society and must not deviate from rules or norms. This is in accordance with the opinion O'Brien in *Encyclopedia of Gender and Society* states: that women's stereotypes can be divided into three. Firstly, women are stereotyped as mothers who provide and support others, vulnerable, dependent, and weak. Secondly, women are stereotyped as childlike who are immature and incompetent people. This view causes some people to neglect women's intelligence and competence. Thirdly, women are considered sex objects (379).

According to Sayaka Murata, the Japanese author of this novel, her inspiration from working as an employee at a convenience store gave birth to the novel. The novel was written in 2016 and translated into English in 2018, has won various awards such as the Akutagawa Prize, is a best-selling novel, and received positive reviews from leading critics. In this study, the research focuses on analyzing the story and proving only the theory used in this research. The aim of this research is that the researcher wants to explain the form of stereotypes women and their effects on women. The research intends to present the form of stereotypes are given to the woman characters in this novel. The research wants to reveal how the woman characters in this novel are trying to break the stigma or stereotypes attached to them. Thus, the research employs a feminist approach. This approach is deemed appropriate because in the story plots, setting and conflict, it explains the development of feminist signs and the way main character behaves.

Research Method

The method used in this research is descriptive qualitative, applying Simone De Beauvoir's theory of Existentialist Feminism and the concept of Gender Discrimination by Mansour Fakhri. This study poses two primary research questions : 1. What are woman stereotypes reflected in novel? 2. How does woman character break the stereotype in the novel?



Textual Analysis

The novel describes Keiko Furukura as cheerful. Keiko is energetic, kind and polite, but she can't understand human emotions or thoughts, so she tries to adapt to her environment. In the end, the differences between Keiko and society give her a negative label because she can't meet society's expectations. The novel's stereotypes of women are tied to patriarchal culture and gender inequality. Many of the preconceptions about women stem from society's perspectives. This study poses a primary question: What are woman stereotypes reflected in the novel, *Convenience Store Woman*, by Sayaka Murata. First discussion is describing woman stereotypes reflected in the novel ; second discussion is showing woman stereotypes reflected in the novel, referring to O'Brien's categorization of women stereotypes in *Encyclopedia of Gender and Society*.

Woman as mother

According to Abdul Munfim Sayyid Hasan, mother is a woman who has gone through the process of pregnancy, childbirth, breastfeeding and raising her child with love and tenderness (65). However, sometimes all women are not destined to be a mother for some reasons, such medical reasons as not ready to have children. But the view of people in general says that every woman who is married will definitely become a mother and have children. Women are stereotyped as mothers and are described as vulnerable, dependent, and weak. Mothers are in both denotative and connotative sense described as having a gentle attitude and very fond of their children. A mother is also stereotyped as only being responsible for taking care of household needs.

After Miho married, she and her husband bought a secondhand house where she now often holds little parties with her friends. There are times when I feel like it's too much bother, knowing I have to work the next day. But it's the only connection I have to the world outside the convenience store and a precious opportunity to mingle with "normal" women my age, so I usually accept her invitations. Today there was Yukari and her young child, and Satsuki, who was married but still childless, and we had all brought cakes along to have with tea. (32)

It is obvious that a normal woman, as understood by Keiko Furukura, is her friend, Miho. She has become a good wife and mother for her children, married and then plans to buy a house for her husband and children to live in. Keiko felt a precious opportunity to be able to hang out with a 'normal' woman of the same age as her because with it she can understand what normal women around her are like.

'Everyone should bring their husbands and kids too. Let's do another barbecue!

'Yay! That's a fab idea. It'd be great if all our kids can make friends with each other.'

'Yeah, good thinking!'

Satsuki sounded a bit envious, so Yukari prompted her. 'You are planning on having kids, aren't you, Satsuki?' 'Sure, I want them. I've been relying on nature to take its course, but I suppose I should start being a bit more proactive about conceiving.'



‘Oh yes,’ Miho said. ‘The timing is perfect now.’ (35)

This clearly is the picture of women who are married. They will gather together with their respective families to show a normal life, thence, making some women jealous, as shown by Satsuki who feels jealous because all of her friends already have children while she does not have children. Sometimes things like that arise because of pressure such as questioning when to have children from family and society or oneself. This tallies with Simon de Beauvoir's assertion in *The Second Sex*, that ‘woman is just uterus’ (1949). That is to say that the fate of women is determined by this anatomy and, in consideration thereof of the natural order, it will be difficult to change due to patriarchal culture, underscoring gender discrimination. Thus, we encounter a dialogue between Shiranha and Keiko,

‘I suppose it is unreasonable to feel that way. If you can get them to stop complaining just by getting married, then that would be the simple and sensible thing to do, wouldn't it?’

‘Don't make it sound so easy! We men have it much harder than women, you know. If you're not yet a fully edged member of society, then it's get a job, and if you've got a job, it's earn more money, and if you earn more money, it's get married and have offspring. Society is continually judging us. Don't lump me together with women. You lot have a cushy time of it,’ he said sullenly.

‘Well then, marriage won't solve anything then, will it? Isn't it pointless?’ I said.

But Shiranha didn't answer and carried on talking heatedly. ‘I read history books trying to find out when society went so wrong. But however far back I went, a hundred years, two hundred years, a thousand years, it was always wrong. Even if you go back as far as the Stone Age!’ (91-92)

Hence it is clear that Shiranha and Keiko have divergent views on marriage. Keiko says that marriage does not solve all the problems of one's life, as against Shiranha who says society will continue to judge someone who is considered not to be a full member of society, and being a full member of society constitutes in getting a job, earning money, getting married and begetting children.

Woman as Immature and Incompetent

Women are always stereotyped as immature, incompetent, thought to have childish attitude, considered to be so weak and so vulnerable, owing to the way of thoughts between women and men: women rely more on feelings than logic, in contrast to men who prioritize logic over feelings. To the male folk, this difference in thinking makes women immature and incompetent in making decisions because they are more concerned with feelings than logical thinking,

When I was in my early twenties it wasn't unusual to be a freeter, so I didn't really need to make excuses. But subsequently everyone started hooking up with society, either through employment or marriage, and I was the only one who hadn't done either. (37)

‘Freeter’, according to Wikipedia, is a Japanese expression for people who do not have full-time jobs or are unemployed, excluding housewives and students. Freeter is also described as



semi-intrusive. In the quote above, Keiko is a freeter and it has been so since the age of 18. But, in general, people will stop being freeter by trying to find a more promised job or get married. In contrast to Keiko, she is still a freeter for 18 years and no idea of changing jobs or getting married. This makes Keiko look incompetent at work because she just does the same job for years without any real purpose. This is captured in the following dialogue between Shiranha and Keiko,

‘Nobody in the store has ever talked to me like that before.’

‘That’s because you’re just too far out there. A thirty-sixyear-old, single convenience store worker, probably a virgin at that, zealously working every day, shouting at the top of her lungs, full of energy. Yet showing no signs of looking for a proper job. You’re a foreign object. It’s just nobody bothered to tell you because they find you too freaky. They’ve been saying it behind’ (125-126).

Here, Shiranha tries to explain to Keiko that people talk about a person's shortcomings. He implies that these people will talk about him and Keiko to live under the same roof to convince people that they are a ‘normal’ people. Shiranha himself thinks those people would talk about how immature Keiko is by allowing a man to live with her without any clear bond. But Keiko naively convinced herself that no one talks like that.

Woman as Sex Object

Arivia states that most women do not realize that women's bodies belong to women, so they perceive their bodies as ‘something’ that is very foreign to themselves (2003). Hence, the construction of female sexuality includes the body, the desire, and the sexual relations. Beauvoir opines that as a sexual object, woman are expected to fulfill the beauty standard that requires women’s bodies to be slender and not loaded with fat, muscular, supple and strong. The objectification of women’s bodies has a purpose to satisfy men pleasure (262). Obviously, women are seen as sex objects by men in the most obscene verbal harassment of women while discussing sexual orientation:

‘You know, I’ve got quite a few gay friends,’ Miho intervened, ‘So I kind of get it. These days you can also be asexual or whatever you like.’ ‘Oh yes, I heard that’s on the increase. Like there are young people who just aren’t interested in it at all.’ ‘I saw a program on TV about that. It’s apparently really hard for them to come out too.’(38)

This underpins an assessment made by other people towards people who have different sexual orientations. Miho says that people who have sexual orientations, such as gay and asexual people, are very difficult to open up about it, because attraction to different sex is a disease or an aberration. Asexuality is the lack of sexual attraction to other people or the absence of interest in or desire for sexual activity. In this case, Keiko's friends have a prejudice that Keiko is asexual because she has no desire to have a partner or get married.

‘You need to wake up, Furukura. To put it bluntly, you’re the lowest of the low. Your womb is probably too old to be of any use, and you don’t even have the looks to serve as a means to satisfy carnal desire. But then neither are you earning money like a man. Far from it, you’re only working part-time without even a proper job. Frankly speaking, you’re just a burden on the village, the dregs of society.’ ‘I see. But I’m not capable of working anywhere else except the convenience store. I did give it a go, but



it turns out the convenience store worker mask is the only one I'm t to wear. So if people don't accept that, I have no idea what I can do about it.' 'That's why contemporary society is dysfunctional. They might mumble nice things about diversity of lifestyles and whatnot, but in the end nothing has changed since prehistoric times. With the birthrate in decline, society is regressing rapidly to the Stone Age, and it's going beyond life just being uncomfortable. Society has reached the stage in which not being of any use to the village means being condemned just for existing.' (108)

The social context that emerges from the quotation above is that of Shiraha as a man who is of the belief that humans who have crossed the age limit which should only add to the results of the hard work they did when they were young, unlike Keiko who is still looking for a purpose

in life, has not been successful, is not married, does not have a job. Shiranha thinks she has failed in society. Shiraha's words are very obscene, denigrating, relegating, indecent, subjugating and offensive to women. He demeans Keiko as a woman by saying that Keiko's womb and appearance will not be able to satisfy men and, based on those demeaning words, it is obvious that his society take women as sex objects, thereby discriminating against Keiko as a middle-aged woman who is unmarried and has only worked part-time all her life. This is closely related to Beauvoir's statement about feminist existential theory which says that as culture develops, men assume that they can dominate women by creating myths about women. Men are always looking for the ideal woman who will make him complete. This is what Shiranha does to Keiko by using words that tend to discriminate.

'Back at the store, I was angling for marriage, sure, but you're far from being my ideal marriage partner, Furukura. You don't earn much working in a convenience store, which means I won't be able to start my own business, and I won't even be able to satisfy my sexual needs with someone like you.' (109)

Clearly, Shiranha's words are very condescending on Keiko. Shiranha only uses Keiko to fulfill all his needs but look down on Keiko because he thinks Keiko is unattractive to him and can't satisfy him in terms of sexuality. This statement also advances Simone de Beauvoir's view that Men are always looking for the ideal woman who will make him complete. Beauvoir shows that their works reflect the ideal woman, and they see this as their patriarchal rights and heritage. This is exactly what Shiranha does; he only uses Keiko as a support for his life, and it saves himself and Keiko from the bad views of society, even though it is actually Keiko who is burdened. She says,

'If I go out, my life will be violated again. When you're a man, it's all "go to work" and "get married." And once you're married, then it's "earn more" and "have children"! You're a slave to the village. Society orders you to work your whole life. Even my testicles are the property of the village! Just by having no sexual experience they treat you as though you're wasting your semen.'

'I can see how stressful that would be.'

'Your uterus belongs to the village too, you know. The only reason the villagers aren't paying it any attention is because it's useless. I want to spend my whole life doing nothing. For my whole life, until I die, I want to just breathe without anyone



interfering in my life. That's all I wish for,' he wished, holding his palms together as if in supplication. (110-111)

Here, Shiranha's words to Keiko seem to open up Keiko's thoughts that her life will always be viewed badly by society, based on the indices of living a 'normal' life. Shiranha denotes that life is governed by the views of the society, asserting to Keiko that her uterus belongs to the village, which underscores the fact that everything about a woman's existence is solely dependent on society's views. Gender Inequality is surmised here, thus:

'Everyone has to toe the line. Why am I still doing casual work even though I'm in my midthirties? Why haven't I ever had a girlfriend? The assholes don't even bat an eyelid when they ask whether I've ever had sex or not, and then they laugh and tell me not to include prostitutes in the count. I don't make trouble for anyone, but they all seem to think nothing of raping me just because I'm in the minority.' (89-90)

Shiranha maintains his implicit agreement with societal norm, stressing that everything must conform to the views of society, such as having a good job, having a partner, getting married and then having children. And it won't be a problem for him because he's in the minority or doesn't count. He further tells Keiko,

'You're still in a dead-end job at your age, and nobody's going to marry an old maid like you now. You're like secondhand goods. Even if you are a virgin, you're grubby. You're like a Stone Age woman past childbearing age who can't get married and is left to just hang around the village, of no use to anyone, just a burden. I'm a man, so I can still make a comeback, but there's no hope for you, is there, Furukura?' (93)

Shiranha thinks Keiko a helpless thing that only roamed the village and is useless to anyone, a mere object of satisfaction.

Conclusion

As a woman who lives in a patriarchal culture, in the novel, Keioko, and of course, every other woman (like her) is soused in gender discrimination. It therefore becomes unjust treatment and assumption against someone, particularly based on a person's sex, to stick to the role he or she should play in the society. The different role however, leads to the harm and the loss of person's right in life especially for woman who lives in patriarchal culture. Keiko often received negative views from the people around her, ranging from family to her friends. Keiko is often considered an incompetent person because she only works as a convenience store clerk, and does not try to find competent and promising work. Keiko is also not considered immature because unlike her other friends who get married and then have children and are considered unable to be an ideal partner because of her old age. Keiko also got very inappropriate words from Shiranha that seemed condescending to her humanity. Finally, it can be concluded in this study that the stereotype of women still exists and becomes a problem in society. The stereotype of women is still felt by many women and is still happening today, and it should be reduced to all women, because women are also free to make their choices and the direction of their life goals.

Bibliography



- Beauvoir: Perjuangan Perempuan di Ranah Domestik'. *Jurnal Ilmiah Sosiologi (SOROT)*. 2019. 1(2), 1–13. <https://ojs.unud.ac.id/index.php/sorot/article/view/51955>
- De Beauvoir, S.. "The second sex. In *Classic and Contemporary Readings in Sociology*". 2014 1(1), 1–32. <http://repository.ut.ac.id/4666/1/SOSI4418-M1.pdf>
- Fakih, Mansour. *Analisis Gender dan Transformasi Sosial*. Yogyakarta: INSISTPress, 2008.
- Female Authors (Ideological Gynocritical Feminist Literary Criticism)". *International Journal of Linguistics, Literature and Culture*. 2018. 4(1), 1–15. <https://doi.org/10.21744/ijllc.v4i1.584>
- Junaidi, H. "Ibu Rumah Tangga: Stereotype Perempuan Pengangguran." *An Nisa'a*. 2017. 12(1), 77–88.
- Junaidi, L. M. "Stereotypes as the Ideology of Feminism in Novels Authorized by Indonesian
- Kanu, I. A. & Adidi, T. (2022). "Jeremy Bentham's Utilitarian Ethics and Human Rights: A philosophical analysis of the morality of the rights of commercial sex workers". In Kanu, Ikechukwu A.; Pwakim Gideon & Igboechesi Stanley (Eds.). *Theology, Philosophy, and Education in the 21st Century: Festschrift in Honour of the Distinguished Emeritus Professor, The Right Rev. Msgr. Cletus Tanimu Gotan (73-84)*. Jos University Press: Plateau State.
- Kanu, I. A. (2012). "The Genders in Christian Anthropology vis-a-vis the Experience of Violence by Women in Nigeria". *International Journal of Language, Literature and Gender Studies*. 1. 2. 1-14, 2012.
- Kanu, I. A. (2018a). "African Liberation Theology and Women's Experience of Violence and Discrimination in Africa". In I. A. Kanu; E. J. O. Ndubisi & C. C. Kanu (Eds.). *Africa at the Crossroads of Violence and Gender Inequality: The Dilemma of Continuity in the Face of Change* (424-447). Bloomington, USA: Author House Publication.
- Kanu, I. A. (2024a). "Ethic of Reciprocity and the Experience of Widows in Nigeria". *The Catholic Voyage: African Journal of Consecrated Life*, 21(2): 89-100.
- Kanu, I. A. (2024b). "Women, Violence and Christian Eschatological Hope". *The Catholic Voyage: African Journal of Consecrated Life*, 21(2): 37-54.
- Kanu, I. A. and Ndubisi, E. J. O. (2023). The economy of feminist ethical theory. In Kanu, Ikechukwu A.; Bazza, M. B.; Bakwap P.; Kanu C. C.; Martin Onukwuba; Dokpesi, T. (Eds.). *The economy of leadership and social transformation in contemporary Africa: Essays in honor of Professor Ichoku Hyacinth Ementa* (275-296). Jos: Augustinian Digital Press.
- Kanu, I. A., "An Enquiry Concerning the Religio-cultural Experience of Women in Nigeria: Towards a Philosophy of Reciprocity". *International Journal of Language, Literature and Gender Studies*. 1. 2. 50-60, 2012.
- Kanu, I. A., "Gender and Good Governance in John Lock: Religious and Political Perspectives". *AMAMIHE: Journal of Applied Philosophy*. 13. 1. 88-97, 2015.



- Kanu, I. A., “The Equality of Sexes in J. S. Mill vis-a-vis the Participation of Women in the Nigerian Labour and Economy”. *The International Journal of Language, Literature and Gender Studies*. 1. 1. 18-29, 2012.
- Lorena, D. B. “Analisis Sosiologis Tokoh Utama Keiko Furukura Dalam Novel “Konbini
- Murata, Sayaka. *Convenience Store Woman*. Translated by Ginny Tapley Takemori. London:
- Murdianto. “Stereotipe , Prasangka dan Resistensinya (Studi Kasus pada Etnis Madura dan Ningen” Karya Sayaka Murata.” Narwoko & Suyanto dalam *Sosiologi: Teks Pengantar dan Terapan*. 2009. 322
- Nugroho, N. P. L. M. P. W. B., & Mahadewi, N. M. A. S. “Feminisme Eksistensial Simone de
- Pilcher, J., & Whelehan, I. *50 Key Concepts in Gender Studies*. 2004. Portobello Books, 2018.
- Salviana, V., & Soedarwo, D. ’Pengertian Gender dan Sosialisasi Gender”. *Sosiologi*. 2016.
- Selkli, A., & Supit, I. “Stereotypes and Feminism in the Movie.” 1945. 2, 1–9. *Tionghoa di Indonesia*. *Qalamuna*. 2018. 10(2), 137–160.