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Afghan Forced Migration: Reaffirmation, Redefinition, and the Politics of Aid

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Abstract

This paper examines important issues concerning forced migration of Afghan refugees and how these issues are related to the politics of aid, gender, place, identity, power, and inequality. The paper argues that the experience of forced migration in conjunction with the challenges encountered by Afghan refugees in Pakistan refugee camps aid in reproducing social structures and shaping gender relations. In the process, many Afghan refugees are able to reaffirm self and group identity and belonging from multiple locations. The paper concludes with an analysis of the prospects and challenges of returning to Afghanistan.

Keywords: Aid, Development, Conflict, Refugees, Migration, Gender, Afghanistan

1. Introduction

The events of September 11, 2001, have renewed international interest in Afghanistan. Although forced migration of Afghan refugees has occurred since the 1970s, the recent attacks against the United States and its allies have rendered the situation of Afghan refugees one of primary international concern. Through examining the case study of forced migration of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, this paper seeks to demonstrate that forced migration is not just a product of internal wars and local impoverishment but is closely linked to the fundamental economic and political structures and processes of the contemporary world. By doing so, this paper highlights tensions and negotiations involved in the construction of identity among Afghan refugees.

The civil war in Afghanistan that began in the late 1970s has interrupted the rhythm of daily activities and forced many Afghans to abandon their homes and land. By engaging in the process of restructuring and re-establishing themselves as a group in Pakistan refugee camps, Afghanistan refugees have succeeded in transcending space and place through time within the context of their temporary dislocated situation. This paper will argue that the common features of religion, cultural values, memories, and experiences of dislocation have allowed many Afghan refugees to legitimize and reinforce individual and group location and identity in foreign lands. The different accounts of Afghan refugees express the various circumstances that forced them to abandon their homes and to live as dislocated people in a foreign land. The economic and mobility constraints imposed on Afghan women refugees in Pakistan have severely limited their economic contribution to household income and thus reduced their living conditions and positions within the family. The process of reproducing and modifying traditions and customs in host countries serves to recreate a sense of belonging and reconnect Afghan refugees to their homeland.

2. Refugees: Dislocation and the Politics of Belonging in the Post-Cold War

Human migration has a long history, but it is only in the twentieth century that the issue became politicized and internationalized (Kushner & Knox, 1999, p. 8). Increasingly, forced migration is linked to the process of globalization and the shifting of international geopolitics (Kushner & Knox, 1999, p. 9; O'Neill & Spybey, 2003, p. 7). As decolonization occurred after WWII and the Cold War struggle for geopolitical influences heightened, the migration of peoples from former colonies increased (Kushner & Knox, 1999, p. 10). In keeping with Cold War anticommunist foreign policy and security concerns, refugees from communist countries were well received in western European countries (p. 11). However, the situation changed after the Cold War as the movement of people entered a new phase.

Increases in interstate wars produced displaced populations, many spilling into neighboring countries or oscillating within border areas. Viewed within this context, the study of migration can no longer be based on narrow conventional theoretical frameworks emanating from modernization theories and approaches.

The study of forced migration in the form of refugees provides important insights into how people interpret and construct space and place. The complex relationships between identity and place have been examined by scholars from diverse disciplines (e.g., anthropology, sociology, social geography, and history). Within the anthropology discipline, refugee studies provide new ways of thinking and understanding about borders and the connection between people, identity, space, and place (Malkki, 1997, p. 61). This new thinking and understanding allow anthropologists to pose new challenges to the naturalization of the association between people and places and rework ideas of home and community.

Among displaced peoples, the act of remembering places is important in anchoring individuals' and groups' belonging and identities to a particular place. As such, the notion of

"homeland" remains one of the most powerful unifying symbols for mobile and displaced peoples . . . even in more completely deterritorialized times and settings—settings not only where "home" is distant but also where the very notion of "home" as a durably fixed place is in doubt—aspects of our lives remain highly "localized" in a social sense. (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997, p. 39).

In this context, special attention must be paid to the ways in which Afghan refugees have constructed, contested, and negotiated spaces and places.

The increasing magnitude of forced displacement as people escape from violence (which in many instances resulted from a state's failure in conflict resolution) critically challenges the conventional study of migration. Studies of forced migration that are mainly devoted to refugee issues and have generally neglected political and security issues need to be critically challenged, as displaced populations exist within and outside of state borders. While the movement of people from the South to rich countries in the North constitutes a combination of forced and economic migration, this migration has become more complex as identity politics become more entrenched.

3. Background of Afghan Forced Migration

The 1951 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines a *refugee* as anyone

who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or public opinion, is outside of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country. (quoted in Kushner & Knox, 1999, p. 10)

This definition clearly applied to Afghan refugees migrating to Pakistan during the late 1970s soon after the Soviet occupation. However, this conventional definition of refugee has been challenged. In particular, critics argue that the definition is narrow and that it is irrelevant in the contexts of warfare and economic degradation such as flooding and drought (Castles, 2008, p. 2; Kushner & Knox, 1999, p. 12; Martin, 2002, pp. 26–27; Piguet, 2008, p. 2). Attempts have been made over the years to extend the definition of refugee to refer to those who are forced to flee

from persecution and conflict, consumption beneath the subsistence level, and natural calamities such as floods, earthquakes, famine and drought. (Mandel, 1997, p. 79)

According to this definition, disruptions must be paramount to life-threatening situations. This change effectively eliminates refugees' eligibility in events that are not life threatening (Mandel, 1997, p. 79). For the purpose of this paper, the term *refugee* will be used to refer to individuals who are forced to emigrate out of their homeland by a broad range of conditions that includes warfare, political persecution, economic deprivation, and environmental degradation.

The refugee situation in Afghanistan is not a recent development, nor is war the sole cause of Afghan forced migration. Since the 1990s, environmental degradation has forced many to abandon their homes (Mandel, 1997, p. 89). Afghan mass migration throughout the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century can be separated into four phases from the 1970s to the present.

The first phase of Afghan mass migration occurred soon after the military coup in 1978 carried out by the Afghan Marxist political group, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), against the Daoud government. Increased tensions within the PDPA attracted attention from the international community. In response to the emerging threat of political fragmentation within the PDPA, the Soviet Union sent 80 000 troops to Afghanistan in December 1979. The presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan was seen by the United States and its Western allies as a new threat to international security. Subsequently, Western financial aid, arms aid, and other support were offered to Afghan resistance forces, collectively known as *mujahideen*. Intense fighting throughout Afghanistan led many people to flee to the neighboring countries of Pakistan and Iran (Jazayery, 2002, p. 232). The spread of violence throughout the country—along with the changes to landownership and marriage customs introduced by the PDPA soon after it took control—forced many to abandon their homes and villages. The majority of these refugees belonged to the Pashtun ethnic group, the largest ethnic group in Afghanistan. Many were poor peasants, subsistence farmers, small landowners,

and clergy. Most Afghan Pashtuns perceived the reforms initiated by the PDPA as “anti-Islam and anti-Pashtun” (Schmeidl, 2002, p. 19). Attempts by Soviet troops to overthrow Afghan traditional practices such as *pardah* (female seclusion) created negative reactions from the majority of male Afghans. The introduction of mass education met with strong resistance from most Afghan males, who interpreted this action as “un-Islamic” (Mayotte, 1992, p. 152). Subsequently, these changes forced many Afghans to flee the country.

The second phase of Afghan mass migration took place with the withdrawal of Soviet troops, which began with the election of the new Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in 1986 and was completed in 1989. The withdrawal resulted in an increase in the internal power struggle among the mujahideen groups (Jazayery, 2002, p. 239). This conflict in turn created two simultaneous migration movements: immigration into and emigration out of Afghanistan (Mandel, 1997, p. 89). While many Afghan refugees (about 1.2 million) were encouraged to return following repatriation, others fled from the growing violence throughout the country. In stark contrast to the first wave, in which the majority of refugees were Pashtun farmers, those who migrated in the second wave were mainly from urban business, professional, and Dari-Persian speaking backgrounds. Most fled Afghanistan because the mujahideen perceived them to be Soviet collaborators. Similar to the first wave, these Afghan refugees often left their homes carrying few personal belongings other than their clothes. Many settled in Nasir Bagh Camp in Pakistan’s Peshawar province. Ethnic and language differences between the Pashtun and Dari-Persian speaking groups soon gave rise to tensions in the camps (Schmeidl, 2002, pp. 19–20).

The third phase of Afghan mass migration occurred soon after the political victory of the Taliban in 1996. The Taliban introduced a repressive regime with the “quest for a pure Islamic society” (Schmeidl, 2003, p. 11), and the political situation was exacerbated by a drought that created widespread food and water shortages throughout the 1990s (p. 12). The persistent of violence and drought conditions meant that the state could no longer ensure adequate food, aid, or care for most of the population, particularly those residing in the countryside. The refugees consisted mainly of non-Muslim religious minorities and Shia Muslims. As famine and diseases spread, many were forced to migrate to Pakistan and Iran (Khattak, 2003, p. 200). During this period, an estimated 2 million Afghan refugees fled to Pakistan and about 1.5 million were forced to migrate to Iran. Others migrated to other countries in South Asia, the Middle East, North America, and Europe (Schmeidl, 2002, p. 12).

The fourth phase of Afghan mass migration occurred soon after the events of September 11, 2001. The fear of U.S. retaliation, increased socioeconomic and political instabilities, and environmental disasters (e.g., drought) generated large outflows of Afghan refugees. However, after the attack against the United States, the situation in Afghanistan “spun out of control, with refugees largely trapped inside Afghanistan because of closed borders in neighboring countries” (Schmeidl, 2002, p. 12). Intense fighting during late 2001 and the beginning of 2002 forced many to flee their homes. However, the majority of Afghan refugees soon returned to Afghanistan (Khattak, 2003, p. 201).

[INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

4. Life as Refugees

The experience of forced migration proved to be traumatic for many Afghan refugees. Most Afghan refugees continue to relive the traumatic experience of war and the memories of home and the life that they were forced to abandon (Barakat & Wardell, 2002, p. 918). For many, the destruction caused by the ongoing civil war and environmental degradation led to the loss of family life, land, and sources of income. These experiences are traumatic and play an important part in shaping individual and collective memories and social relations (Khattak, 2003, p. 198).

Many Afghans regard Pakistan as an ideal country to migrate to. Economic opportunities in conjunction with the religious ties between the two countries motivated many to settle in Pakistan. Although Pakistan did not sign the Geneva Convention or any other international conventions related to refugees, it recognized Afghans as refugees (Khattak, 2003, p. 198). However, research shows that Pakistan’s action of recognizing Afghans as refugees is not humanitarian based. Rather, the Pakistan government’s decision was influenced by the desire to gain international military, economic, and diplomatic status (p. 205).

Initially, Afghan refugees could register as refugees only if they resided in Pakistan Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) and Balochistan province, two of the poorest provinces in Pakistan. By requiring refugees to register in these two provinces, Pakistan’s government believed that the refugees could be controlled and sent back into Afghanistan with little cost in financial resources and time. Registration provides Afghan refugees access to basic needs and necessities: shelter, food, water, education, health, and material aid such as clothes and blankets (Khattak, 2003, p. 201). In the beginning, the aim of the Pakistan government

was to contain the refugee population in areas believed by the authorities to embody “cultural affinity”, specifically, between Afghans and the Pakistani Pushtun population. A problem, of course, was that the Hazaras, Tajiks, and Uzbeks shared neither the same language nor the same culture with the people of the NWFP and Balochistan. Additionally, settling Pushtuns meant fueling Baloch–Pushtun tensions in that province. (Khattak, 2003, p. 201)

Viewed within this context, the Pakistan government's decision to view Afghan refugees as a homogenous group demonstrated state failure to recognize ethnic diversity among Afghans and contributed to ethnic tensions between Afghan refugees and local Pakistani ethnic groups. In addition to ethnic tensions, the different waves of Afghan refugees created economic and environmental pressures in the two provinces (Khattak, 2003, p. 201). This further fueled tensions between Afghan refugees, the local population, and the Pakistan government. Aside from registration, Afghan refugees are required to "declare political allegiance to a *tanzin* (political party) as a precondition for eligibility to receive food, shelter and security" (p. 203). The process of repatriation of Afghan refugees, which began in the late 1980s and led many to return to Afghanistan, must be viewed within the context of Pakistan's "resentment of hosting the largest refugee population in the world over more than two decades and without much assistance from the international community" (Bialczyk, 2008, p. 13).

Afghan refugees in Pakistan initially lived in tents, but as time passed, many built compound walls and brick houses, indicating that they are not returning to Afghanistan anytime soon (Khattak, 2003, p. 202). Aside from residing in camps, many Afghan refugees have migrated to the cities since the 1980s in search of employment opportunities. The move to urban centers accelerated with the second wave of Afghan professional and business refugees. Many Afghan refugees found support through ethnic or family networks in the cities (UNHCR, 2006, p. 3). The government of Pakistan set up an intricate and efficient administering system of managing refugees in camps. This system connects the federal government to the village administration and international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). At the camp level, the provincial governments coordinate with camp administrators who work with various Afghan appointees (*maliks*) to distribute food, material aid, water, education to refugees. The *maliks* are respected leaders who often serve as spokespersons for their camps and as teachers and religious leaders within their groups. As such, they possess enormous power and influences over Afghan refugees' material and religious well-being. The *maliks* are also linked to Afghan political parties (Khattak, 2003, p. 202).

Under these conditions, Afghan women refugees face various levels of constraint in Pakistan refugee camps. Being refugees and women in Pakistan, they have had to face the structural constraints that refugees face everywhere: low wages, poor working conditions, and limited economic opportunities in host countries. The situation is further compounded by restrictions on their mobility. Prior to the mid-1990s, Afghan refugee women's income-generating opportunities were restricted by the Pakistani government, aid agencies, and Afghan political parties (Khattak, 2003, p. 203). Most Afghan women thus found themselves caught up in the political conflict between their leaders and the Pakistani government (Mayotte, 1992, p. 156).

Most Afghan women encounter challenges in adjusting to their new lives in Pakistan. Thousands of Afghan refugee women who enjoyed freedom of movement in Afghanistan find that the imposition of *purdah* in the camps severely restricts their mobility. Many Afghan refugee women do not share or know the culture and language of their host country, and isolation between Afghan women refugees and the local population is thereby increased (Barakat & Wardell, 2002, p. 910-911; Mayotte, 1992, p. 157).

By the late 1980s, the Cold War was ending, and Western interest in aiding Afghan refugees underwent a significant decline, particularly after the Taliban took control of Afghanistan in 1996. The decline in aid reflects the shifting geopolitical relations and priorities of donor countries, which forced thousands of refugees to fend for themselves. Following the September 11 events, the Pakistani government decided to close its border with Afghanistan and refused to admit new Afghan refugees. The government at the time defended its decision by suggesting that the country does not have adequate infrastructure to support the latest wave of Afghan refugees and that the government wants to prevent infiltration of Al-Qaida terrorists into Pakistan (Khattak, 2003, p. 198). In 2002, the Pakistan government decided to close a number of camps in NWP,

including Nasir Bagh, Jalozi, and Kacha Gahri, as well as issuing eviction orders for the residents in these camps. . . . Camps in South Waziristan were closed in September 2004, the remaining camps in FATA were closed between July and September 2005 and two camps in Balochistan were also slated for closure. (Bialczyk, 2008, p. 23).

The closure of these camps effectively displaced many Afghan refugees. In addition to camp closures, there are reports of outbreaks of violence in Pakistan refugee camps. The most recent event occurred on May 2007, when three Afghan refugees were killed and ten others injured during a violent confrontation between Pakistani authorities and residents of the Jungle Pir Alizai refugee camp. At the time of the conflict, the camp was scheduled for closure on June 15, 2007 (Bialczyk, 2008, p. 23).

Beginning in 2002, the UNHCR launched its repatriation program and as of 2005 had helped 1.56 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan return to Afghanistan (Michael, Corbett, & Mola., 2005, p. 13). However, ongoing instabilities in Afghanistan have made the process

a dubious success, and arguably in the interests neither of the majority of its intended beneficiaries nor of the long-term reconstruction of Afghanistan. In assisting a mass return of refugees to Afghanistan . . . UNHCR is responding more to

the perceived political interests of its donors and host governments, than to the actual interest of the majority of its “beneficiaries.” (Michael et al., 2005, p. 13)

These criticisms reflect competing interests and rising tensions among donor countries and governments.

5. The Politics of International Aid

As mentioned in the previous section, international aid to Afghan refugees in Pakistan during and after the Cold War has been highly politically driven. During the Cold War, the aim of Western aid to Afghan refugees was to undermine and destroy the Afghan Communist regime supported by the Soviet Union. By the 1990s, international aid was delivered to Afghan refugees within the context of the ongoing civil war and without cooperation from the Afghan state government (Jazayery, 2002, p. 249). Commenting on the effects that geopolitics has on aid distribution, Fielden suggests that

as long as the world community allows the provision of foreign aid to be linked to geopolitics, international humanitarian and development assistance in refugee contexts will be inconsistent, counterproductive, and highly contradictory. (Fielden, 1998, p. 480)

Viewed within this context, the politics involved in providing aid to Afghan refugees in Pakistan during and after the Cold War effectively contradict and undermine the humanitarian aspect of aid itself.

From 1979 to 1997, UNHCR spent more than US \$1 billion in aid on refugees in Pakistan (Bialczyk, 2008, p. 13). During the 1980s, UNHCR funded a ten-year, three-phase, \$87 million Income Generation Project for Refugee Areas (IGPRA) to build more public infrastructures and slow down the environmental damage caused by overgrazing lands in NWFP and Balochistan province. Much of the IGPRA employment opportunities were provided to “Afghan men—and in some instances to twelve and fourteen-year-old boys—on road, canal, and reforestation projects” (Khattak, 2003, p. 203). Given that the men refugees were outnumbered by women, UNHCR’s decision to exclude women from participating in the IGPRA project further increased Afghan vulnerabilities. The 1990s saw a drastic cut from UN aid to Afghan refugees in Pakistan, and this cut also came to have significant implications to Afghan women refugees’ living conditions (p. 203).

In the early 1990s, UN member states and other Western aid agencies agreed to establish a “holistic approach” to Afghanistan reconstruction. This new plan required cooperation and coordination between aid agencies to help with long-term development projects. After September 11, 2001, the newly elected UN Secretary-General, Mark Malloch Brown, was in charge of taking over the task of administering aid to Afghanistan. The UN also pledged \$652 million in aid to help with the reconstruction in Afghanistan. In January 2002, at an international conference held in Japan, donor countries signed an agreement that promised further funding (\$4.5 billion) over the next five years to Afghanistan (Jayazery, 2002, pp. 247–248). In 2006, during the London conference, international donor countries signed an agreement, the Afghanistan Compact, in which donor countries pledged to fund US \$10 billion to Afghanistan for the period of 2006–2010 (UNHCR, 2007, p. 353).

[INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

6. Stories of Forced Migration

Latifa, an Afghan refugee woman who was forced to flee Afghanistan during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1982, provides details about the circumstances that forced her and her family’s migration out of the country:

When the Russians began to work in the computer center I decided it was no place for me to work. They told me I could no longer wear my chader. My father had been hiding for a year-and-a-half and had not been living with my family in Jalalabad . . . it was early evening the night of our flight when he joined my mother, grandparents, four sisters, a brother, and myself. My other brother is fighting for jihad. We waited forty-five days in a village not far from Jalalabad until it was safe to move on. Nine of us shared one room. I know many who went ahead of us came under the enemy fire. Later we saw their graves as we crossed the mountains. When we finally moved on, my father remained behind in Jilalabad. In the event one of us was captured, he might be in the position to win our release. (Mayotte, 1992, p. 160)

Latifa’s account of lost family members and forced separation from relatives reflects the situation shared by many Afghan refugees. The loss of employment, land, and family members played an important role in shaping Latifa’s dislocation. Her story demonstrates how most Afghan families are uprooted and become fragmented so that the family structure is no longer intact. The absence of the male presence allows for changes to take place within the family structure (Emmott, 1996, p. 36).

Nuria, a former school teacher who left for Pakistan in 1981, explains the differences between her living conditions in Afghanistan and in Quetta refugee camp:

Not only did I flee my homeland, but a way of life as well. In Lashkar Gah I had a profession and was able to travel freely between my home and the school. I wore Western clothes; never did I wear the chader. I felt no constraints. Even

the fact that I was not married, generally a stigma in our society for one my age, was not a problem. Here in Quetta, however, I felt pinched in everyway. . . . Here we have no space. Not only was the living area small, the women were confined to their quarters. Suddenly, my freedom of movement was taken from me. I was not allowed to work or go outside without at least wearing the chader. . . . Always I was accompanied by a male. I became very depressed. I was homesick and worried constantly about the fate of my father. . . . Will our family never be whole? Will we forever remain in a foreign land? (Mayotte, 1992, p. 174)

Nuria's account reveals her attachment to her former home and life and her desire to return. The determination to remember her former home has allowed Nuria to cope with the changes that have occurred around her. The memory also serves as a way for Nuria to anchor her identity and extend her belonging to her former land and home from a distance. In essence, *home* and *homeland* came to represent the way of life that Nuria was familiar with, a place where she feels comforted and at ease. For Nuria, the meanings of homeland are connected to the feeling of belonging to a particular place and community. The symbolic meanings and memories of home have allowed places to possess a "temporal depth" (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997, p. 15). With the advent of forced relocation, the meanings associated with home are separated and capsulated in memory. The concept of self and home are interwoven into the various aspects of present daily life (pp. 15–16). Because Nuria is intimately connected with her home and homeland, the forced migration led to a feeling of being lost. Nuria's connection to her land and home derives partly from the ownership of land. Additionally, the loss of home and land contribute to the feeling of homelessness (Emmott, 1996, p. 36).

The experience of dislocation, in conjunction with feeling lost, reflects common devastating psychological impacts that result from war and violence. Separation from family members, along with the abandonment of her home as a result of war, proved to be a traumatic experience for Nuria. The loss further shaped Nuria's self-identity and contributed to her feeling of dislocation. Parkin (1998, p. 316) suggests that memories of deceased family members who died before the flight serve to legitimize individual origin as well as serve as a way to cope with the grief.

The experience of war and being suddenly uprooted from the land has generated feelings of significant loss. Khattak (2003) proposes that war has destroyed the image of a secure and sacred home for the majority of Afghans. In this context, leaving home came to be perceived as an act of abandonment of the most sacred place. Khattak suggests that the "physical leaving of home" is thus seen as the process of venturing into "unprotected terrain" (p. 196). The loss of home is also linked to the loss of a country. Thus, leaving home comes to mean leaving one's "nation, culture, history, and identity" (Gupta & Ferguson, 1997, p. 17). The memory of home serves as an important element in the coping process (Khattak, 2002, p. 106). Additionally, memories allow Afghan women to maintain hope of returning to their home. For Nuria and Latifa, along with many other Afghans, the devastating situations that caused them to flee Afghanistan are only the beginning of the journey into exile. Afghan refugees regard the process of resettlement as the next important event in their lives.

7. Process of Resettlement

Once they enter the camp settings, the former solid and small village way of life that most Afghans are familiar with is replaced by living alongside thousands of people who come from different Afghan ethnic groups. Members of various Afghan tribes and clans are expected to coexist despite the fact that they previously were enemies. As an extension of their belonging to their homeland, many Afghan households in Pakistan refugee settlements are similar in shape and structure to the layout of typical urban and rural Afghanistan, but on a smaller scale (Shalinsky, 1994, p. 128). This is the process of recreating a familiar mental landscape out of an unfamiliar territory. As such, the experience of war serves to shape the reconstruction of settlement on a foreign land. The features of refugee settlements often reflect the common culture and the use of space within the home (Khattak, 1994, p. 129). In this sense, the reconstructing of the former mental and social landscape in a new settlement allows Afghan refugees to transform space into place.

Another cultural feature that is retained by Afghan women is the frequent interaction between women from different households despite their displaced situation, new living arrangements, and the imposition of purdah. The social support network established among Afghan women provides emotional support and strengthens community identity (Emmott, 1996, p. 33; Shalinsky, 1994, pp. 130–131). Additionally, the network allows Afghan women to construct an alternative space within a place that separates them from the social network of Afghan men. The establishment of social support networks by Afghan refugee women serve as a challenge to the practice of purdah in Pakistan refugee camps (Emmott, 1996, p. 33). These networks undermine the rigid hierarchy that is constructed and maintained by Afghan men in refugee camps. In essence, the social network established by Afghan women serves as a means of coping with the emotional stress and pressures they face. The cultural practices of hospitality and marriage celebrations (which include communal food preparations among friends and neighbors as well as the performing of wedding songs) continue to play an important role among Afghan refugees, especially women. These rituals and traditions, in addition to reinforcing communal identity and belonging (Shalinsky, 1994, p. 131), also serve to raise the visibility of Afghan women (Mayotte, 1992, p. 155).

Aside from their traditions and customs, Afghan refugees have also brought their Islamic faith and political beliefs, which are further redefined as the years in exile are prolonged. For example, although the men from Kabul had not previously worn beards or prayer caps in their original homeland, they started to wear these in exile. These types of practices imply that Afghan men are represented as “good Muslims” (Mayotte, 1992, p. 155). These symbols empower many Afghan refugees and allow them to differentiate themselves from the “others” on foreign land. Another cultural aspect reconstructed in Afghan refugee camps is the re-establishment of provincial judicial committees set up by various Afghan men’s conservative groups. This reconstruction served to strengthen Afghan collective group autonomy and customs against foreign influences. This feature of life among Afghan refugees undermines the argument that geographical dislocation is linked to cultural dislocation (Rogers, 1991, p. 64). The reconstruction of former judicial committees also gives Afghan refugees a specific link to their origin and a feeling of belonging to their homeland. Despite the hardships of adapting to the new life in exile, the idea of returning to their homeland serves as a source of determination and of strength for Afghan group identity and belonging.

8. Dislocation and Extending Belonging

Being near the border reflects Afghan refugees’ desire to extend their belonging to their homes and land. Most Afghans are expected to return after peace is restored in the region. Thus, most Afghans perceive their dislocated situation as only temporary. The impact of war and the experience of losing their land has forced many Afghans to retreat to their cultural values as well as to their traditions and customs in order to recapture their old way of life and to reinforce group identity and solidarity (Mayotte, 1992, p. 155).

The attempt to emulate the social and political structures of the homeland provides a chance for different refugee groups to exploit the homeland myth in order to benefit their goals. Among the cultural values that are heavily emphasized among Afghan refugees is the strict enforcement of gender segregation and purdah for Afghan women. The imposition of purdah further restricts Afghan women’s mobility and reinforces gender inequalities within the patriarchal social, economic, and political structures. Purdah is perceived as an important part of the Afghans’ honor code as well as a desired status symbol in Afghan society. Among Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, the enforcement of purdah became intensified and affects both rural and urban Afghan women, particularly those who rarely practiced it in Afghanistan. Under the harsh restriction of purdah, most Afghan women feel insecure and lack control over their daily lives (Emmott, 1997, pp. 35–36; Mayotte, 1992, pp. 155–157; Moghadam, 1993, pp. 221–222).

9. The Pressure to Maintain Tradition and Cultural Practices in Refugee Camps

The imposition of purdah is often perceived as a way for Afghans to reinforce group identity and as a way to cope with the new settlement arrangements within refugee camps. The strict observance of traditional practices among Afghan women became a symbol of *jihad* (holy war). The pressure to assume the role of preservers of culture has created a wedge between generations of Afghan refugee women. While the older generation of Afghan women refugees are expected to preserve traditional cultural values, younger Afghan generations are required to cope with the difficulties of the new life. Within refugee camps, Afghan women continue to perform domestic activities (Mayotte, 1992, pp. 156–157; Moghadam, 1993, pp. 243–244). However, the lack of economic opportunities in Pakistan forced many Afghan men to go back to Afghanistan and join Afghan resistance groups (Khattak, 2003, p. 203; Mayotte, 1992, p. 155). The absence of men has led some Afghan women to take the role of head of the household (Emmott, 1996, p. 33; Mayotte, 1992, p. 155; Shalinsky, 1994, p. 129). Under such circumstances, Afghan women must accept international or national assistance or obtain employment in the labor market in order to support themselves and their families (Emmott, 1996, p. 36; Moghadam, 1993, p. 244).

Difficulties in gaining employment in the labor market have forced some Afghan women into prostitution as a necessary means of economic survival (Mayotte, 1992, p. 158). In Pakistan, many professional and business Afghan refugee families soon discover that they are unable to support themselves and their families with only one person’s income. Afghan women are thus required to enter the labor market to provide and contribute to family income (Mayotte, 1992, p. 157; Moghadam, 1993, p. 243). Many Afghan refugee men are unable to accept the new economic role of Afghan women despite their own inability to fully support their families. This loss has often led to domestic violence, depression, and alcoholism (Mayotte, 1992, p. 158). The prevalence of domestic violence in Pakistan refugee camps has contributed to changes in Afghan gender relations and has important implications for women’s health.

10. Prospects and Challenges of Returning Home

There are different perceptions among Afghan refugees regarding the idea of returning home. These perceptions are shaped by the circumstances surrounding the flight (Emmott, 1996, p. 35; Khattak, 2003, p. 200). For those Afghan refugees whose homes had been destroyed during the war, there is little hope of rebuilding because of the limited available employment opportunities and the ongoing violence occurring in Afghanistan (Emmott, 1996, p. 35; Khattak, 2003, p. 109). Thus, the constant thought of returning home serves to shape the Afghani sense of belonging to and identity with their homeland. For the majority of Afghan refugees, Pakistan is perceived as a foreign and hostile place

where daily life is a constant struggle. The discomfort strengthens the feelings of belonging to and desire to return to Afghanistan (Emmott, 1996, pp. 35–36). Viewed within this context, the process of mourning over the loss of home serves to legitimize and reinforce the attachment of Afghan refugees to their former homes. Afghan refugees' desire to return to their homes is shadowed by the reality of the destruction of their homes. With limited assistance from government or aid agencies, the task of rebuilding appears to be daunting for many Afghan refugees. At the same time, the idea of returning home serves to relieve the pressure of the hardship of daily lives in camps (Khattak, 2003, p. 204). Together, the mixed emotions reflect hopes and challenges that Afghan refugees experience in perceiving their current dislocation and future prospects of returning and rebuilding their lives in Afghanistan.

Changes occurring in Afghanistan since 2001 have encouraged many Afghan refugee women to return to Afghanistan. The account of Homaira, who was born in Kabul in 1968 and immigrated with her family to the United States in 1978, reveals her determination to help with Afghan postwar reconstruction. Specifically, Homaira is committed to

empowering my Afghan sisters through education. If we're going to reach Muslim women, we must do it through education and their religion. . . . Afghan women have been through so much emotional and psychological stress that it's difficult to reach them. This is a challenge for us: how to reach the minds and hearts of these women, who have been deprived of the true meaning of their faith. (Mehta & Mamoor, 2002, p. 19)

Homaira's statement reveals that changes to Afghan women's status will not occur any time soon. On November 29, 2001, the Women for Afghan Women (WAW) group organized its first conference in New York, "Women for Afghan Women: Securing Our Future." Throughout the conference, issues about the history of the Afghan women's rights movement in Afghanistan, human rights abuses under the Taliban regimes, and suggestions on rebuilding the country were raised (Mehta & Mamoor, 2002, p. 19).

In 2002, WAW members were invited by Afghan Prime Minister Hamid Kazai to attend a conference held at the Grand Hyatt Hotel in New York. At this conference, Kazai made an appeal to Afghan diasporas to come home and contribute to the country's reconstruction (Mehta & Mamoor, 2002, p. 19). Kazai's appeal further encouraged many refugees to return to Afghanistan.

According to a report in the *UN Chronicle* (Rutsch, 2002), many Afghanistan refugees who have returned to Afghanistan have not yet returned to their homes. Rather, they migrate to major urban areas such as Kabul and Herat. A significant number of Afghan refugees hesitate to return until normalcy is restored in the country. According to a United Nations official, Maha Muna, Afghani women will face many challenges in the reconstruction of Afghanistan. The drought situation in Afghanistan has led the UN to caution against an immediate mass return of Afghan refugees. The United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the Ministry of Women's Affairs of Afghanistan (MOWA) have signed an agreement that pledges to restore and improve Afghan women's legal, political, and social rights. These developments reflect the growth of the women's rights movement in Afghanistan.

The above overview of patterns of emigration of Afghan refugees since the 1970s seems to indicate that the argument that aid and development contribute to empowering refugees politically, economically, and socially clearly does not apply in this case, especially with regard to Afghan refugee women. Despite the generous aid contributed by the international aid agencies, the living conditions for Afghan refugees in Pakistan continue to deteriorate. So far, lack of cooperation and coordination between aid agencies poses major obstacles to improve the lives of Afghan refugees. Additionally, poor health care and housing, low incomes, and the rise in domestic abuse negatively affect Afghan refugees in Pakistan (Jazayery, 2003, p. 248). Pakistan's recent decisions to seal its borders and refuse admission to admit new Afghan refugees further intensify the Afghan refugee crisis.

11. Conclusion

This paper demonstrated that the forced migration of Afghan refugees is complex and must be viewed within the contexts of gender, environmental degradation, and shifting geopolitics and interests of donor countries. The continuation of violence and political instabilities have created various waves of Afghan refugees for more than twenty years. For most Afghans, dislocation and memories of home serve not only to perpetuate the desire to return but also to reinforce individual and group identities and sense of belonging to the homeland. The shared features of religion, cultural values, memories of war, and dislocation allow Afghanistan refugees to legitimize and reinforce their sense of group identity, origin, and belonging. Additionally, the continued practice of rituals and customs among Afghan refugees in refugee camps strengthen group belonging. Through the process of redefining themselves, Afghan refugees have created a distinct identity for themselves in the host society. Inability or reluctance to return to their home contributes to the feeling of dislocation. The experience of forced migration has aided in the process of reshaping Afghan gender roles. The constraints (e.g., on mobility) that are imposed on Afghan women in refugee camps prevent them from gaining employment and thus contribute to their dislocation and undermine their status within the household.

As we have seen, postwar reconstruction in Afghanistan required considerable cooperation and coordination between countries and international intergovernmental aid organizations. The tendency to exclude Afghan women refugees from

participating in development projects in the past demonstrates a need for international aid agencies and governments to consider the significant roles women play in Afghan reconstruction. Although a significant effort has been made by international aid agencies to deliver food and other relief needs to Afghan refugees scattered throughout Afghanistan since 2001, improvements to Afghan lives have been slow. The lack of coordination and cooperation between international aid agencies and governments hinders the effectiveness of aid delivery.

In the post-Cold War period, issues of globalization, exclusion, poverty, and North–South economic inequalities dominated many discussions about international security, international relations, and development aid. When approaching the issue of Afghan refugees in Pakistan, one must question the different interests of donor countries, host countries, international aid agencies, and aid recipients. As we have seen, the decision to provide aid to Afghan refugees in Pakistan reflects donor countries' Cold War and post-Cold War foreign policies. This paper demonstrated a clear connection between international political interests in Afghanistan and aid to Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Although the link between politics and aid serves to benefit donor countries' interests, it clearly undermines the humanitarian aspect of aid itself. The growing number of refugees worldwide puts further strains on existing aid resources. This paper calls attention to the geopolitical factors that could potentially endanger the effectiveness of aid provision to Afghan refugees.

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Table 1. Afghan Refugees in Pakistan, 1996–2006

Year	Number of refugees
1996–1999	1.2 million
2000	2 million
2001	2.1 million
2005	1.2 million

Source: UNHCR, 2005.

Table 2. Financial Pledges to Afghanistan

Country or aid agency	Amount
United States	\$3 billion (2005)
USAID	\$427 million (2005)
Asian Development Bank	\$500 million (2003–2005)
Japan	Up to \$500 million (2003–2005)
EU countries	\$800 million (2003–2007)
Canada	\$1.2 billion (2001–2011)

Sources: Independent Panel on Canada’s Future Role in Afghanistan (2008); Jazayery (2002); Padilla, foundation, & Tomlinson (2006).



Study on the Eco-tourism Environment Protection Based on the External Theory

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Abstract

From the connotation and nature of the eco-tourism, this article use the external theory to analyze the external diseconomy in the eco-tourism development. The external diseconomy of the eco-tourism contains production aspect and consumption aspect, such as the external diseconomy produced by irregular exploring actions, by lacking in strict tourism management measures and by the non-ecological actions of tourists. The external diseconomy in the tourism development has not only affected sustainable development of the eco-tourism, but also may bring about unrecoverable damage to the fragile ecological environment. Thus the government should play a leading role in the eco-tourism development to take on necessary intervention and regulation to the eco-tourism. The government must establish eco-tourism planning and strict examination and approval system, must strengthen eco-tourism environmental monitoring, must set up complete macro policies and laws or regulations on the eco-tourism development, must eliminate or weaken the external diseconomy of the eco-tourism and must protect the ecological environment on which eco-tourism relies. Only by such measures, do we promote sustainable and healthy eco-tourism development.

Keywords: External theory, Eco-tourism, Environmental pollution, Environmental protection

1. Introduction

It is the hot spot tourism in the 21st century, which is also an inevitable choice of improving tourism destinations' economies and protecting ecological environment and recourses. At present, the growth momentum of ecotourism industry is very prosperous in the whole world, with 20-30 percent increase each year. Ecotourism has been a kind of tide in tourism development in the world today, with at least 20 billion US dollars product value per year for the globe.

As early as 1982, Zhangjiajie National Forest Park had been built, which is the first forest park in china. Subsequently, the ecotourism activities had begun to appear and develop in China. Especially, depending on natural landscape superiority, the forest parks and nature reserves regard ecotourism as pillar industry of sustainable utilization of resources. However, although the development of ecotourism has brought economic interests to tourism destination, it has caused great influences to local ecological environment. According to related organizations investigation on 100 nature reserves above the provincial level, there has been 22 percent of nature reserves causing environment destruction because of ecotourism development, and 11 percent of them appearing tourism resources degradation .

Good ecological environment is not only the premise and basis of ecotourism, but also the important guarantee of state ecological safety. Therefore, in order to develop the ecotourism well, the ecological environment should be depended on, so as to promote the ecotourism development. Well how to promote ecotourism to develop healthy and coordinate is a new subject to us all.

2. The definition of eco-tourism

Strictly speaking to date, there has not been a uniform final conclusion on the definition of ecotourism among the scholars at home and abroad. The reason is not only that the understanding and comprehension of people toward ecotourism is continuously deepened, but also that many researchers, developers and business administrators artificially take their respective needs and garble a statement. This article argues that the connotation of ecotourism mainly embodies in the following aspects:

First, the destination of ecotourism is refers to the natural regions that are subjected less interferences and pollutions .

Second, the progress of ecotourism emphasizes on the principle of ecological protection. Ecotourism pays much attention to the protection during its development and uses development to promote protection, which is the harmony and unification among economic benefit, social benefit and environmental benefit .

Third, ecotourism is the green industry of high scientific and technological content. It is a kind of unique sustainable tourism and responsible tourism form that pays more attention to the continuity of ecology and cannot result in the environmental destruction or the decrease of the environmental quality.

Fourth, ecotourism pays much attention to the economic development of tourism destinations and the improvement of the living standard of local residents; the income of ecotourism should not only be used to protect the ecological environment but also benefit the local residents.

Fifth, ecotourism gives prominence to the educational function of ecological environment.

In all, ecotourism should regard environmental education, science popularization and spiritual civilization construction as the core content, and really let itself be a grand school of people studying nature, loving nature and protecting nature.

3. The external analysis of eco-tourism

3.1 External theory

The externality theory is brought by Marshall in his masterpiece “Principles of Economics” in 1890 earliest. Externality is a basic concept in Economics, generally speaking, external is a discordant phenomenon referred to the private income and social benefits, the private costs and social costs. Lufthansa Samuel define it as, “A person makes others suffered additional costs or additional revenue in the course of production and consumption, and these costs or revenue imposed on others are not compensated in the form of money, external or spillover effect occurs. Exactly, Externality is the conduct of an economic party impact on the welfare of others; this effect is not reflected through the monetary form or the market mechanism.”

Externality does not directly affect the economic environment or other economic benefits through price influences; it transfers the consequences of their acts and is not responsible for such consequences by themselves fully. That is, certain economic activities or economic decision-making bring the beneficial effects or “free riders” free benefits for others. Externality is a spillover effect of economic activities, in the affected persons’ opinion, the spillover effect is not voluntarily accepted, but is imposed by the opposite party.

Externality theory is the theoretical basis for environmental economics. On one hand, it reveals the root of market economic activities in some low-efficiency allocation of resources. On the other hand, it provides alternative ideas for how to solve problems of environmental external diseconomy. The analysis to external theory and market failure, is not only advantageous in adopting more environmental economic means to protect the environment in the market economy system reform, but also advantageous in allocating the resources effectively when government exercises functions of macroeconomic regulation and control, providing more public goods of environmental quality. Externality appears accompanied by production and consumption activity, brings both positive and negative influences.

3.2 The reasons of the external diseconomy of eco-tourism. Ecotourism possesses external economy

The development of ecotourism industry is advantageous to local residents to change the idea of traditional values and the way of life and production, realizes the replacement of traditional farming, logging industry, utilizes forest resources by the form of non-consumption, promotes the development of forest communities and regional economy.

At the same time, ecotourism also possesses obvious external diseconomy. The set constituted of many tiny ecotourism external diseconomy activities causes enormous ecological damage to the environment, emerging with the phenomenon which contradicts with ecotourism's connotation originally. Ecotourism external diseconomy includes external diseconomy of ecotourism production and external diseconomy of ecotourism consumption.

3.3 Concrete manifestation and harm of ecotourism external diseconomy. These are as follows

First, external diseconomy caused by nonstandard development behavior. Many developers regard ecotourism as a fashionable tourism product and develop haphazardly because of lacking scientific and effective demonstration and violating the basic principle of ecotourism. The plans of some areas are formulated by the investors themselves, who are

often from interests of their own departments or business, at the cost of the damage to the environment and the loss of scenic areas' development potential. Deciding the development according to reception, not having the overall tourism development planning, doing not pay attention to resource conservation, descending of environmental quality, all of which make the original "ecotourism" products lost the "ecological" characteristics at last. Some operators construct some buildings and tourism infrastructure in the core region which prohibited exploiting by law, making some regions loss the continuity of landscape and the integrity of ecological system permanently. Create many artificial attractions in some region, changing the original natural or human landscape, leading to serious urbanization for scenic spots. Especially the integration of some artificial attractions and the servicing facility construction with landscape and scenic spots is poor, which has caused great losses to the protection of natural heritage, cultural heritage. Built modern cableway arbitrarily on the famous ancient mountain, establishment of cableway in the central region of the national attractions, which has destroyed not only the original appearance of the natural scenic area, and also has made a large number of visitors assemble on the peak of limited capacity, resulting in the damage of landscape and ecology. The construction of ecotourism infrastructure has destroyed the animals' living environment, causing the deterioration in the quality of living environment for animals, so that these animals live there were forced to move.

Second, external diseconomy caused by lacking strict measures in management of ecotourism environment. In order to attract more tourists, ecotourism operators remake the tourist infrastructures on their own initiative, local transportation lines, communication facilities and so on, which have facilitated the local people's production and living invisibly, that is external economy; but the ultimate aim of the operators is to pursuit high profits, therefore, they will pour the waste water of catering, accommodation and other living waste water directly into the water, waste oil of the motorboat and so on can permeate the water, automobile exhaust and the dust of diet will be directly discharged into the air, these will create the environmental pollution leading to external diseconomy. From the view of tourism operator, the increase of its profit appear on the basis of the reduction of the total profits, causes gaining the benefit at the expense of resources environment and welfare of other people. However, tourism operator does not carry on the corresponding compensation on the influence, which is typical external diseconomy.

The ecotourism environment has its own carrying capacity; ecological tourists will bring pressure to the ecological environment inevitably when they carry on tourism activities. Natural and historical humanities resources are the foundations of developing tourism, they will be difficult to be restored once be damaged. So only utilizing reasonably under the premise of protection and doing our best to protect when using can guarantee the sustainable development of tourism. The development of ecotourism must be based on the carrying capacity of ecological environment, once over this limit, will make the ecological environment overload, then leads to ecological imbalance. Because of short-term economic activities and driving of benefits, economical benefits are also first in the guiding ideology of developing ecotourism in many places, while environmental and social benefits are ignored, and the phenomena that some places gain short-term benefits at the cost of long-term benefits and environmental protection often occur.

Third, external diseconomy caused by tourists' un-ecological behavior. There are a lot of arbitrary trampling on, all kinds of discarded waste, random climbing and clamber, scribbling and random carving, random picking and so on. Un-ecological behavior in ecotourism scenic spots causes environmental pollution in ecotourism scenic spots, the deterioration in the quality of landscape and eventually causes the drop of overall attraction of tourist destinations, which will reduce the value of tourism. If tourists trample on plants randomly in the process of touring, a direct result of death, often will also affect germination of plant seed, the plant can not grow smoothly because of soil compaction, or even lead to normal species replaced by wear-resistant species, bring changes in the structure of species and downward tendency in the types of plants. Tourists' random picking will also cause harm to the plants, especially some of the rare plants who become the main targets of predatory picking, often faced with extinction. Trampling on vegetation by hiking, horseback riding, camping and the related activities result in various degrees of damage to vegetation. Slight damage can reduce growth quantity and coverage area of vegetation. Serious damage will lead to reduction of plant communities and species change. For the imperfections of tourism facilities in itself and tourists' low quality, the amount of garbage abandoned in attractions is increasing with the expansion of the scale of tourism activities. So much garbage abandoned and accumulated randomly in the tourism area has destroyed the natural landscape, polluted the water in attractions, and brought eutrophication to the water in tourist areas. The water in China's many tourist areas has been polluted at different degrees, the transparency, color, flavor and other indicators of a considerable part of tourism water, exceed standards of the state's tourism water, the floating matter, the matter suspended in the air, the oil pollutants have already affected the tourist sense organ, caused traveling interest reducing. The appearance of too many tourism rubbishes has brought serious contamination and destruction to ecological environment.

4. The strategies and measures of eco-tourism environmental protection

4.1 Establish the strict examination and approval system of scientific demonstration

As the kind of tourism with a sense of responsibility and special sense to ecological and cultural, ecotourism is surely a strategic choice, which can promote sustainable development of tourism. As the areas which suit to develop ecotourism

are often sensitive areas of fragile ecological environment, the quality of the ecotourism planning directly refers to the protection of tourism resources, and will influence the sustainable development of tourism. Only under the promise of scientific planning can ecotourism play its function of protecting the ecological environment, achieve the sustainable development of tourism. Before developing a new ecotourism project, the experts of sociology, environmental science, culture, economics and other fields should conduct a comprehensive and scientific demonstration. Finally, the planning can be implemented only after the approval of relevant departments. And environmental impact assessment system of ecotourism resources' exploiting should be set up. Only the project which does not cause harm to local ecological system and landscape after assessed and must be permitted by executive authorities, can be exploited. Establish examination and approval system and monitoring system of ecotourism projects, so as to make examination and approval on eco-tourism project, inspect periodic these ecotourism resources; establish a strict mechanism for trade access, so as to be required for different scale of eco-tourism projects and have the appropriate qualifications of the developers for the development; assess aptitude of its ecotourism resources development regularly.

4.2 Establish ecotourism authentication system

To standardize the behavior of ecotourism enterprises, bring their development activity implied principle of protection truly, the standard must be set by the government or profession association macroscopically to distinguish ecotourism from common tourism. And the certification, by meeting the standard, on one hand, will enhance the popularity of certified enterprises, and will set an example for others, both of which will give impulse and pressure to improve their environment management level and low negative influence. On the other hand, it will arouse tourist's attention on their own tour and custom activity. And it makes them more care about environment factor when they choose the tour operators, resorts, hotels and other tourist service providers and buy the product made by the enterprises, which care about environment more. These will contribute, directly or indirectly, to environmental protection. Ecotourism Certification Committee set up by the State Quality Supervision Bureau or the State Environmental Protection Administration can give official certification. The certification work can be also entrusted qualified and trustable private or foreign enterprise to give unofficial certification.

4.3 Strengthen the management of ecotourism environment

Ecotourism is not able to realize consciously the coordination between tourism development and the ecological environment because it is with the "eco" label. So if we really want to achieve coexist and co-prosperity of ecotourism and ecological environment, we must stress that this form of tourism is managed by scientific and effective environmental ways. And the environmental management takes an important part in the whole process of ecotourism and environmental protection, which has become the crux of tourism sustainable development. An effective way of eliminating external influence is to introduce the market mechanism in environmental management, through the market mechanism the principle that "polluter pays" can be realized. However, because of the defect of the market mechanism exists in itself, functions of the government's environmental management should not be weakened by the introduction of market mechanisms, on the contrary, the government's functions should present a strengthening tendency with the development of social economy. In order to ensure the efficiency and quality of environmental management, we must handle well the relations between the government and the market, and divide rationally the jurisdiction and scope of the role between the two. The government must occupy the dominant position in the environmental management, so as to enforce some measures of environmental management by adopting market approaches to achieve the combination between government mandatory regulation and the market mechanism.

4.4 Perfect the ecotourism management system

Using the experience of foreign tourism management system and implying the unified management to all levels of tourist areas which are developing ecotourism to improve management efficiency and protect the environment. Ecotourism is comprehensive, involving wide areas, and with close relationships. At present, Chinese ecotourism areas change mostly on the basis of the original nature reserves, forest parks and scenic areas at all levels, with typical characteristics of fragmentation in the management system. There are many actively profitable business organizations in ecotourism areas, including ecotourism scenic areas and the communities. Because there are differences in investors, it causes an alternately complex relationship between enterprises which makes tourism as the main business and compartmentalized system. Ecotourism will inevitably involve disputing in interests among the bodies of participators, and straightening out such relations of the ownership can not be solved by relying solely on the tourism sector itself or the community itself, it only be possible to coordinate by government. It must be acted by the various local governments even central government to guide, coordinate uniformly, break down the boundary between the administrative and the region, realize the union of region and the coordination of departments, so as to effectively address a range of issues in the development and management of tourism resources, formatting resources joint effort to ensure an orderly tourism development.

4.5 Perfect ecotourism legislation and strength ecotourism legal supervision

Ecotourism legislation is mainly to cultivate ecotourism market mechanisms, establish ecotourism market rules and protect ecotourism market order. To improve the ecotourism legislative level, we should promulgate Ecotourism Law, Ordinance of Ecotourism Development and Management; establish a set of legal system of ecotourism to safeguard the smooth development of the ecotourism industry; strengthen the supervision to the government in the implementation of ecotourism laws and regulations; supervise the governments at all levels and their related departments abiding by and carrying out ecotourism laws and regulations. It is necessary to not only supervise their specific administrative conduct, but also the conduct of its abstract administrative conduct; not only supervise procedures whether they are legal and appropriate which are applicable for administrative conduct, but also supervise whether entity content of administrative conduct is legal and appropriate. Only in this way, can the function of the government be improved. In order to effectively supervise the implementation of ecotourism laws and regulations in government, it is necessary to set up the relatively independent supervising mechanism of ecotourism laws and regulations, and give greater authority to supervised objects. Therefore, we should strengthen the judiciary's supervision to the implementation of ecotourism law and play the overall efficiency of ecotourism legal supervision.

5. Conclusion

Ecotourism is a tourism activity of dual responsibility and to protect the natural environment and safeguard local people's living standards. It is the way to realize sustainable tourism. However, ecotourism is not the sustainable tourism development principle itself, whose development can produce external diseconomy, causing serious damage to ecotourism resources and deteriorate of the environment. Market mechanisms alone can not solve adverse effects to the environment in the development of ecotourism, so the government should play a leading role in the development of ecotourism, in carrying on the necessary intervention and regulation to the ecotourism. Government should establish the system of ecotourism planning, strict examination and approval; strengthen the supervision to ecotourism environment, establish sound macroeconomic policies, laws and regulations on development of ecotourism and take other measures to eliminate and weaken the external diseconomy of ecotourism, protect the ecological environment of ecotourism for the survival and development, and at last promote the ecotourism to develop continuously and healthy.

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Business Risks, Business Strategies, HRM and De-Globalization

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Abstract

Globalization is regarded as an overwhelming tendency which can bring about great benefits and freedom to nowadays market. However, de-globalization was addressed by many writers since the world is full of uncertainty and unpredictable changes. HR, as a strategic tool for multinational firms, should play an active role in the preparation for the possible coming de-globalization. HR should be active to improve its strategy, policies, and practices to guarantee the competency of company in this changeable environment.

Keywords: De-globalization, Human resource management, Uncertainty, Workforce shortage

1. Current tendency of de-globalization in the world

Globalization, which can be a tendency of increasing deep interrelationship among countries, companies and individuals, has largely been due to worldwide economic development and the opening of domestic markets to foreign firms (Eisenhardt, 2002). Multinational firms, on the one hand, were appeared with this cross-border relationship (Eisenhardt, 2002). Furthermore, globalization was featured as liberalisation, internationalism, open, boundless, international cooperation and tariff-free (McVeigh, 1999; Demirdjian, 2005), so, many multinational companies construct their strategies base on the assumption that the future will bring more opening of national markets, more cross-border capital flows, and more international cooperation (Allen & Raynor, 2004). However, recent happenings evoke the reality that the world is becoming more and more uncertain and unpredictable by the emergence of international conflicts (Thompson, 2002), protectionism (Peters, 2001; Mcveigh, 1999) and nationalism (Annan, 1999), which can be regarded as de-globalisation and can made multinational organization to devise its strategy from different aspects (Allen & Raynor, 2004).

So, this paper aims to discuss the HR implication in responding to the organizational strategic change facing the possible coming de-globalization, since HR policies and practices which are consistent with the firm's strategy (strategic human resource management) are more effective (Michie & Sheehan, 2005). This paper mainly introduces the two risks would bring about by de-globalization, they are uncertain business environment and the workforce shortage. In addressing the strategic adjustment by de-globalization, both risks are examined individually. So, the following part demonstrates that organizational agility is the vital to deal with the business environmental uncertainty, which demands strategic flexibility and organizational learning ability. HR should help organization to achieve those objects by selecting flexible leader, forming competitive human capital and team work, and building flexible organizational structure and culture, so, effective hiring, training, compensation and other practices should be implemented in the organization now. Risk two is workforce shortage which demands organization strategy to address the staffing issue and the adoption of flexible work patterns. HR can do great contribution to this achievement by using flexible work contracts and using contingent mature workforce, thus core-periphery employment model can be used, knowledge workers should be attracted, motivated and retained by appropriate HR practices, and utilization of mature workforce can lessen the pressure from workforce shortage. Finally, this paper concludes the main arguments and offers the future research direction.

2. The introduction of the two business risks de-globalisation pose

At the time when de-globalization comes, nationalism, protectionism and international conflicts would become quite common (Allen & Raynor, 2004), international economic flows, which include goods and services flow, such as export

and import; labor or people flow, such as inward or outward migration; capital flow, such as inward or outward direct investment, and technology flow, such as the transfer of developed knowledge from country to country, would become difficult to achieve (Wikipedia, 2007). The freedom of international trade would be curtailed by proliferating tariff, duties, exchange controls, foreign ownership limits, and other restrictions, and key industries of some countries would be dominated by national enterprise (Allen & Raynor, 2004). The conflicts among countries would make it more difficult for foreign investment, and cross border cooperation (Allen & Raynor, 2004). Although de-globalization is just a possible outcome, those unstable, unpredictable and unreliable conditions can lead to the uncertain business environment (Allen & Raynor, 2004), which is the risk most companies need to face in the future. Furthermore, with the disclosure of de-globalization, the rough business restriction and regulation would make it more difficult to move workforce from one country to another, especially for the key people who hold the competitive skills and knowledge which are vital for the organizational performance (Allen & Raynor, 2004). So, the second risk this paper discusses is the workforce shortage, especially for the knowledge workers. Although de-globalization is only a possibility, organizations, especially the multinational corporations, should forecast those risks, and adjust their business strategies to better cope with those challenges and adapt to the changeable environment.

3. The match between business strategy and HR strategy

“Bset fit” strategic HRM approach argues that to be effective, HR policies must be consistent with other aspects of the firm, and the most significant contingency factors is business strategy (Boxall & Purcell, 2003; Michie & Sheehan, 2005). Human resource policies and practices must be consistent with the strategy being implemented and business performance will be improved when there is fit between business strategy and HR policies (Michie & Sheehan, 2005).

Business success depends significant on the formulation and implementation of viable strategies (Pun et al., 2000). Strategy formulation is concerned with the definition of company mission and objectives, the assessment of internal and external environments and the determination of strategic choices (Singh, Garg & Deshmukh, 2005). If de-globalization become a reality, trade and investment barriers would be raised for the international enterprises, it is emergent for companies to adjust business strategies to better deal with those changes (Allen & Raynor, 2004). HR, as a significant part either for strategic planning or implementation, should play a major role in strategic management and achievement (Boxall & Purcell, 2003). Well-organized HRM practices are a prerequisite for a successful business strategy (Boxall & Purcell, 2003; Michie & Sheehan, 2005). HRM plays a pivotal role in redefining new strategies so that they can suit the changing environment (Som, 2006) and HR professionals must become key players in the design, development, and delivery of a company’s strategy (Ulrich, 1998).

4. Risk one: uncertain business environment

The first risk which could be brought about by de-globalization is uncertainty business environment (Allen & Raynor, 2004), which was detailed by Singh, Garg and Deshmukh (2005) as customer uncertainty, supplier uncertainty, technological uncertainty, product uncertainty and competition uncertainty. The nature of uncertain business environment requires a continuous rethinking of current strategic actions, organization structure, communication systems, corporate culture, asset deployment, investment strategies, in short every aspect of a firm’s operation and long-term health (Hitt, Keats, & DeMaie, 1998). Organizational decision makers should be equipped with the knowledge of the probabilities associated with a set of possible outcomes, even though they do not know exactly which outcome will occur (Forbes, 2007), as well as the task of creating a balance between the stability which is necessary to allow development of strategic planning and decision processes and instability that allows continuous change and adaptation to a dynamic environment (Hitt, Keats, & DeMaie, 1998).

4.1 Strategic implication ----- Organizational Agility (strategic flexibility and learning ability)

Strategic management should help a company stay learning and flexible to face uncertain and unpredictable changes, which demand the formation of organizational agility. Generally, agility is the ability of a firm to face and adapt proficiently in a continuously changing and unpredictable business environment (Kassim & Zain, 2004). Companies with agility should become a learning organization with business strategic flexibility (Boxall & Purcell, 2003).

Strategic flexibility is the capability of the firm to proactive react or quickly respond to changing competitive conditions and thereby develop and/or maintain competitive advantage (Hitt, Keats, & DeMaie, 1998). In such a dynamic environment, organizations that are able to continually build new strategic assets faster, simpler, cheaper and more flexible than those of their competitors will create long-term competitive advantage (Eisenhardt, 2002).

Learning ability means companies are able to innovate and assimilate new knowledge, and take different approaches about operation business, which can make them obtain more competitive advantages in uncertain environment (Susana Pérez López, Peón & Ordás, 2006), While in the learning process, individuals play a vital role in transforming, generating and applying knowledge (Soliman & Spooner, 2000). Organizational strategy, from this perspective, should view people as their most important resource for business performance.

4.2 Implications for HR planning

There are a number of implications for HR to help firms achieve strategic flexibility and learning ability. First, developing strategic leaders who are flexible, able to respond quickly to change and with strong learning ability, since leadership has direct effects on a firm's strategic choice and competitive advantage (Hitt, Keats, & DeMaie, 1998); secondly, developing dynamic core competences (Tidd, 1997), which should focus on building human capital which can effectively use knowledge and skills (Chaston & Mangles, 1997); Thirdly, forming team or group work to encourage risk taking and get more knowledge transformation and flow; Finally, building new organization structures and culture which are welcome flexibility and changes (Sushil, 2000).

4.3 Suggestion to HR practices

There are a number of HR activities that are particularly relevant to the promotion of organizational strategic flexibility and learning ability.

4.3.1 Selective Hiring

Effective hiring activity should be put on organizational leaders who are equipped with the knowledge about the business environment, the skill to analyse the may coming changes and the ability to responding quickly to those changes (Forbes, 2007). Organizations need to recruit and select professionals who can comprehend a complex organization structure and the requirements of a company in a dynamic business environment (Bartlett & Ghoshal, 2002). Also, they need to attract new employees who will contribute to the learning of the company through their abilities and values (Armstrong, 1995). Where organizations have identified a particular need or a gap in expertise, recruitment schemes can target new employees to fit such requirements (Susana Pérez López, Peón & Ordás, 2006).

4.3.2 Training

Organization should cultivate employees with the leadership potential for better prepare of the strategic flexibility demands and environment uncertainty. Also, training should develop people who are capable of absorbing internal and external information and turning it into useful organizational knowledge (Susana Pérez López et al., 2006). So, training programmes should not be conceived solely in terms of skill construction that implies immediate improvements in the carrying out of tasks, but should rather be analysed from a wider viewpoint (Gómez et al., 2004). Training also should be orientated towards developing a culture of flexibility and learning, and show employees and managers how their daily job, management framework and knowledge are linked to the company's strategy.

4.3.3 Compensation

In order to achieve strategic flexibility, reward and incentives should reinforce a risk-taking attitude in order to promote creativity in daily problem solving (Ulrich, 1998; Yahya & Goh, 2002). They should also stimulate knowledge exchange and sharing among organization (Yahya & Goh, 2002). Since the number of team-based activities is increasing, Group-based incentives, rather than individual rewards, should be implemented to reinforce cooperation between members, improving the dissemination, transfer and integration of knowledge (Susana Pérez et al., 2006).

4.3.4 Other practices

Some other HR policies and practices all should be involved, such as the flexible work design, which can attract and retain valuable workforce, so HR department should offer employees fluid job assignments rather than fixed jobs or positions (Dyer & Shafer, 1999). Furthermore, effective communication channels should be built to guarantee employees' voice and performance feedback (Dyer & Shafer, 1999). Also, employees' career development and work-life balance all should be considered by HRM.

5. Risk two---- workforce shortage

De-globalization, accompanied with the difficulties for organizational outsourcing (Allen & Raynor, 2004), will pose workforce shortage on some countries which are significant rely on migrants to take knowledgeable and skilled work, such as Australia (Patrickson & Hartmann, 2001), American (Konrad & Deckop, 2001) or Canada (Belout, Dolan & Saba, 2001), especially put barriers on the employment of IT workers and nurses (Patrickson & Hartmann, 2001). For example, forty percent of Australians are either themselves migrants or else children of migrants and almost one sixth speak a language other than English at home (Patrickson & Hartmann, 2001). So, how organizations in those countries deal with the possible workforce shortage?

5.1 Implication for business strategy ----- staffing and flexible employment

These challenges might lead organizational decision makers recognize staffing as a key strategic opportunity for enhancing competitive advantage (Ployhart, 2007). Because talent is rare, valuable, difficult to imitate, and hard to substitute, organizations that better attract, select, and retain this talent should outperform those that do not (Barney & Wright, 1998). Staffing is broadly defined as the process of attracting, selecting, and retaining competent individuals to achieve organizational goals (Ployhart, 2007). Furthermore, in order to attract the potential workers in facing the fierce

workforce competition, fostering favourable employer brand image should be addressed by organizational strategy since it can influence both applicant and organizational-level recruiting outcome (Collins & Stevens, 2002). Employer brand image offers a way for organizations to differentiate themselves among applicants, even when they cannot compete in terms of location or wages (Collins & Stevens, 2002; Ployhart, 2007). Finally, organizational strategy should develop the flexible employment patterns to get more workforce utilization from the domestic labour market.

5.2 Implication for HR

HR managers in those countries should respond to labour shortages by stepping up effective HR policies in attracting and retaining valuable workforce as well as establishing excellent employer brand. As for the adoption of flexible employment patterns, HR professionals can utilize workforce by using variations in employment contract, in work content, in working hours, in working location, in work structures or in the working environment (Hartmann & Patrickson, 2000). Furthermore, one potential solution is to incorporate contingent older workers into an integrated strategic human resource planning by new career management design (Shultz, 2001).

5.3 Suggestion to HR practices

Flexible work patterns are regarded as the key to efficient and effective utilisation of the available human resources (Holland & Deery, 2005) since labour can be matched ever more closely to the work requirement (Brewster, Mayne, Valverde & Kabst, 1997).

5.3.1 The adoption of flexible employment pattern

HR can help organization to meet the challenge of workforce shortage by using core-periphery workforce. According to Core-periphery employment model (see figure 1), the core workforce is characterised by permanent, highly skilled employees with internal career path, while peripheral workforce is associated with the organizational sectors that is undertaking day-to-day activities (Atkinson, 1984, cited in Holland & Deery, 2005), furthermore, the core or peripheral workforce needs supplementing the secondary peripheral workforce accommodate this through part-time, temporary work or subcontracting with minimal organizational commitment or disruption (Atkinson, 1984, cited in Holland & Deery, 2005). This model is to closely match organizational (Labour) resources with work demands, increasing the efficiency of the organization and dampening the effects of market volatility and uncertainty, thus increasing organizational effectiveness (Boxall & Purcell, 2003).

Those flexible employment patterns demands HR's considerate planning to ensure these work moulds are used and maintained to their full potential, to balance the changing requirements quickly with minimal disruption (Holland & Deery, 2005). Where an organization is seeking to develop internal flexibility, significant and long-term investment in ongoing training and development should be implemented in order to create and maintain the required skills, knowledge and expertise (Holland & Deery, 2005). For the core workforce, since they hold competitive skills and knowledge for organizational strength, HR should put emphasis on their retention and motivation. Also, with the tendency of the adoption of flexible work pattern, HR need to find new ways of involving and motivating the increasing number of part-timers, freelancers, contract workers and temporary staff who work on their premises (Bowers & Akhlaghi, 1999). From this perspective, HR should offer certain amount of training and development opportunities for peripheral workers, especially those who have the potential to be a skill or knowledge holders. Furthermore, HR needs to develop a pool of subcontractors or part-time employees who are available as and when required to maximise utilisation and organizational resources.

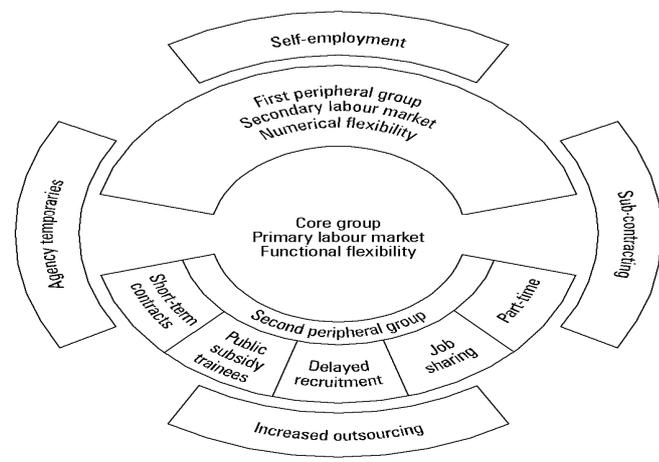


Figure 1. the flexible work pattern

HR is needed to determine the types of knowledge and skills needed in the workforce to carry out the firm's strategy, identify hiring and training needs, and align the performance management system with strategic goals (Konrad & Deckop, 2001). If the external outsourcing can not work, HR can still get the solution from domestic market. Such as internal talent development by special assignments; job rotation and action learning; hiring talent from other agents such as consultants and freelance contract workers; and contractually binding the most desired and talented employees to the organisation (Ulrich, 1998).

5.3.2 Attract, motivate and retain competitive workers

In order to attract valuable workforce, a compensation package that may include a sign-on bonus and funded further studies could be offered by organization (Horwitz, Heng & Quazi, 2003). As for the recruitment, HR can use head hunters, targeted advertisements and on-campus recruitment, focusing on those who has the potential for development and are seen to fit into the organizational culture easily (Horwitz, Heng & Quazi, 2003). HR managers should guarantee the recruitment practices provide details about the job and organization; selects and trains recruiters, treats applicants with fairness and respect, uses job-related procedures and explains the purpose of the selection process (Ployhart, 2007). Furthermore, using Web sites which are aesthetically pleasing and easy to use can get benefits from Internet recruitment (Ployhart, 2007).

As for the motivation and retention of those workers, the most effective strategies are offering them the satisfying compensation, a challenging work environment, the opportunities to develop in specialist, the freedom to plan work, and the encouragement from top management (Horwitz, Heng & Quazi, 2003; Thompson & Heron, 2002). So, HR needs to appropriate design the job to offer them more autonomy and freedom. The good communication between HR and top management also need to be established, by which HR can suggest top management give more support to those workers. The challenge work assignment should be offered to fulfil their demands for individual and career development. Other practices include willingness to share gains, effective communications, and individual consideration by respecting the dignity of the individual, providing enabling resources and enabling employees to acquire skills to increase their employability in both internal and external labour markets (Ulrich, 1998).

5.3.3 The utilization of mature workforce

HR can solve the workforce shortage by utilization the mature workforce. Many mature workers who have organizational demanded work experiences, skills and knowledge, are continuing to exit the labour market earlier and earlier (Shultz, 2001). HR could implement new career management policies for mature workers to utilize their knowledge, skills and experiences, as well as get the meet the challenge of workforce shortage.

Hence, the flexible management and programs that would help ease mature workers into retirement are needed. For example, the use of phased or partial retirements would likely ease the transition to retirement. In addition, retirees could be on a call back management or serve as consultants to their previous organization (Shultz, 2001). Other possibilities include flexitime or seasonal work when the employers demand the highest (Shultz, 2001). Part-time and job sharing options would also be desirable to many workers nearing or at retirement age. Mentor program can be designed by mature workers share one job with younger employees, by which to guarantee the knowledge and skill transfer from old employees to new employees.

6. Conclusion and future trends

Although de-globalization is only a possibility, companies, especially those with substantial business dealings around the world, should prepare themselves for the risks would bring about by de-globalization (Allen & Raynor, 2004). Constrained by words limitation, this paper only discussed two risks: uncertain business environment and workforce shortage. Business strategy should be adopted to meet those challenges and to satisfy the outside demands. HRM policies and practices, as a vital factor for strategic success, should be consistent with the business strategy in the planning and implementation process. So, in order to meet the challenge of uncertain business environment which requires the strategic flexibility and organizational learning ability, HR practices, including selection, training, compensation, and others, needs to satisfy those demands, to cultivate leadership which welcome flexibility, to form team work, and to build the flexible organizational structure and culture. For the workforce shortage, business strategy needs to address the staff and flexible employment issues, HR can assist those strategic achievements by the appropriate flexible work design, the effective practices to attract, motivate and retain valuable workforce, and the utilization of mature workers. In all, the successful adoption of business strategy requires HRM's just in time changes, cooperation and assistances, and HRM can made companies better adapt to the possible challenges of de-globalization.

7. Future research trends

There are pool of literatures examine the globalization and its effects on companies, while only dearth of papers observe the relationship between organizational strategy and de-globalization. So, the future research could put emphasis on the strategic adaptation in responding to the unpredictable and uncontrollable environment, and the organizational agility and resiliency building, by which to make more contribution to organizational health cultivation and development.

Furthermore, restricted by words limitation, only two risks are examined in this paper. While there are many other risks would bring about by de-globalization, such as international conflicts, terrorism and protectionism which also would make business strategic adoption. So, more researches are needed to discuss those issues and positive organizational reaction to those risks. Finally, this paper choose “best fit” approach to discuss the relationship between business strategy and HRM, the future study can examine the relationship between HRM and organizational performance in the possible context of de-globalization, such as using “best practice” approach.

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Western Tourists Perception of Malaysian Gastronomic Products

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Abstract

Continual efforts have been made by international organizations to discover new tourism products and activities that have the opportunity of being marketed and promoted. Gastronomy has been identified as one of the new tourism product which is directly relevant to the Malaysian context. At present gastronomy is a valuable source of attracting tourists from all over the world and this has led to the empirical investigation on western tourists perception of Malaysian gastronomic products (food, beverages and food cultures). The sample population was randomly selected among the western tourists at the Kuala Lumpur International Airport (KLIA) who had consumed and experienced these gastronomic products during their vacation in Malaysia. Predominantly the data were based on self-completed questionnaires. A series of statistical analyses were employed by looking at the frequencies, mean scores and standard deviation through descriptive and parametric statistics. The results revealed that the majority of western tourists perceived that Malaysia offered great choices of tasty and freshly prepared food, snacks and beverages. The western tourists also perceived that Malaysia owned a unique and exquisite identity of food culture. In addition, the findings demonstrated that the local gastronomic products can be a catalyst for boosting the local economy.

Keywords: Malaysia, Gastronomic products, Perception and western tourist

1. Introduction

Tourism plays a significant role in the economic and financial health of most economies (Goeldner and Ritchie, 2006; Hall, 2003; Mohd Hairi, Mohd Salehuddin, Muhammad Izzat and Zulhan, 2007). Most countries in Asia for example, rely more on tourism receipts than on income derived from the exports of agricultural products or manufactured goods. Thus, a lot of emphasis is placed on addressing the need to set up the right logistics and develop the right infrastructure to bring in planeloads of tourists from the developed world to the exotic locations. Money is spent on advertising places of attraction, building airports, connecting roads to hotels and training tourist guides to speak various world's important languages. According to Mohd Hairi et al. (2007), catering to the dietary habits of the tourists is a factor that is given low priority. The reason for this is that tourists by their very nature are hardy individuals who are willing to put up with a lot of discomfort in order to explore new and exotic locations a million miles from home. However, not much effort is made in many of these exotic locations to ensure that tourists are fed with nourishing meals which are hygienically prepared. It can be debated that a massive influx of tourists into a country is dependent on our sensitivity to their dietary requirement. However, if these dietary requirements are not properly fulfilled, tourists who encounter this bad experience will transmit it globally which in turn will deter others from venturing into such 'unhealthy' territory in future. For this reason, the food and beverage industry has an important role to play in tourism promotion. Apart from addressing the need for daily sustenance, local cuisine can be touted as an attraction in itself (Long, 1998; Johns and Kivela, 2001; Scarpato, 2002; Kivela and Crotts, 2006; Mohd Hairi et. al, 2007). The food that a nation consumes reflects its culture, history and heritage. These are the aspects that the tourists crave to see and learn when they hop on the largest Jumbo available and head for their next package tour.

Besides accommodation and other tourism activities, food, beverage and food cultures are now considered one of the most important elements in the tourism industry. Tourists can either commend or censure their destinations, based on their 'gastronomic encounter' in that country. In other words, destinations, food, beverages and food related activities are considered integral components of a travel experience and therefore they can be considered as tourism products (Santich, 2003; Mohd Hairi et. al, 2007).

1.1 Relevant Studies of Gastronomic Tourism in South East Asia

Gastronomy has become the driving force behind the revival of tourism for destinations that are struggling for one reason or another. For example, Croatia faced a Herculean task in rebuilding its tourism industry after the civil war that broke up in Yugoslavia from 1990 to 1995. At present, an integral part of its rebuilding program strongly features local food, regional cuisines, wine making and food customs. Similar examples can be drawn from countries such as Vietnam and Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia). It seems that, when dining out at a destination, tourists in effect consume 'ingredients' that satisfy their feelings and enhance their cultural experiences (Fields, 2002). The above notion explicitly signifies that gastronomic products cannot be detached from tourism and this is in line with Santich's (2003) quotation below;

"Gastronomy is an art of living, the possession of skills and knowledge relating to food and drink and their preference, which enhances the pleasure and enjoyment of eating and drinking. Such fulfilments are the essence of gastronomic tourism, which is developing as a subset of cultural tourism where the experience of participating in a different culture is central especially the foods and drinks"

The connection between gastronomy and tourism has led other researchers to study their connection (Quan and Wang, 2004; Bessiere, 1998; Henderson, 2000; Kivela and Crofts, 2006). Kivela and Crofts (2006) investigated the way tourists perceive and experience gastronomy while visiting a destination. Their study in particular was to determine if gastronomic tourists represent a distinct market segment of an overall tourist market in Hong Kong. The results showed that many tourists from Taiwan, Japan and Singapore and other countries collectively agreed that cuisines and gastronomy are one of the prime tourist attractions in Hong Kong. The majority of these respondents reported that besides engaging in other tourism activities, they also took the opportunity to enjoy Hong Kong's gastronomic products. Another study on tourists' experiences of gastronomic products was undertaken by Herderson (2000). The central focus of his study was the reputation of the hawkers' food and tourism in Singapore. Besides upscale restaurants, hawkers' food was also the most popular type of cuisine among the international tourists. In addition, hawkers' food is also essential in promoting the economy of this country. This result is evident and in line with what was found later by the Singapore Tourism Board (STB, 2004). As reported, most of the Singaporeans agreed that food was one of the attractions that enticed visitors to Singapore. As a result, the Singapore Tourism Board has included Singaporean food and other related food activities as the main promotional strategy of their tourism marketing plan. Thus, in recent years (2005-2007) Singapore has been hosting many international annual food events to lure travellers to visit the country. The Singapore Food Festival and the World Gourmet Summit were among the top festivals that showcased Singaporean food and cultural lifestyle and gained international recognition (STB, 2004). In fact, Singapore is seriously making food and food culture as one of its major tourism products.

Karim (2006) found that the food image of a destination and its information sources play a significant role in attracting tourists to visit a particular country. In his study on the food image of France, Italy and Thailand, Karim (2006) identified that each destination has its own unique food image that characterizes the destination. From the result of the study he suggested that projecting a suitable food image of a destination and utilising an appropriate marketing strategy through the dissemination of information could help in developing gastronomic tourism particularly for a destination that is rich in culinary heritage.

1.2 Malaysian Gastronomic Products

Malaysia is one of the well known countries in South East Asia with vast gastronomic products that can be offered to international tourists (Mohd Hairi et al., 2007). A multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multilingual society comprises Malays, Chinese, Indians and other ethnic groups who live side by side have formed the unique gastronomic products with a combination of ingredients and taste ranging from mild to spicy and from plain to sweet (Hutton, 2000 and Mohd Hairi et al. 2007). The styles of cooking, the types of equipment used and the way of serving food and beverages are also fascinating. Besides food and beverages, the uniqueness of Malaysian food cultures (food-related activities and events) that represent each ethnic group have become part and parcel of the Malaysian gastronomic products (Mohd Hairi et al., 2007). Most of these gastronomic products are derived either from religious or cultural events such as Hari Raya (Malay), Chinese New Year (Chinese) and Deepavali (Indian). Other famous food-related activities that portray the varieties of the Malaysian food cultures are the fare offered in open air night markets popularly known locally as pasar malam and street stall hawkers (Syed Amir, 1991 and Mohd Hairi et al., 2007). In addition, by visiting these places tourists will get the opportunity to watch closer the uniqueness of the traditional skills practised by the hawkers in preparing food. Malaysia has a traditional eating manner which is inherited and practised from one

generation to another. The most popular method of eating is to pile the plate with rice and other side dishes heaped on top and tucked in heartily using the fingers of the right hand among the Malays and Indian whilst the Chinese eat their food by using chopsticks (Syed Amir, 1991; Hutton, 2000; Mohd Hairi et al., 2007).

Looking at the uniqueness of food, beverages and food cultures, Malaysia is simply a gastronomic heaven (MOTOUR, 2007). Western tourists make up the largest proportion of the total number of tourists visiting Malaysia annually. This great influx of western tourists into Malaysia might be due to their attraction to the Malaysian gastronomic products. Despite this attraction, there is no evidence or report being documented on their perception of the Malaysian gastronomic products. Thus, there is a need to undertake such a study. This study seeks to discover the western tourists perception of the Malaysian gastronomic products as it can be useful in promoting these products to be one of the main attractive categories in the Malaysian tourism industry.

2. Research Methodology

To measure the overall western tourists perception of the Malaysian gastronomic products, a self experienced report through a questionnaire survey was chosen as a means of data gathering. This approach was opted to ensure that the information obtained would be based upon their actual experiences in consuming Malaysian food and beverages and exposing themselves to the food cultures during their period of vacation in Malaysia.

2.1 Research Instruments

The instrument was developed by the researchers from a review of literature of previous studies. The questionnaire was divided into four sections. Section A consisted of respondent's demographic variables such as gender, marital status, age, level of education and country of origin. While in Section B the travel patterns of the western tourists were identified. Section C measured the western tourists perception of the Malaysian gastronomic products (food, beverages and food cultures) using questions based on a 5 point Likert scale (5= Strongly Agree, 4= Agree, 3= Neither, 2= Disagree, 1= Strongly Disagree). In order to validate the quantitative results, two open-ended questions were probed in Section D. In ensuring the reliability and validity of the instrument developed, a pilot study has been conducted using 30 randomly selected western tourists at a few popular places around Kuala Lumpur namely on the busy streets of Jalan Bukit Bintang, Central Market, Kuala Lumpur Convention Centre (KLCC), and Midvalley Shopping Mall. After running a statistical reliability test (Cronbach's alpha), it was found that Section C of the instrument had a reliability of 0.7.

2.2 The Sample and Data Collection Process

The sample population collected for this study consisted of western tourists. These western tourists were selected due to their different food characteristics. The western food is totally different from most of the Asian and the Middle East cuisines. Their food normally consists of salad, beef, chicken, potatoes and others with a mild taste and low salt content as compared to most of the Asian and the Middle East food which is a lot more pungent and spicy in taste (Kittler and Sucher, 2004). In addition, Asian and the Middle East food share similar characteristics which make the food tastes familiar to the palate of the tourists who come from these regions (Kittler and Sucher, 2004). Therefore, tourists from Asia and the Middle East were not selected for this study because it will not give significant or meaningful results on how they perceive Malaysian gastronomic products. In the context of this study, western tourists are referred to those who come from the continent of Europe, America, Oceania and other western countries. In short they are also known as Caucasians (Painter, 2003; Baum, 2006).

The data were collected at KLIA as these tourists were considered to have tasted the local food and beverages or experienced other related food activities during their vacation in Malaysia before they left for their home countries. In other words, it could be argued the western tourists who were at the airport before their departure would have fully experienced the Malaysian gastronomic products. Thus, their responses would be based on their true experiences of their vacation.

Owing to the large number of western tourists visiting Malaysia, it would be difficult for a researcher to do a survey on all of them. As noted by Salkind (2003), in research investigations which involve several hundreds and even thousands of elements, it would be practically impossible to collect data from, or test or examine every element. He suggested that when the elements are large in number, it is better to study a sample rather than the entire population because this would lead to fewer errors in data collection and more reliable results. Based on this argument, the unrestricted or simple random sampling would be the most appropriate approach for the data collection process. Furthermore, Bryman and Cramer (1999) noted that simple random sampling, as its name implies is the process where every element in the population has a known and equal chance of being selected as a subject. In addition, this sampling design also offers the most generalizability and has the least bias compared to the other sampling methods (Sekaran, 2000; Holmes, Dahan and Ashari, 2005). The selection of respondents during the survey process was tightly controlled by asking the western tourists two screening questions. The first question was: "Where are you from?" If the tourists said that their country of origin was one of the stated western regions, the researcher would proceed to the

second question: "Have you consumed Malaysian food and beverages and also experienced the food related cultures during your vacation?" If the western tourists said "Yes", the questionnaires were given to them to get their responses on their experience with the Malaysian gastronomic products.

With regard to the sufficient number of respondents for this study, Roscoe (1975) noted that sample sizes larger than 30 and smaller than 500 are appropriate for most research. Owing to the time and budget constraints, the researchers could only afford to collect the data within fifteen to twenty days. Considering all these limitations, the questionnaires were successfully administered among the western tourists in November 2007 at KLIA. A total of 311 responses were obtained and subsequently coded and keyed-in using the SPSS version 14.0.

3. Analyses and Results

3.1 Characteristics of the Sample

The following tables present the overall dimensions of the respondents' profiles based on each independent variable used in the survey such as gender, age, and country of origin, marital status, occupation and level of education. In addition, questions such as length of stay, main purpose of visiting, frequency of visiting and type of food outlet western tourists dine at often during their holiday are also reported on.

Table 1. The number and percentage (%) of overall respondents reported by gender, marital status, age, level of education, occupation and country of origin

VARIABLES	n	%
Gender		
Male	169	54.3
Female	142	45.7
TOTAL	311	100
Marital Status		
Single	159	51.1
Married	152	48.9
TOTAL	311	100
Age		
18 – 29 years	61	19.6
30 – 39 years	93	29.9
40 – 49 years	80	25.7
50 – 59 years	49	15.8
60 years and above	28	9
TOTAL	311	100
Level of Education		
High School	37	11.9
Certificate/Diploma	56	18
Bachelor Degree	107	34.4
Master Degree	98	31.5
PhD	13	4.2
TOTAL	311	100
Occupation		
Student	36	11.6
Administrative/Clerk	60	19.3
Professional	113	36.3
Businessman	43	13.8
Retiree	32	10.3
Housewife	27	8.7

TOTAL	311	100
Country of Origin		
Australasia	72	23.2
North America	40	12.9
Europe	187	60.1
South Africa	12	3.9
TOTAL	311	100

As can be seen from Table 1, the sample comprises 54.3 % (n = 169) male respondents and 45.7 % (n = 142) female respondents. This is not surprising as most studies have proven that the propensity of travelling abroad among the male westerners is higher than the female westerners (Botterill and Crompton, 1996; Jianakoplos and Bernasek, 1998; Sundén and Surette, 1998; Benjamin, Choi and Strickland, 2006). With regard to marital status, 48.9 % (n = 152) of the respondents were married while 51.1 % (n = 159) were single. From the researchers' observation, most of the married respondents were accompanied by their spouses. It was also found that although some proportions of the respondents were single, they were actually with their friends. This indicates that the majority of the western tourists prefer to travel with their companions or groups as this would probably provide more security during the vacation.

The results also revealed that the majority of respondents were between 30 to 39 years old who made up 29.9 % of the total sample (n = 93) followed by 25.7 % (n = 80) of respondents who were between 40 to 49 years of age. The highest percentage of western tourists who responded to the survey were between 30 to 59 years old. This represents 71.4 % of the total respondents. It could be said from the result that most of the western tourists who visited Malaysia between 30 to 59 years old. This group is believed to have a higher interest in travelling and exploring new things. Therefore, this is the reason that encourages them to travel frequently as compared to the older age groups (60 years and above).

The results also indicated that 11.9 % (n = 37) of the respondents had high school qualifications, 18 % (n = 56) had certificates and diplomas, 34.4 % (n = 107) held Bachelor's degrees, 31.5 % (n = 98) possessed Master's degrees and 4.2 % (n = 13) were PhD holders. These results showed that there was a significant relationship between the level of education and employment. In the real term, an individual with a higher level of education is more successful in securing a higher job position and is therefore financially stable as compared to those with low educational levels (Shenoy, 2005). This is evident as the highest proportion of the western tourists who visited Malaysia were among the professionals (36.3 %, n = 113) compared to administrators (19.3 %, n = 60), businessmen (13.8 %, n = 43), students (11.6 %, n = 36), retirees (10.3 %, n = 32) and housewives (8.7 %, n = 27). These results supported previous studies by Yuan and McDonald, (1990), Basala and Klenosky (2001) and Shenoy (2003) which noted that the pattern and frequencies of travelling are higher among those with high disposable income compared to the other groups. It is interesting to note that the slightly higher students' response to this study was due to their universities semester break during that period.

It was predicted that when the questionnaire was developed earlier, the majority of the respondents were expected to come from the European continent as it consists of many countries with a large total number of population in the world. Moreover, they often travel between September and January every year due to the winter season in some of the western countries (MOTOUR, 2007). This holds true as the highest percentage of the western tourists in this study were from European continent which accounted for 60.1 % (n = 187) as opposed to 23.2 % (n = 72) from the Australasian region and 12.9 % (n = 40) from North America. The smallest proportion of western tourists (3.9 %) was from South Africa and the reason for this is that Malaysia is considered as a new and unfamiliar destination for them (MOTOUR, 2007).

Looking at the results of the travelling pattern of the western tourists who visited Malaysia, it was found that the majority of the western tourists travelled with their friends and spouses. According to Yuan and McDonald (1990), the reason for tourists who travel with their friends, family or spouses is to have a holiday. This notion is supported in the subsequent analysis whereby 63.3 % (n = 197) of the respondents travelled for the purpose of having a holiday against 13.8 % (n = 43) for business purposes, 6.4 % (n = 20) shopping, 9.6 % (n = 30) visiting friends and 5.5 % (n = 17) for other purposes. It is interesting to note that 1.3 % of the respondents who visited Malaysia were for the purpose of exploring the food and culture. These results are tabulated and shown in Table 2.

Table 2. The number and percentage (%) of overall respondents reported by purpose of visiting and length of stay

VARIABLES	n	%
Purpose of Visiting		
Holiday	197	63.3
Business	43	13.8
Visiting Friends	30	9.6
Shopping	20	6.4
Food and Culture	4	1.3
Others	17	5.5
TOTAL	311	100
Length of Stay		
3 nights and below	46	14.8
4-6 nights	33	10.6
7-9 nights	40	12.9
More than 10 nights	192	61.7
TOTAL	311	100
Frequency of Visit		
First Time	167	53.7
Second Time	72	23.2
Third Time	34	10.9
More Than three Times	38	12.2
TOTAL	311	100
Restaurant or Food Outlet Dined Often		
Hotel Restaurant/ Coffee House	83	26.7
Fast-food	22	7.1
Local Ethnic Restaurant	97	31.2
Local Food Court	45	14.5
Street Stall (Hawkers)	53	17.0
Friend or Relative's House	11	3.5
TOTAL	311	100

As the majority of western tourists visited Malaysia for the purpose of having a holiday, it is not surprising to see that these respondents reported that their average length of stay was more than 10 nights (61.7 %, n = 192) compared to 10.6 % respondents (n = 33) who stayed between 4 to 6 nights. This is followed by 12.9 % (n = 40) who stayed between 7 to 9 nights and 14.8 % (n = 46) who stayed less than 3 nights. It could be summed up from the finding that the average length of stay among the western tourists in Malaysia is 6 nights. This is in line with Ibrahim (2007) who revealed that the average length of stay of the Arab tourists who visited Malaysia was 6 nights. According to the Ministry of Tourism (2007), besides the Arab tourists, western tourists are also one of the important target markets for the Malaysian tourism industry because of their high currency exchange rate and spending power. Therefore, their prolong length of stay in Malaysia would eventually constitute a source of income for the country. It is also interesting to note that those who stayed less than 3 nights were perhaps businessmen.

On the frequency of visit, 53.7 % (n = 167) visited Malaysia for the first time, followed by 23.2 % (n = 72) visited Malaysia for the second time and 12.2 % (n = 34) visited this country for more than three times. The reason for the higher percentage of those western tourists who visited Malaysia for the first time was probably due to the extensive promotion of the Visit Malaysia Year 2007 campaign by the Malaysian tourism industry. On the other hand, those who visited this country more than three times were most likely to be the businessmen.

The next section discusses the analyses on the western tourists perception of the Malaysian gastronomic products.

3.2 Analyses on the Western Tourists Perception of the Malaysian Gastronomic Products

The western tourists perception of the Malaysian gastronomic products was examined using mean scores. The mean scores of the respondents' perception are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. The mean scores of respondents' perception of Malaysian gastronomic products

Item No.	ITEMS	n	Mean (M)	S.D
1.	Malaysia offers great choices of food and beverages	311	4.45	.684
2.	Most of the Malaysian food and beverages are freshly prepared	311	3.74	.991
3.	Most of the Malaysian food and beverages are well accepted	311	3.90	.838
4.	Despite exploring the country, my intention is also to learn the Malaysian food, beverages and food cultures	311	4.00	.952
5.	The identity of each of Malaysian ethnic groups can be seen through their food and beverages	311	4.06	.813
6.	Malaysia also offers a great kind of snack food (crackers, preserved foods)	311	3.75	.972
7.	The taste of most Malaysian snacks is acceptable	311	3.83	.859
8.	Some of the Malaysian food and beverages are recognized internationally	311	3.24	.971
9.	Most of the Malaysian snacks are as good as imported ones	311	3.19	.989
10.	The taste of local canned beverages is acceptable as the imported ones	311	3.03	1.134
11.	The quality of Malaysian canned beverages is as good as freshly prepared	311	2.82	.987
12.	Most of Malaysian beverages look attractive	311	3.60	1.014
13.	Most of the Malaysian food is salty	311	2.29	1.106
14.	Most of the Malaysian food is good in taste	311	4.15	.776
15.	Most of the Malaysian food is served hot	311	3.81	1.118
16.	The aroma of the Malaysian food is adorable	311	3.92	.926
17.	Most of the Malaysian food contains too much carbohydrate	311	2.23	1.266
18.	Most of the Malaysian food is too spicy	311	4.02	1.213
19.	Most of the Malaysian food uses too much chili paste	311	4.11	1.228
20.	Most of the Malaysian main dishes are oily	311	3.60	1.200
21.	Most of the Malaysian delicacies and beverages are too sweet	311	4.01	.989
22.	Malaysian food culture practice is unique	311	3.95	1.063
23.	Malaysian food culture has its own identity as other Asian countries	311	3.77	.947
24.	The way most Malaysian food and beverages are prepared attracts me	311	4.01	.919
25.	Some of the Malaysian cooking styles are attractive	311	4.07	.666
26.	The use of traditional equipment in preparing some of the Malaysian food truly portrays a Malaysian culture	311	3.69	.846
27.	Malaysia is rich in traditional eating manners	311	3.90	.835
28.	Different styles of different ethnic groups' eating manners represent the uniqueness of Malaysian food culture	311	3.95	.898
29.	Food culture activities such as night markets, bazaars and food events and festivals are one of the main attractions of Malaysian food culture	311	3.94	.914
30.	Hawkers stall and open food court concept are another unique Malaysian food culture	311	3.89	.999

The mean scores above show that the majority of respondents perceived that Malaysia offers great choices of food and beverages. This can clearly be seen from a greater level of agreement ($M= 4.45$, item 1) given to this item. The respondents also agreed that most of the Malaysian food and beverages are freshly prepared ($M = 3.71$, item 2) and the Malaysian food and beverages are well accepted by them ($M=3.90$, item 3). They also reported that besides exploring the country, their intention was to learn about Malaysian food, beverages and food cultures ($M= 4.00$, item 4) and they agreed that the identity of each of the Malaysian ethnic groups can be seen through their food and beverages ($M=4.06$, item 5). A similar view was also given to the local snack food and canned beverages. The respondents believed that Malaysia offers a great kind of snack food ($M = 3.75$, item 6) and the taste of these snacks is mostly acceptable ($M = 3.75$, item 7). These results show that Malaysia is rich in the varieties of food, snacks, beverages and food culture practice due to the multiracial society which comprises Malays, Chinese and Indians. Therefore, the western tourists have more choices of food and beverages while visiting Malaysia.

However, despite this perception, the respondents were still not really sure that some of the Malaysian food and beverages are internationally recognized ($M= 3.24$, item 8). Similar notion was given to whether the local snacks ($M = 3.19$, item 9) and canned beverages ($M = 3.06$, item 10) are as good as the imported ones. In addition, they were also not sure that the quality of the canned beverages is as good as the freshly prepared ones ($M = 2.82$, item 11). However, a few of them agreed that some of the local beverages do look attractive ($M = 3.60$, item 12). The western tourists might be uncertain in rating the Malaysian gastronomic products due to their unfamiliarity with some of the Malaysian food, snacks, beverages and canned beverages. These results present the whole scenario of Malaysian food and beverages whereby various kinds of food and beverages are being offered but only a few are internationally recognized.

In an effort to identify the western tourists perception on the general characteristics of Malaysian food and beverages, 10 items were probed in the instrument. The results showed that the respondents slightly disagreed with the statement that most of Malaysian food is too salty ($M = 2.29$, item 13). With that view they perceived most of the Malaysian food is tasty ($M = 4.15$, item 14), the food is being served hot ($M = 3.81$, item 15) with adorable aromas ($M = 3.92$, item 16) and they believed the food does not contain much carbohydrate ($M = 2.23$, item 17). Nevertheless, most of them agreed that Malaysian food is too spicy ($M = 4.02$, item 18). This notion is supported whereby most of the tourists agreed on the substantial amount of chilli paste used in most of the Malaysian food ($M = 4.11$, item 19). Similar view was given to the use of cooking oil especially in the main dishes preparation ($M = 3.68$, item 20). In fact, the respondents believed that most of the local delicacies and beverages are too sweet ($M = 4.01$, item 21). All these points indicated that the majority of western tourists probably had preconceived ideas about the characteristics of Malaysian food and beverages through the mass media (books, magazines, newspapers and brochures) and the internet before visiting this country or they had already experienced some of the food while on vacation.

Hegarty and O'Mahony (1999) noted that besides consuming the local food and beverages, tourists are indirectly experiencing the local food culture practice of the country visited. Food culture practice is related to food preparation, cooking styles, cooking utensils used and eating manners. In addition, they argued that tourists will also experience other related food culture activities such as food festivals and events, religious festivals and food kiosks or street stalls during their vacation. In line with this notion, the analyses on the western tourists perception of Malaysian food cultures revealed that the majority of the respondents perceived Malaysia has a very unique food culture ($M = 3.95$, item 22) with exquisite identity ($M = 3.77$, item 23). With this perception, it is not surprising that a substantial number of respondents agreed that some of the Malaysian cooking styles are attractive ($M = 4.07$, item 24) and they were attracted by the way Malaysian food and beverages are prepared ($M = 4.01$, item 25). In addition, they perceived that the use of traditional cooking equipment in preparing some of the food truly portrays a Malaysian culture ($M= 3.69$, item 26)

Besides the traditional cooking styles and cooking equipment used, the respondents seemed to agree that Malaysia has its traditional eating manners ($M = 3.90$, item 27) and they believed that the different styles of eating manners by different ethnics contribute to the uniqueness of its food culture ($M = 3.95$, item 28). In actual fact, this perception can be confirmed, as the major ethnics in this country are practising different eating styles. For instance, the traditional Malays and Indians use their right hand fingers when eating while the Chinese use the chopsticks. Therefore, it can be argued that the western tourists probably have seen those eating styles or experienced it themselves during their vacation.

Another interesting result worth highlighting is related to food related activities such as night markets, bazaars, food events and festivals. The results revealed that the respondents somewhat agreed that such mentioned activities are one of the main attractions of the Malaysian food culture. This is proven by the mean score ($M = 3.94$, item 29) given to this item. They also considered that the street stall hawkers and open food court concepts as part of the Malaysian food culture activities ($M = 3.89$, item 30). Again, this result indicated that the western tourists had the chance of experiencing those activities or had seen them.

Thus, it can be seen that some of the notable findings with regard to the general western tourists perception of the Malaysian gastronomic products are obtained in the analyses.

3.3 Open-ended Responses

Two open-ended questions were probed to corroborate the differences and similarities of all the findings attained in the quantitative section analysis. The first question asked the respondents of 'In general, how do you perceive Malaysian food and beverages?' The results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Number of responses to the item 'In general, how do you perceive Malaysian food and beverages?'

No.	VARIABLES	n	%
1.	Cheap and reasonable price	34	10.9
2.	Hot and spicy	57	18.3
3.	Nice and tasty	71	22.8
4.	Variety of food and beverages	98	31.5
5.	Freshly prepared and healthy	51	16.4

Overall, 31.5 % or 98 respondents perceived that Malaysia has a wide assortment of food and beverages whilst 16.4 % or 51 respondents admitted that Malaysian food and beverages are freshly prepared and healthy. 71 respondents (22 %) viewed that Malaysian food and beverages are nice and tasty. These answers correspond and support the high mean score given by the respondents to similar items in the quantitative section. In addition, 34 respondents or 10.9 % stated that the price of the local food and beverages are cheap and affordable. Some respondents' answers are as follows:

** Foods are tasty and freshly prepared. The price is cheap and I love it.*

** Very good food, good taste and cheap*

** I enjoyed the Malaysian food so much and it is sold everywhere with reasonable price*

The above answers hold true as the current exchange rate of the Malaysian Ringgit is lower compared to other western countries. Therefore, the spending powers on the food and other related tourism activities among the western tourists are considerably higher. However, despite such perceptions 18.3 % or 57 respondents reported that Malaysian food is hot and spicy. This can clearly be seen with some of the comments given by them:

** Different from other country, variety of choices unfortunately most of them are too hot.*

** The taste of local food is good but too spicy for me.*

** Good taste but generally too spicy. I am not used to hot and spicy food.*

** I like Malaysian food but sometimes it too hot and spicy.*

These statements uphold the argument that the western tourists did enjoy some of the Malaysian food except that they were slightly displeased with the hot and spicy food. This is probably due to the nature of their taste buds which are used to mild food. Again, the answers correspond and support well with the high mean score given to similar items found in the quantitative section.

The second open-ended question identified respondents' opinion on the Malaysian food, beverages and food cultures as part of their tourism experience. The answers received were categorized into three groups (Table 5).

Table 5. Number of responses to the item 'Overall, do you think that Malaysian food, beverages and food cultures are part of your tourism experience?'

No.	VARIABLES	n	%
1.	Yes, can be part of tourism products	224	72.0
2.	No	50	16.1
3.	Not much or unsure	37	11.9

The above responses show that, it is very difficult to deny that the western tourists rejected Malaysian food, beverages and food cultures or gastronomic products as part of their tourism experience. This is evident as 72 % or 224 respondents answered 'Yes' to this question. This is further supported by a small proportion of respondents who opposed or who were not sure of the idea. The higher percentage of western tourists who affirmed that Malaysian gastronomic products were part of their tourism experience can be inferred as genuine and taken as valid.

4. Recommendations and Conclusion

The findings of this study revealed that the majority of the western tourists positively perceived that besides other tourism activities and products, Malaysia offers a great selection of food, beverages and food culture (gastronomic products) to attract the tourists. With this perception, it is also clearly shown that these products can be used in addition to other tourism products as catalyst to boost the local economy. In line with this statement, those individuals (business operators), organizations (travel agencies and non-government organizations) and government authorities (Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage, Ministry of Agricultural and Ministry of Rural Development) who are closely associated with the tourism industry therefore should not ignore this good sign but take a proactive action in promoting these gastronomic products to the tourists because these products can be the 'pulling-factors' of visiting Malaysia.

As for the food operators (restaurants, hawker stalls or food courts) particularly those who operate their business at frequently visited areas by the international tourists should therefore take this opportunity to promote and provide more varieties of local ethnic food and beverages which are of good quality, clean and decently presented. In addition, as the western tourists perceive that the taste of local food and beverages are too spicy and sweet, food operators should consider these aspects when preparing these products.

Travel agencies and other tour organizers should offer more tour packages specifically focusing on food and food culture, indigenous cuisines, dining out, cooking and shopping for food at local markets. This is in line with Kivela and Crofts (2006) who noted that many international tour agencies and tour organizers around the world have included the gastronomic products as part of their tour itineraries and consequently this has successfully attracted more international tourists to participate in those activities. This approach has been proven to be successful in marketing and promoting the exquisiteness of the local gastronomic products.

In addition, the Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Culture, Art and Heritage and Ministry of Agricultural should play a significant role in promoting this country internationally as they are the government authorities who are responsible in this matter. Thus, the Ministry of Tourism through the Malaysian Tourism Promotional Board should now focus on offering gastronomic products to the tourists whereby previously it had been concentrating on the beautiful islands, exquisite flora and fauna and enchanting traditional culture. The government should also aspire to be a 'gastronomic paradise' and this is in line with the statement made by the previous Director General of Tourism Malaysia:

"Food has become an important tourism product for our country as it enriches the experience of the visiting tourist. We are certainly ready to entice travellers to our shores and offer them a flavour of Malaysia Truly Asia. I commend the organiser for promoting Malaysia as a food paradise, in line with the Malaysian Government's aspirations"

(YB, Dato' Tengku Adnan Tengku Mansor, 2007)

In order to realize this aspiration, several promotional strategies are presently undertaken. The government through the Economy Planning Unit (EPU) introduced a project called 'Malaysian Kitchen' in 2006 to increase the number of Malaysian restaurants all over the globe to popularize the Malaysian gastronomic products internationally. Besides 'Malaysian Kitchen', there are many other promotional activities that have been launched namely creative cooking tours, food related events (Open houses and other Malaysian festivals), Malaysia International Gourmet Festival and Halal Hub program in an effort of boosting the Malaysian gastronomic products locally and internationally (MOTOUR, 2007). From such promotional ventures, they do not only generate foreign income through the sales of food overseas but also popularize the Malaysian gastronomic products among the potential international tourists. The government or the responsible authorities should continuously organize these events perhaps on a bigger scale as they can be used as a platform to introduce Malaysia as a paradise for epicureans.

As a conclusion, the collaboration and cooperation of food operators, travel agencies and government related authorities and other stakeholders are therefore crucial or should be further strengthened if the 'total tourism experience' among the international tourists in this country is to be achieved. The wonderful tourism products in this country would be left wasted if such commonality of approach is not developed.

5. Limitations

Although the results highlighted a range of interesting and significantly meaningful findings, there were also several limitations encountered during the research process. Firstly, the majority of respondents who participated in this study were the western tourists who were waiting for the international flight departure to their countries. However, little participation was obtained from the transit passengers because they showed no interest to participate in the survey. This is due to the fact that transit passengers were in a rush and they were actually waiting in the 'waiting lounge' which was too costly for the researchers to engage the transit airport security for assistance. It would be more beneficial for the study if the transit passengers could participate in the survey. Therefore, if there are enough resources, replication and further research should also be employed in the waiting lounge area. The second limitation is related to the location of data collection. Again, due to the time and budget constraints, KLIA was only chosen for

collecting the information from the western tourists. Hence, it could be said that more colourful insights of the findings could be obtained if other airports such as Penang, Langkawi, Kuching and Kota Kinabalu are being included as a survey location. Indeed, there is a need to expand this present study by looking at a broader scope especially on the other minority ethnic groups' gastronomic products namely Eurasians, Peranakans (Babas and Nyonyas) and those tribes in the Borneo region (Sabah and Sarawak). Such work will give a thorough picture and understanding on tourists perception of the Malaysian gastronomic products. In addition, to examine whether this perception holds true, a study on the western tourists' level of consumption of the Malaysian food, beverages and food culture needs to be conducted in the future.

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The Impact of Second Language Proficiency on Chinese ESL Learners' English Word Recognition

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Abstract

This study investigated the impact of Chinese ESL learners' second language (L2) proficiency on English word recognition in a lexical decision task. The study focused on the interaction among one between-participant variable (L2 proficiency) and three within-participant variables (orthographic neighborhood density, word frequency, and words/nonwords). ANOVA and two-tailed t-test indicated that: the accuracy (ACC) differences to orthographic neighborhood density (High/Low N), word frequency (High/Medium/Low F) and words/nonwords between high/low L2 proficiency (High/Low P) participants were significant respectively, while reaction time (RT) was not. In terms of ACC, highly-proficient Chinese ESL learners performed better using words with N, F, words/nonwords factors than low-proficient ones. In conclusion, higher L2 proficiency facilitated Chinese ESL learners' English word recognition in a lexical decision task blocked by N, F, words/nonwords factors.

Keywords: Chinese ESL learners, Second language proficiency, Neighborhood effects, Word frequency, Word recognition, Lexical decision

1. Introduction

Second language (L2) proficiency-how well a person can understand and use a second language coupled with their language learning experience-is likely to affect the way L2 words and meanings are accessed, processed, and represented in the mind. A range of behavioral psycholinguistic studies (Bijeljacabic et. al, 1997; Chen, 1990; Cheung & Chen, 1998; Dufour & Kroll, 1995; Gascoigne, 2001) have primarily addressed the question of how proficiency (variously defined) affects the strength of connections between forms, concepts and words in the second language mental lexicon.

In alphabetic writing system some studies have been conducted with respect to L2 proficiency with different experimental methods, the native languages of the participants, research focuses, etc (Wang, L., 2003; Kotz, S.A., & Elston-Guttler, K., 2004). In particular, van Heuven (1998) manipulated L2 proficiency in a behavioral experiment. Two groups of participants (all native speakers of Dutch) were selected, differing in their proficiency in English. The two groups of participants were not perfectly balanced bilinguals, and were assumed to differ with respect to their L2 proficiency. The participants were instructed to identify and enter the words appearing on the screen as quickly and

accurately as possible in a progressive demasking experiment.

However, few empirical researches have been done concerning the impact of Chinese ESL learners' L2 proficiency on English word recognition in China. The aims of this study were to explore the impact of Chinese ESL learners' L2 proficiency (High/Low P) on English word recognition in a lexical decision task blocking by orthographic neighborhood density (High/Low N), word frequency (High/Medium/Low F), words/nonwords factors. The stimulus materials of this experiment were mainly based on those of van Heuven et al. (1998), and some research findings were made comparison as well.

The current study applied three within-participant variables: H/L N, H/M/L F and words/nonwords. Coltheart et al. (1977)'s definition of an orthographic neighbor (i.e., any word that can be created by changing one letter of the stimulus item, preserving letter positions) has been adopted by virtually all researchers in this field to date. This is why the neighborhood of a word has been defined as the set of neighbors of that word. Neighborhood density implies the number of neighbors. The word frequency item used in this study is the objective occurrences in a vocabulary database. Nonword is constructed by changing one letter in an English word, orthographically and phonologically legal letter string (bigram analysis ensures that only legal combinations are included) (e.g., face & fact).

2. Method

2.1 Participants

149 postgraduate students (Chinese-English bilinguals) from various majors of Dalian University of Technology participated, 113 non-English majors and 36 English majors. They all passed the National English Entrance Examination for Postgraduate Study (NEEEPS) except the students guaranteed for postgraduate study without entrance examination. The English majors all passed Test for English Majors Band 8 (TEM 8), and the non-English majors all passed College English Test Band 4 (CET 4) (Some passed CET 6.). No participant had a known reading or speech disorder and all had normal or corrected-to-normal vision. Before the experiment all participants completed a questionnaire concerning their English proficiency (NEEEPS, TEM4/8, CET4/6) and personal information (major, age, gender, handedness, etc). The participants were at different levels of L2 proficiency (different bilingual status), and they were not perfectly balanced bilinguals. The age range is from 21 to 26, and the mean age is 24.

2.2 Materials: stimulus selection

All the experiment stimuli are those used by van Heuven et al. (1998). First, a list of English four-letter words was extracted from the CELEX database (Baayen et al., 1993). Only nouns, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs with a printed frequency of at least 2 occurrences per million (o.p.m.) were selected. For each target word, the number of neighbors was calculated (following Coltheart et al., 1977).

Two conditions of items were defined by orthogonally varying the number of neighbors (N): (1) words with many neighbors (HN), (2) words with few neighbors (LN). Each condition consisted of 40 words, mostly nouns and adjectives. In addition, the word frequency of all items was calculated by Wordsmith Tools in Brown Corpus. The Brown Corpus of Standard American English is the first of the modern, computer readable, general corpora. The corpus consists of one million words of American English texts. The texts for the corpus were sampled from 15 different text categories to make the corpus a good standard reference. Wordsmith Tools, user-friendly and powerful package software, provide six analytical tools, namely Concord Tool, *Wordlist Tool*, KeyWords Tool, Text Converter Tool, Splitter Tool, and Viewer Tool, each for specific text analysis tasks. Here the *Wordlist Tool* was used to calculate the frequency of the words chosen from the Brown Corpus. The word frequency was divided into three categories: low frequency (LF), words with a frequency of less than 20 o.p.m.; medium frequency (MF), words with a frequency between 20 and 50 o.p.m.; and high frequency (HF), words with a frequency of at least 50 o.p.m.

All 80 words were included in the experiment along with 80 nonwords. Each nonword was constructed by changing one letter in an English word (not a target word in the experiments) in such a way that it formed an orthographically and phonologically legal letter string in both languages (bigram analysis ensured that only legal combinations were included). Analogous to the word conditions, two experimental nonword conditions were defined with respect to the number of neighbors in English, each consisting of 40 nonwords: (1) nonwords with many neighbors in English (high N), (2) nonwords with few neighbors in English (low N).

2.3 Design

Participants saw one block of items. Stimulus selection was described above and can be summarized as follows. The block consisted of 160 items, 80 words (40 HN, 40 LN) and 80 nonwords (40 HN, 40 LN), and 80 words were divided into H/M/L F. Three factors (2×3×2) were examined in the experiment: N, F, words/nonwords. The block consisted of 8 practice trials and 152 experiment trials. Each participant saw a different randomized order of test items within a block.

2.4 Procedure

Presentation of the visual stimuli and recording of the RT (reaction time) was controlled by laptop computer with

E-Prime software. E-Prime is a program that can be used to run psychological experiments. It presents lists of stimuli that are prepared and specified by the user, collects responses, saves the RT and correct/error responses in a data file for later analysis. RT were measured at a 1 ms accuracy by pressing the left/right side of the mouse. The words consisted of black Courier capital letters (18 points) presented at the center of the computer screen on a white background. Participants were tested individually. Before the experiment, participants were informed about their task by means of written instructions. They were told that a series of letter strings would appear on the screen, one after the other, and that they had to decide as quickly and as accurately as possible whether each of the presented items was a word or not. Responses were made by pressing the left/right side of the mouse with the forefingers of their right hands. The participants were asked to press the left side of the mouse when the stimulus was a real word and the right side of the mouse when it was a nonword. When the participants had read the instructions, the experiment began with the 8 practice trials. After the practice trials the participants could read the instructions and then press the space for the experiment trials. 152 experimental stimuli were presented to each participant in a random order. Prior to the presentation of each stimulus word, the symbol “+” was presented at the center of the screen where the stimulus word was to appear. The symbol “+” disappeared after 500 ms and were immediately followed by the stimulus. The stimulus remained on the screen until a deadline of 2000 ms was reached, or until the participant had pressed one side of the mouse. The interval between two successive trials was 500 ms. Experiment lasted about fifteen minutes.

3. Results

Due to the fact that in the experiment all the valid data are those whose accuracy rate is over 60% (according to the L2 proficiency of the participants), whereas the data whose accuracy rate is below 60% are invalid (8 invalid participants data). The 8 invalid data all come from non-English majors, so the valid data are those of 141 participants (36 English majors, 105 non-English majors). All the behavioral experiment data were analyzed with SPSS 13.0, which is a statistical and data management package for analysts and researchers. ANOVA (analyses of variance) was performed on mean reaction time (RT), mean ACCRT (RT based on accuracy) and mean accuracy (ACC).

The data of participants were categorized into two kinds of proficiency groups with regard to the following two perspectives: (1) 36 English majors as HP group, 36 non-English majors as LP group (randomly chosen from the 105 non-English majors); (2) based on the mean NEEEPS score of all 105 non-English majors, 47 non-English majors as HP group, 40 non-English majors as LP group.

3.1 Reaction time data

RT data concerning one between-participant variable and three within-participant variables will be analyzed below.

3.1.1 Proficiency (English v.s. non-English majors) and three within-participant variables

Proficiency & three within-participant variables: RT was not significant between English (HP) and non-English (LP) majors [$F(1, 70) = 2.416$; $p=0.125$]. HP participants did not show any advantage over LP participants in RT.

Proficiency & N: neither HN nor LN showed significant difference between HP/LP participants [$F(1, 70) = 2.998$; $p=0.088$] [$F(1, 70) = 1.801$; $p=0.184$]. HP participants were not faster than LP participants in response to HN/LN words.

Proficiency & F: none of HF/MF/LF produced significant difference between HP/LP participants [$F(1, 70) = 1.212$; $p=0.275$] [$F(1, 70) = 1.218$; $p=0.274$] [$F(1, 70) = 0.783$; $p=0.379$]. In term of HF/MF/LF words RT, no significant difference was found between HP and LP participants.

Proficiency & words/nonwords: neither words nor nonwords indicated significant difference between HP/LP participants [$F(1, 70) = 1.143$; $p=0.289$] [$F(1, 70) = 3.049$; $p=0.085$]. No evidence could be found that HP participants reacted faster to words/nonwords than LP participants.

3.1.2 Proficiency (high-score v.s. low-score non-English majors) and three within-participant variables

Proficiency & three within-participant variables: RT was not significant between high-score non-English (HP) and low-score non-English (LP) majors [$F(1, 85) = 0.085$; $p=0.772$]. HP participants did not show any advantage over LP participants in RT.

Proficiency & N: neither HN nor LN presented significant difference between HP/LP participants [$F(1, 85) = 0.016$; $p=0.901$] [$F(1, 85) = 0.196$; $p=0.659$]. HP participants were not faster than LP participants in response to HN/LN words.

Proficiency & F: none of HF/MF/LF yielded significant difference between HP/LP participants [$F(1, 85) = 1.268$; $p=0.263$] [$F(1, 85) = 0.054$; $p=0.817$] [$F(1, 85) = 0.000$; $p=0.991$]. In term of HF/MF/LF words RT, no significant difference was found between HP and LP participants.

Proficiency & words/nonwords: neither words nor nonwords revealed significant difference between HP/LP participants [$F(1, 85) = 0.099$; $p=0.754$] [$F(1, 85) = 0.057$; $p=0.812$]. No evidence could be found that HP participants reacted faster to words/nonwords than LP participants.

3.2 Accuracy data

Accuracy data analysis is also with regard to one between-participant variables and three within-participant variables.

3.2.1 Proficiency (English v.s. non-English majors) and three within-participant variables

Proficiency & three within-participant variables: Accuracy was significant between English and non-English majors [$F(1, 70) = 23.402$; $p < 0.001$]. HP participants showed advantages over LP participants in accuracy. (Table 1)

Proficiency & N: both HN and LN showed significant difference between HP/LP participants [$F(1, 70) = 17.217$; $p < 0.001$] [$F(1, 70) = 25.143$; $p < 0.001$]. HP participants were more accurate than LP participants in response to both HN and LN words.

Proficiency & F: H/L F produced significant difference and MF produced marginally significant difference between HP/LP participants [$F(1, 70) = 4.043$; $p < 0.05$] [$F(1, 70) = 3.286$; $p = 0.074$] [$F(1, 70) = 11.712$; $p = 0.001$]. In term of HF/LF words accuracy, significant difference was found between HP and LP participants; with regard to MF words accuracy, marginally significant difference was found between HP and LP participants.

Proficiency & words/nonwords: both words and nonwords indicated significant difference between HP/LP participants [$F(1, 70) = 11.960$; $p = 0.001$] [$F(1, 70) = 11.292$; $p = 0.001$]. So evidence could be found that HP participants reacted more accurately to words/nonwords than LP participants.

3.2.2 Proficiency (high-score v.s. low-score non-English majors) and three within-participant variables

Proficiency & three within-participant variables: Accuracy was significant between high-score non-English and low-score non-English [$F(1, 85) = 5.724$; $p < 0.05$]. HP participants showed advantages over LP participants in accuracy. (Table 2)

Proficiency & N: LN presented significant difference and HN showed marginally significant difference between HP/LP participants [$F(1, 85) = 2.997$; $p = 0.087$] [$F(1, 85) = 6.110$; $p < 0.05$]. HP participants were more accurate than LP participants in response to HN/LN words.

Proficiency & F: HF yielded significant difference, MF marginally significant difference, LF no significant difference between HP/LP participants [$F(1, 85) = 4.687$; $p < 0.05$] [$F(1, 85) = 3.307$; $p = 0.073$] [$F(1, 85) = 0.065$; $p = 0.799$]. In term of HF words accuracy, significant difference was found between HP and LP participants; with respect to MF words accuracy, marginally significant difference was found between HP and LP participants; with regard to LF words accuracy, no significant difference was found between HP and LP participants.

Proficiency & words/nonwords: neither words nor nonwords revealed significant difference between HP/LP participants [$F(1, 85) = 0.705$; $p = 0.404$] [$F(1, 85) = 2.606$; $p = 0.110$]. No evidence could be found that HP participants reacted more accurately to words/nonwords than LP participants.

4. Discussion

The interaction among one between-participant variables and three within-participant variables will be discussed respectively in this part.

4.1 Proficiency (English v.s. non-English majors) and three within-participant variables

With respect to the interaction between P (English v.s. non-English majors) and three within-participant variables (N, F, words/nonwords), HP participants showed advantages over LP participants in accuracy but not in RT. As for N factor, HP participants responded more accurately to both HN and LN words than LP participants. As for F factor, HP participants responded more accurately to HF/MF/LF words than LP participants as well. As for words/nonwords factor, HP participants responded more accurately to both words and nonwords than LP participants again. It is obvious that higher L2 proficiency facilitated Chinese ESL learners' English word recognition performance (in accuracy) in a lexical decision task blocked by N, F, words/nonwords factors.

In a progressive demasking task van Heuven et al. (1998) found that "the proficiency manipulation was not very effective, since proficiency neither yielded a significant main effect nor interacted with the neighborhood density factors". They further concluded the hypothesis that "high proficiency participants are able to exert a certain degree of control over the relative activity of their lexica clearly deserves further investigation" (also see Dijkstra et al., 1998). Although with different experiment paradigms, the above findings of the current study may contribute to the explanation that high proficiency participants are able to exert a certain degree of control over the relative activity of their lexica.

With respect to words/nonwords factor, highly-proficient Chinese ESL learners also performed with more accuracy to words and nonwords than low-proficient ones in English word recognition. In a lexical decision task with the same stimuli, van Heuven et al. (1998) observed that "the monolingual (English) and bilingual (Dutch & Dutch) participant groups showed the same type of effect, slower RT to nonwords when the number of English neighbors of the nonword

targets increased (inhibitory). That is to say nonwords with large neighborhoods take longer to reject than nonwords with small neighborhoods for both bilinguals and monolinguals". They further concluded "the presence in that experiment of target items from the native language of the bilingual participants had a pervasive effect on nonword responses". When bilinguals read or listen to words in their L2, information about words in their first language (L1) is also active (e.g., Dijkstra & van Heuven, 2002; Jared & Kroll, 2001; Marian & Spivey, 2003). Chinese ESL learners with high proficiency seem to be able to exert higher degree of control over the relative activity of their lexica (here Chinese). So they could have better performance in the nonword identification task as well due to high proficiency. However, more qualitative and quantitative research is necessary to support this viewpoint.

4.2 Proficiency (high-score v.s. low-score non-English majors) and three within-participant variables

With regard to the interaction between P (high-score v.s. low-score non-English majors) and the three within-participant variables (N, F, words/nonwords), HP participants showed advantages over LP participants in accuracy but not in RT. As for N factor, HP participants reacted more accurately to LN words than LP participants. As for F factor, HP participants responded more accurately to HF words than LP participants as well. However, due to the marginally significant difference to HN/MF between HP and LP participants, no significant difference to LF/words/nonwords, the proficiency effects of two groups are different. The participants were at different levels of L2 proficiency (different bilingual status), and they were not perfectly balanced bilinguals. Proficiency group one is made up of English and non-English majors, while proficiency group two consists of high-score and low-score non-English majors. It can be concluded that participants in group one differ in proficiency much more than those in group two. The present study manipulated two proficiency groups in the data analysis to better prove how L2 proficiency affected Chinese ESL learners' English word identification in a lexical decision task.

Both within-group (English v.s. non-English majors, high-score v.s. low-score non-English majors) and between-group proficiency differences (major v.s. score) can be seen from the above data analysis. Data showed a linear relation between proficiency difference and control degree of mother tongue interference. Especially for nonwords, this linear relation existed as well, for much more data differences can be seen from the first group than those in the second one. The more the L2 proficiency differs, the more the control degree of the native language differs. However, more quantitative researches are still necessary for better explanation.

5. Conclusions

The interaction among one within-participant variable (proficiency) and three between-participant variables (N, F, words/nonwords) revealed that higher L2 proficiency facilitated Chinese ESL learners' English word recognition in a lexical decision task blocked by N, F, words/nonwords factors. Although HP participants performed better (had lower reaction times and higher accuracy) than the LP participants in the experiment, highly-proficient Chinese ESL learners are able to exert higher degree of control over the relative activity of their lexica still deserves more qualitative and quantitative investigation in the future.

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Table 1. the interaction between proficiency and three within-participant factors

	Neighborhood density (N)		Word frequency (F)			Words and nonwords	
	High	Low	High	Medium	Low	Words	Nonwords
ACC (HP) (%)	0.87±0.09	0.87±0.07	0.96±0.0 5	0.95±0.0 6	0.86±0.0 8	0.91±0.0 6	0.83±0.16
ACC (LP) (%)	0.78±0.09	0.78±0.09	0.93±0.0 6	0.92±0.0 7	0.79±0.0 9	0.86±0.0 6	0.69±0.17

Table 2. the interaction between proficiency and three within-participant factors

	Neighborhood density (N)		Word frequency (F)			Words and nonwords	
	High	Low	High	Medium	Low	Words	Nonwords
ACC (HP) (%)	0.79±0.08	0.79±0.07	0.95±0.0 6	0.92±0.0 6	0.76±0.1 1	0.85±0.0 6	0.73±0.16
ACC (LP) (%)	0.76±0.08	0.75±0.08	0.92±0.0 8	0.89±0.0 9	0.76±0.1 1	0.84±0.0 8	0.67±0.18



Probe into the Reform of Land System Viewing from “Limited Property House”

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Abstract

“Limited property house” has already appeared for a long period. In history, it derives from China’s early land policy. Today, it needs to be regulated in time. The core of “limited property house” is the definition, limitation, and transfer of residential lands in China’s rural land policy. The essence of “limited property house” is whether Chinese farmers have the ownership, right of disposition, and right of profitability of the residential lands. The emergence of “limited property house” is also a chance for China starting a new land system reform. How to reform, regulate, and manage China’s present land system and how to embody the “farmer, countryside, and agriculture” policy and the people’s livelihood policy by land system deserve to be studied and deepened further.

Keywords: Limited property house, Land system, Normalization and reform

1. The appearance of “limited property house” and its evolvement

The “limited property house” that has already aroused a wide attention in China is “county property house” in nature. These property houses have been built on rural collective lands and rural residential lands. According to present laws and regulations on land management, these houses and buildings basically have two functions: the houses built on rural collective lands are possessed by rural collective organizations and can be used in business; the houses built on residential lands serve as residences for villagers and can be inherited by family members. But according to present policy, residential lands do not allow to be transferred. The self-governed collective organization can take residential lands back and redistribute them to other villagers.

As for the evolvement of residential lands’ property right, the residential lands and all other lands in countryside belong to farmers’ private assets after the land reform. The *Constitution of the Peoples Republic of China* issued in 1954 confirms this right and offers relevant protection. Afterwards, the agricultural socialist reform radically changes the land property system that emphasizes farmers’ private assets. However, the collectivity reform of property right does not define the land property clearly. As for the expression, because it concerns hundreds of millions of farmers’ interests, it has not been confirmed by law at present. The concept of “residential land” was not mentioned before 1962.

Because the “Great Leap Forward” from 1959 to 1961 has seriously hurt farmers’ right (includes property right) and threatened the safety of whole rural system and even the country, the senior management level starts to adjust the land policy. In 1962, the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the CPC passed the *Modified Draft of Rural People Community Work* (namely “60 rules for people community”). It is the first policy that clarifies the rural economic relationship since the appearance of people community. In history, this policy founded a basis for further changes of rural land property right.

According to statistic data, till 2006, the registered population in Chinese countryside is about 940 million and the constant residents are about 740 million. The gap between registered population and constant residents is caused by farmers entering urban areas. In addition, many citizens choose to leave their registered cities and live and work in other cities. All domestic migrants in China are about 200-300 million and quite a lot migrants live in farmers’ houses beside towns, namely the connecting zone between countryside and city, which contributes to the appearance of a great house-rent market. It is possible that more than one hundred million migrants rent farmers’ houses beside cities.

In fact, for farmers, to rent houses to migrants is a common phenomenon in economic life. It is normal in a society with fast-developing market economy and fast-floating population. Formally, there is no strict line between “rent” and “sale”. If I rent your house for one month, it means I “buy” the right of living in the house for one month. As a commodity transaction activity, it is one of numerous market transaction activities. In essence, they are similar.

The problem is: in common house-renting activities, house transaction happens spontaneously, which forms the emergence of initial “limited property house”. In a legal aspect, whether confirm, protect, and regulate farmers’ right of renting and selling houses built on residential lands is always a pendent problem. The use right of state-owned lands can be transferred, what takes references from experiences of Hongkong, namely the land leasehold system. Hongkong’s land system is from England. The government empowers the market with the right of transferring lands, namely the so-called “absolute property right”. According to present system, only the government can release the use right of state-owned lands in market. Since this system originates from the planned economy, some management system and operation mode, not mention the lands, as a commodity whose property right is still not clear, are still under the influences of planned economy.

Similarly, another problem is the establishment of the scope of state-owned lands. The *Constitution* issued in 1982 regulates: “all urban lands are owned by the state.” However, the “absolute property right” only covers the state-owned lands, because the law confirms merely the transfer of state-owned lands’ use right in market and relevant rent, bidding, transaction, getting property right certificate or mortgaging to financial institutions. Accordingly, the use right of farmers’ collective lands is not allowed to be transferred in market. Only when it has been confiscated, can it be confirmed or protected by the law, and possess a transfer right that is effective in one year ----- in nature, it is a logical deduction instead of a legal definition.

China’s present land system is: farmers’ lands are agricultural lands; only when be confiscated, can farmers’ lands turn into non-agricultural lands; only the use right of lands can be rented in market. However, this system has a great defect, namely 900 million farmers’ “rural construction lands”. Relevant materials show that till late 2005, there are 164000 sq. km. construction lands in Chinese countryside, equal to the area of Henan province and 4.6 times of urban construction lands in China.

In the use right aspect, the rural construction lands are for farmers. In other words, although the use right has been given, it does not develop into the profitability right and transfer right of users ----- farmers. But the development of property right can overcome anything. Experiences are everywhere: as long as farmers can get more profits from their resources, “self-owned” use right will turn into transfer right by any possible means, which will bring about more profits for farmers. In a sense, realize the profitability right by means of transfer right.

Another important economic reason for the appearance of “limited property right” is the fast-increasing house price in cities recently. Under the pressure of rising price of real estate, farmers’ lands and property rights become prominent gradually and demand for formal legal expression ----- from this point of view, the key for “limited property house” may lie in who realize their profits and rights by this, instead of whose needs will be satisfied finally.

2. The nature of “limited property right”

The “limited property right” means the limited property right of residential lands. According to present system, residential lands are owned by the collective. Farmers can get or use the residential lands by obtaining approvals. And they can use the residential lands forever. The only use of residential lands is to build farmers’ houses. Farmers have the eternal ownership. They can rent or sell their houses. However, residential lands are not allowed to be rented or traded. In history, there is only houses transaction but no lands transaction in Chinese countryside. They can charge for houses but not residential lands.

The “limited property right” house concerns the rural residential lands issue on the surface. But in nature, it is about the character of lands. According to present land management laws and regulations, residential lands are forbidden to be transferred between villagers in one village. As for the transfer between citizens and farmers, it is a forbidden zone regulated by laws, regulations, and policies. Beside the land management regulations, in 2000 the State council of China informs that forbid urban residents to purchase houses built on rural collective land, because more and more urban residents choose to buy rural residential lands.

In 2004, the Ministry of Land and Resource of PRC makes it clearer that urban residents should not get rural residential lands by means of long-term rent. However, due to the rising price of lands, the low cost of rural collective lands invalidates these regulations finally. More and more urban residents choose to build houses on rural residential lands or directly buy houses built on rural collective lands. Till 2007, in Beijing, Guangzhou, and Shanghai, the “limited property right” houses or “county property right” houses are expanding from countryside toward cities.

According to present laws and system, farmers can hold or use the lands but can not dispose or gain profits from them. Therefore, the lands are not the assets of farmers completely. The lands are just “commodities” with special use values. They do not mean assets or ownerships. After 1962, farmers have no right of disposing the lands freely, which directly

causes such a result that, the transaction of “limited property right” houses or “county property right” houses is out of the protection of laws. So, the essence of the “limited property right” house issue is whether farmers have the ownership, disposition right, and profitability right of their residential lands, which is the core of the dispute.

A view agrees: India and North Africa follow western economists’ suggestions on land privatization. As a result, it leads to a high centralization of lands under the condition that farmers are lack of social securities. According to this view, since Chinese farmers are also lack of perfect social securities, once lands transfer is allowable, farmers will have no choice but sell their lands as they catch severe diseases or meet unsolvable problems. How farmers losing lands live will become a serious issue in front of the government. The large-sized slums lacking of public drinks and basic sanitations beside big cities in India and North Africa are directly derived from the radical land privatization transfer policy in a sense. Chinese government worries this issue to a great degree. It is a dilemma whether endow rural lands with profitability right (Le Li, 2007).

3. Problems in present real estate and economic development due to “limited property right” house

In a sense, the supply and circulation of “limited property right” houses are in accordance with the government objective of stabilizing house prices in recent years. From this point of view, “limited property right” houses are supposed to offer a chance for controlling house prices, namely relieving the condition of more controls and higher prices by means of spontaneous property evolvement powers. Or, the government issues a series of macro policies to adjust and control house prices on one hand. On the other hand, by controlling and regulating “limited property right” houses, the government can restrain the disordered real estate development and land management.

Experiences show that the definition of property right determines the “market” and the market effect. Land resources are necessary primary resources for human society, which needs a set of clear property right system to regulate the uses, profits and transfer. So does the “limited property right” houses that have unclear definitions and rich connotations, and appear accompanied with the development of urban economic and real estate and land system.

The “limited property right” house brings forward a primary issue for present economic policy and market development. Its appearance and growth serve as challenges for present land system. Or, the folk market brings about changes for present land system. It can also be regarded as a great chance ----- in a sense, present land system and policy have already failed to adapt to the fast socialist economic development. From present policy and management on “limited property right” houses, today’s land system and policy, especially on the “limited property right” issue, needs to be reformed and regulated further. Since the reform and opening policy, the household contracts of rural lands have founded the farmers’ long-term right of rural lands. The state-owned urban lands have entered the market by leaseholds. For original rural lands ----- including agricultural lands and rural construction lands, the only way to become non-agricultural lands is to be confiscated by the state. The problem is most urban lands are used for commercial and business purposes. The traditional way of confiscating lands by the government “for the sake of public interests” is not right for agricultural lands (surely include farmers’ residential lands and agricultural construction lands). The government is the only subject who can sell lands in a competitive market. In a sense, the government puts itself in a position where the government and common people compete for interests. As a result, the government will be incapable of fulfilling their functions of serving the public.

The sticking point in the system reflected by the “limited property right” houses is that the government is the representative of land owners, the manager of land transaction and circulation, and also the only owner of land “leasehold”, namely the final land operator, what simplifies the distribution of land resources at certain degree. As a result, it may lead to inevitable and unendurable wastes and mistakes of resource distribution ----- that is an economic inefficiency issue. Because China’s socialist economic system is in construction, the government requires more experiences and perfect system in order to be a qualified owner of lands, facing the unprecedented rising price of houses and the distribution of land rents. Therefore, it is a right time to reform the land transfer system left by the industrialization time. As for some inevitable tasks in front of China’s reform of system, we should manage them as soon as possible. The viable first step is to confirm the legal right of rural lands entering urban first-class lands market, changing the administrative monopoly of lands transfer.

For the “limited property right” house, Chinese economist Qiren Zhou says, “it is a historical great chance. (Qiren Zhou, 2004 & 2007)” However, in order to grasp this chance, we should face the facts and possess sufficient wisdom and courage. The key is that the government gets tremendous interests as the only owner of lands. In addition, some wrong opinions on land transfer right disable people from understanding this chance. The overwhelming household of lands formerly started from “limited property right” in fact. After 46 years from the first household of lands happened in Yongjia, Zhejiang province in the second half year of 1956 to the *Farmland Contract Law* issued in 2002, the definition of non-agricultural lands’ transfer right is more complicated than farmland contract. But we still believe that the great changes of system deserve more patience.

4. Explorations on the reform of present land system from the regulation of “limited property right”

According to the analysis above, the “limited property right” phenomenon and a series of relevant land regulations and land policy reform issues indicate that China’s present land system is far from realizing the harmony, common interests, people’s livelihood, and scientific management. Especially, the government should adjust its role as a service-oriented, commonality-oriented, and livelihood-oriented institution. At the level of regulating the “limited property right”, we can adjust and reform present land system and policy from following aspects:

(1) How to manage “limited property right” houses? Should it be legalized right away or later? It is an unavoidable problem for deepening the reform of land system and land policy. Houses are available for transactions but lands are not. And houses are built on lands. Due to the rising price of houses, the “limited property right” issue comes into being. How to settle this issue, legalize or control, is one of cores of present “farmer, countryside, and agriculture” policy and also the key of present land reform.

(2) Whether will the government continue to be the only “owner of lands” or not? Why do farmers and village collectives participate in lands transfer directly? Why is the government the only “owner of lands”? Whether do farmers have the right of sharing profits from lands renting brought about by urbanization? All these questions concern one fundamental idea that farmers live on lands and obtain financial incomes from lands, what are the core of present livelihood problem and also the nature of the “farmer, countryside, and agriculture” policy. Any policy and regulation affects and adjusts different parties’ interest relationships. What are farmers’ fundamental interests? The ownership of lands and the profitability of lands. Today, it could not thoroughly solve all farmers’ problems only by “planting”. Undoubtedly, to share interests with the public is the great highlight of government’s livelihood policy.

(3) How should present land transfer system, especially for rural lands, be reformed? It is a key problem for the reform of land system and policy. “Common people can not afford the houses in cities, but the houses in countryside are not allowed to be traded.” This dilemma is caused by different land transfer systems in cities and countryside. Because the land transfer system is too strict and tight, the price of urban houses is so high that common people could not afford them. Therefore, present land system and transfer policy needs to be reformed thoroughly in order to catch up with the times.

(4) Whether can “limited property right” houses be transacted among objects in a controlled scope? It concerns the feasibility of residential lands’ land quota transactions. If lands can be transferred, even only for transfer of quota, it will hurt farmers’ interests. If we control the transfer of residential lands in order to protect farmers’ “planting, growing, raising, and resting”, it will not change present conditions at all. Today, the appearance of “limited property right” houses brings forward a new chance: people create a new land transfer and value realization way, what completely illustrates the feasibility of “limited property right” house.

(5) Can we grasp this chance? The debut of “limited property right” and the vitality of land quota transaction show that the chance for China’s land system reform is coming. But whether we can grasp this chance is another issue. Here are barriers. The first is people’s in-rooted fears for land transfer. The second is the tremendous interests involved in land transfer. How to dispose and distribute the interests turns into the focus of different parties’ games. We should not have this chance missed.

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Metaphor and Culture

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Abstract

The first part of this paper revisits Qian Zhongshu's theory of vehicular diversity and multivalency in an attempt to question the plausibility and necessity of postulating conceptual metaphors that have dominated so much of our contemporary discussions of metaphor. Using examples from both Chinese and English, it tries to show that conceptual metaphors are nothing more than linguists' meta-metaphorical constructs whose number could proliferate towards infinity due to the polysemic nature of figurative expressions. It also argues that lower-level semantic associations between the vehicle and the tenor are sufficient for explaining the existence or the emergence of a metaphor. The second part of this paper goes on to demonstrate the inseparable relationship between metaphor and culture and, by analyzing the Chinese folk custom of well-wishing and Chinese scholars' penchant for certain kinds of plants in decorating their homes and offices, to reveal two predominant metaphorical patterns that lie behind what seems to be a kaleidoscope of symbols.

Keywords: Qian Zhongshu, Umberto Eco, Theory of metaphor, Chinese symbolism

1. Defining Metaphor

What is a metaphor? People from different historical periods and intellectual traditions vary in their answers to this question. In the opinion of Qian Zhongshu, one of the most important contemporary Chinese scholars on the subject, "the essence of metaphor lies in making the dissimilar similar". (1979, p. 74) But Qian does not stop at this very general formula of "x IS y"; he goes one step further to metaphorically describe metaphor as something that has "handles" and "sides". Here is what he has to say:

Metaphors may have two handles, but they also have several sides. Now, a certain thing may be one, but its qualities and capabilities are likely to be many. Consequently, the one thing is not restricted to one use or one effect. Those who employ a figure of speech may do so with different aspects in mind or with a different feature in view, so that even when the denotatum is the same the significatum will vary. That is why a single image may fulfill several different purposes or meanings even while it remains the same. (Egan, 1998, p. 125)

By "handles of metaphor" which is not specifically discussed in the above quotation, Qian Zhongshu means different political and aesthetic inclinations of the metaphor user which allows a particular thing or situation to be illuminated through multiple metaphorical vehicles. For example, marriage can be described as restricting an individual's freedom by our connecting it with a prison-house; or it could be described as giving one a sense of protection by our linking it with a harbor. There are of course many other ways of metaphorizing marriage, resulting in what is technically known in metaphor studies as vehicular diversity. By "sides of metaphor" Qian Zhongshu means the multiple use of the same lexical item to refer to different topics, resulting in what is technically called vehicular multivalency. Qian's own examples regarding vehicular multivalency are related to the image of the moon which has multiple qualities alongside each other within the same entity. /Moon-eyes/ (yue4 yan3) and /moon-face/ (yue4 mian4)¹ are two common Chinese expressions used to describe a person's appearance, and each appropriates one "side" or aspect of the moon: the former is based on the brightness of the celestial being and the latter on its round shape. But there are other attributes which can be and have been attributed to the moon. For instance, it can be interpreted (at least in Chinese culture) as containing the element of *yin* which is related to the female sex. Thus we have two poetic lines from Chen Zi'ang's (661-702) series: "A new moon emerges from the western sea / Replacing the *yang* force at it rises" which is said to be a veiled reference to Empress Wu Zetian. Here, Qian Zhongshu argues, the poet cannot be thinking about roundness or brightness because it would be absurd to imagine the ruthless Wu Zetian as having a beaming face which shines on her subjects. These examples therefore reveal that "a single thing may be viewed from different perspectives and will appear differently in each. When a writer uses a metaphor, he takes what he wants from it." (Egan, 1998, p. 127).

2. Critique of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor

As such, Qian Zhongshu's theorization on vehicular diversity and multivalency raises some serious questions about the currently dominant cognitive theory of metaphor championed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. According to these two American scholars, our conceptual system, which is largely metaphorical, structures what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. To illustrate their point, Lakoff and Johnson choose the example of war, which is said to have structured our style of making arguments. As in a real war, they tell us, we also see the person we are arguing with as an enemy; we plan and implement strategies; we attack our enemy's views and defend our own; and of course, we could win or lose arguments. These war-like actions we perform while arguing are reflected in the following italicized linguistic expressions:

ARGUMENT IS WAR

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

His criticisms were *right on target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

You disagree? Okay, *shoot!*

If you use that *strategy*, he will *wipe you out*.

He *shot down* all of my arguments.

(Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4)

Although there are no physical fights, there are verbal battles in our everyday life. In this sense, the "ARGUMENT IS WAR" metaphor is what people live by in the Western culture.

As a contrary example to reveal how a metaphorical concept structures what we do in everyday life, Lakoff and Johnson urge their readers to try to imagine a culture where an argument is viewed as a dance, the participants are seen as performers, and the goal is to perform in a balanced and aesthetically pleasing way. In such a culture, they contend, people would view arguments differently, experience them differently, carry them out differently, and talk about them differently. As a result, people in the Western culture would probably not view them as arguing at all: they would simply be doing something different. Indeed, it would seem strange even to call what they were doing "arguing". For lack of a succinct term to describe this phenomenon, Lakoff and Johnson have to make do with a general statement to the effect that Westerners have a discourse form structured in terms of battle whereas people in that imaginary culture have one structured in terms of dance. (1980, p. 5)

From the above it is not difficult to deduce that Lakoff and Johnson are of the opinion that the "ARGUMENT IS DANCE" metaphor would always lead to a conception of arguments as a kind of "aesthetically pleasing" activity, characterized by an atmosphere of friendly cooperation between various conversation partners. From Qian Zhongshu's perspective, however, this assumption is very much open to doubt, because what kind of conceptualization is settled on in a given situation depends on which semantic features of the polysemic vehicle are selected for transfer onto the tenor. What this means is that the "ARGUMENT IS DANCE" metaphor might have significantly different or even contradictory associations depending on which specific features from the source domain of dance are transferred onto the target domain of argument. Verena Haser offers the following analysis in her critique of the cognitive theory of metaphor:

Speakers might very well single out for transfer a feature like 'continual movement which leads to physical exhaustion'. In the target domain ARGUMENT, this might translate into the idea of exasperation, disappointment, or confusion. The conception of arguments which emerges from this construal of ARGUMENT IS DANCE differs significantly from the one proposed by Lakoff/Johnson. That such an interpretation is possible is shown by metaphorical expressions such as *to lead a person a dance* ('to lead him in a wearying, perplexing, or disappointing course; to cause him to undergo exertion or worry with no adequate result.') (2005, p. 152)

This analysis further validates Qian Zhongshu's profound insight on the multivalent nature of metaphor and clearly points to a need for more specific explanations of how a metaphor actually works. In other words, the formula "x IS y" is rather empty unless and until we single out particular features from the source which are transferred onto the target, thus recognizing the possibility of various interpretations of the latter.

The same problem occurs when we check Lakoff and Johnson's contention above against the fact that oftentimes there are multiple metaphorical vehicles for the same tenor or topic. As was pointed out in our earlier discussion, the right side of Lakoff and Johnson's famous equation "LIFE IS A JOURNEY" could be replaced with <drama>, <a book>,

<poetry>, <a song>, <tea>, <water>, <a lamp>, <porcelain>, <a bridge>, <flax>, <flower>, <smoke>, <a dream>, <fantasy>, <a bubble>, <shadow>, <a picture>, <a riddle>, <fog>, <huge waves>, <wine>, <electricity>, <wind>, <fire>, <a poker game>, <a chess game>, <a dinner party>, <stars and constellations>, <duckweed>, <stock market>, <dust>, <long-distance running>, <a bus ride>, <morning dew>, <flower in a mirror>, <moon reflection in water>, and many more. The reason for such vehicular diversity is that a content word in any language can be analyzed into an infinite number of semantic markers which allows it to be connected with one of the numerous semantic markers of another content word on the basis of similarity. Thanks to the open-endedness of our metaphorical associations, we can very easily find a person using hundreds if not thousands of different metaphors in his or her life, but can we safely claim that his or her way of thinking and behavior is influenced by a particular group of metaphors? The answer to this question is in the negative. The most we can allow for such a hypothesis is that language users are led into a very specific view of reality each time a metaphor is employed. But when they encounter another metaphor at the next moment, the structure of the previous one is already put aside.

Furthermore, metaphors that seem ontologically inconsistent with one another can also occur in one single text. Professor Andrew Goatly of Lingnan University, for example, discovers the following “major metaphorical schemata” in his analysis of Hong Kong governments’ *Review of Education System Reform Proposals – Consultation Document*:

1. acquisition of education as a commodity or as cultural capital
2. education as construction
3. educational assessment as a mechanism
4. education as a journey
5. education as nurture and growth

(2002, pp. 263-294)

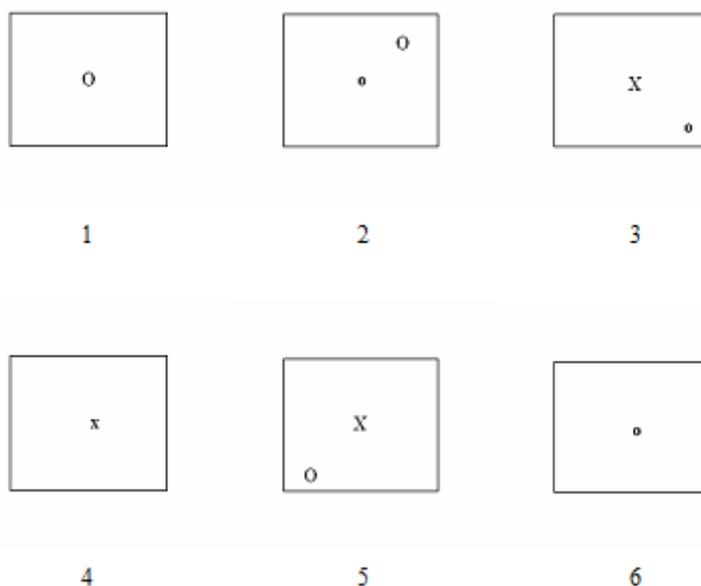
Goatly’s aim there is to criticize the ideological inconsistency in the use of metaphors in the document under question. He sees in these metaphors different ideological affiliations that conflict with one another, thus undermining the government’s original intention of encouraging internal motivation in students that will lead to their creating knowledge and to their all-round development. The “acquisition of education as cultural capital” metaphor, according to Goatly, partly belongs with the business orientation of Hong Kong even though it could also be positively related to the educational task of trying to equip students for the future. The problem with the “education as a journey” metaphor is that it is often a predetermined track with goals and objectives set by society for society which is against the spirit of exploring as yet undiscovered knowledge, but with freedom and space to move in a more open system, it is rather in tune with the progressivism of the reform proposals. The “education as construction” metaphor appears to allow more creativity than the previous metaphor, but again it depends on how much the construction materials are ready made. The “education as nurture and growth” metaphor is in line with the progressivist philosophy of motivating students, but it can also be developed along the traditional lines of training and providing. Finally, the “educational assessment as a mechanism” metaphor is deemed by Goatly to be very much in keeping with traditional regimes of thinking about education in Hong Kong because it is “linked to the idea of getting grades and external rewards and qualifications for which assessment is necessary,” but it actually can be used to describe the machine-like accuracy and dependability needed for measuring students’ progress. To avoid these inconsistencies, Goatly goes so far as to suggest an alternative set of metaphors as follows:

Instead of the teacher being seen as providing resources or knowledge, as in the acquisition of commodities metaphor, the teachers could themselves be seen as a resource, available for the students to use for any educational purpose they choose. The same idea could be translated to the construction metaphor, in which case the teacher would be seen as a tool to be used for students to achieve their own aims, rather than as an architect or designer who predetermines those aims. Turning to the journey of exploration schema, rather than a guide the teacher could usefully be seen as a cartographer producing sketch maps, again with the implication that the direction of exploration will be freer, and students would be encouraged to revise or add to the map on their return. Indeed, instead of guiding, teachers might deliberately create obstacles for students to encourage “lateral” thinking, or explorations of unknown areas. In fact, assessment and examination could be seen, not as a mechanism for measuring students according to specifications, but the students’ own descriptions of the journeys of exploration. (2002, p. 292)

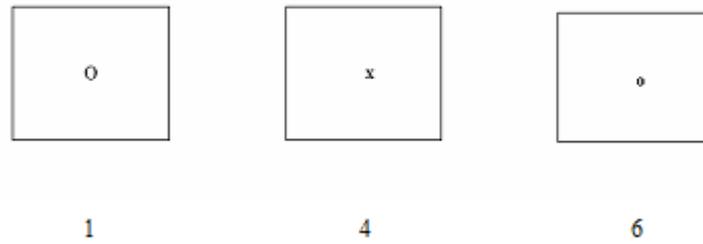
What is actually revealed in the discussion above is that no particular metaphorical schema can be said to claim monopoly in structuring or influencing our thinking and behavior. Whatever metaphor one uses through which we are led to look at the world from a particular angle, there is always another which could potentially offset what is done earlier. It must also be pointed out that our narrative texts do not always show a continually coherent relation between the source domain and the target domain of metaphor and they do not have to. The diversity of perspectives is not only tolerated but actively sought after by the writer for the purpose of shedding light on the different stages and various aspects of the same process called education.

The fact that semantic links can be established between one tenor and innumerable vehicles also raises serious doubts about “conceptual metaphor” as a plausible or efficient metalinguistic tool for the study of metaphor. As we have learned from introductory courses on phonetics, lexicology, grammar and other language related subjects, linguistic units in a language can be grouped into different categories in relation to form, function, or meaning. Phonetically, for example, they can be grouped into monosyllabic, disyllabic, and polysyllabic words on the basis of similarity in form. Grammatically, they can be grouped into nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions etc. on the basis of similarity in function at the syntactic level. Semantically, they can be grouped into synonyms, antonyms, hyponyms, or other categories on the basis of their proximity, opposition, or subordination in meaning to one another. The notion of “metaphorical concepts” proposed by Lakoff and Johnson seems designed for the same purpose of categorizing linguistic units: they are supposed to explain why several metaphorical expressions are put in the same group. Let us go back to Lakoff and Johnson’s example mentioned earlier. The conceptual metaphor “ARGUMENT IS WAR” is meant to capture what the subsumed metaphorical expressions (e.g., *indefensible*, *attack*, *on target*, *demolish*, *win*, *shoot*, *strategy*, *wipe out*, *shoot down*) have in common. In this case, they are all initially related to the concept of war which is then metaphorically projected onto the domain of argument.

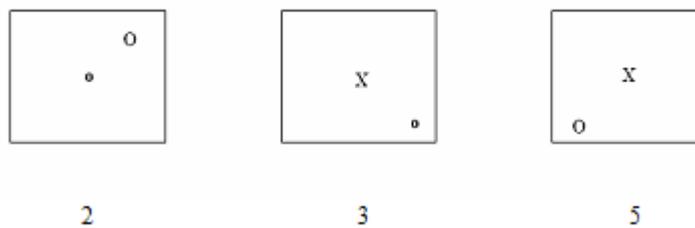
What Lakoff and Johnson’s approach overlooks, however, is the fact that those linguistic expressions subsumed under this category merely can be, but need not always be, associated with the domain of war. This is so because there is a host of crisscrossing links connecting various lexical items on the basis of similarity and any of them could serve as motivation for a new classification. To illustrate the point, we can appropriate a diagram from Goatly’s most recent book *Washing the Brain: Metaphor and Hidden Ideology* (2007, p. 23):



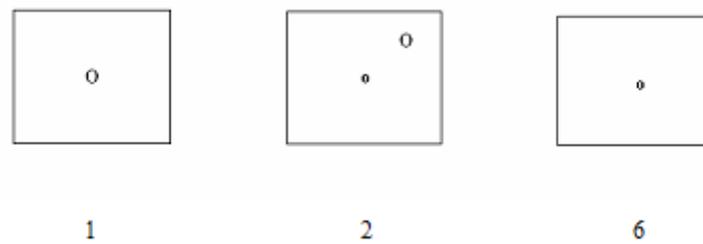
There are only six squares with different symbols in them, but there are more ways of dividing them into groups. We can use the property of having only one letter as a criterion to form the first group.



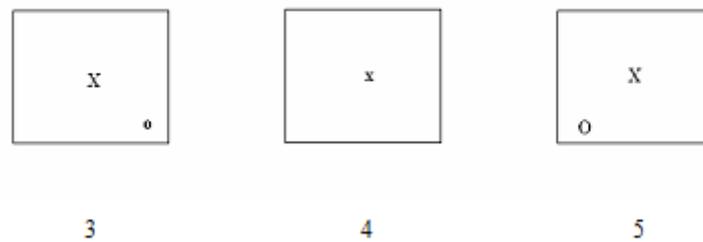
Likewise, we can use the property of having two letters as a criterion to form another group.



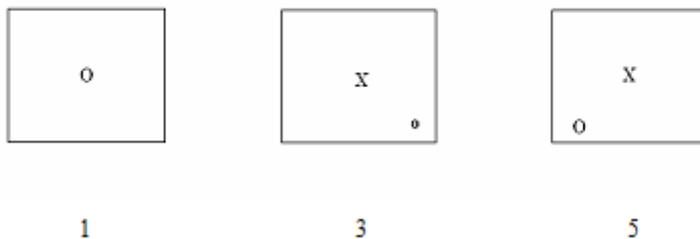
Or, we can put 1, 2, and 6 together on the grounds that they contain only *os* and no *xs*.



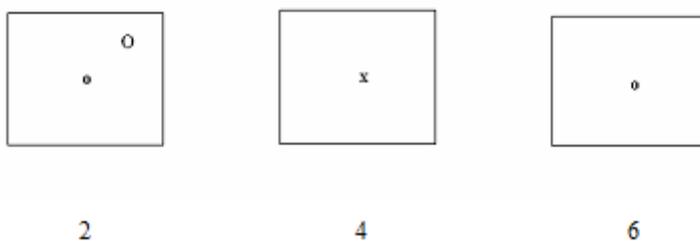
Similarly, we can put 3, 4, and 5 together on the grounds that they all contain *xs*.



Or, we can consider 1, 3, and 5 as a group because they have an upper-case letter in the center.



Correspondingly, 2, 4, and 6 can go into the same group because they have a lower-case letter in the center.



There are of course many other possibilities of combining the squares such as 1 and 6, then 3 and 5, then 2, 3, and 5, then 2 and 5, all on the basis of some kind of similarity between members of the same group. One important point (not mentioned by Goatly) to note here is that no particular criterion for classification can claim priority over any other that results in a different combination.

This situation is the same as grouping linguistic expressions under disparate “conceptual metaphors” except that the latter involves a much greater number of distinguishers or semantic markers, thus creating what Verena Haser calls “insurmountable difficulties” for Lakoff and Johnson’s theory of metaphor. In Chapter 7 of her book *Metaphor, Metonymy, and Experientialist Philosophy: Challenging Cognitive Semantics*, she offers a detailed and convincing analysis, using “ARGUMENT IS WAR” as an example.

As we can see there, given their polysemic nature, the lexical items subsumed under “ARGUMENT IS WAR” by Lakoff and Johnson are closely related to several other semantic fields, hence the possibility of ascribing them to different source domains. The most obvious case is the expression /on target/ which, according to Haser, could be ascribed to the category of “ARGUMENT IS PLACEMENT” in the sense that something is positioned accurately or inaccurately. Also to that category belong such expressions as /to the point/, /miss the point/, /beside the point/, /to hit the mark/, /to be out of place/, /to be on the right track/, /wide off the mark/, /to sidetrack/, and many others.

The categorization of /defend/ is equally free-floating. The item can be ascribed to the conceptual metaphor of “ARGUMENT IS PRESERVATION” with the source concept used in the sense of <keeping from injury or destruction>. Lexical expressions that go into that category could include /uphold/, /vindicate/, /rescue/, /save/, and /fortify/. Or, the word could be placed alongside /support/, /back/, /confirm (to make firm)/ and many others to form a new conceptual metaphor “ARGUMENT IS PHYSICAL SUPPORT”. The expression /confirm/ is further related to /firm (argument)/, /strong/, /forceful/, /weighty/, /penetrating/, and others in the sense that they all indicate the idea of strength and are often employed in the target domain of <argument>, thus suggesting another conceptual metaphor “ARGUMENT IS STRENGTH”. /Penetrating/ is also related to /piercing/, /sharp/ and /cut into/ to form yet another group of similar expressions, yielding the conceptual metaphor “ARGUMENT IS HAVING A KEEN EDGE”.

The word /demolish/ is interpreted by Lakoff and Johnson as a manifestation of the conceptual metaphor “ARGUMENT IS WAR”, but it obviously could also be grouped alongside /construct/, /lay a foundation/, /structure/, etc. under the category of “ARGUMENT IS BUILDING”. In a slightly different direction, /demolish/, in the sense of <pulling into pieces>, could join the company of /tear apart/, /take to pieces/, /dissect/, /lay bare/ as a member in the family of “ARGUMENT IS DECOMPOSITION”.

The word /shoot/, together with /attack/ and /demolish/, is cited by Lakoff and Johnson as an instance of “ARGUMENT IS WAR”, but it is related not only to words of violence but also to /put forth/, /utter/, /put forward/, /set forth/, /propose/, /go ahead/, and many more, resulting in a possible category of “ARGUMENT IS FORWARD MOTION”.

The last item /go ahead/ could then be placed alongside /arrive at (a conclusion)/, /move into (another topic)/ etc. to form a category “ARGUMENT IS JOURNEY”.

Likewise, the word /win/ does not have to be a member of “ARGUMENT IS WAR” as is suggested by Lakoff and Johnson. If we associate the term with /lay one’s card on the table (tell the whole truth)/, /trump card (the most important argument)/, /play along (not to object)/, then it becomes a member in the category of “ARGUMENT IS GAME-PLAYING”.

So far, we have been looking at lexical items in relation to the same target domain of argument, but in reality they can also be metaphorically employed in a wide range of contexts which once again force us to posit different conceptual metaphors if we wish to account for their different senses at this abstract level. Take for instance the sentence /His weight reduction efforts are right on target/ which has nothing to do with argument and therefore cannot be covered by the conceptual metaphor “ARGUMENT IS WAR”. To explain the relationship between x and y, one has to propose a new conceptual metaphor “TO KEEP FIT/HEALTH IS PLACEMENT” or, to use Lakoff and Johnson’s formulation, “TO KEEP FIT/HEALTH IS WAR”. Similarly, if we are to explain /The government’s control of population is on target/ in the same manner, we have to devise yet another conceptual metaphor “PURPOSEFUL ACTION IS PLACEMENT”.

The conclusion to be drawn here is that all the lexical items cited by Lakoff and Johnson as instances of the conceptual metaphor “ARGUMENT IS WAR” can actually be ascribed to many alternative conceptual metaphors. Given the fact most words and expressions in a language can be analyzed into innumerable semantic markers, the number of potential metaphorical concepts that can be posited on the basis of similarity is almost unlimited. This makes our effort of trying to understand the metaphorical meaning of words and expressions through conceptual metaphors cognitively unrealistic and implausible.

Apart from this, it could also be argued that the use of conceptual metaphors is rather unnecessary to our interpretation of figurative language despite its huge popularity with many contemporary scholars in the field. As is shown by Haser’s analysis, one and the same lexical item can be subsumed under more than one conceptual metaphor. /to win an argument/, for example, is cited by Lakoff and Johnson as an instance of the conceptual metaphor “ARGUMENT IS WAR”, but we now know that it can at least be ascribed to another category called “ARGUMENT IS GAME-PLAYING”. One question then arises: if a person is faced with this expression in a real life situation and does not access its meaning in the way suggested by Lakoff and Johnson, does it mean that he will understand the phrase differently or inadequately? The answer is “no” because the basic semantic information <to come out victorious> is already contained in the word /win/ and all that is needed in order to interpret the metaphor are the source concept and the figurative context in which it occurs. Likewise, if one encounters the English sentence /He bulldozed his way to the front/, to properly understand the metaphor, he or she must possess a general knowledge about a) the literal meaning of /bulldoze/ and b) the tenor or topic – someone pushing himself through a crowd with physical force – and then make a connection on the basis of similarity that will highlight the “salient features” involved. We are certainly entitled to think up many meta-metaphorical equations afterwards such as “HUMAN IS MACHINE”, “HUMAN IS OBJECT”, and “FORCE IS CLEARING SPACE”, but they only constitute a superfluous detour which distracts rather than directs our effort in the process of interpretation.

3. Reconnecting Metaphor and Culture

As theoretical constructs, the so-called conceptual metaphors are abstract by nature. What is more, they can be arranged hierarchically with the categories at the top being more abstract and those at the bottom less so. Take the following metaphorical expressions for example:

- 1) She is a lark.
- 2) He is a vulture.
- 3) Lorrita always keeps her children safely under her wing.

All these could be subsumed under the meta-metaphorical category of “HUMAN IS BIRD” which is obviously open-ended. We could come up with another list of metaphors that are slightly different but nevertheless related:

- 4) Lisa galloped through the book in two days.
- 5) He eventually collapsed under the heavy yoke of public opinion.
- 6) David Wong always wags his tail when his boss comes around.

Examples 4), 5) and 6) are all related to big mammals and could form a category of their own in terms of conceptual metaphor. However, when they are placed alongside examples 1), 2) and 3), the six metaphors give rise to a more abstract category of “HUMAN IS ANIMAL”. If we add to this a list of metaphors whose vehicles are not animals but plants, then the resulting meta-metaphorical category would be “HUMAN IS ANIMATE OBJECT”. It is not difficult to

note that the more abstract a “conceptual metaphor” is, the more likely it will be found in more than one language. To compare a crowd of people to a school of sardines might be a particular inclination of English language users, but to liken human beings to fish seem to be a phenomenon that occurs in most if not all cultures where there are rivers, lakes and seas. In other words, when it comes to the superordinate levels of “HUMAN IS ANIMAL” and “HUMAN IS ANIMATE OBJECT”, it would be really hard to imagine any culture that does not employ this kind of metaphorical formula. Empty as it now sounds after our analysis, the cognitive theory of metaphor has made it its goal to discover universal or near-universal conceptual metaphors that underlie metaphorical expressions in different languages and in doing so for the past two decades has overlooked numerous cases of non-universality in metaphorical conceptualization.

This is not to deny that there exist some metaphorical equivalents across languages and cultures. To confirm this phenomenon of cultural overlapping, one need go no further than taking a look at the following sets of similes and metaphors from English and Chinese:

Overlapping Similes

to know something or somebody as a person knows his ten fingers/the palm of his hand

liao3 ru2 zhi3 zhang3

applause like thunder

zhang3 sheng1 ru2 lei2

numberless as the sand

duo1 ru2 sha1 zi3

as light as a feather

qing1 ru2 hong2 mao2

as black as a raven

xiang4 wu1 ya1 yi1 ban1 hei1

as brave as a lion

shi1 zi3 ban1 yong3 gan3

as busy as a bee

xiang4 mi4 feng1 yi1 yang4 mang2 lu4

as hungry as a wolf

e4 lang2 ban1 de

as fast as lightning

ji2 ru2 shan3 dian4

as sharp as a winter's morning

xiang4 dong1 tian1 zao3 chen2 yi1 yang4 yan2 han2 ci4 gu3

(Li, 1999, pp. 16-17)

Overlapping Metaphors (in the narrow sense of the term)

a bolt from the blue

qing2 tian1 pi1 li4

castles in the air

kong1 zhong1 lou2 ge2

a square peg in a round hole

fang1 rui4 yuan2 zuo4

the spring/autumn of life

sheng1 ming4 zhi1 chun1/qiu1

to hang by a hair

qian1 jun1 yi1 fa4

to rest on one's arms

zhen3 ge1 dai4 dan4

to swim with the tide
 sui2 bo1 zhu2 liu2
 to be in the same boat
 tong2 zhou1 gong4 ji4
 to trim the sail to the wind
 kan4 feng1 shi3 duo4
 to add fuel to the flames
 huo3 shang4 jia1 you2
 to sit on/ride the fence
 qi2 qiang2
 to get wind of something
 de2 dao4 mou3 shi4 de feng1 sheng1
 Constant dropping wears the stone.
 Di1 shui3 chuan1 shi2.
 A rat crossing the street is chased by all.
 lao3 shu3 guo4 jie1, ren2 ren2 han3 da3.
 You will cross the bridge when you get to it.
 chuan2 dao4 qiao2 tou2 zi4 ran2 zhi2.
 (Li, 1999, p. 209)

The important point to be emphasized here is that these metaphorical expressions are not concrete manifestations of some preexisting universal conceptual metaphors; rather, they are the results of arbitrary pairing of a metaphorical signifier and a metaphorical signified that happen to be identical or similar across two languages. It is amazing how Saussure's principle of linguistic arbitrariness has taken root in our mind when we discuss the relationship between a signifier and a signified at the literal level but is completely forgotten when we talk about the link between a signifier and a signified at the metaphorical level.

More often than not, the same life situation is metaphorically semiotized in different ways across languages and cultures. Let us look at two more sets of examples (with minor omissions) from Li Guonan's *Contrastive Study of Figures of Speech in English and Chinese*:

Similes identical in meaning but different in form

like a drowned rat
 xiang4 luo4 tang1 ji1 yi1 yang4 (like a drenched chicken)
 like a rat in a hole
 ru2 weng4 zhong1 zhi1 bie1 (like a turtle in a jar)
 like a duck to water
 ru2 yu2 de2 shui3 (like a fish in water)
 like a hen on a hot girdle
 xiang4 re4 guo1 shang4 de ma3 yi3 (like an ant on a hot pan)
 as stupid as a goose
 yu2 chun3 ru2 zhu1 (as stupid as a pig)
 as stubborn as a donkey/mule
 jiang4 de2 xiang4 dou2 niu2 (as stubborn as an ox)
 as timid as a rabbit
 dan3 xiao3 ru2 shu3 (as timid as a mouse)
 as bitter as wormwood
 ku3 ruo4 huang2 lian2 (as bitter as goldthread)

(1999, p. 17)

Metaphors (in the narrow sense of the term) identical in meaning but different in form

birds of a feather

yi1 qiu1 zhi1 he4 (jackals from the same lair)

to draw water in a sieve

zhu2 lan2 da3 shui3 yi1 chang3 kong1 (to draw water with a bamboo basket)

to fish in the air

shui3 zhong1 lao1 yue4 (to capture the moon in water)

to cry wine and sell vinegar

gua4 yang2 tou2 mai4 gou3 rou4 (to hang up a sheep's head and sell dogmeat)

to go for wool and come back shorn

tou1 ji1 bu4 zhao2 shi2 ba3 mi3 (to try to steal a chicken only to lose the rice bait)

to squeeze water out of a stone

sha1 zi3 li3 zha4 you2 (to extract oil from sands)

to put all one's eggs in one basket

gu1 zhu4 yi1 zhi4 (to stake all on a single throw)

to look for a needle in a haystack

hai3 di3 lao1 zhen1 (to retrieve a needle in the ocean)

to kill two birds with one stone

yi1 jian4 shuang1 diao1 (to hit two hawks with one arrow)

to kick a man when he is down

luo4 jing3 xia4 shi2 (to drop stones on someone who has fallen into a well)

Diamond cuts diamond.

qi2 feng2 dui4 shou3 (to meet one's match in a game of chess)

There is no smoke without fire.

wu2 feng2 bu4 qi3 lang4. (There are no waves without wind.)

Justice has long arms.

tian1 wang3 hui1 hui1, shu1 er2 bu4 lou4. (The net of Heaven has large meshes, but it lets nothing through.)

The burnt child dreads the fire.

yi1 zhao1 zao1 she2 yao3, san1 nian2 pa4 cao3 sheng2. (Once bitten by a snake, one dreads coiled rope for three years.)

As you sow, you will reap.

Zhong4 gua1 de2 gua1, zhong4 dou4 de2 dou4. (Plant melons and you get melons; sow beans and you get beans.)

As you make your bed, so you must lie on it.

Zuo4 jian3 zi4 fu4 (to spin a cocoon around oneself)

He that has one servant has two, he that has two has but half a one, and he that has three has none at all.

Yi1 ge4 he2 shang4 tiao1 shui3 he1, liang3 ge4 he2 shang4 tai2 shui3 he1, san1 ge4 he2 shang4 mei2 shui3 he1. (One monk will shoulder two buckets of water for consumption, two monks will carry one bucket together, but if a third monk is added, none of them will have any water to drink.)

(Li, 1999, pp. 210-212)

These are just the tip of an iceberg as far as metaphorical non-coincidence across cultures is concerned. The reasons for such metaphorical disparity across languages are many, but the most important one derives from the fact that there are innumerable cultural units available to the metaphor user and each of those units consists of a huge bundle of semantic components that could be used to illuminate various aspects of social life. Which cultural unit is eventually chosen to serve as a metaphorical vehicle for a particular life situation is arbitrarily decided and therefore unpredictable. To vividly describe the state of someone being drunk, for example, the English speakers choose to compare the situation to that of a mouse, which often loses its sense of directions when being chased, thus giving rise to the phrase /as drunk as a

mouse/; the Chinese speakers, however, perceive a similarity between <being drunk> and <the softness of mud>, hence the metaphorical expression /as drunk as mud/. Beside, even one identical lexical unit shared by two languages can be used for very different metaphorical purposes as a consequence of its different semantic markers being highlighted. Both /rabbit/ and /tu4/ have been employed by English and Chinese speakers as a metaphorical vehicle to describe human personality. The former have singled out the quality of shyness in the animal, giving birth to the simile /as timid as rabbit/; but the latter emphasize a different quality in the animal, that is, its swiftness in movement, hence the expression /dong4 ru2 tuo1 tu4/ (as fast as a rabbit).

It needs to be pointed out that not all metaphorical expressions are as easy to understand as /timid as rabbit/ or /drunk as a mouse/. As can be seen from some of the examples above, there are a fair portion of metaphors where the connection between the vehicle and the tenor is made not on the basis of a common background to life shared by people across different languages but via a special knowledge about some unique aspects of the culture in which they appear. More specifically, what makes some metaphors difficult to understand is the fact that the vehicles used to illuminate the tenors belong exclusively to a particular way of living as manifested in its social customs as well as textual traditions.

Many culture-specific metaphors originate from the unique social customs of their users. Chinese people, for example, love watching Beijing Opera either in grand theatres or small teahouses as a form of entertainment in their spare time and know very well the props and techniques that are involved. This widespread familiarity with their “national opera” has led to quite a few culturally unique metaphors where certain details of the art are used as vehicles to illustrate other aspects of life:

- ✧ pao3 long2 tao4 – to appear in dragon designs worn by groups of soldiers or attendants in Beijing Opera
- ✧ chang4 hong2 lian3 – to wear the red mask of the hero in Beijing Opera
- ✧ chang4 bai2 lian3 – to wear the white mask of the villain in Beijing Opera

The meaning of the first expression above has been extended to include <to play a minor or insignificant role in a group activity>; and those of the second and third have acquired the metaphorical meanings of <to pretend to be generous and kind> and <to pretend to be harsh and severe> respectively. It is a popular belief among Chinese people that at least one of the two parents in a family has to wear the white mask in front of their children so that the latter are properly disciplined.

Another case in point is the long tradition of Buddhism and its practice of monastic life in China. Despite the official oppression from time to time, this alien religion from Indian has gradually taken root in a land that is dominated by the worldly ideology of Confucianism and become an integral part of Chinese life. It is no surprise that some aspects of the monastic life have been employed to shed light on its secular counterpart as can be seen in the following examples:

- ✧ pao3 de2 liao3 he2 shang4 pao3 bu4 liao3 miao4. – The monk may run away, but the temple cannot run with him. (A fugitive must belong to some place that can provide clues to his whereabouts.)
- ✧ ping2 shi2 bu4 shao1 xiang1, lin2 shi2 bao4 fu2 jiao3. – Never burn incense when all is well but clasp to Buddha’s feet when in stress. (Make no effort until the last minute.)
- ✧ fang4 xia4 tu2 dao1, li4 di4 cheng2 fu2. – Drop one’s cleaver and become a Buddha. (Achieve salvation as soon as one gives up evil.)
- ✧ zuo4 yi1 tian1 he2 shang4, zhuang4 yi1 tian1 zhong1. – Go on tolling the bell as long as one is a monk. (Take a passive attitude towards one’s work.)
- ✧ wu3 ti3 tou2 di4 – to prostrate oneself before Buddha (to admire somebody from the bottom of one’s heart)
- ✧ jie4 hua1 xian4 fu2 – to present Buddha with flowers given by another (to make a gift of something given by another)
- ✧ fu2 kou3 she2 xin1 – a Buddha’s mouth but a viper’s heart (honey words with evil intent)
- ✧ fu2 tou2 zhao2 fen4 – to smear Buddha’s head with dung (to desecrate)

Obviously, all the metaphorical vehicles here are related to the monastic life of Buddhist monks that has become familiar to most Chinese but not to people in a non-Buddhist culture. To be able to make sense of the expressions, foreigners have to learn about Buddhism and its practice either in person or from reading.

For a similar example on the English side, we can look into the eating habit of Westerners that depends on bread as their staple food as opposed to rice which is the main diet of Chinese and many of their neighbors in Asia.

- ✧ to earn one’s bread – to make a living
- ✧ bread and butter – basic means of income
- ✧ bread and cheese – the barest necessities of life

- ✧ to take bread out of one's mouth – to take away another's livelihood
- ✧ to know which side one's bread is buttered – to be mindful of one's own interest
- ✧ bread and water – a simple meal

What is taken for granted in the West (e.g. spreading butter on bread, using cheese to make a sandwich) are actually unfamiliar to most rice eaters in the East, thus making it difficult for them to comprehend many of the bread-related metaphors. This does not mean that Easterners and Westerners think differently as a consequence of not having a certain “conceptual metaphor”; on the contrary, the same analogy appears in both Chinese and English as can be seen in /bao3 zhu4 fan4 wan3/ (to keep one's rice bowl – to remain employed) and /qing1 cha2 dan4 fan4/ (tea served without any refreshments and rice served without lavish dishes – a simple life style).

Culture-specific metaphors are generated not only out of the unique behavioral patterns and material objects of their users but also from the users' written records of real or fictional events and characters that are not shared with other nations. In the latter case, the motivating link between a current life situation and a metaphorical expression is provided by knowledge about a particular linguistic or pictorial text, be it from history books, ancient myths, folklore, literature, popular media, and what not. We can get a glimpse of the inseparability between metaphor and culture from the following examples:

- 1) to meet one's Waterloo
- 2) /le4 bu4 si1 shu3/ (to have so much fun that one forgets about Shu)
- 3) Achilles heel
- 4) Shi4 wai4 tao2 yuan2 (the Land of Peach Blossoms)
- 5) Catch-22
- 6) Ah Q

The first two examples (one from English and the other from Chinese) are allusions to real historical figures and events which are used as metaphorical vehicles for similar life situations. /to meet one's Waterloo/ was originally related to Napoleon whose ousting of King Louis XVIII in 1815 made him an enemy of Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. To remove their common military threat, the four countries declared war and sent their troops in his direction. Napoleon wanted to crush the British and the Prussians before Austrians and Russians could arrive, so he moved his forces toward Waterloo, where he was eventually defeated by the allied forces. Because of its particular historical association, the metaphorical expression is unlikely to find an equivalent in another language or culture.

Likewise, /le4 bu4 si1 shu3/ (to have so much fun that one forgets about Shu) is related to a famous Chinese historical figure Liu Shan, who was a ruler of the Kingdom of Shu during the Three Kingdom Era in ancient China. Liu Shan was known to be a coward who cared only about having a good time himself rather than the wellbeing of his subjects. Not long after he succeeded his father Liu Bei as the new emperor of Shu, his territory of jurisdiction was seized by the Kingdom of Wei where he was kept under custody as “Duke of Peace and Happiness”. One day, Sima Zhao, a very powerful general of Wei, invited Liu Shan to a dinner at which the traditional songs and dances of Shu were performed. When Liu's subordinates heard the music of their homeland, they were all shedding tears over the defeat and humiliation their kingdom had suffered. Liu Shan, however, was completely unaffected and continued to enjoy wine and food. When Sima Zhao asked him, “Don't you miss Shu?” Liu Shan replied, “I'm having fun here; why should I miss Shu?”, hence the expression /to have so much fun that one forgets about Shu/. The phrase is now used to refer to anyone who “is having so much fun that he has forgotten about his home and work”, but to understand its full import, one has to be familiar with the historical anecdote that gave rise to the metaphor.

Metaphorical allusions, however, do not have to be related to real historical figures and events all the time. In fact, many metaphorical expressions can be traced back to unreal or fictive worlds that vary from one culture to another. However “pre-scientific” or superstitious some of those texts may seem, they provide an important foundation for the understanding of a large number of metaphors that are very much in force today. The third metaphor above, for example, is related to a mythical story of ancient Greece in which Achilles' mother Thetis took her son by the heel at the time of his birth and dipped him in the river Styx in an attempt to make him invulnerable, but the heel in her hand remained dry and Achilles later died because of it. The story cannot be scientifically proven, of course, but it does provide a metaphorical vehicle whose present meaning is <the one and only weak spot>.

The fourth example given above originated from an old Chinese tale about a fisherman in Wu Ling district. One day, he went on a fishing trip which accidentally brought him to a peach orchard located on the inner side of a mountain with a small cave at its foot. The inhabitants there were leading a quiet and happy life without ever having an argument or dispute. After entertaining the fisherman, they asked him not to tell what he saw there to others when he returned to the outside world. The fisherman, however, told this experience to his fellow villagers who then followed him back on a

confirmation trip but could not find the place. One can safely claim that nobody in China actually believes in the existence of such a legendary place, but that does not prevent people from using the expression to mean metaphorically <a land of peace away from the turmoil of the world>.

Examples 5) and 6) represent another important source for culturally unique metaphors, that is, the so-called belle-lettres which is often nationally-based. /Catch-22/, as we know, is a term coined by Joseph Heller in his novel of the same name, describing a paradox in a law, regulation or practice in which one is a victim regardless of the choice one makes. This metaphorical signifier is formed via a summary of the whole book: A U.S. Army Air Forces Bombardier wishes to be excused from combat flight duty. In order to be excused from such duty, he must submit an official medical diagnosis from his squadron's flight surgeon, demonstrating that he is insane and therefore unfit. According to the Army regulations, however, any sane person would naturally not want to fly combat missions because they are very dangerous. By requesting permission not to fly combat missions on the grounds of insanity, the bombardier actually demonstrates that he is sane and therefore fit to fly. Obviously, a certain degree of familiarity with the literary text alluded to is essential to the understanding of the metaphor.

The same can be said of the last example presented above. The metaphor alludes to an entire literary text entitled *The True Story of Ah Q* by arguably the best 20th century Chinese writer Lu Xun. Ah Q, the main character in the novel, is a peasant whose personality is depicted as rather thoughtless and self-deluding. When he is humiliated by his fellow villagers, he always manages to obtain a sense of victory by consoling himself in one way or another. For instance, one time when he is doing well in a gamble, a skirmish erupts during which he not only loses his money but is also physically beaten up, but he is able to gain his peace of mind by slapping his own face, imagining that he is hitting his enemies. Even when he is taken out to be executed at the end of the story, he consoles himself by thinking that "in this world probably it is the fate of everybody at some time to have his head cut off". On the strength of this whole textual situation, the phrase /Ah Q/ can now be used to refer to any person who interprets his defeats as moral victories.

4. Metaphorical Patterns

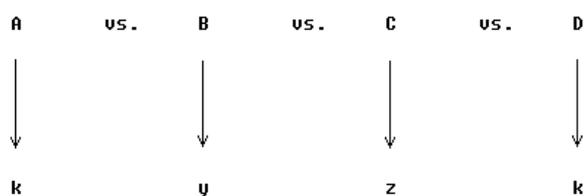
From the examples given earlier, we can see that the relationship between metaphor and culture is mostly haphazard and therefore unpredictable, but this does not mean we cannot find in a culture certain metaphorical patterns that are related to its members' collective value orientations which tend to highlight certain aspects of things and phenomena in the process of metaphorical conceptualization.

To demonstrate the effect of social mores on the use of metaphors, let us consider in some detail what Vivien Sung calls "the five most sought-after values in Chinese culture" (2002, p. 11), that is, luck (fu2), prosperity (lu4), longevity (shou4), happiness (xi3), and wealth (cai2). For thousands of years, the Chinese have generally believed that they can increase their chances of success in life or at least make one another happier by surrounding themselves with auspicious objects or their images, and this has led to an enormous repertoire of metaphors, both verbal and nonverbal, that are related to the above mentioned "five blessings" (wu3 fu2). Auspicious objects can be natural as well as man-made, ranging from animals to vegetation to artifacts which in themselves do not possess any inherent "values" but become signs or symbols thereof once they are connected to human wishes and aspirations, mostly by dint of iconicity and/or indexicality. More specifically, the connection between salient cultural values and otherwise purely material objects are made through resemblance either in content or in form if those objects are already represented in language.

In his seminal essay "The Semantics of Metaphor", Umberto Eco has this to say about "contiguity by resemblance of signifieds":

A semiotic explanation of different rhetorical figures can be attempted through the development of the theory of interpretants as represented in the Model Q².

Suppose a code is formed that posits a system of paradigmatic relations of the following sort:



where the horizontal line constitutes a paradigm of different sememes and the vertical correlation constitutes relations from sememe to seme or semantic mark (k is a semantic mark of A; obviously, according to the Model Q, k can become in its turn a sememe k to be analyzed through other semantic marks, among which even a could be considered).

To name A by k is a case of synecdoche (the veil for the ship, *pars pro toto*). Since k could even be the seme <crow> characterizing the sememe <king>, to name A by k can also be a case of metonymy (in traditional terms; in terms of our

present approach, such a difference tends to disappear). But k happens to be also a seme of another sememe, namely, D. Therefore, by an amalgamation through k, one can substitute A with /D/. This is a case of metaphor. A long white neck being a property of a beautiful woman and of a swan, the woman can be metaphorically substituted for by the swan. Apparently, one entity is in place of the other by virtue of a mutual resemblance. (Innis, 1985, p. 261)

A distinctly Chinese example of this would be mandarin ducks which, because they usually live in pairs and mate for life, are often portrayed on pillowcases, bedcovers, and other Chinese household articles to signify a long and harmonious marriage.



Mandarin Ducks

It is not that people of other cultures have failed to notice the monogamous habit of the bird but that they do not make a point of linking it with conjugal life in its ideal state which gives birth to the metaphor.

Eco's insight on "contiguity by resemblance of signifiers" is even more pertinent to the study of Chinese culture because a huge percentage of its metaphors are the results of phonetic analogy or slippage. As is the case with content-based metaphors, the connection between the vehicle and the topic of a form-based metaphor was originally non-existent until it is initiated and then repeatedly reinforced through a mediator which sounds the same or similar. Umberto Eco thus explains:

In truth, though, the force of the pun (and of every successful and inventive metaphor) consists in the fact that prior to it no one had grasped the resemblance. Prior to 'Jungfraud' there was no reason to suspect a relationship between Freud, psychoanalysis, fraud, lie, and lapsus (*linguae* or *calami*). The resemblance becomes necessary only after the contiguity is realized. Actually (*FW* itself is the proof), it is enough to find the means of rendering two terms phonetically contiguous for the resemblance to impose itself; at best, the similitude of signifiers (at least in the place of encounter) is that which precedes, and the similitude of signifieds is a consequence of it. (Innis, 1985, p. 256)

This phenomenon occurs at an extremely high frequency in Chinese language which is known for its enormous amount of homophones or near homophones. Very often there are words which have entirely different meanings but sound exactly or almost the same. It is little wonder that in their pervasive well-wishing activities Chinese people have taken full advantage of such a rich resource of identical or similar sounds, giving rise to a large number of blessing-related symbols.

4.1 Symbols of Luck

The Chinese word for <luck> is /fu2/ as in /fu2 qi4/ (good luck) and /fu2 xiang4/ (a face showing luck) or /yun4/ as in /yun4 qi4/ (good fortune). In as early as the 14th century, /fu2/ of various sizes could be found on the doors of many Chinese houses expressing their residents' wish for a better future. It was usually placed upside down because "to reverse" /dao4/ is a homophone of "to arrive" /dao4/, thus signifying <luck is coming>. The practice has continued until the present day, especially for the occasion of the Spring Festival which marks the beginning of a lunar new year. If the backdrop for the character is in red color as in the following figure, the whole poster stands for <great blessing> because /hong2/ (red) is pronounced in exactly the same way as another character which means <enormous>.



Luck Is Coming

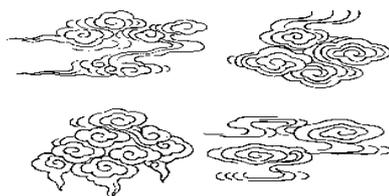
One prominent Chinese symbol of luck is bat, which in most other cultures tends to be associated with darkness and evil. The reason for this is that the Chinese character for bat is phonetically the same as the one for <luck>. /bat/ is also used

in combination with other objects or words to form propitious entities at a higher level. A picture of more than one bat, for example, means <multiple good luck>.



Multiple Good Luck

Another phonetically motivated symbol of luck is /yun2/ (cloud) which sounds similar to and is therefore employed to signify /yun4/ (good fortune). As with /bat/, /cloud/ is mostly used in visual contexts where patches of cloud overlapping one another stand for <continuous good fortune> or clouds in different colors imply multiplied blessings.



Auspicious Clouds

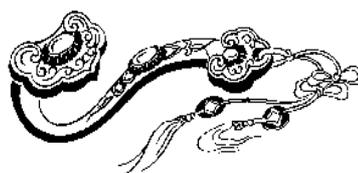
For a very recent use of the symbol, we may turn to the opening and closing ceremonies of the 29th Olympiad held in Beijing from August 8 to 24, 2008. Amongst many “obscure” signs that contributed to the exotic spectacles shown to billions of television viewers around the world was the pattern of clouds decorating the cauldron on top of the bird-nest stadium which carried the Olympic flame for a fortnight:



Olympic Torch above the Bird-Nest Stadium in Beijing

For those who are familiar with the Chinese symbol, the overlapping clouds stand for the good wish that the host wanted to extend to all the athletes and the people who were watching the games.

There are many content-based symbols of luck as well. One interesting example is the S-shaped itch-scratcher called /ru2 yi4/ which literally means <to feel satisfied>.



Itch-Scratcher

At one point in history, the gadget was liberated from its utilitarian function of obtaining physical satisfaction and turned into a gift between relatives and friends symbolizing <everything you wish>. This explains why the earliest ru2

yi4 scepters were made of wood or bamboo and later ones were made of jade, porcelain, silver or gold: expensive materials certainly add to the symbolic meaning of <good fortune>.

The most widely known Chinese symbol of luck is probably the dragon, a magic animal which, according to Chinese mythology, is able to shrink to the size of a tiny worm or to swell into a gigantic reptile with claws and scales. It is believed to reside either under the earth or at the bottom of the sea in winter and rise into the sky in spring, causing thunder and rain in its ascension.



Dragon

Initially the dragon was worshiped by the common Chinese as a benevolent creature which prevented droughts and brought harvests, but it gradually evolved into a general symbol of protection and fortune.

The earliest symbolization of the dragon is said to have begun in remote antiquity although its specific meaning may not always be clear to contemporary people. According to Ju Yueshi and Qu Ming-an (2001, p. 696), there was a discovery made in June 1993 by some Chinese scholars from the Hubei Institute of Archaeology at an excavation site in Zhangcheng village of White Lake area, Huangmei County, which reveals a giant dragon made of pebble stones. Dated at around 4000 years B.C., the artificial animal measures 4.46 meters in length, 2.28 meters in height, and 0.3-0.65 meters in width; it is portrayed as a pinniped with its long neck raised in the mode of flying. By the time of Han Dynasty (206 B.C. – A.D. 220), the dragon had become a symbol of such positive force that the imperial courts thereafter wanted to monopolize it as a symbol of royalty. Everything surrounding the emperor was now linked to dragon. The emperor's countenance was called /long2 yan2/ (dragon's face), the emperor's body /long2 ti3/ (dragon's body), the emperor's robe /long2 pao2/ (dragon's robe), the emperor's throne /long2 zuo4/ (dragon's seat), the emperor's bed /long2 chuang2/ (dragon's bed), and so on. As can be expected, the emperor's children are called /long2 zhong3/ (dragon's seeds), and some imperial families went so far as to intentionally mix up their genealogies with those of the dragon for the purpose of justifying their royal status. Liu Bang, who later became the First Emperor of Han Dynasty, for instance, had to compensate for his peasant origin in an attempt to compete for the throne against his rival Xiang Yu, who was from an old and renowned family of generals. He is said to have invented the story in which his mother Madame Liu was dozing off near a pond one day and experienced conjugation with a dragon in her dream. It was very dark at the time with lightning and thunder all over the sky. Worried about the safety of his wife, Liu's father went out to look for her but only to witness a dragon overpowering her. Madame Liu was thus impregnated and later gave birth to Liu Bang. That was why her son was so different from ordinary people. (Yi Siyu, 2005, p. 215)

Despite its hijacking by the imperial courts, the dragon as a symbol of good fortune continues to be very popular with the common folk in China. In the Chinese cyclic system of twelve animals indicating the year of a person's birth, the dragon is perceived to be the most propitious, causing many to desire to give birth to their children in that particular year. For the same reason, /dragon/ is contained in the names of virtually everything: people, mountains, rivers, towns and villages, food and flora. In the rural areas of China there used to be and still are many temples of the Dragon King (long2 wang2 miao4) where people go and burn incense to please this God of Rain for good harvests and peaceful life. At the end of the Spring Festival every year, Chinese in some places still stage "dragon dances" which evolved from the earlier worship of the mythological animal for the inducement of rain. In other places people hold a Dragon Festival in the second month of the lunar year during which they set off dragon-like strings of firecrackers as an appeal for good fortune in the coming year.

4.2 Symbols of Prosperity

The second category of the five blessings is /lu4/ which originally means <mandarin's salary>. From Han Dynasty down to the beginning of 20th century, the Chinese society, with occasional disruptions due to large-scale social upheavals, always held the practice of selecting its public officials through a competitive civil examination system. Those who passed the examinations even at the lowest level were usually guaranteed a comfortable and stable life. This kind of achievement was generally considered more honorable and respectable than becoming rich through other channels such as business, hence a separate category of blessing from /cai2/ (wealth).

One of the best known symbols of prosperity is an image of a deer because the Chinese character for the animal sounds exactly the same as that for <prosperity>. Used in combination with the symbols for <luck> and <longevity>, it presents an extremely propitious message of triple blessings to its viewer.



Luck, Prosperity and Longevity

Another interesting symbol of prosperity is /hou2/ (monkey) which happens to have the same pronunciation as another word which has the meaning of <the rank of count in the Chinese officialdom>. A picture of one monkey on the back of another, therefore, indicates a wish for securing official posts across generations. The character for <back> and the one for <generation> are both pronounced as bei4, hence the double connections. Similarly, a picture of a monkey riding a horse conveys the meaning of instant success in becoming an official because /ma3 shang4/ (mounting a horse) means <quickly> or <immediately>.

Two content-based symbols of prosperity are in order here. The first one is carp as in the common Chinese phrase /li3 yu2 tiao4 long2 meng2/ (a carp leaping over the dragon's gate). Chinese mythology has it that every year carps swim upstream along the Yellow River to spawn and those who are able to jump the rapids towards the end of their journey are transformed into dragons. This feat is often compared to success in passing the state examinations and is frequently shown in New Year pictures as below:



Carps Jump over Dragon Gate

The second content-based symbol of prosperity is /mou3 dan1/ (peony) which is widely appreciated by Chinese people for its huge petals and bright colors. During Sui and Tang dynasties (581-907), the plant became popular in the imperial palaces and thus earned the title of /hua1 wang2/ (king of flowers). Since then, peony has always been interpreted as a symbol for prosperity and nobility. The image of a peony in a vase, for example, is used to express the wish for <prosperity> and <peace>, with the former coming from its previous association with rank and honor and the latter coming from vase /ping2/ which is pronounced the same way as the character for <peace>.



Prosperity and Peace

4.3 Symbols of Longevity

To have a healthy body and a long life is the greatest wish of all people around the world, including the Chinese. Of the five blessings mentioned earlier longevity is considered the most important and has inspired a good many symbols that are related to the subject.

Two phonetically-induced symbols in this category are /mao1/ (cat) and /die2/ (butterfly) whose pronunciations are similar to and identical with two other characters for <advanced in age>, or more specifically, <over seventy or eighty years old>. A picture of a cat, a butterfly, and some peonies thus signify <prosperity in old age>, and a picture of a melon (which contains innumerable seeds inside it) and a butterfly stands for <old age with a large number of children>.



Prosperity in Old Age

A more direct phonetic symbol of longevity is /shou4/ (flycatcher) which is a homophone of the character for <long life>. Thus a picture of a flycatcher in conjunction with a camellia stands for <springtime forever>, and a picture of a flycatcher and a bunch of bamboos /zhu2/, which is a homophone of the character for <to wish>, signifies <wishing for a long life>.

There are many content-based symbols of longevity that are used by the Chinese either in daily life or in art and painting. One of them is /gui1/ (tortoise) which is widely admired for its extremely long life span. There have been exaggerated Chinese records of the tortoise living for up to one thousand or even three thousand years. (Williams, 1976, p. 405) For this reason, /gui1 ling2/ (tortoise age) is frequently used as a metaphor for long life. In fact, the tortoise as a symbol of longevity was so popular during the Tang and Song dynasties that many people of that historical period incorporated the character /gui1/ into their names in the hope that it could prolong their lives. (Ju & Qu, 2001, p. 714)

Another very popular Chinese symbol of longevity is /mian4 tiao2/ (noodles) which take on this function on the basis of their extended length. When noodles of one kind or another are served on someone's birthday, they are meant to wish the person a long life.

There are also plenty of things and objects that are metonymically related to the idea of long life. Drinking chrysanthemum tea, for example, is believed by many Chinese to be able to improve eyesight, alleviate dizziness, facilitate blood flow, and ease the burden of stomach, which are essential to a healthy and long life. Thus chrysanthemum is often used as a symbol of longevity, gaining the nickname as /chang2 shou4 hua1/ (the flower of longevity). It sometimes appears in conjunction with wolfberry (another Chinese plant that is said to possess multiple medicinal functions) to form a complex pictorial symbol that expresses a wish for long life.

It is worth repeating here that the attributes of things do not have to be existentially testable in order to enter a metaphorical relationship. /ling2 zhi1/ (fungus of immortality), for example, is said to be able to give eternal life to those who consume it or even able to revive people from recent death which certainly is scientifically untrue, but its alleged supernatural ability has made it one of the most prominent symbols of longevity in Chinese culture. As such, it is often shown being held in the beak of a crane, creating a symbol of double longevity.

The same is true with the use of peach as a symbol of longevity. Chinese legends have it that a magic peach can prolong the life of its consumer by six hundred years. This supernatural quality is derived from the story that magic peaches grow in the garden of the Queen Mother of the West and bear fruits once every three thousand years. Over the centuries, Chinese literary works have kept this magic power alive, culminating in Wu Cheng-en's novel *Journey to the West*, in which magic peaches are described as tiny in size but, once eaten, could turn one into an immortal. For this reason, peaches are one of the most popular gifts to be presented to an elderly person on his or her birthday. A picture of peaches and bats thus signify <a lot of luck and a very long life>.



A Lot of Luck and a Very Long Life

4.4 Symbols of (Marital) Happiness

Happiness as a general term runs across all the categories of human yearning mentioned above which is why /wu3 fu2/ is sometimes translated into “five-fold happiness” instead of “five blessings”. But when used in the narrower sense, it specifically means “conjugal bliss” that is essential to a contented life. Consequently, it is also related to the wish for fertility which has been one of the central concerns of the Chinese agricultural society for thousands of years.

A very common phonetically-motivated symbol of marital happiness is /xi3 que4/ (magpie). Literally, the Chinese phrase means “happy bird” and the adjective /xi3/ is the same character used for happiness in general. Thus a picture of two magpies facing each other stands for <conjugal bliss>.



Double Happiness

/he2/ (lotus) is another phonetically-related symbol of marital happiness. Pronounced in such a way, it generates a pun with either the character for <harmony> or the one for <togetherness>, which are deemed important to a successful marriage. A picture of two lotus flowers, therefore, is used to wish the receivers a harmonious relationship (he2 mu4 xiang1 chu3).

Marital happiness would be incomplete without children, the fruits of a couple’s love. This aspect of family life was particularly valued in the agrarian culture of China where more offspring simply meant more labor power to work in the field and to look after the elderly in the house. It is no surprise that the emphasis should find its way into the symbolization of objects. /li4 zi3/ (chestnut), for example, is identical in pronunciation with the phrase for <to establish children>. The fruit is thus often used as an auspicious gift for the newly wed in the hope that they will be able to give birth to many children soon.



Dates and Chestnuts = To Have Many Children Soon

Content-based symbols of conjugal bliss also abound in Chinese folk culture. In addition to the case of mandarin ducks mentioned earlier, /shi2 liu3/ (pomegranate) is much used as a wedding gift, not because it sounds similar to another word but because it directly conjures up a desirable state of things in relation to marriage. More specifically, the fruit in question contains a large number of seeds which is analogous to having many children in the family.



To Have as Many Children as Pomegranate Seeds

4.5 Symbols of Wealth

The notion of wealth in Chinese is expressed through the character /cai2/. Except in those ideologically sensitive historical periods such as the Cultural Revolution of the 1960-70s, the character in its apolitical context does not carry any negative connotation and is in fact viewed as an important component of happiness. For centuries, the Chinese have been surrounding themselves with a variety of symbols of wealth which they hope will bring them profit in business and fortune in the family.

One such symbol is /yu2/ (fish) which is phonetically identical with the character for <surplus>. For this reason, a picture of fish has become an extremely popular New Year decoration to wish its viewers financial successes in the coming year. When fish appears in connection with /lian2/ (lotus) which is pronounced the same way as the word for <continuous>, the semiotic complex means <successive years of surplus>. If a real fish is served at a dinner table during the Spring Festival, it is usually left untouched to symbolize the wish for surplus of wealth for the family.



Successive Years of Surplus

Another phonetically motivated Chinese symbol of wealth is /fa2 cai4/, a kind of darkish grass that grows in the Gobi Desert of northwest China. The plant is tasteless and ugly-looking, yet it is highly valued because of its phonetic similarity to the expression for <to become wealthy>. It is commonly served at New Year's dinners to symbolize the wish for greater financial gain in the coming twelve months.

As is to be expected, there are also symbols of wealth that are not phonetically induced. Shoe-shaped gold or silver ingots, for example, often appear in New Year pictures. Called /yuan2 bao3/ in Chinese, they were once used as a standardized monetary unit from the 13th century down to the 19th century, hence a metonymic sign of riches.



Gold or Silver Ingot Used as Money

Also used as a symbol to promote wealth on New Year's Eve is dumpling which resembles the shape of ancient Chinese money mentioned above. This particular food is served on the occasion to convey the wish for a better financial year for the consumer. People in some regions of China even go so far as to insert a real coin into one of the dumplings in the process of making them. It is believed that the person who recovers it would enjoy a financially prosperous new year.

The above cases of metaphor and metonymy reveal once again that virtually everything in the world can be imbued with symbolic meaning. If we try to classify the innumerable objects and phenomena that the Chinese use for symbolic purposes, we find that many of them are concerned with the same few fundamental themes. In other words, many of the

Chinese symbols are related to the pervasive yearnings for good luck and fortune, for high civic and social rank, for a healthy and long life, for a happy and harmonious marriage with multiple children, and for riches and wealth, constituting what can be called a folk culture of wish-making.

5. The Subcultural Dimension

Human beings everywhere live in a complex society that can be analyzed in more than one way. Different geographical regions leave their mark on the people who inhabit those places; different ethnic groups follow dissimilar cultural customs and traditions; people of different classes and occupations hold diverse philosophies of life. These “subcultures” certainly have an impact on how people use metaphors in their everyday communication. As Zoltan Kovecses puts it, “[s]ubcultures often define themselves in contradistinction to main stream culture, and, often, they can in part be defined by the metaphors they use. And sometimes the self-definition of a subculture involves the unique metaphorical conceptualization of important concepts on which the separateness of the subculture is based.” (2005, p. 97) Indeed, if we take a close look at the plant-related symbols that Chinese scholars often use either in the form of real objects or their images in art works for the purpose of home and office decoration, it is not difficult to discover that they tend to be related to the predominant themes of overcoming adversity and self-effacement which is required of their profession.

One such plant is the flowering plum which is traditionally viewed as a symbol of fortitude and intrepidity. The conceptual ground behind the metaphor is that the plum tree is the first to bloom in early spring when traces of snow are still visible. This aspect of “braving the frost and snow” (bu4 wei4 yan2 han2, jing1 shuang1 ao4 xue3) is deemed similar to an essential quality of the ideal Confucian scholar who is supposed to stand up to bureaucratic bullies and social evils.

In contrast to the plum, which is a flower of early spring, the chrysanthemum continues to blossom in late autumn when nearly all other flowers have died or withered. For this reason, it is used by many as an emblem of patience and perseverance which is considered an indispensable quality of the “superior man”.

Next comes the orchid which has been interpreted as a symbol of refinement and modesty. This symbolic significance has to do mainly with the scent of the flower which is very mild but travels a long distance. Also valued is the fact that the orchid can grow on deserted lands or in deep valleys, coming into bloom in total solitude. Such is a desirable quality of the Confucian scholar who enjoys a quiet but productive life away from the public attention.

Then there is the bamboo which has been entrusted with the meaning of honesty and moral integrity and has become a favorite plant of the literati. (Zhao, 1996, p. 66) The center of the bamboo (its heart) is naturally hollow which links it with a Chinese phrase /xu1 xin1/ which means <modesty> or <humility>. More importantly, the texture of the plant is such that it breaks rather than bends which makes it a perfect symbolic vehicle for the upright character of the Confucian scholar.

As can be seen from the above, the flowering plum, the chrysanthemum, the orchid, and the bamboo have been made to signify some high virtues of the Confucian scholar. Collectively, they are known as /hu1 mu4 si4 jun1 zi3/ (the Four Gentlemen among Plants or the Four Noble Plants) and have served as a major motif of Chinese poetry and visual arts for well over a thousand years.



The Four Noble Plants in Chinese Painting

A good explanation for such a “noble” use of plants can be found in the works of Pierre Bourdieu, whose concept of “the economic world reversed” throws a very interesting light on the issue of social distinction.

According to the French theorist, the economic world we live in can be further analyzed into several subfields, each endowed with a specific rationality of its own, and how agents function in one economic subfield is not the same as in the others. The economic universe which Bourdieu himself studied the most (Bourdieu, 1984 & 1993) is the field of artistic production where the “common” economic law is shown to be reversed or rendered upside down. More specifically, artists are required by their internalized principle of art for art’s sake to disassociate themselves from direct financial profits or monetary gains that ordinary people are allowed to pursue openly and happily.

The same applies to the bureaucratic subfield in which the agents are supposed to sacrifice their personal interests to those of the public. As Bourdieu points out,

[T]here exist social universes in which search for strictly economic profit can be discouraged by explicit norms or tacit injunctions. “Noblesse oblige” means that it is that *noblesse* or nobility that impedes the nobleman from doing certain things and allows him to do others. Because it forms part of his definition, of his superior essence, to be disinterested, generous, he cannot be otherwise, “it is stronger than him.” (1998, p. 86).

In other words, members of the noble class are not allowed to be irreverent toward their collective ideals which, in the case of the Chinese literati, tend to be represented through the natural plants they find pertinent. And by such incessant metaphorical representations they try to produce and reproduce at least the appearance of conformity to the behavioral rules that constitute their specific social field.

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Notes

Note 1. The Arabic numerals 1, 2, 3, and 4 immediately following the pinyin of Chinese characters are used here and afterwards to indicate the four different tones that exist in the Chinese language.

Note 2. The Quillian model (Model Q) is based on a mass of nodes interconnected by different types of associative links. For the meaning of every lexeme, memory should contain a node which has as its ‘patriarch’ the term to be defined here

called *type*. The definition of a type A foresees the use of a series of other signifiers (as its own interpretants) which are included as *tokens* (and which, in the model, constitutes other lexemes).

The configuration of meaning of the lexeme is given by the multiplicity of its links with several 'tokens, each of which becomes, becomes, in its turn, a type B. Type B is the patriarch of a new configuration which includes many other lexemes as tokens; some of these lexemes were also tokens of type A. Thus type B can actually take type A as one among its own tokens.

"The over-all structure of the complete memory forms an enormous aggregation of planes, each consisting entirely of token nodes except for its 'head' node" (Quillian, p. 327)

This model therefore anticipates the definition of every sign, thanks to its interconnection with the universe of all other signs that function as interpretants, each of which is ready to become the sign interpreted by all the others: the model, in its complexity, is based upon a process of unlimited *semiosis*. Starting with a sign that is considered as a 'type', one can retrace, from the center to the extreme periphery, the entire universe of cultural units. Each of these can in turn become the center and generate infinite peripheries. (Innis, 1985, p. 271).



Re-Exploring on Japanese Values Diplomacy

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Abstract

Japan's values diplomacy was proposed by Tarou Asou Taro Aso in 2007. And in the period of Fukuda ruling, this diplomacy contemporarily withdrew from Japanese diplomatic stage, but its democratic values concept is still displayed in diplomatic activities. After Tarou Asou Taro Aso became the prime minister, what would be the position of values diplomacy in Japanese strategy and national policy? On this issue, it is necessary to have a deep exploring into Japanese values diplomacy. In this text, the author thinks that we can not just regard this kind of diplomacy as an ideological method of blocking Sino-Russian strategic space. It is more an important component of the comprehensive security cooperation strategy in the 21st century, and it preoccupies an important status in Japanese national strategy and policy.

Keywords: Japan, Values diplomacy, Research

On January 26th 2007, in the 166th ordinary national congress diplomatic speech, Tarou Asou Taro Aso definitely said, there were three backbones in the previous Japanese diplomacy, namely, Japan-America alliance, international coordination and focus on relationships with neighborhoods. Now another important backbone is going to be added, that is, to try to establish "Freedom and Prosperity Arc". Analyzing from a diplomatic perspective, the new diplomatic backbone proposed by Tarou Asou Taro Aso contained important national strategic meanings. It is based on democracy and peace theory after the cold war, recognizing that in order for the realization of international stabilization and prosperity, it is necessary to establish an international system based on it. Relationships among commonly liberal and democratic nations are stable, and their trust in each other is firm. It is only liberal and democratic nations that can ensure their countries' policies abide by international obligations and get others' trust. Geographically, "Freedom and Prosperity Arc" starts from North Europe, crossing through three nations of the Baltic Sea, Middle Europe, Eastern Europe, Middle Asia, Middle East, and Indian subcontinent, running through South east Asia, and finally arrives in districts of North East Asia. In "Diplomatic Book" in 2007, Japan further expanded the geographical sphere of the arc, pointing out this arc should also be commonly owned by China and Middle South America as well as Africa. It was just because Japanese government realized that geographical demarcation of this arc might lead to antipathy of nations inside and outside the arc. As the new diplomatic policy of Japan, values diplomacy has aroused obvious reactions in international society.

1. Proposing of the background

Values diplomacy is a general strategic implementation of Japanese diplomatic policy, not just including values of freedom and democracy, and also not just against China and Russia. For the understanding of values diplomacy, we can not just see it from a narrow viewpoint, because it also mobilizes several policy methods, such as safety guarantee, economy, economic cooperation, culture and propaganda, etc. Similar to the comprehensive safety guarantee strategy by Daping and Zhongzenggen Cabinet in the 1980s, it is an important part of the new strategy in the 21st century. Therefore, its strategic target is not to adopt reforming methods in terms of diplomatic activities, but to establish diplomatic policies according to Japan's geography position after an observation of current international environment. Its final target is to realize an ordinary country status in the UN. The proposing of the values diplomacy has its era background:

1.1 Elimination of Japan's apprehension for the surrounding Asian countries

Japanese people believe that their country is the first one entering the age of democracy since Japan put forward freedom and democratic diplomacy. However, due to the fact that most Asian countries just broke away from colonial status after the War, there was no need for freedom and democracy. If the values diplomacy had been proposed based on

Japanese experience, it would have encountered strong opposition of Asian countries. But after the cold war, South Korean democracy progress quickened, and China also accepted and developed the general values. All Asian countries quickened their democracy progress. Under such a circumstance, Japan thought that obstacles at proposing values diplomacy had greatly decreased.

1.2 Decrease of Japan's apprehension for diplomatic unbalance

Obstacles towards Japan's proposing of values diplomacy has something to do with the "Asia Disengagement Theory" of early Ming Dynasty, that is, whether Japan's diplomatic basis is from Oriental (China) or from Occidental. Although Japan lies in Asia, long-time absorption of Occidental cultural ideals has made its political and economic activities spread around the world, and its safety guarantee has to rely on America, which will be embodied in the diplomatic aspects. Therefore, how to make a balance in the Oriental and Occidental diplomacy is rather difficult. If Japan had proposed the values diplomacy too early, it would have resulted in distance sense with Asia and damage some subtle balance in diplomacy. After the cold war, multilateral diplomacy was extremely active, and the relationships between Asian and Occidental countries became more and more close, so worries about unbalance of values between Occidental and Asian countries saw its mediation. Therefore, Japan expected that its diplomacy could attain a breakthrough at this period.

1.3 Improvement of domestic human rights and democratic establishment

In the early period of postwar, many Japanese people thought that their freedom and democracy were forcibly implanted by America. However, it was just this kind of foreign values that made its fast growth in Japanese culture. Today, 60 years after the war, a majority of Japanese think freedom and democracy belong to their own, but not belonging to Occidental countries. This indicates that within alternation of a century, values of Japanese have already made obvious changes. Tarou Asou Taro Aso denoted "Japan brought in its freedom and democracy before the war, and again after the war, which made its citizens' attitude towards freedom and democracy just the same as that towards their proper pride." In February 2007, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan made a questionnaire on Sino-Japanese relationship, asking them "for the mutual understanding of the two countries, what should Japanese introduce to Chinese?" Most of answers were democratic human rights and pacifism, which indicated that Japanese people's understanding in freedom and democracy had achieved great changes.

2. Strategic intension

As an important aspect of the new comprehensive safety guarantee strategy in the 21st century, the values diplomacy includes the following three aspects:

2.1 melioration of Japanese image

2.1.1 Improving its irresponsible international image in the safety guarantee field. Japanese think that in the information era, to regard values as diplomatic strategy for propaganda will achieve get twice the result with half the effort. For example, the proposing of peaceful growing positively propagandized China's peaceful theory to the world. However, the international society generally sees the economic advantages of Japan, but does not think Japan fulfills its obligations in Security Cooperation field, etc., and they think Japan just regards the Ninth Item of the Constitution as an excuse for no fulfilling its Security Cooperation obligations. In addition, as a traditional country, Japan is highly concerned in many issues, including its military affairs.

2.1.2 Changing of Japan's unprincipled diplomatic image. There have been examples about Japan's fast changing of its national policy in view of the realism and international situation. In other words, Japan's diplomacy is short of cultural conceptions, and they may give up their diplomatic image just for their interests. Furthermore, other countries at large think that the three backbones of Japan's diplomacy are mutually inconsistent, and it's hard to know exactly which one is their priority, which results in a fuzzy understanding of other countries in Japan's diplomatic policy. Therefore, it is necessary to clarify the international society's attitude towards Japan's unprincipled diplomacy.

2.1.3 The changing of its image of insufficiently developed democratic human rights. Most of the time after the War, Liberal Democratic Party was the only ruling party in Japan, and Japan continued its conservation, so it was not a real democratic country. Besides, there exists "Comfort Woman" in Japan that remains unresolved.

2.1.4 The changing of its image of never reflecting on its history. The international society, especially Asian neighbor countries think that Japan is a country which is most forgetful for its history, and which never thoroughly self-reflects and never offers an apology. At present, conservatism revives in Japan, and its motive for intentionally changes its history is more obvious, so neighboring countries' impression on this aspect goes deeper.

Considering the previous abominable image, Japan thinks that it is necessary to change it thorough its values diplomacy, which has attained its good results. According to the survey of international public opinions by BBC in the first half of 2007, among all countries that bring positive effects to the world, Japan and Canada are the first two with best results.

2.2 Remission of historic burden

In the above survey by BBC, China and South Korea's judgment to Japan was the lowest. Even within more than a decade after the War, Japan could not get its neighborhood's forgiveness, and the author thinks it's a necessary reaction to Japan's diplomacy. Japanese government thinks, it is nothing the matter for China and South Korea to keep Japan in a situation of strategic defense. However, Chinese and South Korean scholars consistently hold the opinion that it is mostly due to Japan that historical issues haven't been solved from a political angle. Therefore, in the reducing of historical gap, values diplomacy provides the best resolution. Pursuing of historical truth is a freedom of academic research, and the occasion for proposing values diplomacy is rather important. At present, the international system is being re-conformed, when strengthening trust relationships may break away from the past historical burden.

2.3 Improving of international status

Japan believes that with the growing up of China, its international status gets continual improvement, but it is the opposite for Japan. Starting from a reasonable angle, generally a country would develop diplomacy consistent with its national power, and "a conceited diplomacy" would instead destroy its national interests. However, Japan has a tradition of over judging its power. In their eyes, a troublesome impression would do hard to their country and, most of all, it would smash its balance in its district and international society. In the changing process of international power balance, Japan should achieve a strategically mutual-benefit relationship with China, which actually means that even on a different values stand, there is also a need for the two parties to maintain and reinforce their balance relationship in the world and the district. And only if Japan strengthens its relationship with the country with which it has the same values, can Japan really improve its international status.

3. Strategic meanings

Since the implementation of values diplomacy, Japan's diplomacy has achieved great progress. In Asia, it has strengthened Japan's cooperative relationships with India, Australia and ASEAN; in Europe, it has strengthened Japan's strategic conversations with NATO and EU, and has enhanced its cooperative relationships with four countries of Middle East and Europe (Zech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia). All the above proves that it indeed has led to obvious reactions of the international society, and it plays a particular important part in the re-construction of international system and security cooperation field.

3.1 Its revelation of responsibility image to the international society

Japan considers values the most common thing. For the improvement of irresponsible impression, it definitely put its eyes on the capacious Asian and European Mainland edges, and at the same time, expresses its positive attitude of responsibility to international society. Through several times' assistance of these marginal countries to propagandize its diplomatic conception, Japan obtains affirmation from these countries. In addition, when Abe visited Europe in 2007, he denoted that Japan and NATO should bear common liabilities in the resolving of international problems. Such words were helpful in Europe's support of Japan joining the Security Council and Europe's good judgment on it in other international institutions. After the cold war, the international institution headed by UN did not play its original role. In the prevention of international system from developing towards a situation going against Japan, its values diplomacy, for sure, has played definite effects.

3.2 Strengthening of Japanese and American Alliance

Values diplomacy obvious displays a tendency of coming to heels with America. The fact that Japan suggested strengthening its relationship with NATO is a typical example. After the cold war, America regarded democratization promotion as a foundation for security cooperation, especially in the period of Clinton ruling, he proposed the diplomatic concept of democracy being the center. On the other hand, after the cold war, NATO kept expanding towards east, and developed activities in traditional districts with humanitarianism being an excuse. As a reaction to this tendency, Japan began to support democratization of Eastern Europe and Russia and the development of market economy. Japan's "Freedom and Prosperity Arc" is basically and geographically in conformity with the "Instable Arc" of USA in "QDR" in 2001, and happens to have the same viewpoint with continual enlarging of democracy community proposed by America in the security cooperation strategy in 2006. Therefore, Japanese and American alliance is further reinforced.

3.3 Enlarging of Asian democratization

One purpose of values diplomacy includes Asian democratization, while the key is to intensify its relationships with democratically large countries. In 2007 when Abe visited India, the two parties achieved a common understanding in the fact that forming strategic partnership for them was an indispensable backbone in Asian, and they played an indispensable part in the constructing of Asian new system. Japan claimed that, the future Asian community should not be confined to such a narrow system as ASEAN +3, but should construct ASEAN +3 +3 including Australia, New Zealand and India, even USA. Especially in the Security Cooperation area, Japan should promote its conversational cooperation of Security Cooperation with India and Austria, etc.. For example, in the "Japan-Australia Joint Declaration

on Security Cooperation”, the two parties advocated that they both had common strategic interests and security cooperation interests. By means of substantial cooperation and strategic conversation of foreign affairs, national defence and other sections, Japan, USA and Australia would intensify their cooperation. In one word, Japan believes that due to the historical and realistic reasons in the Asian and Pacific districts, values community can not be realized within a short period of time, and what’s most hopeful is to establish a security cooperation institution similar to NATO in these districts. Hence, the first thing Japan should do is to cooperate with countries having common values and realize security areas’ cooperation systematization.

3.4 Intensifying of free diplomacy

Japan affirmatively confirmed that the reinforcement of its relationships with NATO, Australia and India is unprecedented in Japanese history. However, on the issue of Korean nuclear weapons, there existed a disharmonious sound between Japan and USA. In order to claim its interests to USA effectively, Japan thought it was necessary to elevate its voice in international society. In 2007 when Abe visited Europe, he expressed his opposing attitude towards EU’s elimination of weapon embargo to China and towards China’s joining of G8. And he also expressed his independent opinion to EU on the hotspots in Asia and Pacific and on the globalization, etc. Japan thought that an independent viewpoint was helpful for Japan’s entering the Security Council. On the other hand, Japanese people are concerned about American emphasis on cooperation with China, while America is also concerned about Japan’s deviating and reinforcing its independent diplomacy. And what’s more, Japan would get closer to the more and more growing-up China. Expansion of these two concerns may cause strategic misunderstandings of these two countries.

4. Limitations

Obvious limitations of Japan’s values diplomacy involve the following three aspects:

4.1 Japan’s values concept not really implanted in Japanese strategic culture

Although values diplomacy has obvious strategic meaning, yet it differs from European and American countries which regard values as just a concept but not national interests, and this difference has not been sufficiently focused on in Japan. Freedom, democracy and human rights were, after all, brought in from Occidental countries, and although they have been developed in Japan for nearly a century, they are not as much mature. For example, in the aspect of party system, the fact that the national party’s general conservatism, and long-time one party in power has led international society to thinking there has been particularity in Japanese democratic system development. Furthermore, there has always been a tradition of “dependence” in Japanese strategic culture, because its values diplomacy obviously has a tendency to depending on American democracy. Therefore, international society suspects its life endurance.

4.2 Implementation methods limiting effects of values diplomacy

Methods of Japan implementing its values diplomacy are as follows: by means of ODA aid, to improve its status in those acceptance countries’ diplomatic policies; through sending Peacekeeping force, to set up its image of being responsible; in virtue of academic and cultural exchanging, to develop its civilian diplomacy.

ODA aid is one of national strategies that have been long carried out by Japanese government. During its implementation of several decades, it indeed has played its part in improving Japan’s international status. However, if Japan added values factors into aiding conditions, it would not be difficult to come to a conclusion that its image would be watered down. It would firstly think that this makes no difference from democratization proposed by Occidental countries in their aid. Hence, implementation of values diplomacy in this way might, on the contrary, do harm to its international image.

In terms of oversea army sending, such as in the issue of sending sea militia to Indian Ocean for supporting American army, Japanese parties were separated into two groups: one called “following America Party” headed with liberal and democratic Party and Civil Party, who thought that it was a key for Japan to denote to America that they would bear important responsibilities in international security area, and if this issue was not passed in Japanese national congress, it would greatly impair its international image; another group called “coordination Party” headed with Democratic Party, who thought that Japan’s sending army had conflicted with its national constitution per se, and at the same time, they hadn’t got UN’s approval in sending peacekeeping force into Afghanistan, so they did not agree sending troops. Since Democratic Party accounted for the majority of seats in the senate, it was rather difficult for Japanese government trying to set up a responsible image by this means.

Academic and cultural exchange is a diplomatic method proposed by Junichiro Koizumi in his ruling period. However, a system of researching foreign countries in Japan has been rather fragile. For instance, in other countries, research institutes affiliated to famous universities or independent institutes are quite a lot, eg., American research centers, Asian research centers, and Japanese research centers, etc, while in Japan, there even have not been any single institute that conducts a comprehensive research on the present America, which confined Japan’s exchange with global academy and culture. Furthermore, a large quantity of people in the world fancy Japanese tea ceremony, caricature and sumo, etc.,. Yet those who really want to learn are highly less. Japan’s cultural universality is not as what its government imagines.

4.3 Ideology leadership not recognized by international society

Although Japanese government clarified that their values diplomacy was not aimed at any single country, and it was just a wide direction of Japan's continually developing its diplomacy. Yet it can not be denied that the essence of its values diplomacy is ideology, and it is quite probable that the "Freedom and Prosperity Arc" can cause antipathy of nations inside and outside the arc. Countries inside the arc are centered with China and Russia. While the latter thinks that the development of Japanese values diplomacy in Middle East and Europe has greatly impaired Russian interests in this area, the former holds the view that Japan's establishment of democratic network is aimed at blocking China. Meanwhile, China thinks that Japan's values diplomacy and strategic reciprocity exactly revealed the two sides of its attitude towards China, namely, competition and cooperation, holding down and coordination. These two policies supplement each other: they can trade off when necessary and they can also be respectively used on different occasions. In addition, among nations inside the arc, countries such as Africa and South America also hold veiled opinions this idea, thinking that Japan ignores their development.

In January 2008 when Fukuda made his speech in the 169th national congress about administration policies, he expressed denoted that Japan would continue to make contributions to the world's democracy, peace and development. Masahiko Komura said in the 62th General Assembly "the way of freedom is indispensable to realize justified vote and democracy as well as peace. In order for democratization to be pushed forward, we will provide all necessary aids ...

Not in conflict with democracy, legal governing is foundation of peace and prosperity, and our country will provide aid for legal perfection of developing countries. Background of pushing forward the above causes is based on values concepts such as freedom, human rights, democratic and legal system, which are all international issues. Human nature's dignity is the most important foundation." He advocated their democratic values concept without restraint.

The new prime minister Tarou Asou Taro Aso had a speech in the 63th General Assembly, expressing his idea of building up Japan's reciprocity with China and South Korea, but at the same time, emphasizing that Japan would push forward global peace and development together with those countries having the same values. All this indicates that Tarou Asou Taro Aso has not totally changed his diplomatic concept. What China is most concerned is whether Japan's democratic network would include Taiwan. Taiwan is the fourth largest trade partner of Japan, and in 2006, people that exchanged visits between Japan and Taiwan rose to approximately 250. They have kept in close contact with each other in each field. Although Japan claimed that it was a "passive country" in terms of Taiwan issue, authority negotiation of Mainland and Taiwan is the key of exploring a way to peacefully revolve issues. And they criticized that Japan's values diplomacy aiming at Taiwan Issue was incorrect. Making a comprehensive view of relationships of the Mainland and Taiwan nowadays, we think that the primary topic will transfer from Reigning and Independence to System. If Japan and Taiwan make an issue of freedom and democracy, China's unification might be greatly influenced.

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Culture Justice of the 21st Century: Diverse Civilization

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Abstract

The main theme of this paper is culture justice, which is the new paradigm of culture development in the 21st century. The 21st century is characterized primarily by globalization and by the rapid development of science and technology. Confronted by the opportunities and challenges offered by these changes, different countries and people with different cultural traditions will make important judgments and decisions in light of their own experiences and in their specific cultural contexts. As to the impacts of globalization on culture, basically, there are two different views, one being positive, the other negative. So far, most researchers in this area worry that through the cultural exchange the western culture can easily supplant the local culture, causing reduction in diversity through hybridization or even assimilation. Under such circumstance, it is of extreme necessity to have a study on the trend of cultural development and to help the people of different cultures to establish correct attitudes to the challenges. But up to now, there is little research discussing the basis of cultural development and no focus is put on constructing the principle of culture development. Aiming to construct the principle of culture development in the 21st century and to provide a positive attitude to face the globalization, this paper made a research on cultural exchange between china and foreign countries and studied the achievements, characteristics and problems in the Sino-foreign cultural exchanges. The conclusion is drawn that diverse civilization is the basis for national equality and human right, the world needs all kinds of cultures and that we should inherit and develop our cultural tradition and use the achievements of diverse culture, to make progress through innovation with each passing times.

Keywords: Culture justice, Diverse civilization, Globalization, Cultural exchange

1. Introduction

1.1 Research background

In the 21st century, with the further development of industrialization and scientific revolutions, the diffusion of scientific knowledge and technology worldwide has been promoted, geographical and conceptual distances between people have been narrowed and the means of human exchanges and cooperation have been expanded. All these processes have resulted in the advent of economic globalization, which is an objective phenomenon confronting the human race, as economic links and the interdependence of countries and regions become ever more significant and no single country or region will be able to exist independently of the globalized economy. In any case, this process will inevitably affect the spiritual life of mankind, impact different cultures in new ways, and help reshape them significantly.

As to the impacts of globalization on culture, basically, there are two different views, one being positive, the other negative. So far, most researchers in this area worry that through the cultural exchange the western culture can easily supplant the local culture, causing reduction in diversity through hybridization or even assimilation. Such terms are often employed in discussing culture development as cultural imperialism, cultural homogeneity, cultural hegemony, post-colonialism, Occidentalism, cultural centrism, etc. When exchange arises between two cultures, it is usually the

case that the less advanced one is susceptible to the influence of the advanced one and therefore is easier to accept the latter. It is inevitable that different cultures exchange, assimilate, integrate and supplement with each other. But a nation is unable to take the initiative in the exchange and assimilate what is beneficial to it if it is weak with stagnant culture and backward science and technology. Under such circumstances, it is very likely to be devoid of options in choosing from foreign cultures and become an absolute passive receiver. Post-colonialism study is a new and hot topic in academic field these years, and it is applied to many fields of studies. Take its application in translation studies for example. Scholars find that the power differentials in the world determine the translation currency and material. Despite the ever-increasing number of translations of Chinese works, according to statistics, the amount of works translated from English into Chinese is much larger than that from Chinese into English and the quality of the latter is rather low, compared with the former. The reason for this mainly lies in that although the globalization of English ensures that translation doesn't only communicate British and American values, but also other cultures all over the world, the strong power dominates translation according to its willing and sometimes neglect and domesticates the culture of the weak powers. It is true of other fields of culture exchange.

1.2 Present research

Since the process of globalization is inevitable, different cultures are bound to influence each other. Cultures with more power are sure to exert more influence in the process of cultural globalization. Therefore, every culture is faced with the dilemma of joining in the outside world and keeping up its own characteristics. Under such circumstance, it is of extreme necessity to have a study on the trend of cultural development and to help the people of different cultures to establish correct attitudes to the challenges. But up to now, there is little research discussing the basis of cultural development and no focus is put on constructing the principle of culture development. Aiming to construct the principle of culture development in the 21st century and to provide a positive attitude to face the globalization, this paper made a research on cultural exchange between china and foreign countries and studied the achievements, characteristics and problems in the Sino-foreign cultural exchanges.

2. A research on cultural exchange between China and foreign countries

Chinese civilization is one of the oldest in the world and has been long known to the world. The course of cultural exchanges between China and the world can be divided into several stages.

In conducting cultural exchange, ancient china had always played the role of benefactor until the middle period of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Before that, there had been also the cases that Chinese culture collide with an equally advanced foreign culture and assimilated what was beneficial to itself. Under the circumstance, it often took quite a long time to move from the clashing stage to the assimilating stage and the mutually benefiting stage in the end. Later, since China no longer took the lead in the area of science and technology, it often had to learn from foreign cultures to make up for its weakness. For example, in the middle period of the Ming Dynasty, China began to adopt western approaches in astronomic studies and calendar calculation. In the 100 years after the Opium War (1840-1842), China had been forced to accept some foreign cultures.

2.1 Sino-foreign cultural exchanges after the implementation of the reform and opening policy

Since 1978, the implementation of the reform and opening policy and the switch from a planned to a market economy have generated profound changes in all areas of Chinese society. In order to be able to make timely adjustments to these changes, the Chinese government has stipulated a series of guidelines and policies concerning the future development of Chinese culture. The deepening of reform and opening to the outside world has made Sino-foreign cultural exchanges more flourishing than ever.

In 1994, some 13,176 persons in 1,176 delegations for cultural exchanges with foreign countries were approved by the Ministry of Culture. Of the delegations, 11 were official cultural delegations, 347 were performing groups, and 281 were parties from cultural circles and other people concerned with cultural exchanges. Meanwhile, 103 artistic and 33 cultural relics exhibitions were sponsored in other countries. At the same time, 15 governmental cultural delegations, 161 artistic performing groups and 131 exchange parties from cultural circles and other people concerned visited China, not including the sponsoring of 94 foreign art exhibitions in China. (Zhang Wenjian:1994)

The year 1996 saw the increased solidarity and strengthening of bilateral relations between China and many other countries. Visits to the peripheral countries by government cultural delegations and cultural officials included ones to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines. China also received government cultural delegations and cultural officials from them, thus promoting understanding and cooperation with those countries. Seven large and medium-sized art troupes were sent to give guest performances in countries including Japan, Pakistan and Brunei, and China in turn hosted art performance troupes, exhibitions and observer groups from abroad. (Sun Weixue:1996)

As China draws closer to the rest of the world, its population becomes increasingly cosmopolitan, as more and more foreigners decide to live and work in China. China has instituted the "green card" system that will give greater freedom

of movement to foreign expatriates whose lives are based in China.

As China's only comprehensive, multi-language monthly, China Today has seen rapid progress in the course of promoting Sino-foreign exchanges. In late 2004 it established a Middle East branch in Egypt and a Latin American branch in Mexico, from where the Arabic and Spanish editions of China Today are edited, printed, published and distributed. This is further testimony to China's cultural interaction with the rest of the world.

In November, 2000, China and the United States concluded an agreement on China's entry into the WTO. This year, China successfully reached an agreement with the European Union. China's openness will increase still further after joining the WTO. However, it should be pointed out that at a time when China has just established its market economy system and when the scope of domestic cultural undertakings as an industry is still in the making, China will face both opportunities and great challenges through its relaxation of the conditions for foreign entry into the Chinese culture sector. However, China will steadfastly keep to its opening policy and try its best to raise the quality of Chinese cultural products in order to compete within the international market.

2.2 The achievements and characteristics of Sino-foreign cultural exchanges after the implementation of the reform and opening policy

At present, China has cultural cooperation agreements with 123 countries, and has signed 430 cultural exchange implementation plans. It has established relationships within the realm of culture with over 160 countries and has ongoing, many faceted contacts with innumerable foreign and international cultural organizations. Chinese foreign cultural exchanges encompass literature, art, cultural relics, museums, the media, publishing, film, sports, education, science and technology, health, tourism and religion. Numerous celebrated foreign works of literature and social science have been translated into Chinese, and world famous foreign artists and their works have been introduced to China by the Chinese Ministry of Culture. Chinese culture is also actively disseminated abroad. Many Chinese artists have participated in international art festivals or contests involving music, dance, and acrobatics. In general, China's major achievements and characteristics in cultural exchanges with other countries can be summed up as follows.

(1) China's cultural co-operation with neighboring countries developed steadily.

According to the general principle of China's diplomatic work and the wish to establish friendly relations with surrounding countries, China made her own outstanding national culture more widely known and got to know the outstanding cultural achievements of other countries in Asia.

(2) China's cultural exchanges with the countries of the Third World were developed.

Asia, Africa and Latin America are where the countries of the Third World are concentrated. Developing and maintaining friendship and co-operation with such countries is the basis of China's foreign policy.

(3) The adoption of flexible ways actively helped the development of cultural exchanges with Europe and North America.

There were a variety of ways and channels of governmental and non-governmental cultural exchanges between China and countries in Europe and North America.

(4) Nongovernmental cultural exchanges developed energetically.

Nongovernmental cultural exchanges were the major channels for cultural exchanges with foreign countries, and made important contributions to increasing friendship between China and countries all over the world.

(5) The introduction of sound and progressive foreign cultural products helped the cultural undertakings of socialist China to prosper.

After the implementation of the reform and opening policy, the Ministry of Culture actively published China's outstanding national culture, at the same time paying attention to the introduction of outstanding cultural achievements from the rest of the world to develop bilateral and multilateral exchanges. As a result, the Chinese people's cultural field of vision was broadened and their artistic sentiments were improved. The people's spiritual and cultural life was enriched. China's socialist cultural undertakings were booming. The vitality of Chinese culture was renewed and opportunities were won for its development in the future. Though tremendous changes have taken place in the country, China is still dominated by the basic spirit of the Chinese national culture. With increasing international influence of China Chinese culture is becoming a powerful force in the world.

2.3 Problems in Sino-foreign cultural exchanges

Misreading and even conflict, between cultures is inevitable because of the differences in national cultures, histories, and societies. When two or more cultures engage in dialogues or exchanges, each interprets the alien cultures according to its own traditions and modes of thought. Misunderstandings thus arise, and other cultures are distorted, leading to the various misreading that have occurred in history. Examples are provided by the misunderstanding of traditional Chinese culture by the French scholars of the Enlightenment, and that of Western culture in modern China. Because of

misreading occurred in culture exchanges, some more problems arise. The first involves rebuilding a wall to fend off openness and dialogue in the name of preserving the so-called purity of traditional culture for fear that it might be misread; the second is the adoption of a hegemonistic and chauvinistic attitude and the acceptance of misinterpretations about the cultures of weaker nations; the third is to use cultural misreading as an excuse for a reluctance to learn from and understand other cultures. Perceiving and dealing with such problems properly has arisen great concern in today's international cultural exchanges. It is obvious that resolving these problems will be of great help for social progress and the development of mankind. In fact, "misreading" could also be understood as "awareness," that is, to be aware of oneself and to better oneself through an awareness of others. The aim of cultural exchanges and dialogue is to provide self reflection, rediscovery of oneself, and references to alien cultures and new sources of thought. It will take a long time to attain a thorough awareness through such "reading," and this topic will no doubt increase in importance in the cultural exchanges of the 21st century.

New questions have arisen in terms of international culture since the 1990s because of great changes in the world situation. Cultural "Euro-centrism" and "Occidentalism" have become the target of public criticism, and the establishment of new international cultural relationships has become the focus for thinkers and scholars from all over the world.

Never before has China been more prominent on the international scene or had such close interaction with the Western world than now. But neither has it experienced such an onslaught of Western culture, particularly its younger generation, who unreservedly adopt the exotic hairstyles, pop music and diverse leisure pursuits that are to them the West's most influential exports.

Might young Chinese people embrace Western culture to the extent that they reject their own? To find out, a group of university students carried out a survey on young people in seven Chinese cities, the results of which are discussed and analyzed in staff reporter Lu Rucai's article, "Embracing Western Ways While Cleaving to Tradition." Its conclusion is that acceptance of Western products and behavioral norms does not equate with an inside-out transformation.

There is still a lot for us to do to extend our cultural exchanges with foreign countries in order to enrich the world's cultural heritage and to increase friendship among people of different nations of the world. Our cultural exchange is contributing our efforts to reach this goal. In the future, we should try to find more ways to introduce Chinese culture to the rest of the world. For example, traditional Chinese medicine is a treasure of China but is not well known in other countries. The task of Sino-foreign cultural exchanges is still heavy, but it still has great potential.

3. Findings and discussion

China's multi-millennial history has imbued its culture with an innate strength that maintained national morale during the century-long struggle against aggressive and coercive Western powers, and helped the nation through two decades of reform and opening up. While welcoming aspects of the West that endorse China's presence in the global market, Chinese people nonetheless cherish their traditional culture. To improve future cultural exchanges between China and foreign countries, we should have a correct attitude on the following topics.

3.1 Globalization and cultural diversity

With the development of globalization, culture exchanges are improved and each country has more chances to learn from foreign countries to speed up its own development. While we view globalization with optimism, we do not mean to overlook the cultural differences and traditions that comprise the international community. Even in the globalized era, national and cultural differences persist. One of the important factors that must be kept in mind is the phenomenon of cultural diversity. This can be compared with the diversity of different species on earth and their perpetual vitality. The world is greatly enriched by such diversity, which has become an integral part of the human spirit. Likewise, cultural diversity encourages vigor and vitality, as it fosters respect for history and appreciation of the diverse varieties of human cultures and civilization. Differing traditions should and do co-exist, complementing each other with their merits and contributing to the entirety of human civilization in their respective ways. According to the Chinese ancestors, "different things come together make new things. No difference, no development". Each nation in the world has its own unique culture, which is what the nation can live on as well as the foundation of world cultural development. This unique culture of each nation can not be replaced by others. We are confident that just as mankind will continuously advance, history will not come to an end. The extent to which cultural traditions and local histories are valued will be an indicator of how well a country or an ethnic group is able to develop successfully in the wake of globalization. On the other hand, neglecting or abandoning traditions will render a country lifeless and put it at a great disadvantage in the international arena. To value, foster and preserve cultural diversity in the face of globalization is in accordance with the logic of historical development. But it is also a rational choice to make in the hope of promoting and securing the best possible future for all of mankind in the 21st century.

3.2 Traditional and modern culture, Chinese and western culture

The main topic of discussion in relation to culture in contemporary China continues to be whether traditional or modern,

Chinese or Western forms of culture are more relevant to China at the present time. It has been said that the difference between Chinese and Western cultures is the same as that between traditional and modern culture in China.

There are numerous other opinions that can be divided into several broad categories: (1) Those supporting the preservation of the best of Chinese tradition and opposing the infusion of Western cultural elements. Their love for and conservative attitude towards ancient Chinese culture is obvious. (2) Those in direct opposition to the above who support the complete transformation of Chinese culture based on a Western model. This is national cultural nihilism and surrender. (3) Between these two extremes there are a number of scholars whose views involve compromises in various forms.

Since the 16th century, there have been intellectuals with strong nationalist sentiments who were better informed about the world and who believed that in promoting a culture with national characteristics it was necessary to combine the merits of both Chinese and Western cultures in order to create a new variety. History has demonstrated that this approach is preferable to the total acceptance or total rejection of Western culture as a model for China. This is so because this approach transcends the issue of Chinese cultural centralism versus Western cultural centralism. It is not only the most relevant to the needs of the times, but is also the most balanced in spirit. It is a pity that as an independent school of thought it has not been sufficiently studied, reviewed or promoted. In the 1980s, for example, when the transformation of Chinese culture was hotly debated, familiar concepts such as wholesale Westernization, the total restructuring of Chinese culture, the revival of Confucianism, Chinese culture for value and Western culture for utilitarian purposes, etc., were all familiar to the general public, but the idea of “receiving critically (from Chinese ancient culture) and combining this with the merits of Western culture to produce a new, higher culture” was unknown as an independent school of thought.

In the 1930s, Professor Zhang Dainian of Beijing University proposed “a creative combination” and opposed both the concept that “oriental culture is supreme” and wholesale Westernization. He asserted that combining the merits of both Chinese and Western cultures could result in a new form of national culture. The term “creative combination” may be defined as follows: Taking from the traditional to serve the purposes of today; borrow from foreign sources for use in China; critically receiving the old elements and combining the merits of other countries to create a new culture. This is a relatively comprehensive answer to the question of choosing between the “ancient or modern, Chinese or Western.”

In its policies towards cultural development, the government of the People’s Republic of China has consistently followed the principle of critically inheriting from the old and combining this with the best of the world’s cultures so as to develop China’s own culture. This is demonstrated, for example, in the 1986 “Resolution on the Development of Spiritual Civilization,” which states that the fundamental guideline for cultural construction is the proper handling of the relationship between the old and the new, and Chinese and foreign cultures. That is, while receiving elements from history, such cultural construction must also embody the spirit of modern times; and while serving China, China must also face the world. Thus, by combining the old with the new, Chinese with foreign, we will inherit mankind’s achievements to serve our own ends, and by such combination and innovation we will create a high-level, thriving socialist culture. This is the conclusion we have arrived at after many years of searching and practice.

Any nation, as long as it is good at absorbing the essence of the material and spiritual civilization of mankind, is able to create and enjoy a high-level of civilization and make contributions to a higher level of the civilization of mankind. The advanced culture of a nation has never been the product of isolation, but has always been the product of extensive exchanges.

But the root and the main current of any culture must be filled with that nation’s features. The aim of introducing foreign culture is to enrich and improve a nation’s own culture. In dealing with the relationships between the national culture and the foreign culture, one should not act blindly. National nihilism should be discarded. We should maintain a correct stand, viewpoint, and method, criticize and discard the dross of traditional culture, and carry forward the essence of traditional culture. We should also criticize and discard what is backward and decadent in foreign cultures and only absorb what is progressive and useful.

We should conduct cultural exchange with foreign countries in a wider, deeper, more active and more effective way. We must actively publicize the fine traditional culture of the Chinese nation and socialist culture, setting up a correct image of a socialist China. Meanwhile, we should absorb all excellent cultural achievements created by mankind and use these as our reference. Through cultural exchange, different cultures can absorb one another and influence one another. Mutual influence is a very complicated phenomenon in the field of culture. Therefore, absorbing foreign culture is a process of taking a bite, chewing, and digesting. We should adopt the principle of discarding the rubbish, absorbing the essence, exporting more and importing the best, and resisting corrosive influences. By doing so, the different features and styles of various cultures will not disappear. On the contrary, different cultures can learn from each other’s strong points to offset their own weaknesses, and they can complement one another. As a matter of fact, following China’s economic development and improvements made in living standards, the vision of the Chinese people has broadened,

and their cultural appreciation has also changed. Their interests have become wider. They are not only concerned about China's traditional and modern socialist culture and art, but also have a desire to know about the trends of world cultural development, including the different artistic styles and schools.

While absorbing excellent achievements from foreign cultures, we should not be content with imitation without new creation. To be content with simple imitation is sterile, and it is impossible for us to scale new heights in art. Simple imitation is not equivalent to the novelty of the new. The novelty of the new is the combination of modern and traditional, of foreign and national characteristics, and of artistry and education.

3.3 The trend of culture development in the 21st century

The International Symposium on "Cultural Dialogues and Cultural Misreading" was held at Beijing National Library on 9 October 1995, from which we can see the trend of culture development in the 21st century. At the opening ceremony, Zhu Kaixuan stated in his speech, "I believe that real cultural exchanges can only be made when people live and talk on a friendly and equal footing." Huntington's work, which studies "cultural hegemony" and predicts new international conflicts in the post cold war period, reveals nothing more than the collapse of Occidentalism, once considered to embody universal values for human civilization. Now time and tide have changed and the West has been forced to take other types of cultures seriously and to consider the changing pattern of world culture now that Western civilization has lost its superior position. It is right in this sense that people of different cultures and races have finally come to see that man is at the threshold of a new cultural epoch after centuries of dominance by Western culture. Most of the scholars participating in the symposium wholeheartedly rejected the concept of "Occidentalism" based on culture centrism. Although it will take a long time to eliminate its influence, its theoretical rejection no longer poses a problem for Chinese and overseas scholars. On the contrary, culture diversity or diverse civilization in the development of world culture is today more and more widely accepted. In comparison to cultural centrism, diverse civilization is closer to the historical reality of cultural development and provides a better definition of its current state and future, signifies historical progress.

Culture justice is the new paradigm of culture development in the 21st century. It should be our basic stand to respect fully the cultural aspects of different nationalities and civilizations, and to promote peaceful co-existence, dialogue, communication, tolerance and the common development of diverse cultures.

As the world economy becomes increasingly global, and culture spreads beyond its original borders to the whole world, the basic path of human spiritual development is clear. World culture is bound, in future, to encompass more common denominators. However, this does not necessarily mean that it will become homogenous. We support the concept of a heterogeneous world culture. All peoples of the world have a responsibility to maintain their cultural characteristics, and at the same time awareness of common values, and the need to contribute to the development of human culture as a whole.

4. Conclusion

Through the study, we can see that globalization of culture is inevitable, but the globalization of culture does not mean the homogenization, or rather, the assimilation of culture. Sure is the western culture playing a leading parting the process of the globalization, and sure too never can the western culture bring all the culture on earth to be a monogenetic whole. To value, foster and preserve cultural diversity in the face of globalization is in accordance with the logic of historical development; but it is also a rational choice to make in the hope of promoting and securing the best possible future for all of mankind in the 21st century.

Culture justice is the trend of 21st century. It is very important to respect each other. To make up China's advanced culture in the background of globalization we should hold to the open policy in the cultural field to incorporate things of diverse nature; we should hold to inherit our cultural tradition and to develop our national culture; we should hold to use the achievements of diverse culture, to make progress through innovation with each passing times. To promote the international cultural exchanges and world cultural development in the new century, we are confident that as long as we take equal exchanges as the basis of international cultural relations, and multi-culture co-existence as the common desire of world cultural development, we can build a normal and reasonable new order of international culture. Human civilization can be thereafter further developed harmoniously and comprehensively. World cultural development will definitely have a bright future.

Due to limited time, the scope of the study was restricted to the relationships between the traditional culture of China and the global culture. Because little research has been done to discuss the basis of cultural development and no focus has been put on constructing the principle of culture development, and because access to literature on the justice of culture is limited, the paper is not comprehensive enough in many aspects, so more efforts are needed to make further study.

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Knowledge Process Outsourcing: India's Emergence as a Global Leader

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Abstract

Technological progress and rise of knowledge industries have created new business opportunities in the global scenario. After low end business processing, global corporations have started outsourcing high-value added forms of business process outsourcing. This has given rise to a new trend in outsourcing, Knowledge Process Outsourcing, KPO. This includes research and work on intellectual property, equity and finance, analytics, market research and data management, etc. After achieving success in BPOs, India is now gearing towards KPO's. This sector is expected to employ 250,000 persons by 2010. This paper examines issues of Knowledge process outsourcing in terms of Hecksher Ohlin Model. It looks at emerging trends of KPO sector in India. It gives a perspective on India's advantages in KPO and its emerging potential for the economy. It also highlights challenges faced by the upcoming KPO sector. Policy implementations regarding challenges are also discussed.

Keywords: Knowledge workers, Knowledge process outsourcing, Comparative advantage, Hecksher-Ohlin Theory etc

1. Introduction

The present day world is witnessing a rapid change from an industrial to a knowledge-based economy. In the knowledge economy, there is knowledge intensity where efficient production relies on information and know-how. A highly skilled labour force is the key to success in the knowledge economy and knowledge industry (Skyrme 1997, Stiglitz 1999). The knowledge professionals involved in the knowledge economy are referred to as knowledge workers. Knowledge workers are those workers who have higher levels of education and their work is the output of their skills (Taylor 1998). Also in a knowledge economy, the sustainable comparative advantage of a country lies in its intellectual resources in comparison to its natural resources or cheap labour force (World Development Report).

The evolution and maturity of the Indian BPO sector has given birth to KPO or Knowledge Process Outsourcing. BPO is getting differentiated into strata based on the level of skill and knowledge required for the job. As global business is becoming more competitive, the cycle time for introducing products and services has become smaller. Customers demand high quality of services provided. In response, business enterprises adopted systems and business models that provide operational efficiency. Also, these business models also add strategic value to their products and services. Hence, many firms have started outsourcing their high-end knowledge work to low-wage destinations. This phenomenon is known as knowledge process outsourcing or KPO. Knowledge Process Outsourcing involves off shoring of knowledge intensive business processes that require specialized domain expertise (Evalueserve 2005, Sengupta 2005, Sen and Sheil 2006).

2. Knowledge Process Outsourcing

Knowledge Process Outsourcing refers to the outsourcing of high-end complex tasks and processes like market research, investment research, patent filing, legal and sourcing and information amongst others. It includes legal process outsourcing. These are both high-value-added forms of business process outsourcing (BPO). KPO firms provide domain-based processes and business expertise, rather than just process expertise. Firms gradually move from low end to high end outsourcing. The IT industry started from Programming and maintenance. It has gradually evolved to IT led business strategy. The Insurance industry has evolved to Underwriting and Asset Management from Contact centers and customer support.

Among the fast-moving verticals within the KPO space, Data Search, and Integration & Management are expected to witness the fastest growth, with close to 50% CAGR and hit a USD 5 billion market globally. Market Research and Business Intelligence sectors will also witness close to 54% CAGR growth. Few areas which are evolving but have high potential are Engineering & Design, Animation and Simulation Services, Paralegal Content & Services, e-learning, Biotech & Pharmaceuticals, Research & Development and Equity, Financial Services and Insurance Research. The central premise of a KPO is to create value for the customer by providing domain expertise rather than process expertise.

Technological progress and rise of knowledge industries have created new business opportunities in the global scenario. One major business opportunity is that of outsourcing. After low end business processing, global corporations have started outsourcing high-value added forms of business process outsourcing. This has given rise to a new trend in outsourcing, Knowledge Process Outsourcing, KPO. This includes research and work on intellectual property, equity and finance, analytics, market research and data management, etc. After achieving success in BPOs, India is now gearing towards KPO's. This sector is expected to employ 250,000 persons by 2010 (Evalueserve 2005). Hence, the rising KPO sector has major implications for the Indian Economy.

Outsourcing has significant impact on the Indian Economy. Though an important area, there is lack of relevant research literature in this field. Sargeant (2006) examined the existing outsourcing relationship literature and identifies areas of opportunity for study as customer vendor relationship. The study identified the importance of the customer vendor relationship as an indicator for successful outcomes in outsourcing. Jiang and Quereshi (2006) reviewed literature on outsourcing and provided roadmap of future research on outsourcing results using data from 1990 to 2003. They highlighted 3 major gaps and future research opportunities in outsourcing studies. These papers analysed conceptual aspects of outsourcing.

Bhattacharya (2005) studied challenges for Indian companies in financial services KPO services. This research paper was sector specific and discussed the challenges aspects only. Mehta et al (2006) identified managerial challenges and opportunities faced by business process outsourcing (BPO) firms in India. They interviewed executives in 15 BPO firms. Critical issues were human resources- and organization-related challenges. Knowledge Process Outsourcing was identified as a future opportunity.

Sen and Falguni (2006) studied issues related to knowledge process outsourcing from the client firm and the provider's perspectives. The issues are derived from five cases studied by the authors in India and Ireland.

Literature review shows that issues related to outsourcing have been highlighted. However, it is seen that not much research has been done regarding the contribution of KPO towards Indian economy and challenges faced. This paper looks into these issues. The key issues on which the paper would throw light are

1. *Growing global trends in KPO as explained by Heckser Ohlin model*
2. *Emerging trends of KPO in India and areas of specialization*
3. *India's advantages in KPO and its emerging potential for the economy*
4. *Challenges faced by the upcoming KPO segment*
5. *Policy implementations regarding KPO sector*

3. Global outsourcing trends in KPO and its rationale

Outsourcing has been one of the major business trend of 90s. Outsourcing involves contracting with a supplier, this may or may not involve some degree of offshoring (wikipedia). Outsourcing of business processes lead to cost reduction of 80-90%, improved access to new technology and allowed a firm to focus on core competency. (Petrie 2000, EIU 1995). Cost savings, operational efficiencies, access to a highly talented workforce and improved quality are all underlying expectations in offshoring high-end processes to low wage destinations. The outsourcing firm focuses on broader business issues, or maintains a clearer strategic focus, while operational details are assumed by an outside expert (Petrie 2000; EIU/AA, 1995).

“Outsourcing,” in a corporate context, represents an organizational practice that involves the transfer of an organizational function to a third party. The third party may be located in another country (wikipedia). Definitions of outsourcing vary and some examples are: “an arrangement where one company provides services to another company that would otherwise have been implemented in-house.” (Skyes 2004).

Outsourcing involves the transfer of the management and/or day-to-day execution of an entire business function to an external service provider (Overby 2007). Outsourcing is “the transference to third-parties, the performance of functions once administered inhouse. Outsourcing is really two types of service: ITO (IT Outsourcing), involves a third party who is contracted to manage a particular application, including all related servers, networks, and software upgrades. BPO (Business Process Outsourcing), features a third party who manages the entire business process, such as accounting, procurement, or human resources.” (Skyes 2004). Knowledge Process Outsourcing refers to the outsourcing of high-end complex tasks and processes like market research, investment research, patent filing, legal and sourcing and information amongst others.

Initially, global firms outsourced less skilled business processes to countries with a large pool of skilled labour. This phenomenon was known as BPO or Business Process Outsourcing (BPO). This is a business model where a company contracts out some functions to a service provider who delivers the outsourced function back to the company. BPOs consists of services like customer services, insurance, banking, mortgage and asset management. The sales turnover of top 100 outsourcing Companies in 2008 was around 1.7\$ billion and employed 27,000 people (WNS 2008). The slowdown of US economy due to recession may further expedite the process of cost cutting resulting in increase in outsourcing to low cost nations.

India became a leader in this field of business process outsourcing, BPO. The contribution of BPO was 2.78 bn in 2003 and is expected to grow at a rate of 26% up to 2010 (Evalueserve 2005). Indian firms are figured high on list of outsourcing firms. In 2008, 20 Indian companies were placed in world’s top 100 firms in outsourcing (WNS 2008). Outsourcing experience is attributed as the main strength of firms as Tech Mahindra and HCL Technologies.

4. Analysis of Heckscher Ohlin theory as a basis of Comparative Advantage in KPO Industries

The main proposition of Hecksher Ohlin model is a country exports those goods that use intensively its relatively abundant factor of production. That is, countries export those goods that they are best suited to produce, given their factor endowment. The Heckscher Ohlin model is used as a basis of comparative advantage in KPO industries. Heckscher-Ohlin asserts that differences in comparative advantage come from differences in factor abundance and in the factor intensity of goods. The Heckscher-Ohlin model ignores differences in Total Factor Productivity across industries and assumes that all countries possess the same production function in a given industry. If countries exploit their comparative advantage in production and trade, there can be specialization in the production of goods in a specific sector, though the specialization does not need to be complete. There are several economic theories, which analyze comparative advantage and patterns of specialization. Hechscher-Ohlin explains a comparative advantage in production through comparing a country’s relative endowment of production factors in the economy within and across countries. A country will produce goods using the abundant factor most intensively in production, which can lead to specialization in a specific sector. (Kindleberger)

Different countries have different factor endowments that stem from their inherent geographic, historic and cultural heritage. Knowledge industries are typically intensive in skilled labour and educated manpower. Therefore what matters for a country’s comparative advantage in knowledge industries is its resource base in terms of skilled and educated manpower or human capital. To assess this, there is a need to study the endowment of human capital in developing nations. India is a labour Intensive country. India has largest pool of manpower, which is capable of efficiently serving the KPO

industry. The country produces more than 3 Million graduates annually. India enjoys the 2nd biggest reservoir of scientists, managers, and engineers in the world. In India, large numbers of people have an access to quality education but at the same time they get low salary as compared to their counterparts in other developed countries. This led the professionals to move to other developed countries. A large base of human capital along with low salaries is clearly what is going to determine the direction of knowledge process outsourcing.

5. Value proposition for KPO

Outsourcing creates value for both clients as well as vendors. Before outsourcing, the revenue breakup of a typical management-consulting firm in the US consists normally 20 percent fixed cost, 60 percent variable cost and 20 percent is profit margins

After outsourcing, the costs are 18 percent fixed cost, 30 percent variable cost, 20 percent is profit margins. This leads to savings, which is value creation of 32 percent for ‘clients’ of KPO firms. This increases competitiveness of firms. The variable cost of the client becomes the revenues for the KPO vendors. 30 percent of the revenues of a typical KPO vendor is profits (before taxes). Employees’ costs constitute around 35 percent of the revenues. The balance, i.e., 35

percent of the revenues, comprise overhead costs, such as telecom, transport, catering, infrastructure costs, etc., of the KPO vendors This leads to a multiplier effect for profit and employment generation (Evalueserve 2005).

Shortage of highly skilled labour in developed countries is leading to outsourcing. More and more companies are turning to India for offshoring. Shortage of manpower can be solved through outsourcing. Fig 1 shows demand and supply of US labor in 2010. It is seen that there will be excess demand for labor of 5.6 million in 2010. This gap will be partially filled by offshoring of 1.3 million jobs (Evalueserve 2005).

Apart from cost cutting and corresponding saving that are accrued, companies are offshoring their services as to take advantage of the low wage structure in some countries. This helps them to reduce costs. Outsourcing also helps to take advantage of the time zone differences to enhance flexibility (such as adding another shift of work). This brings products and services faster to the market. A large and better talent pool can be accessed. Offshoring also occurs due to the need for product or service localization (Pandey et al 2004).

The Indian KPO sector has immense opportunities for the SMEs. The SMEs can change their costs as per the short-term demands, which can create new business models. Outsourcing presents opportunities for small and medium enterprises. Small firms find outsourcing relatively easy. Many external services are already being outsourced and help achieve economies of scale.

6. Contribution of KPO towards Indian economy

India has a trained army of chartered accountants, doctors, MBAs, lawyers and research analysts which will enable it to get a major share of global KPO business.

The KPO industry has tremendous potential for India. The KPO sector in India employed around 25,000 people in 2003 and generated total business worth \$720 million. (Table 1).By 2010, it is expected to be worth a \$14 billion business employing 250,000 people in India (Evalueserve). The growth rate in this sector is very high, 45% in KPO as compared to 26% growth rate of BPO. In 2003-04, the knowledge process offshoring (KPO) business was worth \$720 million out of the total business process outsourcing (BPO) work of \$3.6 billion. By 2010, KPO is expected to grow to \$12 billion, while the entire outsourcing industry will be worth \$18 billion. The value added per employee in KPO is expected to be \$4,8000 as compared to \$ 21950 in BPO in 2010. KPO will contribute 1.8% to the Indian service sector by 2010 as against 0.24% in 2003

7. Skills required in Knowledge Process Outsourcing

The demand for manpower in KPO is very specific focusing on educational qualification as the work involves specialised knowledge. Work includes abstraction of technical patents, extraction of legacy technical data, cataloguing and indexing, taxonomy building and database creation and updating. Table 2 shows the lists of the prominent KPOs and the skills required. All this requires a basic interest and knowledge in specific domains besides an aptitude for working with data and information. These processes demand advanced analytical and specialized skill of knowledge workers. Table 4 shows the India's strength in various segments of KPO.

Companies have a cut-off for marks (grades), depending on the kind of domain knowledge required for the particular project. The works also requires people to have a right aptitude and attitude for doing research-oriented work. After recruitment, the candidates are trained in various skills. Besides this, the candidate should possess good communication skills, should have an aptitude towards programming, should be able to work in a team, under pressure and different shift timings (Manu, 2005).

KPO is a lucrative career option for upcoming knowledge professionals. KPO sector offers a good working atmosphere with global exposure and an opportunity to develop skill sets in a specialised field. The remuneration is high as a person with about two years experience can draw a pay packet of around Rs 6 lakh (Rs 600,000) to Rs 8 lakh (Rs 800,000) annually, while an experienced professional gets anywhere between Rs 15 lakh (Rs 1.5 million) and Rs 20 lakh (Rs 2 million). The average annual salary in the Indian KPO sector is currently around \$8000 per annum as compared to \$6000 per annum in BPO (Manu 2005).

Companies like Evalueserve, GE Caps, MarketRx have set up KPO in India. Evalueserve has set up a center in Gurgaon. Law firms such as Patent Matrix, Cantor-Colburn and Schwegman, Lundberg, and Woessner & Kluth have set up offices in India. Pharma majors Astra Zeneca and GlaxoSmithKline have set up drug discovery centres at low-cost destinations to boost their research and development activities. For R&D in software and chip design, major telecom and IT companies opt for India. Motorola, Intel, IBM, Cisco, Texas Instruments, Nokia and Philips have set up offshore design centres in India. Microsoft has opened its R&D centre in Bangalore. Some US law firms have set up their captive centres in India. Others are collaborating with Indian firms for the same. GE has a 2,000 strong workforce at its research centre in Bangalore. Efunds has more than 80% of its work force in India. For Evalueserve, out of 650 employees globally, 600 are based in India itself.

8. India suitability for KPO

This evolution needs to be understood from the perspective of the strengths of India as a destination--and driver--of the KPO phenomenon. Analysts put cost advantage; incidentally one of the most significant drivers of KPO, from a KPO assignment at 50percent. Another critical driver is the deficit of skilled human capital in developed countries like the USA and UK. It is expected that, by 2010, there will be a shortfall of 5.6 million skilled professionals in USA, and 700,000 in UK. This, coupled with the cost advantage, has resulted in high-annualized growth in the KPO business.

8.1 Offshoring attractiveness index

India is considered a very suitable location for KPO. India ranked the highest score in terms of location attractiveness Index. As per AT Kearney 2004 survey, India ranked the highest position in offshoring attractiveness index due to low costs and people skills and availability.

A cross-country analysis in Table 3 shows comparison of India with other offshoring destinations. India main competitors are countries as Russia, China, the Czech Republic, Philippines, Ireland and Israel. India has the twin advantage of a large knowledge base and lower costs. India's main strength has been the English language education system. Also, India has a favorable demographic picture with a majority of workforce belonging to the younger age group. Philippines, Ireland and Israel have small talent pools while China and Russia have non-English speaking population.

Table 4 shows some segments where countries have built capabilities. Several countries are now trying to build capabilities in specific KPO areas. Russia claims to be a good destination for healthcare- and technology-related KPOs. The Philippines has established itself as a successful animation-outsourcing destination.

8.2 India's Education System

India's education system is its main strength in KPO. Indian ancient education system was very scientific. The British developed a strong English speaking based education, which helped India to have a comparative advantage. The tertiary level of education system is well developed in India. There is a pool of highly skilled labour. Indians have a good aptitude for R & D. Low cost advantage due to currency value also is a major advantage. India is a democracy, so is US. The similarity between two countries is also an advantage.

The huge talent pool, low cost and strong research infrastructure attract many MNC to set up R&D centres in India. These R&D centres are beneficial to both developing and developed countries. India has the world's largest number of scientific and technological personnel after USA. In India, six times more people go to universities than in China.

The supply of manpower comes from people from diverse backgrounds. Engineers, MBAs, professionals with financial background and even journalists are qualified to work in KPO. People with science background have a better chance, as some tasks require data analysis and programming. India's strong education background provides a large pool of knowledge workers in various sectors as Pharmacy, Medicine, Law, Biotechnology, Education & Training, Engineering, Analytics, Design & Animation, Research & Development, Paralegal Content and even Intelligence services.

India's has a strong education sector. The number of colleges for professional education was 886 in 1990-91, which increased to 3201 in 2004-2005. As seen in Table 5, in 2004-05, it was estimated that there were 407 Universities, deemed universities and institutions of national importance. There were 136 research institutions, 1302 engg, tech & Arch colleges and 817 medical colleges. There were 2431 institutes of higher learning, which included law, Management, MCA/IT, Agriculture etc. Enrolment figures show that there were 55352 students enrolled in PhD/ DSc/ DPhil, 696609 students in BE/ Bsc(engg) / B. Arch and 256748 students in medicine.

8.3 Deteriorating share of BPO

In BPO, rising labour wages have led to rapid costs increase. In BPO, Indian salaries have increased at an average of 14 per cent a year (Evalueserve analysis). If this trend continues, they will increase by 2.5 times the current salaries (in constant dollars) by 2010, thereby reducing the cost-arbitrage benefit from the present 40 to 25 per cent. India may have become too costly to provide low-end services at competitive costs (Dash & Agarwal2005). Low-end services may move to cheaper destinations like Ukraine, Belarus and Malaysia. Commoditisation of BPO services will further boost the transition of present low-end destinations to the higher end of the value chain. Hence companies have to move from bpo to kpo to move up the value chain. As companies will get higher returns, they will prefer to shift to KPO

9. Most probable areas of KPO

1. Off shoring R&D in pharmaceuticals and biotechnology is another area where there is enormous potential for KPO. Aggarwal says destinations such as India offer significant cost advantages (as much as 40 to 60 per cent) in the areas of contract research and clinical trials. Companies such as AstraZeneca and GlaxoSmithKline have recently set up drug discovery centres at low-cost destinations to offshore R&D activities.

2. Chip design and embedded systems is another critical area. The reason why all major integrated design manufacturers such as Motorola, Intel, Analog Devices, National Semiconductor, IBM, Cisco, Cypress Semiconductor, Nokia and Philips have set up offshore design centres is simple. The compensation for a chip design engineer with a master's degree and five years' experience is about \$7,000 a month in the US. An engineer with the same qualification and experience in India gets about \$1,200 a month.

3. Data-mining services companies can save as much as 60 to 70 per cent on analytics and inventory management costs by off-shoring them. The cost differential between Pills/engineers in the US and India is almost \$60,000 to \$80,000.

4. The cost differential between PhDs/ engineers in the US and India is almost \$60,000 to \$80,000. Companies like Evalueserve, GE Caps, MarketRx have set up centres at low-cost destinations to provide these services. And more are expected to follow soon.

10. Challenges faced by KPO

KPO sector has a lot of potential for growth in India. However, India faces a number of challenges to establish itself as a global KPO leader. The major challenge in setting up a KPO will be to find talented workers. There are two main issues, quantity of knowledge workers and quality of knowledge workers. MBAs, CAs, PhDs and doctors with super specialization will be in demand. There should be a balance between demand and supply of knowledge workers. The gap between supply and demand needs to be filled.

To maintain a continuous supply of knowledge supply of knowledge workers, more education institutes are required. However, opening up new institutes of higher learning is accompanied by a set of problems. A major problem faced by education system is getting good faculty members. Lack of good faculty members is a problem faced by all institutes, including IITs and IIMs. Retention of high quality faculty is a major challenge. Wide differences in salaries between industry and academia lead to exit from academia to industry. Development of good faculty members is a major challenge.

The quality of knowledge workers is also a major challenge. The employability of people passing out from our education system also needs to be examined. It is seen that a large number of students graduating from our education system are not employable by industry. The quality of knowledge workers need to be maintained. For this, the education system needs to be revamped. Courses should be developed which cater to specific demands of KPO.

KPOs require understanding of how a client works. The contracts in the KPO industry will be of much shorter duration. They may range anywhere from three weeks to six months. So, delivering high quality work will be the major aim. The major challenge lies in the process of developing KPO capability to deliver this high quality work.

KPO businesses involve high risk and confidentiality and most of the work would be outsourced from the US. The sector also requires higher level of control, confidentiality and enhanced risk management. Proper framework for BPO taxation and data security laws is a must.

KPO also faces attrition, as it is difficult for companies to retain talented and trained people. With higher pay packages and perks, people change jobs very frequently. Many people are still reluctant to join as they feel it is an unstable career. Many are unaware of the potential of this sector and the scope of future prospects. There is a lot of scope for teachers as this sector offers a good pay package. The challenge lies in making people accept KPO as a high potential sector.

11. Conclusions, Policy Implications and Recommendations

This paper examines the prospects and challenges faced by KPO sector in India. As mentioned above, the KPO industry is a booming sector in India. It is expected to grow 45% in size by 2010. There are many areas in which India will specialize. India is expected to be a world leader in KPO. The contribution of KPO will be substantial in terms of employment and revenue generation. India is already established itself as a world leader in IT. Becoming a world leader in KPO will help India a long way in becoming a global superpower.

This paper highlights not only the future prospects but also addresses the impending challenges looming ahead. India's strength lies in its large pool of trained manpower available at low cost. As in case of software sector, the main input in KPO is high levels of human capital. India's strong education has led to creation of high levels of human capital. However, it faces a number of challenges. The education sector needs to be examined to maintain a balance between demand and supply of knowledge workers. Also, the quality of higher education also needs to be examined. Our education system produces a large number of degrees. Whether these degrees will suffice for KPO is also an issue, which needs to be examined. The employability factor of a large number of graduated produced from our system is also an issue which require attention. Both issues of quality and quantity of knowledge workers need to be looked into.

The education system needs to be expanded. As proposed, the government plans to set up 15 more IITs and IIMs. It is proposed to establish 16 central universities. Some institutes have already started functioning as an IIM in Shillong, 3 IISERs in Mohali, Pune and Kolkata and IIIT in Kancheepuram. The budget 2008-2009 has allocated special funds for setting up institutes of higher learning. In the budget 2008-09, there are provisions for setting up 3 IITs in Andhra

Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan, 2 IISERs at Bhopal and Thiruvananthapuram and two schools of planning and architecture at Bhopal and Vijayawada. More institutes of higher education will be set up in the Eleventh plan period. The government already accepted the recommendation of knowledge commission as to inter-connect knowledge institutions through an electronic digital broadband network.

For a large section of higher education, stress has to be laid on skill formation and not an ornamental degree. Care should be taken to provide holistic education, which imparts proper values, analytical skills and learning. Stress should be given on development of faculty members who will be grooming the future knowledge workers. Premier institutes are facing faculty crunch. Salaries of faculty members have to be revised and made on par with industry salaries. This along with proper incentives will make academia a attractive proposition for talented people. There should be sufficient integration between academia and industry to provide a right balance for up gradation of curriculum to keep in tune with the requirements of industry. Steps should be taken to provide special education in areas where KPO growth is expected to be high as Market Research. Specialization courses at postgraduate level for these areas should be developed. From the industry side, suitable steps should be taken for retention of talented knowledge workers.

Another important point to be mentioned here is with respect to recession in US Market. The impact of recession on Knowledge Process Outsourcing should also be assessed. Many feel that the recessionary nature of today's economic climate will promote the adoption of increased outsourcing. However, the value of Indian Rupee especially when compared to the US Dollar is making Indian KPO companies more competitive as per market forces.

India has a bright future in KPO. India has comparative advantage in knowledge work. Care should be taken so that our comparative advantage is not reduced. Other countries may try to develop their skills which will erode our advantage. If the above discussed challenges are addressed in the proper manner, India will definitely retain its supremacy in human capital and emerge as a world leader in KPO.

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Table 1. Contribution of KPO towards Indian economy

Service	Employment opportunity by 2010	Revenue generation	Value added per employee
BPO	820,000	\$ 39.8 billion	\$ 21950
KPO	250,000	\$ 12 billion	\$ 4,8000
Service	Employment opportunity by 2003	Revenue generation	Value added per employee
BPO	171,000(ITES – bpo)	2.68 bn	15672
KPO	25,000	720 million	28880

Source: Calculations based on Evalueserve analysis

Table 2. Lists of the prominent KPOs and the skills required

Segments	Services	Skill sets required
Legal services	Reviewing transactional & litigation documents; drafting contracts; research memoranda & due diligence reports; prosecuting patents; negotiations	Knowledge in US/UK laws; adept in legal application; ability to reason & research
Engineering R&D	3D modeling; conversion: 2D to 3D; finite analysis; computational fluid dynamics analysis; technical specifications for tenders; value engineering	CAD/CAM; drafting & modeling; product design
Market research & analytics	Secondary & primary research; conversion of findings to knowledge; writing & editing; formatting client reports	Statistical tools; research techniques; report writing & presentations; database research
Writing & content development	Editorial; content delivery; digitization of content; data enrichment & warehousing; pre-press work; proofreading; template designing; text composition	English communication skills; journalism; experience in writing
Pharma R&D	Research & development; drug discovery; clinical research	Doctors; master's degree in science, PhDs
Healthcare services	Diagnostic; genetic profiling; oncology tests; HIV & allergy	Medical degree; specialized subject knowledge
Education & training	K-12; private tutors; curriculum design; pedagogy; content development	Teaching methods/ techniques; cultural sensitivity; online teaching methods

Source: Sathe & Aradhana, Sourcingmag.com

Table 3. Main destinations for offshoring IT destinations (until March 2003)

Parameter	India	Canada	Ireland	Israel	Philippines	South Africa
IT export industry size (US \$ mn)	8955	3780	1920	900	640	96
Active export focused IT professionals	195,000	45000	21000	15000	20000	2000
IT employee cost (US \$ per yr)	5000-12000	36000	25000-35000	25000	7000	18000
IT labor force	Low cost, high quality	High cost, high qua	High cost, high quality	High cost, high quality	Low cost, moderate quality	Moderate cost, moderate quality
Infrastructure	Average	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Main positives	English language, abundant skills	Near shore USA	Large development centres	More shrink wrapped software	English language, cultural similarity	Language skills
Main negatives	Infrastructure	High cost	High cost	Regional unrest	Less project managers	New BPO industry

Source: Evalueserve, Nasscom

Table 4. Countries capability in particular segment

Segment	Country
Animation	Philippines, India, China
Content	India, Philippines
Financial services	India, China
Healthcare	Russia, India
IT/R&D	India, China, Russia
Legal	New Zealand, India
Pharma	India, Russia

Source: Sathe & Aradhana, Sourcingmag.com

Table 5. Education in India in 2004-05

Institution	Number
Universities etc	407
Research institutes	136
Engn, tech, Arch	1302
Medicine	817

Source: Selected Educational Statistics 2004-05

Table 6. Market potential for outsourced non-IT services (2008)

Service	Potential (In billion Dollars)
HR Service	44
Customer interaction services	33
Data Search, integration and management	18
Finance and accounting	15
Remote education	15
Other including pharmaceutical and research and development	8
Engineering and design	5
Medical Content and services	1
Legal Content and services	1
Translation, transportation etc	1
Total	141

Source: ScienceTech., 2007.

Table 7. Prominent KPO segments and players in India

Segment	Leading companies in space
Research/analytics	Evalueserve, SmartAnalyst, Netscribes, ValueNotes, Ugam Solutions, marketRx, Inductis, Allsec, Scope eKnowledge, Copal Partners, Pipal Research
Legal research	Pangea3, Atlas Legal, Manthan Services, Intellevate
Finance & accounting	Outsource Partners International, Sureprep, Karvy
Pharma/Biotech research	Biocon, Avesthagen, Eli Lilly, Saintlife, Pfizer, Bayer, AstraZeneca, GlaxoSmithKline, Novo Nordisk
Clinical research	Clingene, Avesthagen, Ranbaxy
Telecom R&D	Alcatel, Nokia, Qualcomm, Ericsson, Lucent Technologies
Software R&D	Microsoft, Google, Baan, Yahoo, Adobe, SAP Labs, BMC Software, IBM, HP, Phillips, Sun Microsystems
Chip design	Cisco, Intel, Texas Instruments, Motorola, AMD
Auto/engineering	Delphi, DaimlerChrysler, General Motors, Whirlpool, Neilsoft, Plexion, Quest
Publishing	TechBooks, Thomson Digital, Macmillan, Knowledgeworks Global, Newgen Imaging
E-learning	Brainvisa Technologies, NIIT Smartserve, Lionbridge, Tata Interactive Systems, Maximize Learning
Animation	Pentamedia Graphics, Crest Animation Studios, DQ Entertainment

Source: Sathe & Aradhana, Sourcingmag.com

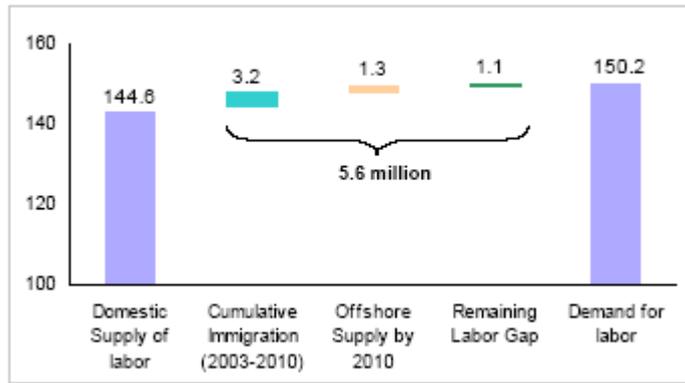


Figure 1. Situation of Demand and Supply of US Labor in 2010 (in Millions)

Source: Pandey et al 2004



Predicting Strategy and Listening Comprehension

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Abstract

The author found certain potential obstacles that students encounter in their listening class, which she believes should be removed by a good class teaching method. However, traditional listening class fails. She goes on to explore integrating strategies into listening class, among the many strategies she chooses the prediction strategy and describes it in three stages: Pre-listening, while-listening, and post-listening. Then a real model of applying prediction in listening class is given, whose effects are tested and proved efficient.

Keywords: Prediction, Strategy, Listening, Obstacles, Model

1. Introduction

As one of the fundamental language skills, listening is a medium through which listeners gain a large portion of their information. Especially in this age of mass communication, it is of vital importance that our students are taught to listen effectively and critically. Foreign language teachers increasingly agree on the need to teach listening comprehension as a separate skill. For language learners, listening is the skill that makes the heaviest processing demands, because learners must store information in short-term memory at the same time as they are working to understand the information. Thus, despite the recognition of the critical role it plays in communication, listening remains one of the least understood processes in language learning (Morley, 1991). In China, many students learning English are frustrated by listening and frantic for ways to improve their listening comprehension, but with little success.

2. Integrating strategies into listening comprehension

2.1 Potential obstacles for students in listening comprehension

In every two years I make investigations among the newcomers of my classes about their English study. Through these investigations, I've found out certain potential obstacles or difficulties that students encounter in their listening class.

- They found it difficult to keep up with the speakers in the tape recording, when they are busy working out the meaning of one part of what they hear, they miss what comes next.
- They are not familiar with the pronunciation of certain words or the accent of the speaker. They sometimes are unable to recognize words that they know in writing or words that even sound familiar to them.

Their vocabulary is limited. Just as Underwood (1989,17)said, "for people listening to a foreign language, an unknown word can be like a suddenly dropped barrier causing them to stop and think about the meaning of the word and thus making them miss the next part of the speech."

Accordingly the effective listening class should at least be able to remove the obstacles for the students. Let's check if our traditional listening class is capable of this.

2.2 Traditional listening class and its shortcomings

Traditionally, listening comprehension has often been regarded as a passive language skill and so, in classrooms, listening comprehension classes follow a relatively consistent format:

- Teaching of new vocabulary;
- Extensive listening (for general understanding of the context);
- Intensive listening (for some details);

- Doing the comprehension exercises;
- Checking answers;
- Explaining some difficult language points.

In classes such as this, listening is not taught but tested. Teachers focus on the outcome of listening, rather than on listening itself, upon product rather than process (Field, 1998). They do little or nothing to get rid of the obstacles students frequently encounter.

2.3 The necessity to integrating strategies listening comprehension

From the above format we can see that traditional teaching of listening comprehension fails to understand the mental processes that the EFL learners use in listening comprehension and it also fails to understand the deliberate strategies for comprehending language texts, for processing new information, and for learning and retaining concepts related to academic language and content (O' Malley, 1985).

To overcome the shortcomings of traditional listening class, Rubin (1994:199) suggests that it is the teacher's responsibility to teach students how to listen and that the strategy-based approach is the one that will bring the biggest improvements in comprehension. Teachers need help their students by making them aware of the strategies they use in their native language and introduce them to some new strategies in listening to a foreign language. In addition, language teachers now should consider the learners' strategies as integral elements in the design and implementation of effective language teaching.

3. The prediction strategy

Underwood (1989:30) said, "it is unfair to plunge students into the listening text, even when testing rather than teaching listening comprehension, as this makes it extremely difficult for them to use the natural listening skills (which we all use in our native language) of matching what they hear with what they expect to hear and using their previous knowledge to make sense of it."

Although there are many types of listening strategies (predicting, summarizing, distinguishing fact from opinion, interpreting tone, drawing inferences, etc.), this essay is going to dwell on prediction because it comes first and accounts for a comparatively larger importance.

3.1 What is prediction strategy

Prediction, or looking ahead, is a basic strategy for using prior knowledge to understand a text. The learner generates a hypothesis about the type, purpose, or scope of a text to provide a framework for transacting with the text to confirm comprehension.

Our interpretation of what we hear depends to a large extent on what we expect to hear. If what we hear does not meet our expectations, it may sometimes lead to misinterpretation. On the other hand, if we can predict accurately what we shall hear next, our listening will be much more efficient. There are very few occasions when people listen without having some idea of what they expect to hear.

The skill of prediction depends largely on one's prior knowledge of the world and of the language, how much one knows about the speaker, and how much one knows about the speaker's intent. Thus the initial stage of the training program for developing the predictive skill should concentrate on getting the students to become aware of their own prior knowledge and to use this prior knowledge as their basis for prediction and comprehension.

3.2 The application of prediction strategy

3.2.1 Pre-listening

This is a very important stage for listening class. The teacher could get the students ready to listen by doing the following instructions in three steps:

Step one: Help them by doing the following:

- Inform them the background information
- Teach new vocabulary and grammar forms relevant to the material.
- Translate some words they might not be familiar with or some sentences difficult to understand.

Step two: Conduct group discussions for the students to remind each other:

- The speaker and the speaker's possible purpose.
- Students' purpose for listening: to learn specific information; to understand most or all of the message.
- Students' knowledge/experience with the subject: think about what they already know about the subject.

Step three: Predict what they will be hearing:

- The format (how the message is organized and in what sequence)
- Key words, phrases or sentences they might expect to hear.
- The information or opinions

3.2.2 While-listening

While the students are listening they need to monitor their comprehension by:

- Check the accuracy of their predictions.
- Deny some predictions and form new ones which may soon be denied again.
- Decide what is and is not important to understand.

3.2.3 Post-listening

These strategies might help the students to synthesize, interpret and evaluate what they've heard:

- Check what predictions are correct/incorrect and helpful/useless, why.
- Consider what they heard and how it fits with what they know.
- Discuss the prediction strategy they used to listen – how much did they benefit from it?
- Conclude how to make a better prediction next time.

3.3 A model of applying prediction in listening class

The material used is a text titled *Being a Police Officer Is a Stressful Job* from Unit 4 in *College English Listening and Speaking Course 3* by Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press. The procedure is as follows:

Pre-listening: Step one:

- Inform the students some background information: what does stressful mean? What causes stress to people? What do police officers usually do on job? A story from the newspaper: A patrolling police officer stopped a driver for drunk drive but was suddenly stabbed by the driver and he was seriously wounded.
- Teach the new vocabulary from the text: explain the usage and teach how to read correctly.
- Translate some phrases from the text they might not be familiar with, eg. different types of assignments, supervising investigation, the fear factor, during a routine stop.

Step two: based on the title and the following choices:

- (1) a. Friends.
 b. A police officer and an investigator.
 c. Two police officers.
 d. A police officer and a program hostess.
- (2) a. His job as a police officer.
 b. His personal life.
 c. How stressful patrol work is.
 d. How police officers are taught to deal with stress.
- (3) a. He is an experienced police officer.
 b. He will quit his present job sooner or later.
 c. He is a good supervisor.
 d. He enjoys being a police officer.

Ask the students to have group discussions of some questions:

- What is your knowledge/experience about the police officers' job?
- What might be the speakers' topic and purpose?
- What do you think the three questions might be?

After the discussion, the teacher can check their answers. They must have got some new information from their partners or have come up with some new ideas. Piercing all the fragments of information together, the whole class will have a general picture of the police officers' job.

By analyzing the choices we can predict that the three questions might be:

- (1) What's the relationship between the two speakers?
- (2) What does the man mean or talk about?
- (3) What is the man like or what do we know about him from the conversation?

Step three: predict what they will be hearing:

- the format: the text will be a conversation.
- the language and information they might expect to hear, including specific words and phrases: (this is open)
- What do you want to find out in the text: some stories or examples about the police officers' job showing that it is stressful.

While-listening : This stage should be done by the students. The teacher could only remind them to do this at the end of the pre-listening stage of what has suggested in 3.2.2 and then instruct them after all the exercises have been finished in the post-listening stage as in 3.2.3.

Post-listening: After they have finished listening to the text, the teacher should remind the students to check their predictions as suggested in 3.2.3. Take the following part from the dialogue for example:

Interviewer: Sam, I think most people would say that being a police officer is a very stressful job. Would you agree? (s1)

Sam: Yes, it's definitely a stressful job. But it depends on your assignment. (s2)

Interviewer: So, what's probably the most stressful assignment you can have? (s3)

Sam: I'd say patrol is the most stressful assignment. (s4)

Interviewer: That's interesting! In what way? (s5)

When the listeners hear *s1*, since they have predicted according to the title that police officers' job is stressful, they should predict that the answer should agree to this question. So, when they hear the second part of *s2*, they should only allow themselves to be a little doubtful about their prediction. When they get *s3*, they can be assured and feel relaxed. When the listeners get *s5*, they should predict that what will come next is to explain why the patrol work is stressful.

3.4 The effects of applying prediction into listening class

To examine the effects of the prediction strategy, the author did a quiz with the material mentioned at the beginning of 3.3 which comprises of two exercises (Exercise one comprises of three multiple choices as listed in 3.3 with a full mark of 6 points and exercise two of ten blanks to be filled with the missing information with a full mark of 20 points).

Both the two classes I am currently teaching are grade two students majoring in Information and of the same English level.

I instructed Class One (55 students) how to use prediction strategy in listening class for two times, and at the second time we had a quiz.

To make a comparison, I didn't instruct Class Two (58 students) this strategy and only use the traditional method as mentioned in 2.2.

The answer sheet was collected in each class soon after they finished. All the sheets were valid. I graded all the sheets (55+58), and computed the average points of each class for each exercise, as is shown in the following table clearly.

	Class One (55)	Class Two (58)
Exercise one (6)	5.56	4.43
Exercise two (20)	15.25	11.86

From this simple table above, we can clearly see that the prediction strategy really helps the experimental group to get high marks and especially so in exercise two.

After class, the author interviewed six students of different English levels from Class One and concluded the effects of prediction strategy as follows:

- (1) It rouses their original knowledge on the topic and makes it familiar.
- (2)The informing of new words and phrases from the text gets them well prepared and therefore the text sounds easier.
- (3) It makes the questions much easier because they could listen very effectively, and actually they have already known what they are going to hear.

- (4) It makes their mind busy and active, which greatly reduced the tendency to be sleepy on listening class.
- (5) It really relaxes their nerves, so listening becomes efficient.

We can see that by prediction, the students will find listening class isn't very boring. On the contrary, by making and checking predictions, they will have some small victories and can smile with that. The most important thing is that listening becomes easier, and the following exercises become easier naturally. The great differences shown in the above table and the attractive effects may be very persuasive for other teachers also try and test.

4. Conclusion

Although the positive effect of employing the prediction strategy is obvious, it is not enough to use just one strategy to make listening class effective to its utmost. Actually we need make good use of all the strategies possible and necessary to achieve this goal because it is generally acknowledged that there are no good or bad strategies, but there is indeed good or bad use of strategies. "With some exceptions, strategies themselves are not inherently good or bad, but have the potential to be used effectively." (Cohen, 1998:8). Therefore, the author strongly advocates that teachers be given valuable guidance and training in instructing strategies by the experts and the research institutions concerned.

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Motivation and Language Learning

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Abstract

Motivation is one of the important factors that influences English learning achievement. So in order to help the students to maintain a proper strength in English learning motivation is very necessary for the teachers in the daily teaching procedure.

This paper discusses the issue of motivation in foreign language learning in four main sections. It starts with the background information. Then it is concerned with the motivation issues in EFL in China, and finally, tries to provide some advices for teachers to enhance students' motivation in English teaching for non-English majors at tertiary level.

Keywords: Motivation, Language learning, EFL in China

1. Introduction

1.1 Background about motivation

With regard to research into motivation, numerous studies have been carried out by researchers as well as language teachers. The first one, by Gardner and Lambert (1972), is regarded as one of the well-known studies of motivation in language learning, and the other two, by Brown (1980) and Harmer (1983) respectively, also have received widespread attention.

As we all know, motivation is one of the most important factors that will influence students' English achievements or Performance. It has a close relationship with students' success or failure in English teaching in college. Therefore, Teachers must pay more attention to this aspect. As Gardner (1985) emphasized that the motivation constructed the primary factor to influence students on English learning. He believed that motivation for language learning can not only include goal orientation but the combination of effort, desire to achieve the goal of learning the language and favorable attitudes toward learning the language.

A number of studies conducted by Gardner and Lambert on instrumental and integrative motivation show how each appears to relate to language proficiency. Whereas in their earlier studies, it appeared that integrative motivation was superior to instrumental, their later investigations demonstrated that in situations where the practical value of the second language is necessary.

In addition to the study by Gardner and Lambert, several empirical studies by other researcher also proved that both types of motivation have positive effects on the level of proficiency achieved by different learners and one type may be more effective than the other under certain conditions. Nowadays in China, as English is viewed as a utilitarian tool for science, technology, national development and modernization as well as a key element in furthering a career, even though students approach the learning of English with instrumental motivation, many of them are very successful in developing proficiency in English. This indicates that the relative importance of instrumental or integrative motivation depends to a large extent on the context in which a new language is learned.

1.2 Task motivation

Another research on motivation was carried out by Brown, He especially identified one type of motivation--Task motivation. Task motivation is drive for performing particular learning tasks, that is, if the teacher designs appropriate tasks which will lead students to successful performances, such constantly pleasant and rewarding experiences will provide students with increasing confidence and consequently, they will gradually develop a liking for second language learning. So learning a foreign language obviously requires some types of motivation.

1.3 Extrinsic and intrinsic motivation

Harmer (1983) categorized motivation into two major types; extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. Extrinsic motivation concerns the factors outside the classroom. It essentially consists of two sub –types: instrumental and integrative motivation which corresponds to Gardner and Lamber’s sense of motivation .Intrinsic motivation, on the contrary, concerns the factors inside the classroom. To them, what happens in the classroom will be of vital importance in developing their motivation, Intrinsic motivation is primarily made up of two parts; task and situational motivation which is as the same as Brown’s point of view.

However, no matter how motivation has been classified, all kinds of motivation work in the second language learning context, and each kind contributes to the learners’ progress in different ways and to different degree, It is hard to say which is the most effective since they are sometimes overlapping with one another.

2. Issues of motivation in EFL in China

It is well known that in China, there has also been an increasing awareness and interest among researchers and teachers alike in the role of motivation in foreign language learning, In 1989, Zhang Bensheng did research on 70 outstanding students including English and non-English majors from seven key colleges and universities in Wuhan. The results showed that the achievements of the students had a close relationship with their motivation. All of the students possessed some kind of motivation for learning English: some were intent on making a useful contribution to society, while others wanted to improve their professional prospects .Such students seemed to have instrumental motivation. Still others were interested in the learning environment or encouraged by their previous success. They had task and situational motivation. A few of them were attracted by the target culture; they were integrally motivated.

Nowadays, most students in key universities have high motivation to learn English well. because a good level of English will help them more considerably to obtain better jobs, especially those in companies or joint ventures which have international connections; to read technical materials ,and to study abroad. At this point, a teacher should intend to suggest some principles we can make use of in foreign language teaching process.

3. Some ways to the enhancement of students’ motivation

3.1 The student-centered class

In China, college English teaching follows a prescribed syllabus, which consists of EGP (English for General Purposes) and ESP (English for Specific Purposes) stages. The EGP stage is divided into six bands, namely college English Bands 1-6. In the ESP stage, students are required to read and comprehension books or articles related to their specialties. In each band, there are specific requirements for vocabulary, grammar knowledge and students’ reading skills.

After a careful consideration, we can see the actual reasons lying in our teaching method. The classroom is the place where the learning process goes on. Only when students are involved in the class activities will they have the interest in learning the language. The teacher, instead of requiring students to recite language points and learn vocabulary by heart, should introduce some elements from communicative approach, that is, providing students with enough opportunities to practice the new language and learn how to use it in actual context. Rather than domination the class, the teacher should initiate some questions for students to discuss, encourage students to ask each other questions, or even to argue about with each other about some controversial issues. During the periods of teaching, the teacher should present an element of challenge to the students, and the challenge can lead to higher motivation and more effective results.

3.2 Developing Students Cultural Empathy

In our own teaching practice, we may find there is one point deserving our attention: some students with instrumental motivation may lose it when they consider what they have acquired to be sufficient to realize their goals. Since students of this kind usually have little or no personal interest in learning the language, they may have a negative attitude about learning the language.

As we all know that language and culture are so interlinked that they cannot be separated in the process of foreign language teaching. It seems reasonable to assume that development of positive attitudes toward the culture and the native speakers of the language we teach will carry over into integrative motivation for learning the language

3.3 Encouraging and praising students timely

Encouragement and praise should be seen as a reward. Learning English is a hard work needs reward. This reward can be successful communication or complement of a required task either .As we know, for the majority of students, to learn English well is no easy job, it requires countless practice and great effort .If students’ hard work and progress are ignored by the teacher, they may feel disappointed, or even lose their heart. On the contrary, if students’ efforts and progress are praised timely by the teacher, they will expend more efforts and consequently make greater progress in learning the language.

Nevertheless, excessive praise can cause uneasiness to the praised and constitute an implied criticism to the rest, which

can do more harm than good. Proper praise and encouragement help students feel successful, gain confidence in their ability. Since praise costs nothing of the giver, it is a cheap, easy but effective way to foster and reinforce students' motivation for learning

4. Conclusion

From above we can see as a teacher, we should try our best to stimulate students' enthusiasm in learning English in order to improve teaching efficiency. As for students, a best choice for them is to follow the instructions and the suggestions when they study, and they had better adjust their cognition, strategies to their studies.

Lastly, I want to stress the point that motivation is not the single factor influencing students' foreign language proficiency. Other factors, such as aptitude, attitude, learning cognitive style, and learning strategies, also play important roles in foreign language learning process. In this paper, we have simply attempted to explore motivation and to provide teachers with some approaches to coping with studies. We hope that the discussion will help language teachers have better and more effective approaches to classroom teaching in order to improve students' foreign language.

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Altogether Dances with God ---Recording China's Exorcism Dance Culture

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Abstract

In the human common history, has experienced the nature worship, the totemism, the ancestor worship and the God worship stage, takes one worldwide basis culture symbiosis, the primitive Nuo culture has in world many areas preserves. This primitive cultural carry-over trace Nuo culture because of its preserved integrity and richness, being possibly called "world treasure". However this non-renewable treasure actually needs our protection today.

Keywords: Nuo culture, God worship, Dances

In the human common history, has experienced the nature worship, the totemism, the ancestor worship and the God worship stage, takes one worldwide basis culture symbiosis, the primitive Nuo culture has in world many areas preserves, for instance the US "Halloween", Germany "the devil big parade" and so on is this primitive cultural carry-over trace. The exorcism dance is called "the living fossil which China dances". But China Nuo the culture because of its preservation's integrity and the richness, being possible be called "the world treasure", it has the very big inspiration function regarding today's dance. The excavation dance prototype and will also will certainly to be we better carries on the creation regarding the dance living fossil's excavation and the crabbing the foundation. Therefore, the exorcism dance this history cultural heritage, should bring to the attention. However this non-renewable treasure, actually needs our protection today.

The ancient exorcism dance has the glorious historical development for several thousand years. Not only in each generation (week, Chinese, Tang, Song) the palace has Nuo offers a sacrifice to the etiquette, was also still had in the folk drives Nuo the habits and customs. Until today, our country many provincial capital areas still retained this kind of ancient customs handed down from the past. Nuo or Nuo the sacrifice, is one ancient witchcraft activity. According to the literature record, the Chinese Shangzhou time, this witchcraft activity is not only in vogue in the general area south of Yellow River area, and is the continuation of by one kind of fixed pattern. About Nuo the original meaning, "Shuowen" explained that is "the line has the festival. From human, difficult sound. Difficult, the original form makes (jin bird). "Shuowen" said: "jin bird, bird also, from bird, jin sound. jin bird or from good. "Difficult" the original meaning is a bird, but, when drives epidemic disease solution it "difficultly", must uses the original meaning, also borrows righteousness. Since "Nuo", difficult is the false promissory note, but non-original form, then why expels evil spirits by the epidemic disease original form? Its original form is the ghost jin. , "Shuowen" releases is, "preposterous startled word, from ghost, difficult province sound." Explained according to the exegesis of ancient texts: Now so-called Nuo (for example Nuo sacrifice, exorcism dance and so on) pursue the god of plague. Its original form should be "the ghost jin". "Nuo", "difficult" is the false promissory note. In the explanations of words in ancient books is called this kind of phenomenon "the ancient pronunciation interchangeable uses and borrowed uses", is this has its character to borrow, namely existing "the ghost jin" does not use, actually borrows one with "the ghost jin" the unison, but the significance has nothing to do "Nuo", afterward used the false promissory note "Nuo" to replace the original form "the ghost jin", false promissory note "Nuo" the original meaning vanished gradually, this was the section note so-called "Nuo the original meaning is waste". The intelligible meaning's evolution, to understood that Nuo culture evolution is the great importance. The dance says "Exorcism dance", when jumps Nuo, the people wear the false face, assumes the guise each kind of god beast's appearance, jumps fierce intense is dancing "Side Dance", "12 God

Beastly Dances", must harm humanity's god of plague, the devil expels the elimination. "Exorcism dance" in "Confucian analects", "Zhou rite" and "Lushih Chunchiu" and so on the books had the record; In "Historical Records of the Eastern Han dynasty Etiquette Will", "Xin Tang Shu Ritual music Will" and "Musical conservatory Salmagundi Drives Nuo", the record is more exhaustive. "Zhou rite Summer Official" carries: "side, holds the Mongolian bearskin, gold in April, the unreliable clothes Zhu clothes, hold Ge Yangdun, leads hundred slaves, but time difficult (Nuo), drives the epidemic disease by the rope room." "Historical Records of the Eastern Han dynasty Etiquette Will" carries: "Ji DongIs first sacrificial on first, big Nuo says it by the epidemic disease. Its meter, selects above the palace gate juniors year ten years old, below 12 years old, 120 artificial All the red kerchief, the soap system, holds in a big way tao. Side, the gold four items, hoodwinks the bearskin, the unreliable clothes Zhu palm, holds Ge Yangdun. 12 beasts have clothes Mao Jia." "Xin Tang Shu Ritual music Will" carries: "big Nuo ritual. Choose above the man-year 12 years old, below 16 years old for false face, red cloth riding clothes. 24 people are a team, six artificial row. Manages 12 people, red kerchief red chronic illness, hemp whip. Its person, the side false face, the gold four items, hoodwink the bearskin, the choroid Zhu clothes, holds the shield right.By chases in malicious ghost Yu Jin."

Mentions China " the exorcism dance culture ", always gives the human a seed to be wrapped in a shroud of obscurity, the implication profound and is unable the artistic charm which resists. These are condensing " ferocious severe US " the mask and the movement, have become " have the meaning mark ", for the human by the intense artistic infection, takes into the people in the totem history time which that returns makes up returns to original condition to go The Chinese extant earliest exorcism dance bronze mask, preserves in the Henan Yuzhou, this is Western Zhou Dynasty time historical relics, was the approximately three millenniums. This pays the mask by the bronze casting size like average man facial features, only assumes the half shape, lower part does not have the mouth, this is to cause the dancer on the face fixed, this has also inherited the Shang Dynasty mask " two temple like halberds " characteristic. The mask both sides also have the eyelet, by puts on the rope for the dancer is wears, or inserts the feather and so on. On this mask prominent two beastly angles, has manifested the advocatation god beastly totem idea and the customs handed down from the past fully. According to the historical records record, the Western Zhou Dynasty time, this kind wears the fierce beastly shape mask's dance, generally is when carries on " Nuo the sacrifice " is performing expels evil spirits by the epidemic disease. "Nuo " also said that " big Nuo ", expelled evil spirits originally for the ancient times people by the epidemic disease ceremony, in held in this kind of ceremony's activity, the people dressed up Cheng Shen the beast, performed the rough dance, the movement intense is being also fierce, but also often shouted wildly yells. At that time, "big Nuo " generally represented the country by the royal court and the feudal lord in the year's end hold. Nuo offers a sacrifice to the Zhou Dynasty royal palace stipulated that every year holds three times, has the key player who specially appointed Nuo offers a sacrifice to be called side, he wears the mask. The body throws over the bearskin, black coat, red pants, as soon as grasps the spear, raises the shield, in the mouth is shouting " Nuo "! "Nuo"! Is leading large military forces and so on numerous god beast to the palace various corners caper call letter, will harm people's evil spirit demon to pursue in order to one year safety and propitious. Afterward, this kind of activity spread gradually to the folk, Confucius once wore the court dress, stood respectfully before the ancestral temple has watched the folk; Countryman Nuo ". Is retaining now also the exorcism dance, the name of various kinds of local drama, is becomes by " big Nuo " the development change. The Western Zhou Dynasty exorcism dance bronze mask is one which domestic only saves, it has provided the precious material in kind for the research Nuo culture.

The primitive time's person dances on the affection, by each kind of movement and behavior, express thoughts sentiment. In the Yangshao ruins, discovered that a ceramic trough endophragm has a group to dance the colored drawing on pottery image, was considered that is the earliest dance poses record. Beginning of the historical data record god which expels pestilence, "side holds the Mongolian bearskin. The gold four items, Zhu Yixuan the clothes, hold Ge Yangdun, leads hundred Magistrate, but time Nuo, drives the epidemic disease by the rope room." On side is hoodwinking the bearskin, puts on the red gown, in the hand is wielding Ge Yudun, possibly is the initial state Nuo the mask, Nuo the clothing and Nuo weapon's manifestation. The exorcism dance simulation rogue fearful each kind of god's image, dances with joy, exudes "Nuo Nuo" the sound, frightens and pursues each kind of evil spirit. The Spring and Autumn Period Warring States time, the official and folk "Nuo" the activity is in vogue day by day. For example Chu country renowned poet Qu Yuan, in the massive collections, reorganize the locality Nuo the song, in the exorcism dance foundation, has created the immortal poem "Nine Songs". This work and offers a sacrifice to the god by the dance form performance myth fable to expel evil spirits the activity, as soon as praises the motherland the grand landscape and the local conditions and social customs, the work passes through is published then widely spreads. To the Han Dynasty, Nuo the custom presented the quite obvious change and the innovation, Nuo art has the recent development. "Exorcism dance" is the sacrifice dance, the mask dance, the animal dance three dissolves is one body's one kind novel, the unique dance show form. It is already different with the common sacrificial offering dance; (for example "the narrow sacrifice" "Emperor Dance", it is one kind pure prays for rain offers a sacrifice to specially. Is also different with the common mask dance; (carries buddhist priest mask to jump buddhist priest to dance, Dai Panguan the mask jumps fat official dance); Is more different with the general thing dance; (installs the dragon dragon dance, plays the role of the phoenix

dance phoenix that kind of pure simulation animal shape animal dance.) but "Exorcism dance" actually different. It is in every year's end, when Nuo offers a sacrifice to, assumes the guise "side" (the Mongolian bearskin, gold four items), "12 god beasts" (engrave wooden are surface, animal head person), "chen sub-(palace gate disciple) the image, takes the unique dance to have (Ge Yudun, side uses; tao the drum, chen sub-takes; The hemp whip, the god beast holds) illness to shout Nuo Nuo the sound, the four directions chases the epidemic disease, eight sides expelled evil spirits, pursue, throw, catch up with, kill, have developed fierce intense "Side Dance" and "12 God Beastly Dances". This has formed the ancient exorcism dance is different general with pure "the sacrificial offering dance", "the mask dance", "the animal dance" one kind of novel dance show form and the unique artistic individuality. According to "Historical Records of the Eastern Han dynasty. The etiquette will" records, Han Dynasty big Nuo in rite ceremony, highlighted the side to deal with 12 beastly dances as well as the palace gate, chang sub-led with the dance refined language - - "to drive Nuo the song". In the Tang Dynasty, the entertainment ingredient obtains further development in Nuo the activity, the exorcism dance performance side by a person of expansion is four people, Nuo offers a sacrifice to with various merges into one organic whole happily, and performs the dance primarily. When Song Dynasty, "the Tokyo Dream China Record" records according to Meng Yuanlao, exorcism dance then increased many characters to perform, even dreamed of Tangminghuang Zhong Kui to seize the ghost the story also to reorganize the exorcism dance "Zhong Kui Younger sister". Lu You "Old Study Hut Note" also said that the national capital to perform the palace in a big way Nuo, once sent for to Guilin to purchase "800 one, the whole families beautiful do not have similarly humbly one" the mask. When performance also had the similar drama, the acrobatics to enter enters the stage and the spoken parts "the onset and retreat spoken language". Obviously Song Dynasty Nuo art already presented the drama and the acrobatics seed. In the future Yuan Ming and Qing Dynasties various dynasty, Nuo the activity will be along the Tang Song's pathway extension, Nuo gradually will also step in the literary domain. The exorcism dance development had certain influence to China's place drama, even develops Cheng Ke outside the religious activities the independent performance exorcism dance name of various kinds of local drama, certain areas, the exorcism dance itself has developed the name of various kinds of local drama, the name of various kinds of local drama performance's main feature is again the role wears does not make the false face, the exorcism dance and the name of various kinds of local drama is vivid. Had reflected specifically China performing arts each stage's different appearance love by the dance to the play form development process in for the populace, have the specific national style and the local characteristics, spreads until now.

Because social life complex complex and evolves day by day, the people implore with the repayment God object to be also many, already has "the natural god" and in the fable deity, also has deified in the historical outstanding character, even also has the ghosts and demons - - to ask it not to damage. However, in several thousand year Nuo matter activity, although Nuo art is unceasingly rich, is mainly the exorcism dance evolves the development unceasingly, opened the new world, caused it to grip the deep foundation in the populace, manifested its existence value. But, it receives religious and Confucianism as well as the different time, the different social class and so on witch, road, Buddha influence successively in the developing process, the content and formally already has reflects the masses desire and the request aspect, also has been doped the historical dregs, has the strong feudal superstition ingredient, many places Nuo have even become Taoism the carrier. Some sorcerer, the sorceress Nuo pray the early time the sacrificial offering ceremony which the god exorcises demons to change external appearances only, use for to be engaged in the feudal superstitious practice, has tarnished Nuo cultureimage, has caused modern Nuo culture several degrees declines. In the modern historical records and the local chronicle, the factor which is unsatisfactory to Nuo the culture also have the exposition and the critique. Therefore, we should abandon its dregs, takes its essence the manner, knows and the understanding Nuo culture original meaning, lets the ancient national culture glow the brilliance in the new historical period.

The exorcism dance was China ancient times big Nuo holds a memorial service for the ceremony dance, the later generation develops the entertaining folk dance gradually, widely current in places such as Jiangxi, Hunan, Hubei, Guizhou, Anhui, Shandong, Hebei. Each area has the different name: The ghost, jumps Nuo, name of various kinds of local drama and so on, also famous to jump the god. The exorcism dance characteristic is: Generally the wooden false face, plays the role makes the ghosts and gods dance, shows the performance god the life experience fact. The exorcism dance may divide into Wen Nuo on its performance form and military Nuo. The article Nuo movement scope is small. Performs carefully rigorous, the life breath is thick, movement plain grave, elegant free and easy, the play structure program is thick; Military Nuo movement intense forceful, rough bold, the imposing manner is dignified, mood open and bright bold, rhythm warm sprightly. The exorcism dance may divide into the solo dance, the dance for two people, three people according to the performance population to dance, the group dancing and the small ballet. The exorcism dance gives a performance mostly selects material the myth fable and the historical literary reference, the content richly colorful like performance expels evil spirits by the epidemic disease "Quarries a mountain", "Clock kui", the historical novel legend character "Double Primary Court attendant", "Turns off Public memorial ceremony Knife", the development agriculture culture complex "Otter Seizes Carp Essence", the performance honors worships graceful and the ancestor "Paper money", "the God of thunder", "Jumps Stool", the hope propitious safe "the God of Wealth", "Four

stars in the bowl of the big dipper", "And Gather", "Chicken Mouth", "Pig Mouth", has the reproduction worship "Nuo Male Nuo Husband's mother", has selects material from the folklore "Meng Jiangnyu Delivers Winter cloth", "the Bao Three Mothers And Flower Turns off Rope", performance fairy story "Ne zha", "Overflow Shahe", "Duke Guan" and so on. Take displays the God worship, the ancestor worship as the content exorcism dance. Movement rough agile and fierce, plain road vigor, both had the positive just beauty, and was rich in the romantic color, displayed primitive, naive, the clumsy plain religious emotion, the idea and the ideal. Other secularization exorcism dance's characteristic, take "near play, must really plays also" as the chief feature,

In the human common history, has experienced the nature worship, the totemism, the ancestor worship and the God worship stage, in spreads in until now exorcism dance performance, we saw what is the primitive worship and the life consciousness impulsion. The color gorgeous Nuo portrait, the modelling exaggeration Nuo the mask, the perspective will leave the primitive humanity heart's core deep sense of hardship and to the future happy pursue intense desire. Does not fade after several thousand years Nuo the culture. However, this mystical color's primitive dance and the folk art and many ancient cultural art are the same, are facing the impact which the modern civilization brings. These colorful original ecology resources while narrate ancestors story, is also undergoing the varying degree destruction. Manufactures in a rough way the replica spreads massively, because the genuine ancient mask actually cannot obtain protects effectively deteriorates, the harm. In some areas, Nuo culture transposition, is changing flavor, its academic value also comes under the influence. As one primitive cultural shape, the name of various kinds of local drama holds the unreplaceable link in the human history culture path, but protects, the research and the development Nuo culture, bears the brunt is protects cultural the original ecology. This means that the exorcism dance cannot be separated from their livelihood village soil, but only becomes the spiritless view prize. We should preserve them, lets it be vital, because in the exorcism dance has the deep historical trail which the too many ancient times humanities passed through.

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A Study on the Relationships between Job Engagement of Middle School Teachers and Its Relative Variables

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Abstract

The present paper, based on relative studies done both at home and abroad, intends to investigate the relationships between individual characteristics of middle school teachers and their job engagement. **Methodology** by using the UWES (Utrecht Work Engagement Scale) **Result** The relevance between middle school teachers' individual characteristics and the variables of job engagement is significant. The regression analysis further finds out that the regression is significant between middle school teachers' individual characteristics and the dimensions (vigor, dedication, and absorption) of job engagement. In addition, gender and length of teaching can predict the degree of teachers' engagement into teaching. **Conclusion** Teachers' individual characteristics studied in the present paper have an effect on their job engagement.

Keywords: Job engagement, Individual characteristics, Vigor, Dedication, Absorption

With the development of Positive Psychology and Positive Organizational Behavior, the long-ignored human virtues, such as the strength and positivity of the members in an organization, and positive mental abilities are attracting more and more attention. Within this context, job engagement, as the opposite of job disengagement, becomes the new research focus of scholars.

Kahn (1990) puts forward the concept of "personal engagement" for the first time. And he defines personal engagement as the harnessing of organization members' selves to their work roles (Kahn, 1990: 694). From the point of view of Kahn, self and work role exist in some dynamic and negotiable relation: when engaged deeper in his or her job, a person both drives personal energies into role behaviors (self-employment) and displays the self within the role (self-expression); in the opposite condition, the individual uncouples self from role, avoids creating job achievement, and displays an evacuation from role obligations. Scholars, such as Schaufeli, extend Kahn's concept of job engagement in another way. They define job engagement as a full state with persistent and positive moods and motivations, with vigor, dedication, and absorption as its major features.

Although the factor of human beings is becoming salient in the new social conditions, the research into job engagement of teachers is relatively few. It is of great significance to study the roles played by teachers' job engagement in the improvement of teachers' work, life quality and the full cultivation of teachers' potentiality. Such kind of research is also of importance to promote the healthy growing-up of students and to push the development of the education cause.

Based on studies done both at home and aboard, the present author attempts to investigate the effect of teachers' individual characteristics on their job engagement.

1. Subjects and methods

1.1 Subjects

The current study selected 300 teachers randomly from six middle schools to fill in the questionnaires. 259 questionnaires were recovered, reaching a response rate of 86%. Among the six middle schools, three are located in the urban areas, and the other three are from the countryside. Of all the teachers, 149 were male ones, occupying 57.5%; and 110 female teachers, with a percentage of 42.5%.

1.2 Instruments

The measurement of job engagement was conducted with the UWES (Utrecht work engagement scale), which was designed by Schaufeli. The scale involves three factors: vigor, dedication, and absorption. Zhang Yiwen, a scholar in China, has proved that the UWES deserves a high degree of reliability and validity among the group of teachers.

1.3 Data analysis

SPSS 11.5 was used for analyzing the data in the present study.

2. Results

2.1 The differences in job engagement between middle school teachers with different characteristics

First of all, a comparison was done to reveal the differences in job engagement between teachers with different characteristics. The compound analysis ($2 \times 2 \times 6$) was used for analyzing the three factors: gender, marital status, and length of teaching (see Table 1).

Table 1 shows that the difference between male and female teachers in their job engagement is manifested mainly on the dimension of dedication. The interaction between gender and marital status has a significant difference in the dimensions of vigor and dedication of job engagement.

2.2 The differences in job engagement between male and female middle school teachers

A further investigation of the scores gained by male and female teachers in their job engagement shows that male teachers have higher scores over female ones on the dimension of vigor and absorption while female teachers gain more scores than male ones on the dimension of dedication.

2.3 The differences in job engagement between middle school teachers with different marital status

From the above analysis, it can be seen that the interaction between middle school teachers' gender and their marital status has a significant difference in the dimensions of vigor and dedication of job engagement. A further analysis of the scores gained by middle school teachers in their job engagement on the three dimensions shows: unmarried teachers have higher scores than those married ones on all the three dimensions of job engagement, esp. on the dimensions of vigor and dedication.

2.4 The differences in job engagement between middle school teachers with different length of teaching

A further analysis of the scores gained by middle school teachers of different length of teaching shows that middle school teachers with 0~5 years of teaching gain the highest scores on all the three dimensions. However, there is a fall in the job engagement of teachers who have a length of 6~10 years of teaching experience. And there is a rise in job engagement of teachers with 11~15 years of teaching. Teachers who have 16~20 years of teaching experience gain the lowest scores on the dimensions of dedication and absorption.

3. Discussions

The results of the present study show that there exist differences in job engagement between male and female teachers in middle schools, esp. on the dimension of dedication. Female teachers value more their jobs than male ones. In other words, the characteristics of patience, full of love, and carefulness make female teachers gain higher scores than male ones in job engagement on the dimension of dedication. Male teachers gain higher scores on the dimensions of vigor and absorption than female ones, which can be partly explained by the fact that men are generally more vigorous than women. Meanwhile, it is not a bad job of being a middle school teacher for male teachers, for such kind of job can satisfy their sense of achievement, which makes them more absorbed.

Unmarried teachers gain higher scores than married teachers on all the three dimensions, which may be explained by the fact that unmarried teachers have more time and energy to spend on the education job. Generally speaking, due to having a short time in teaching, male teachers feel refreshed when they work, and this will strengthen their engagement in teaching.

Teachers with a length of teaching for 0~5 years gain higher scores than those in other groups in job engagement on all the three dimensions. Usually, the teachers who have just begun teaching have a fresh feeling towards their job, and are full of energy. In addition, the job of being a middle school teacher both for both men and women can be recognized by the society. There appears a fall in job engagement of teachers with a length of teaching for 6~10 years. The two possible reasons: one is that they feel a bit tired after a period of high-engagement into teaching; another reason is that teachers in this group have established their own families, which makes them distribute part of their energy into their families. Thus, it is understandable that there appears a fall in their job engagement. Then, a rise appears in job engagement of the teachers. On the whole, after 6 years of teaching, there will appear a fall-rise curve in the job engagement of middle school teachers.

4. Conclusions and Implications

Through the analysis of the job engagement of 259 teachers from six middle schools, the present study draws the following conclusions:

(1) Female teachers dedicate significantly more than male teachers in their job engagement. The education departments should on the one hand make effective use of the characteristics of female teachers as being patient, full of love and careful; on the other hand they ought to strengthen the efficient management of male teachers, create reasonable atmosphere and conditions for them, make them involved in education job and experience success and happiness, thus to make them more devoted into teaching.

(2) The strength of unmarried teachers' full of energy and deep engagement into teaching should be made good use of. The teaching tasks should be assigned reasonably. Efforts should be made to create a harmonious human relationships and a good cultural atmosphere at school. In addition, the job engagement of married teachers should be strengthened.

(3) High pertinence should be strengthened according to the different length of teaching of the teachers. The construction of school culture should be favorable for relieving the tiredness and pressure of teaching for the teachers, so as to make them more dedicated into teaching. Thus, the healthy growing-up of students in middle schools can be effectively promoted and further the development of the education cause can be pushed ahead.

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Table 1. The compound analysis of the job engagement of middle school teachers with different gender, marital status and length of teaching

Source of variance	vigor	dedication	absorption
gender	1.251	4.138*	1.225
marital status	0.299	0.028	0.005
length of teaching	0.305	0.561	1.225
gender × marital status	4.099*	5.300*	2.691
gender × marital status	1.373	2.087	2.156
marital status × length of teaching	0.431	0.617	1.099
gender×marital status×length of teaching	0.796	0.384	0.013

Notes: "×" stands for the interaction; * p< 0.05

Table 2. A comparison of job engagement between male and female teachers

	Male teachers M(SD)	Female teachers M(SD)
vigor	29.08(6.82)	27.96(6.96)
dedication	24.94(6.84)	25.35(6.26)
absorption	25.28(5.70)	25.16(5.58)

Table 3. A comparison of job engagement between teachers of different marital status

	Unmarried teachers M(SD)	Married teachers M(SD)
vigor	29.55(7.40)	28.40(6.77)
dedication	25.77(6.43)	24.97(6.63)
absorption	25.38(5.19)	25.20(5.75)

Table 4. A comparison of job engagement between teachers of different length of teaching

	vigor M(SD)	dedication M(SD)	absorption M(SD)
0—5 years (group1)	30.00(6.22)	26.58(5.89)	26.02(5.25)
6—10 years (group2)	27.84(7.50)	24.48(7.17)	25.03(5.92)
11—15 years(group 3)	28.28(6.53)	25.46(6.52)	25.26(.29)
16—20 years(group 4)	28.31(7.55)	23.69(6.21)	24.25(6.73)
21—25 years(group 5)	29.00(6.10)	24.42(7.40)	25.53(6.26)
over 25 years(group 6)	28.57(7.41)	25.14(6.43)	25.07(4.94)



Student and Teacher De-Motivation in SLA

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Abstract

With a brief introduction of the definitions of de-motivation, this article reviews present research on student de-motivation, analyzes the teacher motivation from the macro-contexts and micro-contexts, and puts forward suggestions in getting rid of de-motivation.

Keywords: De-motivation, Macro-contexts, Micro-contexts

1. Introduction

Present research on motivation has focused mainly on introducing positive motives, with little attention paid to de-motivation studies, which “in spite of their great significance, have received very little attention either in mainstream psychology or L2 research” (Dornyei, 2005: 3). Though de-motivation is a very complex issue, it is very helpful to study de-motivation and de-motives, thus shedding light on the motivation research.

2. De-motivation

2.1 Definition of de-motivation

Dornyei (2005: 143) defines de-motivation as “specific external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational basis of a behavioral intention or an ongoing action”. Deci and Ryan (1985) uses a similar term “amotivation”, which means “the relative absence of motivation that is not caused by a lack of initial interest but rather by the individual’s experiencing feelings of incompetence and helplessness when faced with the activity.” Though both of these terms concern lack of motivation, they differ in that amotivation is related to general outcomes expectations that are unrealistic for some reason whereas de-motivation concern specific external causes. A de-motivated learner is someone who was once motivated but has lost his or her commitment /interest for some reason. De-motives are the negative counterparts of motives. Some de-motives can lead to general amotivation regarding the particular activity whereas others may have no effect on amotivation as long as the negative external motives cease to exist. Dornyei points out that de-motivation does not mean that all the positive influences that originally made up the motivational basis of a behavior have been got rid of. It only means that a strong negative factor restrains the present motivation with some other positive motives still remain ready to be activated. For example, a Chinese student may lose his interest in learning English as soon as he passed the CET-4.

2.2 Research on De-motivation

2.2.1 Christophel and Gorham’s study

Christophel and Gorham (1995, 1992) initiated two different investigations of de-motivation with both qualitative and quantitative techniques. The results indicate that most subjects attribute de-motivation to what the teacher had done or had been responsible for. Gorham and Christophel (1992) also summarized a rank of order of the frequency of the various demotives, with first five categories as dissatisfaction with grading and assignments; the teacher being boring, bored, unorganized and unprepared; the dislike of the subject area; the inferior organization of the teaching material and the teacher being unapproachable, self-centered, biased, condescending and insulting. This rank offers a initiative insight into the true nature of teacher’s role in de-motivation.

2.2.2 Oxford’s studies

Oxford (1998) carried out an investigation on approximately 250 American students (both in high schools and universities) about their learning experiences over a period of five years. During this investigation, students are expected to comment on a variety of topics such as to “Describe a situation in which you experienced conflict with a

teacher” and “Talk about a classroom in which you felt uncomfortable”. Four types of de-motivation factors are discovered: the teacher’s personal relationship with the students, the teacher’s attitude towards the course or the material, style conflicts between teachers and students and the nature of the classroom activities. From the analyses it is clear that his studies centers on the classroom learning and teacher’s demotivating roles. Many demotives were found such as the teacher’s lack of caring or patronage/favoritism; the teacher’s lack of enthusiasm and sloppy management towards the course or the material, their conflicts about the degree of closure or seriousness of the class and the amount of irrelevance and repetitiveness. This research is of vital importance because it reveals a fact that most teachers will easily attribute students de-motivation to various reasons including psychological, attitudinal, social, historical and even geographical reasons without realizing the potential de-motivating roles of themselves.

2.2.3 Chambers’ questionnaires

Chambers (1993) conducted a questionnaire to 191 pupils of 4 schools in Leeds in Britain on their explanations about de-motivation and a questionnaire to 7 teachers about the main characteristics of the demotivated pupils. The teachers’ interpretations are quite coherent. They consider that demotivated students make no effort to learn, lack belief in their own capabilities, demonstrate laziness and are unwilling to learn.

Students’ understandings, however, vary from person to person. Some blame their teachers because teachers frequently criticize students and explain things insufficiently. Teachers use old-fashioned teaching materials and inferior equipment, thus losing their students and being ignorant of it. Others accuse the number of students in the class and language room facilities. In sum, Chambers finds that students believe that de-motivation originates from different sources: home, previous language learning experience, the perception of the teacher and students’ low self-esteem, etc. It’s obvious that teachers’ understandings are very different from students’ perceptions. Therefore, Chambers concludes that “seeking the help of pupils might be a good place to start” (1999:16), thereby stating the importance of communication and cooperation between teachers and students.

2.2.4 Ushioda’s qualitative investigation

Ushioda (1998) administered a two-stage interview of 20 Irish learners of French. They were asked to identify what they found to be de-motivating in their L2 learning experiences. Evidently, those learners attribute positive L2 outcomes to personal ability or other internal factors whereas attribute negative L2 outcomes or lack of success to external factors. Their answers “overwhelmingly targeted negative aspects of the institutionalized learning framework, rather than personal factors such as falling grades or negative self-perceptions of ability” (1998: 86). Ushioda welcomes this finding by holding that in so doing these learners will be better able to develop self-motivation and learning autonomy, offering a different aspect for motivation research.

2.2.5 Dornyei’s study

Dornyei (1998) started a qualitative analysis by conducting structured long interviews in 10 to 30 minutes of 50 secondary school pupils who were studying either English or German as a foreign language. Nevertheless, in his study the participants were not of cross-sectional students but were those who had been identified by their teachers or peers as being particularly de-motivated. He identified 9 types of de-motivating factors: the teacher (personality, commitment, competence, telling method), inadequate school facilities (group is too big or not the right level; frequent change of teachers), reduced self-confidence (experience of failure or lack of success), negative attitudes towards the L2, compulsory nature of L2 study, interference of another foreign language being studied, negative attitude towards L2 community, attitudes of group members and coursebook used in the language class. The compulsory nature of L2 studies and the interference of a L3 were first discovered in this study. The negative effect of the compulsory nature of L2 learning is obviously related to the lack of learner autonomy and lack of self-determination. This is especially true in China, where most Chinese were forced to learn English as a second language whether they are students or working people. No matter whatever school they’d like to attend they have to meet the corresponding requirements for English. No matter whatever job they are doing, say professors of Chinese, they must pass relevant English tests in order to win chances of promotion. As a result, the corresponding pressure and rejection will be enormous, leading easily to de-motivation. The interference of L3 is also evident when learners are learning two languages at the same time. Among 9 factors teacher factor ranks first. The teacher’s personality commitment to teaching, attention paid to the students, competence, teaching method, style and rapport with students can have a direct impact on students de-motivation. Students also attribute their lack of confidence to teacher’s indirect negative influence, such as rigid classroom management, their perception of teacher’s strict marking. Such results were consistent with previous studies. Therefore, it is of vital importance to analyze the teacher factor in order to find possible solutions to de-motivation.

2.3 Teacher motivation

There are two levels of contextual influences on teacher motivation: macro-contexts and micro-contexts. Macro-contextual influences refer to “the general work echoes prevalent at the social level”. They include anticipation for intrinsic rewards such as “to educate people, to impart knowledge and values, and to advance a community or a

whole nation” and extrinsic rewards such as “high salaries and social recognition” In this respect teaching is exposed to external influences from every corner of the society, including politicians, parents and media.

Micro-contextual influences are more closely related to “the organizational climate of the particular institution in which the teacher works and the characteristics of the immediate teaching environment, that is, the classroom and the learner group”. The specific factors include the school’s general climate and the existing school norms; the class size, the school resources and facilities; the standard activity structure within the institution; collegial relations; the definition of the teacher’s role by colleagues and authorities; general expectations regarding student potential; the school’s reward contingencies and feedback system; the school’s leadership and decision-making structure. In short, five general de-motivating factors of teacher lead to de-motivation: stress, restricted autonomy, insufficient self-efficacy, lack of intellectual challenge and inadequate career structure.

On the one hand, we should encourage teacher motivation; on the other, we should understand the relationship between teacher motivation and student motivation and make the best use of it. Deci (1997, 68) states, the relationship between students and faculty is an “interactive one that can be either positive or negatively synergistic.” Students affect the teachers’ motivation and behavior just as teachers affect the students’. But it is teacher’s task to realize that students’ lack of enthusiasm can equally affect them negatively, thus engendering in students “the enthusiasm that facilitates a positive rather than a negative cycle”.

In short, effective teachers are not necessarily the ones who are successful in the business of transferring cognitive information. In fact, the positive impact of good teachers is due to the strength of their commitment towards the subject matter and the ability to instill in students a similar willingness to pursue knowledge. As Csikszentmihalyi (1997, 72) summarizes, “the best way to get students to believe that it makes sense to pursue knowledge is to believe in it oneself”

2.4 Solutions

We should bear in mind that there are abundant varieties of effective motivational strategies. Since it is impossible to list all, it is advisable to name only a small number of “core strategies”, making it possible for teachers and students to understand and follow.

In order to reduce student de-motivation, Williams and Burden (1997) put forward a list of suggestions for motivating language learners:

1. Recognize the complexity of motivation.
2. Be aware of both initiating and sustaining motivation.
3. Discuss with the learners why they are carrying out activities.
4. Involve learners in making decisions related to learning the language.
5. Involve learners in setting language-learning goals.
6. Recognize people as individuals.
7. Build up individuals’ beliefs in themselves.
8. Develop internal beliefs.
9. Help to move towards a mastery-oriented style.
10. Enhance intrinsic motivation.
11. Build up a supportive learning environment.
12. Give feedback that is informational.

(Williams and Burden, 1997:141-2)

Apart from this list, Dornyei and Csizer (1998: 215) developed a set of macro-strategies making the concept of motivating learners more teacher-friendly, entitled the “Ten commandments for motivating language learners”.

1. Set a personal example with your own behavior.
2. Create a pleasant, relaxed atmosphere in the classroom.
3. Present the task properly.
4. Develop a good relationship with the learners.
5. Increase the learner’s linguistic self-confidence.
6. Make the language classes more interesting.
7. Promote learner autonomy.
8. Personalize the learning process.

9. Increase the learner's goal-orientedness.
10. Familiarize learners with the target language culture.

(Dornyei and Csizer, 1998: 215)

To diminish teacher de-motivation, Corno and Kanfer (1993:312-13) put forward a set of self-motivating strategies for teachers:

1. Reflect immediately after a lesson on how it went and make mental notes on what to do differently next time.
2. Imagine being named teacher of the year and how satisfied that would make you.
3. Observe other teacher as a learning tool.
4. Marshal inner resources and remember you've been through more than this and made it.
5. Analyze why you feel so anxious about aspects of your work and think through ways to overcome these feelings.
6. Embellish your teaching- keep changing what you do- so it's more interesting for you to teach it again.
7. Rearrange the classroom layout for maximal attention from students.
8. Call teacher study groups to resolve problems cooperatively.

The above sets of strategies serve as guidelines in reducing student and teacher de-motivation in classroom learning activities. Although these motivational strategies had been welcomed by students and teachers, the complexity of motivation and human behaviors only testify that there are so many other different ways to get rid of student and teacher de-motivation.

3. Conclusion

De-motivation is a frequent and common phenomenon in L2 learning. After the literature review of student and teacher de-motivation, we should realize that these previous studies only reveal the complexity of this issue, further indicating the due responsibility of teachers. The results of previous studies have not only discovered some of the true nature of de-motivation but also pointed out some effective strategies of reducing de-motivation, leading to the vast fields for future research.

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Subtitle Translation Strategies as a Reflection of Technical Limitations: a Case Study of Ang Lee's Films

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Abstract

Subtitling, unlike traditional forms of translation, is subject to the limitations imposed by different subtitling apparatuses, for example, not more than two lines on one screen. In order not to breach these limitations, subtitlers adopt different strategies in their attempts to convey film plots or content to target language audiences, thereby creating an interface between culture and technology in the context of translation.

This paper mainly looks at the interface which occurs in the process of translating film dialogue from Mandarin Chinese into English. Using as a case study films by Ang Lee, a prominent Chinese film director in global film circles, we shall focus on the investigation of translation strategies adopted in subtitling, and work out the possible interface between culture and technology in operation there. In addition, we may find an answer to the question whether technology is changing the face of translation.

The film *Wo Hu Cang Long* [Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon] is the main case study considered and six of its English subtitle versions from China (including Hong Kong and Taiwan), America and the Great Britain respectively will be compared and discussed.

Keywords: Subtitle, Strategies, Film, Interface, Translation

1. Introduction

With the rapid developments in high technology, both in software and hardware, in recent years, more and more information has been presented in or transferred to audio-visual formats, such as films in DVD formats, and that has increased the interface between technologies, language and culture. Amongst these media, subtitling is a key technique for facilitating communication with viewers and has recently been widely discussed, especially in comparison with dubbing which is, at present, another mainstream method.

Subtitling, according to Dries (1995), can be initially divided into two main categories, "inter-lingual subtitling" and "intra-lingual subtitling"; inter-lingual subtitling encompasses the communication "from one language into another language" and "from spoken dialogue into a written, condensed translation which appears on the screen" (pp.26). This corresponds to what De Linde and Kay (1999) have to say in their book, that "the amount of dialogue has to be reduced to meet the technical conditions of the medium and the reading capacities of non-native language users" in its attempts to "achieve something approaching translation equivalence when conducting subtitling" (pp.1-2). Accordingly, we assume that the information in the source language may be different from that of the target language with inter-lingual subtitling, and this kind of translation process from oral to written language may have more to do with technical factors, as compared with traditional text translation, such as literary translation, and these considerations call for further discussion.

In order to explore the process of inter-lingual subtitling, to work out the possible interface between technologies, language and culture in its operation, and to explore whether technology is changing the face of translation, the film, *Wo Hu Cang Long* [Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon], has been chosen as the case study here and the translation strategies adopted in the subtitling process will form the basis of the main investigation. In addition, six of its English subtitle versions from China (including Hong Kong and Taiwan), America and the Great Britain respectively will be compared and discussed.

2. Technical constraints in inter-lingual subtitling for the cinema

2.1 Different technical constraints

Subtitle translation, unlike literary translation, is a process from verbal language into written text, and highly dependent on subtitling equipment to present or transfer information to its viewers.

Take the appearance of translated subtitles for example. Subtitling companies may choose particular typefaces to present translated texts in conformity with their demand for the greatest clarity (Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998, pp.39, 42-43). In addition to that, they may tackle the issue of layout to position translated texts for optimal legibility, such as “at the bottom of the screen” (Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998, pp.50). The number of lines on one screen is another issue and translated subtitles generally occupy “a maximum of two lines” (Gottlieb, 1998, pp.245), containing no more than “forty English letters and spaces” (Luyken et al., 1991, pp.43) or “thirteen Chinese characters” (Qin, 1997, p.27) per line, on one screen to avoid being crowded out of it. This maximum number of English characters is only for “34mm films” and will vary with different media, film gauges and their target viewers (Luyken et al., 1991, p.43). Finally, they may take account of timing, punctuation and other conventions. All of these are crucial factors in the whole subtitling process and may be written down in manuals or memoranda for future reference. Subtitle translators, therefore, need to bear these regulations or technical limitations in mind when producing subtitles. They usually adopt different strategies to avoid breaching these constraints and to meet the requirements of their clients.

2.2 Corresponding subtitle translation strategies in Europe

Jan Ivarsson

Jan Ivarsson is one of the few media translation scholars to have proposed corresponding subtitle translation strategies in Europe. His book *Subtitling for the Media: A Handbook of an Art* (1992) provides guidance for individuals involved or interested in subtitle translation and its practice. Six years later, he finished another book *Subtitling* (1998) with the scholar Mary Carroll in an attempt to offer up-to-date information about subtitling and its recent innovations to readers. In these books, nice strategies are mentioned and discussed, and most of them are highly relevant to the limitations posed by subtitling software.

Henrik Gottlieb

In addition to Ivarsson, Gottlieb is another eminent scholar in the media translation field. He has published several essays or books in recent years, including *Subtitling* in 2001. In that essay, he summarises ten kinds of subtitling strategy to deal with a range of problems, including language and culture-specific ones. Take “dislocation”, for example, (Gottlieb, 2001, pp.1010). Translators may adopt this method to offer different translations or expressions when tackling “music or visualized language-specific terms” (Gottlieb, 2001, pp. 1010).

In recent years, more and more scholars or researchers have extended their research field to include media translation and introduced us to their findings. However, the strategies they propose are mainly Europe-centered and their applicability to Asian films is open to question.

3. Case Study---Crouching tiger, hidden dragon

3.1 Background information

Li An [Ang Lee], a prominent Chinese film director in the global film industry, has received several international prizes since 1991. One of his films, *Wo Hu Cang Long* [Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon], won four Oscars in 2000, and was a milestone in both his film career and the history of Chinese film. *Wo Hu Cang Long* [Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon] is a martial-arts film and the “interpreter” (here the subtitle translator), Zhang Zheng Zheng is the sole translator according to the credits list.

Before looking at the different strategies, we put six subtitle versions of the film *Wo Hu Cang Long* [Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon] together for an initial comparison and found the English subtitles in the American or the British versions were almost the same as those in the Chinese ones, apart from some misspellings, different “subtitle breaks” (Ivarsson & Carroll, 1998, pp.90-91) or a few differences in punctuation marks at the end of dialogues. The number of these differences is about 150—that is one sixth of the total figure of titles. Therefore, we turned our attention to the Mandarin Chinese dialogues and their English translations in the Chinese DVD and Hong Kong VCD versions for further examination.

3.2 Strategies in the Chinese DVD version

First, expanded expressions for Chinese cuisine: for a culture-specific term such as we find

in Chinese cuisine, it is always hard to find a completely corresponding term in the target language. To solve this kind of problem, film subtitle translators may use another familiar expression to convey a similar meaning. Take excerpt one, for example: “Hua Diao Zheng Gui Yu” is a traditional Chinese dish and its ingredients mainly include Hua Diao Jiu [a

kind of wine, Shao Xing Jiu], and Gui Yu [mandarin fish]. It has been translated as “steamed whole cod” in the film, not “steamed Mandarin fish with Hua Diao Jiu”, to avoid confusing the audience, and to keep the idea of Chinese. The method is similar to the strategy of “expansion” that Gottlieb introduces in his article, *Subtitling* (2001, pp. 1010).

Excerpt 1

Dialogue: Hua Diao Zheng Gui Yu, Gan Zha Tou Hao Li Ji

[Literal translation: steamed Mandarin fish with Hua Diao Jiu, dry deep-fried pork chop]

Subtitle: steamed whole cod/bite-size meatballs...

Secondly, omission or paraphrase of certain texts: as Ivarsson notes (1992), film subtitle translators may “omit something that is not regarded as strictly necessary for an understanding of the dialogue or of paraphrasing” (pp.91). In addition, “sometimes paraphrases are unavoidable when it is impossible to actually skip anything that is said” (pp.92). Translators usually employ a selection of these two methods to make translated subtitles short enough for the space available when encountering long-winded dialogues. Take excerpt two for example. The translator omitted the text “Ta Men Yi Dao Jing Cheng Jiu Ti Wo Ding Cia Zhe Men Qin Shi” and paraphrased the rest as “my parents are arranging everything” to represent the parental domination in children’s marriage in ancient Chinese society. A similar application of this strategy can also be found in the remaining part of excerpt two.

Excerpt 2

Dialogue: Fan Zheng Hun Shi You Wo Die Niang Jue Ding

Ta Men Yi Dao Jing Chen//Jiu Ti Wo Ding Xia Zhe Men Qin Shi

Niang Shuo Lu Tai Lao Ye Shi Chao Nei De Da Guan//You Shi San Dai Han Lin

Ru Guo Neng Gen Lu Jia Lian Yin//Dui Die Zai Bei Jing Da You Hao Chu

[Literal translation: Anyway, my marriage is determined by my parents.

They arranged the marriage once they arrived in the capital.

Mum said, Sir Lu is an eminent official at the Court

and three generations of them are all in the Hanlin Academy.

It would be beneficial to Dad in Beijing, were I to marry a Lu]

Subtitle: My parents//are arranging everyting.

The Gous are a very powerful family.

My marrying one will be good//for my father’s career.

Thirdly, condensation of bundles of texts: some protagonists, as Ivarsson has pointed out, may “say in a few seconds two or three times as many words as there is room for in the two (at best, three) subtitle lines below the picture” (1992, pp.92). In that case, an over-lengthy dialogue may necessitate condensation by the translator in order to get rid of any redundant information. The protagonist in excerpt three, for example, offers information on the lost sword, Qing Ming Jian [Green Destiny], in his reply to the boss, Bei Le Ye [Sir Te], and the first and third lines of the subtitles are not really necessary. Therefore, the translator kept the second subtitle line and left out the rest. This method corresponds to Gottlieb’s idea of “condensation” (2001, pp.1010).

Excerpt 3

Dialogue: Qing Ming Jian Shi Me Zhao Hui Lai

Ke Shi Wo Gan Du//Zei Ren Yu Yu Da Ren Jia You Gua Gou

Cha Ta Ge Di Er Diao

[Literal translation: I didn’t get the Green Destiny Sword back,

But I bet the thief is related to Yu’s family.

Let’s check it out]

Subtitle: I’m sure the thief//is in the Yu household.

Fourthly, the application of ellipsis, which according to Ivarsson (1992) can, “safely leave out the words whose main purpose is to keep the conversation ticking over, tautologies and repetitions.” (pp.93). Take excerpt four for example. The translator abridged the text “Ji Ran Shi Zhe Yang [in this case]” and retained the main meaning of the dialogue in his English translations.

Excerpt 4

Dialogue: Ji Ran Shi Zhe Yang

Ban Wan Le Shi, Ni Dao Bei Jing Gen Wo Hui He//Ni Lai, Wo Jiu Deng Ni

[Literal translation: Join me in Beijing once you're done.

If you're coming, I will wait for you there]

Subtitle: Join me//once you have finished. I can wait for you in Beijing.

Fifthly, simplifying the text: translators, according to Ivarsson (1992), can use “simplified syntactic structure rather than the complex ones when necessary, and the difference in terms of meaning is sometimes negligible” (pp.94). Here the translator dismisses complicated descriptions of the main character in films by choosing a simplified syntax instead. An example can be found in excerpt five.

Excerpt 5

Dialogue: Dang Jin Tian Xia Lun Jian Fa, Lun Wu De//Zhi You Mu Bai Pei Shi Yong Zhe Ba Jian

[Literal translation: Speaking of swordsmanship and morality in martial arts, nowadays Mu Bai is the only person in this world who deserves to use this sword]

Subtitle: He is the only one in the world//worthy of carrying it.

Sixthly, using simpler vocabulary: “it is easier and takes less time to read simple, familiar words than unusual ones” (Ivarsson, 1992, pp.95). Therefore, the translator here uses “wild chicken” to represent the “Gu La Ji” in excerpt six. Gu La Ji is a type of pheasant bred in the current Xinjing Uyghur Autonomous Region in Mainland China.

Excerpt 6

Dialogue: Da Lie Hen Guan Yong De

Xiang Pen Pen De Gu La Ji

[Literal translation: Great for hunting. Delicious Go La chicken]

Subtitle: Great for hunting wild chicken. They're delicious.

Seventhly, various approaches to “appellation translation”, including “proper nouns, personal names, titles, sobriquets of the characters or places are given” (Mok, 2002, pp.273). According to Mok (2002), translators may use different formulate to translate characters in martial-arts films, such as a “personal name with sobriquet for professional titles” (pp.277). They usually use one adjective and one noun together for sobriquets; that is similar to what we have found in our case study. Take excerpt seven for example. The translator translated the sobriquet of the character here using the formula of one adjective and one noun. However, the translation of personal names may vary. Take excerpts eight and nine, for instance. Only the surname was translated in excerpt eight, and this caused another issue to do with the pronunciation of the Mandarin Chinese characters. The mountain in excerpt ten, for example, is translated as “Wudan” with onomatopoeia, even though that is not exactly how it is pronounced in Chinese. The term is pronounced “Wudang” in Mainland China, “Moudong” in Hong Kong.

Excerpt 7

Dialogue: Bi Yan Hu Li Zai Na Li?

[Literal translation: Where is Jade-eyed Fox?]

Subtitle: Where is Jade Fox?

Excerpt 8

Dialogue: Zai Xia “Ji Dong Tie Ying Zhua” Song Ming

[Literal translation: I am “Iron Eagle Talon in East Hebei” Song Ming]

Subtitle: I'm Iron Eagle Sung...

Excerpt 9

Dialogue: Zhe Wei Shi Wo Shi Ge “Fei Tian Bao” Li Yun

[Literal translation: This is my brother in arms “Flying Leopard” Li Yun]

Subtitle: and this is my brother in arms...

Flying Cougar Li Yun

Excerpt 10

Dialogue: Li Mu Bai Rang Ta Qu Wu Dang Shan Le

[Literal translator: Li Mu Bai let him go to Wudang Mountain]

Subtitle: He sent him//to Wudan Mountain.

3.3 Translations in other English versions

Now, let us turn to the different translations of Mandarin Chinese dialogue and Hong Kong

versions. After comparing the English translations of these two versions, we found more than 100 differences and these could be initially divided into three categories.

The first category is the lack of a complete translation in the Hong Kong English version: take excerpt eleven for example. It is not clear what sort of objectives have been mentioned when reading the Hong Kong English translation only. The audience, therefore, may get confused or possibly misunderstand the whole film plot.

Excerpt 11

Dialogue: San Jiao Jiu Liu, Wang Lai Ren Deng

[Literal translation: people from all walks of life and different ranks.]

Subtitle: Here, you'll find all sorts of characters. (Mandarin version)

Here, you'll find all sorts. (Hong Kong version)

The second category is the different interpretation of the same dialogue: take excerpt twelve for example. The weapon "Shuang Dao" is translated as "machete" in the Chinese English version and as "saber" in the Hong Kong English version. These two translations do not represent the same weapon and the Chinese one, machete, is the better one from the perspective of shape and function. Overall, similar cases in Mandarin Chinese English version are more accurate.

Excerpt 12

Dialogue: Wo Shi Shuang Dao, Jian Fa Wo Lue Tong Yi Er

[Literal translation: I use double blades and more or less understand swordsmanship.]

Subtitle: Yes, I am.

But I prefer the machete. (Mandarin version)

Yes, I am.

But I prefer the saber. (Hong Kong version)

The third category is the difference in the layout of the different versions, which is attributable to the differences between the technical limitations in the VCD and DVD versions. As a consequence, translators may have different choices of layout, and that has resulted in a different order of word groups even though the whole sentence meaning is still the same. An example can be found in excerpt thirteen.

Excerpt 13

Dialogue: Xia Hui Yu Le Ta/Ta Yao Shi Zai Bu Ken Ming Jiang

Gao Su Wo, Wo Qu Gen Ta Shuo

[Literal translation: If he still refuses to make it explicit when you meet him next time.

Let me know and I will have a word with him!]

Subtitle: Tell me if Li Mu Bai is not more//open the next time you see him.

I'll give him an earful! (Mandarin version)

The next time you see him tell me if Li Mu Bai is not more open.

I'll gibe him an earful! (Hong Kong version)

3.4 Culture-bound problems

Finally, we have found some loose interpretation of certain cultural terms. Take excerpt fourteen, for example. The term "You Shi" meant the period of the day from five to seven pm in ancient Chinese society and it is translated as "midnight" in the English translation. Another example is "Zhen Ren" in excerpt fifteen. This is a term used mostly in the Taoist religion and translated as "Taoist priest". The term monk is used mostly in the Buddhist religion.

Excerpt 14

Dialogue: Jin Wan You Shi//Huang Tu Gang Shang, Yi Jue Sheng Si!

[Literal translation: Let's settle it once for all, this evening on the Yellow Hill!]

Subtitle: "We'll settle this at midnight//on Yellow Hill."

Excerpt 15

Dialogue: Dao Yuan Zhen Ren Nian Chu//Cong Wu Dang Shan Lu Guo Zhe Li

[Literal translation: Early this year, Taoist priest Dao Yuan passed here en route from Wu Dang Mountain]

Subtitle: Monk Zheng Said//you were at Wudan Mountain.

4. Discussion and conclusion

Subtitling, a translation process from oral language into written text, is different from literary translation. When it comes to technical limitations, as Luyken and his colleagues have mentioned “its tasks are particularly restrained by time and space which are imposed by the nature of television and film production” (1991, pp.42); we may agree that the translation process from oral into written text does create some difficulties, such as the goal of achieving maximum legibility or being terse to avoid crowding translated subtitles out of the screen. Film subtitle translators need to bear these limitations in mind to avoid breaching them. However, subtitlers also need to take account of other factors in relation to language and culture, in order to present or transfer information to their target audiences. We may, therefore, conclude that technology, when it comes to subtitle translation, does not greatly change the essence of translation, but enriches it. In film subtitle translation, not only linguistic or cultural factors must be taken into consideration, as with literature, but also different technical limitations.

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The Passion behind Serenity

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Abstract

It forms certain sense of beauty in the asymmetry in symmetry, among the shape bodies of oil paintings, between body shape and image as well as the both symmetrical-and-asymmetrical-like objects in the natural world. The structure lines in drawing creation cross each other, are connected with each other and collide with each other, which forms a tense atmosphere, transforms into an instant balance and a kind of comparatively static beauty, and strongly expresses the visual effects and the mood it intends to express.

Keywords: Asymmetry, Collision, Balance, Static

Someone says that inspiration comes from suddenness and is beyond human beings' expectation. Perhaps a coincidence, a casual glance, and a moment when enjoying a photo of Tianshan snow will bring the germinating of inspiration. For example, when we stand still in creation, the chance of seeing a landscape painting will bring you new ideas. Simple composition and easy brushwork help us ignite the passion for painting.

From the perspective of creation materials, human being's appreciation on the asymmetry beauty of the natural works has a great potential. It includes the mutual reflection between water and mountain, the mutual reflection between mountain and their images reflected in the water and the mutual relationship between the sky and coast. The world of "asymmetry" is dulcet and is the beauty of serenity.

Most sceneries in the nature have certain symmetry so as to keep balance. However, the colorfulness of the world usually lies in its not-so-complete symmetry. A left-and-right symmetrical mountain and water painting could give people the feelings of beauty. However, if we combine half of the painting with its image and form an absolute symmetrical mountain and water painting, the effect will be totally different. Such absolute symmetrical painting is dull and has no similarity with the natural scenery that is full of energy and has no sense of beauty at all. If we break the symmetry or balance, even the slightest breaking, it will bring the beautiful effect out of expectation. Imagine that there is a painting that describes mountain and water scenery. The mountain and water are symmetrical in the entire painting. You will feel the disharmony of this painting, which is caused by the over symmetry of the painting. Although to break the symmetry could generate power, in the gale and swell whose surface is turbulent, even a cluster of grass or a boat, who are struggling for balance, will bring forceful reactions. The symmetrical beauty of the nature once makes many people admire. The principle of symmetry and asymmetry in the nature that we discover is similar to the aesthetic principle of symmetry and asymmetry that artists discover and explore.

The asymmetry beauty in painting is just one aspect. The creation of works needs painting skills to represent so as to increase the agile beauty. The skill and game nature of the creation of oil painting attract people to learn and explore. For example, in creation, we could completely break the trueness and small strokes and could boldly try to apply big strokes concept and to try something new.

The skills that combine the skills of abstractive painting and impressionist painting provide us with the possibility to fully express our feelings in painting creation. We could use various skills to form the static beauty after collision. For example, we could use color module to express entity and could use the squeezing of color modules to express the relationship between various bodies. The modern art admires concepts not experiencing. It pays less attention to the techniques of creation. As a matter of fact, not only oil painting needs skills, concept art, behavior art and installation are also need skills. They are just of different styles.

The squeezing of color modules could form a static beauty after collision. Therefore, light sense could also generate the

sense of beauty. Any object will generate light and shade changes what put under light. For example, the light and shade effect generated when a ball is placed under light will give people with a visual impact. For another example, the “focusing and dispersing” concept in 3 Dimension refers to that when light reaches object surfaces, it will reflect and generate the glisten like water wave. The entire light refers to the whole balance and the focusing and dispersing effect means the un-balance in balance, which could form a collision beauty after collision in common and change. Boudelaire said that art is composed of objective elements, common and change, eternal and instant, absolute and incidental. He believed that a great art should discover eternal elements in instant ones, discover absolute elements in incidental ones, and see common elements in changing elements.

In the formation and representation of painting works, there is passion. The crossing of curved lines and beelines forms a tense atmosphere. Such status suddenly become still in an instant balance or movement. This is an instant concept, a beauty that comes when mountain waters suddenly stop. It is believed that a good start means half success of a career. It is so in painting.

All lights of beauty come from our heart. Without heart reflection, there is no so called beauty. Therefore, the natural scenery is the field of heart and soul. Especially for the conception paintings in Chinese paintings, they lie between “similarity and non-similarity” and are called “the unification of heaven and human beings”, the cultural spirit of China. They instinctively combine representation with reappearance and subjectivity and objectivity. Such instinct sense and the comprehensive application fundamentally distinguish Chinese thinking patterns with the linear logistic method and aesthetic modes of western culture. What is more, for aesthetic “image”, it includes sense, thoughts, and spirit and at the same time, it is the reflection of culture, personality ambit and taste style. Hence, from “image”, there come three cultural concepts, “artistic concept”, “ambit” and “style”, which are related to works but could be not specified. They refer to the humanism culture and personality connotation of the artistic main bodies reflected by the artistic works. From the perspective of oil painting, image oil paintings could best show the poem cultural oil painting. In the creation concepts, image oil painting pursues “go with the objects” and “follow the direction of hearts”, which means that for one aspect, it should focus on the objects and heart should yield to the objects. For another aspect, it requires that to use heart to direct objects. The works might not just reflect the true objects but to certain degree, it keeps the certain relationship with real images.

No matter what methods, styles and patterns are adopted, for the art that is realistic and reflect the true feelings of human beings, there is a broad road. The more successful point of impressionism painters is that they bring people back to the nature. They advocate sketch, trueness, and return to the nature. Hence, people now yearn for “going to the nature”. Due to the sub-consciousness, some painters want to change the trueness of this world. Of course, the trueness here does not refer to the physical property of objects and is a new ideal and transformed entity. For example, the sky and water are originally entities. However, due to the need of creation, they could be abstractive. What replaces them could be the pure color. It looks like mountain but is not mountain. It looks like water but is not water. It looks like cloud and is not cloud. Even, you could reverse the painting to appreciate it. Hence, you could feel the degree of the complanation and subjectivity of the works. The creation of oil paintings could adopt “color face” to talk. The height wave of line face in the painting could be squeezed out through “color face”. In oil painting works, the main body structure formed due to the mutual squeezing of color module makes the shape of objects only leave the edge of color module. However, the structure lines hid in the painting cross each other, compare with each other, are connected with each other so that a type of comparative static beauty is formed. By this way, the true objects seem like transient and mysterious. What is more, it pursues the pureness and simplicity of color image as well as the pureness and romantics of color so that those non-realistic objects are completely integrated in to the cloud stream like color change. This is the artistic conception what we pursue in painting creation.

Usually, in an excellent works, there is a type of turbulence hidden behind serenity. At the first glance, it will give people with warm, placid, gentle and amiable memory and feelings. Its colors change slightly, is pure but not single and deserves your memory. Its shapes have a type of comparative stillness in collision, which has a force that controls us. As a matter of fact, it is beautiful poem. In the painting, you could feel the beauty of movements and stillness. When the movements and stillness collide with each other, it forms a type of balance and a comparative serenity.

All objects own the beauty of asymmetry and at the same time, they all have objective aspects. No matter it is in the vast universe or in the daedal natural world, the subjective concepts of painters collide with each other and form a beauty of balance and serenity. Behind the beauty of serenity, it is the passion for creation.

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Research on Chinese Farmers' Social Endowment Insurance Mode

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Abstract

In this paper, based on Marxism social security theory, the author creatively advances that in China value of labour-power consists of the endowments for the laborer and part of endowments for his or her parents, considering China's conditions. By this way, the author integrates traditional individual, family, collectivity, and state endowments into a complex endowment mode, namely the target mode of this paper. This mode includes social endowment insurance system and community-and-family support system. The former mainly offers endowment insurance, and the later mainly life services and spiritual cares for seniors. The social endowment insurance system includes primary pension, social pension, and family planning pension for farmers. The management of rural social endowment insurance premium is similar to that of civil social endowment insurance. Considering the great difference of local economy and society in China, community-and-family support system is various in different regions. The family planning pension is to relieve the potential negative effects of certain institutions designed in this paper on the family planning policy.

Keywords: China, Farmers, Social endowment insurance

1. Introduction

At present, China is at an economic and social transition period. The objective of transition is to realize socialist market economy. A perfect socialist market economy needs a set of relatively perfect social security system. Due to the history, the social security in China forms a dual structure in cities and countrysides. Cities have a relatively perfect social security system, but countrysides have not. Therefore, to build up a rural social security system has already become a hot in theoretical field.

In this paper, "farmers" are defined from professions and status. They are labourers who have agricultural households and directly attend agricultural production, including agricultural production organizers, managers, and technicians.

2. Theoretical foundation

2.1 Theoretical foundation for social security contents and capital resources ----- Marx's Six Deduction Theory and Labor Theory of Value

Institutions are not neutral. The theoretical foundation of China's socialist security system is Marxism socialist security theory. Western capitalism social security theory serves as reference for us.

Marx in *Critique of the Gotha Programme* emphasizes a real fairness in wealth allocation. In order to animadvert on LaSalle's "the proceeds of labor belong undiminished with equal right to all members of society", Marx points out: "first of all, the words "proceeds of labor" in the sense of the product of labor; then the co-operative proceeds of labor are the total social product. From this must now be deducted: First, cover for replacement of the means of production used up. Secondly, additional portion for expansion of production. Third, reserve or insurance funds to provide against accidents, dislocations caused by natural calamities, etc. These deductions from the "undiminished" proceeds of labor are an economic necessity, and their magnitude is to be determined according to available means and forces, and partly by computation of probabilities, but they are in no way calculable by equity. There remains the other part of the total product, intended to serve as means of consumption. Before this is divided among the individuals, there has to be deducted again, from it: First, the general costs of administration not belonging to production. Second, that which is intended for the common satisfaction of needs, such as schools, health services, etc. Thirdly, funds for those unable to

work, etc., in short, for what is included under so-called official poor relief today. (Karl Marx, 1966, p11-12)” Therefore, the first deduction from the total social product described by Marx is the first distribution of national income today. The second deduction mainly reflects the re-distribution of national income, covering social members’ common needs, pensions, national education, health cares, public welfare, and social alms for incapable people. Marx’s Six Deduction Theory is an intensive summarization of social security nature and contents.

In discussing “how is the value of labor-power determined”, Marx says: “The value of labor-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labor-time necessary for the production, and consequently also the reproduction, of this special article. (Karl Marx, 2004, p198)” “Therefore the labor-time requisite for the production of labor-power reduces itself to that necessary for the production of those means of subsistence; in other words, the value of labor-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer. (Karl Marx, 2004, p198)” “His natural wants, such as food, clothing, fuel, and housing, vary according to the climatic and other physical conditions of his country. On the other hand, the number and extent of his so-called necessary wants, as also the modes of satisfying them, are themselves the product of historical development, and depend therefore to a great extent on the degree of civilization of a country, more particularly on the conditions under which, and consequently on the habits and degree of comfort in which, the class of free laborers has been formed. In contradistinction therefore to the case of other commodities, there enters into the determination of the value of labor-power a historical and moral element. (Karl Marx, 2004, p198)” Considering Chinese respect-for-the-old tradition, in China the value of labor-power should include the value of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer’s parents, which establishes a sound economic and institutional foundation for popularizing Chinese traditional culture. Besides, herein because of human being’s self-interest and the improvement of Chinese social economic marketization, the value of labor-power in China should also include portion of personal endowments. In other words, the wages should include a proportion of endowments. The proportion is determined by the lowest subsistence necessary for the maintenance and the average life expectancy.

2.2 Theoretical foundation for social security level ----- Marx’s Human Needs Theory

Marx classifies human needs into material needs and spiritual needs according to the contents and nature. Material needs are human needs for necessities related with clothes, food, house, and move, labor tools, and cultural articles. Spiritual needs mean people enjoy themselves by displaying their innovative ability and appreciating cultural fruits, including needs for knowledge, beauties, ideals, friendships, respects, and honors.

In Marx’s opinion, the material needs are the primary needs, what are people’s most fundamental and important needs, being the foundation of all human needs. After satisfying the primary needs, “the satisfied primary needs, the needs-satisfying activities, and acquired needs-satisfying tools will arouse new needs. (Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, 1972, p32)” Engels points out: “Marx finds out the law of human history development, namely a simple fact that has been covered by various ideologies for a long time: first of all, people have to eat, drink, live, and dress, then they are engaged in politics, science, arts, and religions. (Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, 1972, p574)”

For spiritual needs, Marx says: “The appearance of thoughts, ideas, and consciousness originally associates with human material activities, material intercourses, and real life languages. Here people’s spiritual intercourses are direct products of human material relationships. (Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, 1972, 574)”. Even though, human spiritual needs can be displayed by mythology and religion. Till the emergence of real division of labor, the production of spiritual needs becomes an independent system. Marx points out: “Only when spiritual labor separates from material labor, can division of labor is real division Since then, ideology can get rid of the material world and construct pure theories. (Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, 1972, p574)” It means spiritual needs and spiritual production are a natural historical process. Human spiritual needs develop from small to large, from primary to senior, which indicates that different human social development environments and stages determine different social security degrees and levels.

3. General mode ----- complex endowment mode

3.1 Organizational form ----- an organic combination of social endowment insurance and community- and-family support system

3.1.1 Characters of social endowment insurance mode

At present, there are three kinds of social endowment insurance modes: ① Common pension mode. It is a welfare state-guaranteed mode. Its main characters are: wide implementation scope (this mode covers all residents, and even includes foreign residents who live in China for certain period); has nothing to do with individual income (no matter whether the old are common laborer or not, how much they earn before retirements, or whether they have stable jobs and incomes, the state offers equal pensions for them regardless of their life conditions); funds are mainly from state financial subsidy (most industrialized countries where implement this mode do not charge for any cost in general. The expenditure is completely from state taxation. But some countries ask citizens to pay social insurance premiums or taxes). This mode reflects the fairness principle of social security system. It has a strong income-redistribution function, and especially benefits the low-income class. The main defects are: single resource of funds; government’s heavy

financial burden; a spot of average subsidy is meaningless for the rich; it may cause tax avoidance among the high-income class. ② Income-associated pension mode. It builds up a retirement income security plan for laborers by social insurance system. Its primary characters are: firstly, endowment insurance funds are from enterprises (employers), individuals (employees), and the state. In cities, employers and employees pay insurance premiums according to certain proportion of wages. In countrysides, for agricultural employed laborers, similar to city employees, individuals and employers pay insurance premiums according to certain proportion of wages. Non-employees pay insurance premiums by themselves according to certain proportion of real net income (includes cashes and agricultural products). The state offers financial support for endowment insurance by taxation, rate of interests, and financial policy; secondly, the pension is determined by wage levels. Pensions of retirers associate directly with their wages before retirements. For employed labourers, pensions are calculated from the wages during the last year before retirement or the average wage of work period. The annual pension is about equal to 30%-50% of income before retirement; thirdly, the redistribution function. Pensions associate with insurance premiums and incomes. However, differing from commercial insurance companies' premiums, the operation rules of pensions are different from that of commercial insurances. The income-associated social endowment insurance mode realizes a redistribution of national income among different generations and income groups by special technological mechanism. Especially, it makes an income transfer happen from high-income class to low-income class, which helps to achieve an income redistribution between the rich and the poor, the industrial laborers and the agricultural laborers in the endowment insurance system, shortening the social security distance between different interests groups. ③ Compulsive saving pension mode. It is a self security mode. The main characters are: executed compulsively by government legislation; insurance premiums are paid by individuals or families in general. Employers can also pay a spot of insurance premiums for employees, what is not an obligation of employers regulated by government; insurance funds are operated in a commercial way, and government provides with guaranty of environment for system operation. This mode eliminates government's responsibility for rural endowment security system, improving citizens' consciousness of self security, and liberating the government from heavy economic burden. However, this mode may suffer from economic development due to the lack of strong bases. Especially during an economic fluctuation period, it fails to ensure stable economic development and social stability. Besides, this mode can not benefit some non-income people or low-income laborers because of no savings.

3.1.2 Characters of family support mode

The family support mode is a mutual security mode for family members based on economic and ethical reasons. In this mode, other family members provide with economic support for the old in the family. Its characters are: the responsibility is shouldered by family members; the economic support for the old depends on economic conditions of the family; the state forces or encourage the normal operation of family support mode by legislation or administrative methods; the state or other organizations can offer necessary policy or economic support for family support mode. However, social reform changes production way, living style, ideology, and values. Family members' different literature levels, occupations, economic incomes, thoughts, interests, and living conditions will exert great effects on changes of family type and family structure. Chinese economic and social transition impacts greatly the family support mode.

3.1.3 Characters of community-and-family support mode

We should acknowledge that both social endowment security mode and family support mode are good for China with their respective advantages. Although the social endowment mode is the trend, it consumes amounts of investments for building up necessary equipments, and training specialized servants and managers. Though the family support mode faces a predicament, facing a crisis, the thousands of years' Chinese tradition lays extreme stresses on family-connected relationships, regarding families as primary units. Besides, the family support mode has advantages of costs and cultures, which is appropriate for undeveloped countysides. For China, an agricultural giant and a developing country, the family is an irreplaceable element for a long time.

3.1.4 Target organizational form ----- an organic combination of social endowment insurance and community-and-family support

In this paper, the target mode is an organic combination of social endowment insurance and community- and-family support. Here, social endowment insurance offers funds, and community-and-family support provides with material and spiritual cares. The community-and-family support is an endowment system integrated family support with community support, happened in houses, and based on community care service network, with the guaranty of state institutions, policies, and laws. The community-and-family support mode is based on individuals, families, communities, and the state. Compared with institution support mode, it happens in houses. The community-and-family support mode changes the whole endowment system. The old live home but are served by families and society. In other words, this mode is to activate all social strengths to construct a community-and-family support system that is in accordance with the will of the old, in favor of maintaining and strengthening the self-support abilities of the old, practical and effective, taking the family as the core, the community as the net, and the endowment system as the security.

In the endowment resources aspect, the community-and-family support mode has many endowment resources (from

individuals, families, communities, and the state); in the function aspect, the community-and-family mode can satisfy material and spiritual needs of the old and provide with overall cares for them. In addition, this mode has multi-level, open, and complement functions (it distributes endowment resources, program endowment equipments, and adopt proper endowment ways according to specific conditions of the old). In specific, the community-and-family support mode expands the narrow concept of “family” into a wider scope. It not only consists of family members, but also covers the whole community. In a community-family environment, social interpersonal relationships are more complex, and interpersonal activities are more various, what can better satisfy people’s multiple needs for mutual assistances and communications. The old can get more pleasures and greater satisfactions in such an endowment environment. Therefore, in the community-and-family support mode, the family is the main carrier of endowment. It emphasizes on openness instead of closeness. The old in good living conditions with nice cares of children can live home; the old in bad living conditions without cares of children can live in houses offered by communities; the old may prefer to live in community apartments though they are in good economic conditions, because they are more independent and refuse to trouble their children or relatives. The community-and-family support system centers on the old and completely takes the interests of the old into consideration. According to the values, independence, and self-support abilities, the old can choose proper endowment mode by themselves. The choice of certain endowment mode is not fixed but dynamic development. But in essence, the community-and-family support offers a “family” with interpersonal cares and emotional communications but not a physical space. It supplies a social environment for material and spiritual cares. An “empty” family without psychological communications and spiritual cares is not in accordance with the “family” concept in the community- and-family support mode.

3.2 Security layers and levels

3.2.1 Security layers

① Farmers’ primary pension

Farmers’ primary pension system is, in nature, an integration of present rural minimum living security system and “five guarantees” system in China. The primary pension is an endowment security system for low-income farmers. Its specific institutional arrangements include: (i) Qualified conditions. The primary pension is for people who reach certain age (in general the average age is 60 years old, or 65 for man, and 60 for woman. The laborers who are incapable of work due to diseases or injuries can enjoy the pension early); people who do not benefit from social endowment insurance; people should get up the right of employing agricultural lands before getting the pension. (ii) Payment standards. The standards should consider people’s primary living needs, farmers’ average pure income per capita, financial conditions of central government and local governments, and other endowment security systems. (iii) Funds channels. According to the theoretical foundation mentioned above, the funds for primary pension are from state finance. (iv) Management mode. Farmers’ primary pension system is organized and executed by governments at different levels. Governments can empower certain sector or institution to establish objects of primary pensions and pay primary annuities. Meanwhile, governments should entrust independent supervision institutions with inspecting the operation of system and funds.

② Farmers’ social endowment insurance

Farmers’ social endowment insurance is the mainstream endowment security arrangement according to the principle of income-association. It is for farmers who reach certain age (in general the average age is 60 years old, or 65 for man, and 60 for woman) and not benefit from the primary pension. The laborers who are incapable of work due to diseases or injuries can enjoy the insurance early.

The payment conditions for farmers’ social endowment insurance are: (i) The beneficiary and the children should pay legal endowment insurance premiums for several years. People who are in working age should pay the premiums monthly or seasonally, or pay off one time or pay later. Old farmers who are in retiring age (the legal age for getting pensions) can adopt the one-time payment according to real ages. They can benefit from the pensions after paying off certain amount of premiums (include necessary premiums paid by the children). (ii) The beneficiary must firstly give up the right of employing agricultural land before benefiting from the endowment insurance.

The operation of farmers’ social endowment insurance system can respectively set up the social overall account and personal accounts for farmers’ endowment insurance, by taking reference from city practices in China. Farmers pay endowment insurance premiums according to their security layers (there are three legal layers of social endowment insurance based on the east, the middle, and the west). Local governments and central government offer funds according to proper proportions. The collected funds will be saved in the two accounts respectively according to certain proportion. Similar to urban endowment security system, as farmers are old, social security institutions offer pensions for people according to their personal accounts and their contributions to the social overall account, taking economic development and inflation into consideration.

The collection of farmers’ social endowment insurance must depend on laws, though specific payments are flexible,

such as one-time payment, and delayed payment. It allows farmers choose different insurance levels in order to get relevant endowment security.

Farmers' social endowment insurance is an income-associated system. Its payment standard is based on the principle of income-determined-payment. In order to ensure that rural residents live a normal life during their old age, and construct a unified city-and-countryside endowment security system, the payment standard for rural social endowment insurance should not be too low. Meanwhile, considering farmers' income levels and governments' financial abilities, the payment standard should not be too high. For people who contribute a lot to the social overall account (for example, people who offer more than 50%), they can benefit from not only their personal accounts but also a high percentage (for example, 60%-80% of farmers' average pure income per capita in last year) of the social overall account. For people who contribute less to the social overall account, they can benefit from their personal accounts and a low percentage (for example, 20%-40% of farmers' average pure income per capita in last year) of the social overall account. Different percentages can help to improve farmers' endowment security levels gradually along with the industrialization and urbanization, realizing the unification of city-and-countryside endowment security system.

③ Family planning pension

The family planning pension is to drive the implementation of family planning policy in countryside. Therefore, the family planning pension benefits all farmers who obey the national family planning policy. The family planning pension includes two levels. For the beneficiary of the family planning pension, farmers who are qualified with getting social endowment insurance can obtain low-level family planning pension. Other farmers can obtain high-level family planning pension. Specific family planning pension levels are determined by local economic conditions and central and government finance. The principle of establishing the family planning pension level is to guarantee old farmers who obey the national family planning policy with normal life. The family planning pension, as a reward for farmers, is supported by the central and local finance. Local social security management institutions are in charge of managing and offering the family planning pension.

3.2.2 Security level

There is a reasonable division of social security relationship among individuals, collectivity, and society. Social security is necessary for a society. But social security is not a safe for all people. Individuals should not transfer their responsibilities to any collectivity or society. Individual must be responsible for themselves first of all. Only when one individual can not shoulder the responsibility or must stop the fulfillment of responsibility, does the state or the society take the responsibility. The conditionality of social development means there is no almighty government. Social security does not aim at offering longlife guarantees for people since the birth. If social security is "absolutely free from any risk, its energies, talents, creative spirits, and other excellent qualities will not be exerted thoroughly. These qualities are vital for a nation's existence and future. (Erhard, 1995, p182)" Therefore, social security needs a "degree" ----- proper social security level.

National farmers' primary pension means to guarantee old farmers with normal living. The level should be slightly higher than the poverty standard regulated by the state, and lower than the average living expenditure in western regions.

Family planning pension is to encourage farmers to follow the national family planning policy. Its level depends on the government finance. But the family planning pension should guarantee the old farmers who obey the national family planning policy with average local living conditions. Therefore, local family planning pension levels are different due to different financial conditions of local government and local average living conditions. But for the sake of fairness, central government should offer equal support for local family planning pensions.

A gap is necessary between farmers' primary pension and farmers' social endowment insurance, in order to encourage farmers to join in social endowment insurance. One farmer can not benefit from two kinds of pensions at the same time, but he or she can benefit from the family planning pension and farmers' primary pension as well or farmers' social endowment insurance.

3.2.3 Origins of security resources

Resources of social security funds are vital for the success of social security system. From the angle of subjects, the target mode collects funds from individuals, families (children), collectivity (enterprises, communities), and governments. Just as what has been discussed above, farmers' primary pension and family planning pension are supported by government finance, whereas farmers' social endowment insurance gets funds from individuals, families (children), and governments. Individuals and families (children) pay premiums for farmers' social endowment insurance, and government offers relevant supports, what serve as the main resources of funds for farmers' endowment security. Collectivity (enterprises, communities) provides with living cares and other services for its members and takes certain

fees, and offers supports for its members based on the economic power. Farmers' social endowment insurance system is supposed to be same in China. Communities can supply different endowment resources for members according to practical conditions. Therefore, in a sense, the community-and-family support mode can reflect local economic and social development properly. Proportions of individuals, families (children), and government paying premiums of farmers' social endowment insurance depend on the income of farmers in China and the government finance. Proportions may change during different stages. Besides, the central government should offer more supports for the middle and the west than that for the east, reflecting the nature of China's socialist social security. The funds for collectivity (enterprises, communities) endowment security are mainly from incomes of collectivity (enterprises, communities), such as the income from the right of using land transferred by old farmers as they get sorts of endowment pensions.

The value of total social product is $c+v+m$. Farmers' endowment security funds are from $v+m$. Here, m is a resource of farmers' endowment security funds indisputably, what has been discussed in the theoretical foundation part. Next, we explore the portion of farmers' endowment security funds that is from v . Undoubtedly, we must understand the constitution of v . Just as what has been discussed above, in discussing "how is the value of labor-power determined", Marx says: "The value of labor-power is determined, as in the case of every other commodity, by the labor-time necessary for the production, and consequently also the reproduction, of this special article. (Karl Marx, 2004, p198)" "Therefore the labor-time requisite for the production of labor-power reduces itself to that necessary for the production of those means of subsistence; in other words, the value of labor-power is the value of the means of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer. (Karl Marx, 2004, p198)" "His natural wants, such as food, clothing, fuel, and housing, vary according to the climatic and other physical conditions of his country. On the other hand, the number and extent of his so-called necessary wants, as also the modes of satisfying them, are themselves the product of historical development, and depend therefore to a great extent on the degree of civilization of a country, more particularly on the conditions under which, and consequently on the habits and degree of comfort in which, the class of free laborers has been formed. In contradistinction therefore to the case of other commodities, there enters into the determination of the value of labor-power a historical and moral element. (Karl Marx, 2004, p198)" Considering Chinese respect-for-the-old tradition, in China the value of labor-power should include the value of subsistence necessary for the maintenance of the laborer's parents, which establishes a sound economic and institutional foundation for popularizing Chinese traditional culture. Besides, herein because of human being's self-interest and the improvement of Chinese social economic marketization, the value of labor-power in China should also include portion of personal endowments. In other words, the wages should include a proportion of endowments. The proportion is determined by the lowest subsistence necessary for the maintenance and the average life expectancy. Besides, the development trend of contemporary capitalism is the "interests share" of capitalists and workers. The shared interests are the portion of " $v+m$ ", from which sorts of taxes and fees have been deducted. Here, v is the value created by laborers for themselves, namely the portion of social product for laborers. Therefore, the shared interests are carried by m (Minqian Zhou, 2002, p156). Apparently, capitalists merely give a portion of m to owners of labor-power capitals in order to pursue for long-term interests and larger m . Along with the improvement of China economic development level, the wages of laborers may include a portion of m , which can also serve as the resource of endowment security funds.

4. Management mode

In administrative management aspect, a unified department is necessary for managing the state city- and-countryside social security operation. Under the unified department, found relevant institutions at different levels to manage the state farmers' social security business. After that, set functional sectors to operate farmers' endowment security. The foundation of these organizations follows the principle of equal responsibilities to obligations, and the balance of income and payment. In business management aspect, form state-owned organizations to manage and operate social endowment insurance. The operations should follow principles of market economy. Meanwhile, allow qualified non-state-owned capitals to enter the social endowment insurance management and operation field, forming a competition, reducing the management costs of social endowment insurance, and improving the rate of return. Farmers can choose or change their social endowment insurance accounts and operational organizations freely. For the rate of return, governments can establish the minimum based on prices of the year to ensure the principals and increments. Besides, government should set up a set of institutions and measures to supervise and inspect the operation of farmers' social endowment insurance, ensuring the minimum rate of return established by the government. Surely, costs of government management and operations are from the finance instead of return of farmers' social insurance.

Considering the nature of social insurance and the imbalanced regional economic development, rural social endowment insurance should be controlled and adjusted by provinces. In communities, farmers' endowment security resources can be managed and controlled by local organizations of farmers.

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Design on Knitwear Fashion

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Abstract

Knitwear fashion owns both the characters of knitted garments and fashion. Its unique fabrics, colors, shapes and technology, as well as casualness and comfortableness to wear, attract people's hearts on beauty and it becomes popular rookie. This paper, based on the designer's point of view, through market research, focuses on the analysis of the characteristics of knitwear fashion, fabric choices, color matching and fashion trend, which highlights the significance of knitwear fashion in today's society as well as the quick development of knitted fabrics whose roles could not be ignored.

Keywords: Knitwear fashion, Color, Fabric, Fashion trend

China's garment enterprises, after accumulating considerable energy, have gradually entered into the world. Garment is the mirror that reflects the images of a country and a nation. Around the world, no matter in what kind of culture or economy background, we can find garments that match it. In current era, the beautifying function of garments is completely shown. The garments could make an ordinary girl into a beauty in an instant moment. No wonder the love of women on garments is so lasting and I am afraid that the charm of clothing lies in this.

Knitwear is a new member of garment world. Now, it is playing a more and more important role in our lives and becomes an indispensable part of our lives. It, based on knitted underwear, makes full use of the extension character of knitted fabric and the plasticity of raw materials, inherits and develops the traditional processing technology for traditional knitwear. Its good elasticity, good sense of touching, and casualness becomes popular in fashion. Someone predicts that knitwear fashion will become popular. At present, knitwear fashion develops quickly and has found a place in the world garment forests.

Knitted garments include knitted sweaters, knitted sportswear, knitwear fashion, knitted underwear, knitted T-shirt and knitted accessories. Knitwear fashion refers to all kinds of knitted fashion cloth made out of knitted fabric. The styles of knitwear fashion are diverse. There are knitwear suits that are for good to use and are of fashion. It is natural and comfortable. Also, there are knitwear fashions which pay attention to personal style and taste and highlight the unique design.

Commonly used knitwear fashion fabric includes cotton, chemical fiber, and silk and polyester cover cotton.

After doing research on knitted fabric fashion in the market, it is found that fall and winter knitwear feature in their natural appearance, comfortable touch sense. They emphasize natural fibers, elastic fiber, functional use of a new type of fiber and gives excellent comfort and functionality to knitwear; or it adopts lightweight, mid-hollow fibers so that it could maintain the warmth-keeping function and reduce the weight of knitwear so that it tends to be light; yarn is more delicate and more exquisite; its organizational structure is richer, stresses the complex and integrated use of various structure, and forms a rich fabric appearance. The functional settling technology with the organizational structure enables it to have moisture absorbing, air flowing, warmth keeping, healthy keeping, safety, easy-to-care functions.

The followings are some popular fabrics.

Acetel has the unique properties the same as silk. Its fiber luster, bright colors, drape and touching sense are all excellent. The knitting fabric with it feels smooth and comfortable to wear, is breathable moisture, and is of light texture and low moisture regain, is not easy to play ball, and is anti-static. The woven knit georgette, cornflakes, and other fabrics made of acetel won consumer's preference.

Modal fiber is a new type of environmentally friendly fiber, which has the features the comfortableness of cotton, viscose of the drape, the strength of polyester and silk sense. What is more, after being washed for many times, it could still maintain their softness and bright color. Knitting technology still combines the fabric and softness and high-elastic characteristics of fabric so that the two can complement each other's superiority. In the circular knitting machine, it adopts Modal and spandex together. It is soft, smooth, flexible, floating in the air hanging, of beautiful sheen, of moisture permeability and silky with the hand. Fashion made of this kind of fabrics could at maximum, reflect the curve of the human body, shows the sculpture of a female carcass and sexy charm, is the high taste apparel favored by people.

Environmentally friendly renewable green knit fabric, Lyocell, Tencel and spandex are knitted together to form knitted flat needle organization (Han Bu), rib, double-rib (cotton). Their texture is soft. Their surface is flat and velvet. They have good flexibility. Their products have elegant style and have the appearance of silk. Their drape, breathability and water stability are good. Hence, they are the ideal high-grade fabric for tight epidemic fashion, casual wear and sportswear.

Flash knitted fabrics have the effect of flash and have always been a favorite of fashion designers. In the circular knitting machine, it adopts golden and silver raw materials and other raw materials, which are intertwined. The surface of the materials have strong reflecting flashing effect or adopt gold-plated approach, in knitted fabric on the Flash emergence of a variety of patterns effect to form the flashing effect on the knitting surface. While the back of the materials are flat, soft and comfortable Hence, it is good knitting garment materials. If you use this kind of knitting materials to design female fashion and evening dress, it could, through the eye-catching fabrics flash and romantic style, show brilliant knitted fabric, beautiful charm, all-round performance to knitting clothing style in order to provide product development broad prospects.

Feature knitted fabric has four trench Coolmax fibers and it can quickly transfer human beings' sweat to the surface of the clothes and then rapidly evaporate it so that it could keep skin cool and comfortable. It has good moist transmitting function. The knitted fabric with cotton fiber has excellent moist transmitting effect and is widely used in making T-shirts, sportswear and so on.

In order to show the characteristics of various fabric and to expand the space for garment design, knitwear fashion often uses fabric weave pattern changes, color changes and other methods to enrich the practical functions and appearances of garments, such as the clothes in the cuffs, collar and lap Department flexibility to be able to set good rib cloth; In the place where air is needed, it applies mesh cloth. Or it uses printed flowers to replace knitted jacquard commonly used in fashion, and so on. It uses the organizational structure of jacquard, mesh, and changes to form rich and changing jacquard thin strip surface. After taking out yarn, the entire knitting garment looks light and graceful. It also advanced computer jacquard technique and organizational structure change to form tousy lines on surface, which is special old style.

Color is one of the elements of the beauty. In the three elements that constitute garment, fabric, color and style, color is the most eye-catching, the most active and most sensitive. It can be said that color is the soul of the garment. To study fashion knitwear, it is essential to discuss the meaning of color. Through the exploration of color, we can increase our understanding of color, master the use of the color in the most expressive way and it is of incalculable value for product design and development.

As the commonest aesthetic form and content, color is used in each aspect of human beings' life. In knitwear fashion, no matter it is the design of style or the matching of accessories, color is necessary.

The selection of knitwear fashion colors includes the designers' selection on color and the wearers' selection on color. The designers should consider the overall situation and choose different colors so as to match different wearers. The wears could choose proper colors according to their tastes.

The matching of knitwear fashion colors could adopt same color matching or upper light and lower deep or lower light and upper deep, so that the viewers could feel good. Due to age, sex, and the aesthetic taste difference, people's favorite colors are different. This requires us, in our design, to pay attention to the matching of apparel fabrics, color, shape and size, skin color, and characters. We should use simple methods, with minimal color, to design garments that more comply with the aesthetic tastes of the times.

Fashion, under current background, is no longer people's focus point but has become the necessity of live and is gradually accepted by people because fashion reflects the potential consumption and market.

Fashion represents an overall image sense and the basic elements and features that constitute these images. The fundamental origin and base of fashion forecast is life body. It represents people's potential needs and change trend of moods through popular colors, fabrics, and styles. Both the fabric and clothing has a lot of emotional factors, such as the vertical sense, feeling soft sense, smooth sense, concave and protruding sense, transparent sense, light perception, and a sense of folding, and so on. We have elegant, cold and beautiful, pastoral, science fictional, or pure and ladies of leisure, or solemn clothes. Emotional factors are added into yarn, fabrics, and clothing, is a distillation of the material

value, is a reflection of art and is the base of the added values. The annual trends are actually from the emotional material with the theme of the beginning. The color theme is of the more emotional characteristics. It gives people a sentiment and its effect is the most direct appeal and is the most powerful visual impact. It embodies through color yarn and fabrics. The mechanism of the appearance of fabric is very important emotional factor, especially in the 1990s, texture, the mechanism of the development of a sense of old and new fabric has become an important symbol. The 1990s is a complex mixture with the times, a variety of fibers mixed in the past to break the simple combination of fiber. The sci-fi flash effect is more practical demonstrated for the proliferation, and to play down the penetration in the fabric of all species. A large number of man-made fibers occupy larger proportions. In addition, the woven fabric structure change is like a million flowers posing unpredictable results. Each change gives people a subtle move. The texture of fabrics of different combinations creates clothing but also a wealth of space. Garments, as comprehensive end-products, integrate the emotional factors including colors, yarns, fabrics, accessories, and accessories.

As a result, popularity is no longer a popularity of style or a type. It also includes colors, fabrics, styles and many other elements, which together forms the overall style. It is not only the pilot for new product design and development, but also is the embodiment of modern live culture and consumption fashion.

In recent years, seeing from the popular clothing trend, the change of context of life and society trend exerts influence on yarn, fabric and styles. Knitwear fashion introduces the styles that emphasize on ecological balance and at the same time, it brings out the natural, peaceful and gentle feeling of the wearers. For the color fashion, like the world's nostalgic mood, it also advocates sun faded and after- washing color and effect. Based on this trend, a variety of chemical fiber emerges one after another; a variety of sand-washed fabrics and styles as well as its mood of nostalgia won consumers' love.

Due to the changes of styles, many people do not wear those clothes that are still good because they want to follow the fashion. At this stage, we should not be enthralled by the colorful and changing garments. The key point is to have your own style.

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Analysis on External Factors of the Combination of Aesthetics and Functions of the Li Nationality

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Abstract

The Li nationality costume not only has practical value, but also has very high aesthetic value. In the long historical process, Li ethnic costume has experienced a long development and evolution process, which embodies inevitable trend of our times. The Li nationality costume expresses that the Li people advocate the aesthetic meanings of nature, history, and life of the body. It has a lot of symbolism meanings and contains many connotations that could not be explained now. This paper conducts an in-depth analysis about some external factors of the origin and development of Li nationality costume, including geography environment, production technology and foreign cultures. By combining modern costume design, this paper points out the meanings of inheriting and carrying forward traditional costume culture.

Keywords: Li nationality costume, Aesthetic, Function, Inheriting

According to the recordation of literatures, the Li's ancestors had been living on Hainan Island as far as Zhou and Qin period. With the long term of multiply, migration and development, the Li nationality has formed 5 dialect groups and is divided into five Li nationality branches accordingly. They are "Xiao", Qi, Sai, Run and Meifu.

The five Li nationality branches all have colorful nationality culture characteristics and costume is the most distinguished characteristic. Although the costumes of the five branches differ from each other, their outline features are common. The colors for the upper women costumes are basically black and blue. The upper woman and man's costumes are cut out of plain and linear skill, have no collar and fastener and are of two fronts or of head-through style. The lower woman costume is linear cutting-out canister skirt with knitted followers. The canister skirt is made up of waist elastic belt, skirt waist, skirt body and skirt tail, which are all made of knitted cotton. The lower man costume is "DiaoChan", which is made of one cloth. The part of the costume under the waist is usually decorated with a large amount of embroiders or jacquard stripes, whose colors and knitting and painting textures are fabulous.

The Li nationality costume not only has practical values, but also has high aesthetic values. The shapes and materials not only have to be in harmony with the production and life of the Li people, but also have to adjust to the natural environment of Hanna Island, fit for their nationality spirit and personalities, and adapt to foreign cultures. Therefore, the pattern and structural features of the Li nationality costume are greatly influenced by the following factors.

1. Geography Environment

Hainan Island locates in tropic zones, and has sufficient lights and rains. In ancient times, Hainan Island was teemed with rivers and forests and had a lot of wild animals and plants resources. The ancient Run Li people wore bark cloth and hats. Some even could make bark cloth. It is the original costume feature of ancient Li people who were then living in mountainous areas.

Due to the wet and hot climate environment of Hainan Island, the costume of the Li nationality must be convenient and

heat dispelling. Therefore, the Li people like to wear head-through garments and be barefoot. The head-through upper costume is easy for cutting. It only needs to cut a line shaped collar in the middle of a large cloth. Such costume is of long sleeve and with no collar. It is bountiful and short with no waist. When getting dressed, people could just put on through their heads. It is like the round collar shirt that we wear today (please refer to picture 1). Although it looks to be bountiful and thick, actually it breathes freely and absorbs sweat. Men usually wear short upper clothes and genitals covering cloth, which is also named "Diaochan". "Diaochan" is made of two cloths to cover men's genitals, which looks like the present briefs (please refer to picture 2).

When working, men would be barebacked. Their clothing became obstacles to dispel heat. However, genitals covering cloth could reduce the clothing to the minimum degree, which is convenient for them to work under hot weather. Women liked to wear canister skirt of glory color and beautiful embroidery.

The length of canister skirt varies. Women along coast areas and plain areas would wear long canister skirt, such as Sai Li and Meifu Li women. Meifu Li women, in Dongfang and Changjiang areas, wear the longest canister skirt. Their skirt is as long as 155 centimeters, which is called as "long canister skirt". Because there are a lot of gullies, springs and rivers, in mountainous areas, women would wear middle-long or short skirt for the convenience of work, such as Xiao Li and Run Li. The skirt wore by Run Li women in Baisha county is the shortest, about 30 centimeters long, with the shortest to be only 24 centimeters.

2. Production technology

The weather of Hainan Island is very hot and land there is fertile and is alkali, which is suitable for the growth of ceiba and hemp. Before the popularity of cotton, hemp textile was very popular in Li nationality area. Hemp is solid and is mostly used to make coat and under clothing. The ancient Yazhou (Sanya city today) was rich in the production of cotton. According to the record of historical books, the traditional cotton weaving techniques in Li nationality has a history of more than 2000 years. According to the record of Post-Han Book, "as wide as 166 centimeters and is as white as snow". It shows that the weaving technology of Li nationality at that time achieved very high level.

The spinning, twining, painting and embroidering of Li nationality all have special features. What is more, Li people have created various twining, painting and embroidering skills according to their preferences, among which the baldachin technique is the most famous. The Li people utilized various weaving tools to gin, spring cotton, spin lines, paint colors, tidy up texture, weave and embroider. They could make colorful baldachin, decoration cloth, embroidery piece, and canister skirt and flower band. All these things are made in elegant style and are very beautiful and practical. The Li people have formed their distinguished production technique. The brocade of Li nationality has various styles. Some are simple and unsophisticated, some are elegant and grand, and some are light. Because the flower weaving cloth is dense in latitude and longitude, which enhances the solidarity of the costume and enriches the costume's features. Hence, they are very popular.

The twining machines used by Li nationality to weave cotton are mainly foot-stepping twining machines and Juyao twining machines. Juyao twining machine is a old twining machine, which is similar to the machine used by Banpo clan six or seven thousand years ago. With Juyao twining machine, Li nationality women could make elegant and complicated pictures. Their jacquard technology is even better than modern jacquard equipments. However, because the cloth made is narrow, they are more suitable for decorating part of the costume or edges. Therefore, to use pieces to make up a costume becomes a characteristic of Li nationality costume.

Firstly, pieces are more complicated than traditional head-through costume. Let us take typical Qi Li and Run Li women's costume as an example. Please refer to picture 3. The upper clothing of Qi Li women is open front. A horizontal line under the breast divides the front. Below the dividing line, square embroidery piece is used to decorate it. In the front of Run Li head-through costume, there are two vertical dividing lines, which divide the front into three sections. The square pieces below the dividing line are decorated with embroidery. The square of the embroidery is smaller than Qi Li women's costume. The lower edge of the middle part and the wristband are embroidered with two direction continuous pictures. The length and width of the pieces are proportional and the division arrangements of the pieces are balanced and symmetrical. Please refer to picture 4.

Secondly, because of the augment of pieces, the dividing lines among pieces increase. In order not to influence the beauty sense, Li nationality women would decorate the pieces with flower chiffons. Or they would embroider gridding pattern onto the dividing lines. By this way, such dividing lines become decoration lines and change disadvantages into advantages and change the nature of the joint lines.

3. Traditional culture

in the long historical process, the social productivity of Li nationality was restrained by economy conditions and developed slowly. In vast areas, the Li nationality stagnated in clan community system stage for a long time. In Wuzhi Mountain hillside, the Li nationality even kept clan community system to 1950s.

The Li nationality life style based on clan system economy passed down from generation to generation and formed special national culture psychological accumulation. In the totally occlusive mountainside life, a recognition style of one-way intuitive thinking pattern was formed. Therefore, Li nationality tradition culture is one kind of national culture of natural form and has primitive and honest culture particularity, which is shown in costume culture as the worship of ancestor and revering to all things on earth.

The patterns on the Li nationality women's clothing describe the various phenomenon in their life, physical labor and natural world, such as the sun, the moon and stars, thunder, lightning, rainbow, birds and beasts, flowers, plants, fishes and insects. Jacquard patterns on clothing materials are mostly personages, streetscapes, animals, plants, geometry shapes and etc. Also, seeing from the formation style of patterns, the knitting pattern of Li nationality costumes is usually continuous patterns, that are two-direction continuity and four-direction continuity. In Li nationality costume, no matter in knitting flower canister skirt or in neckline, wristband or front, the most popular patterns arrangement forms are two-direction continuous plain arrangement. The patterns on the canister are repetitive two-direction pattern arrangement. Hence, it has strong sense of rhythm and order. The patterns and colors of Li nationality costumes, through subtle combination of the dots, lines, faces and colors, enables us to feel three dimension or multi-dimension space sense from two dimension plain. Please refer to picture 5.

Run Li costume in Baosha county is original. Women coil up their hair and wear blue head-through clothing. Their clothing side and wristband are embroidered with elaborate two-faced embroidery. They would wear Li short canister skirt and are used to be bear-foot. Traditional men would wear no collar symmetrical front clothing and Diaochan. They also would be bear-foot with a handkerchief covering their head. There is some embroidery on their clothing. The Qi Li in Qionghabaoting area is good at knitting. Their canister skirt and head handkerchief are made of fancy Li cotton. Women would wear no collar symmetrical front coat, canister skirt, canister head handkerchief, and like to wear various silver decorations. Men would wear no collar symmetrical coat and large Diaochan. Xiao Li women in Ledong county would wear symmetrical open breast coat with not fastener. Collar front and back will be decorated with embroidery. They would also wear blue strip canister skirt. Traditional men costume is strip symmetrical front long coat with not fasteners. They will wear genitals covering cloth. A feather will be put on their heads. Meifu Li women from Dongfang County would wear big collar symmetrical front coat and painted knitting long canister skirt. They would coil up their long hair all behind their head and wear black and white strip head handkerchief. Men would wear big collar symmetrical front coat, which is looser than women's. They would wear knee cover skirt and timber shoes and large bamboo hat. Sai Li women from Baoting County would wear straight collar big front coat with narrow sleeve and tight shape. They would also wear knitted flower long canister skirt and flower shoes. They also like to wear various silver decorations.

Usually, Li nationality women would wear black symmetrical front coat and painted flower canister skirt. However, in festivals and special occasions, they will wear grand clothing. Besides decoration textures, Li nationality women would also embroider and sew gold and silver foil, feathers, shells, pearls, copper lines or edging onto their clothing. With the accouterment, those clothing is jewelery, glittering and grand.

In addition, Li nationality would invite "ghost uncle" to make sacrifice. When making sacrifice, the "ghost uncle", also called as "third uncle", would dress differently. For example, when the "third uncle" of Meifu dialect made sacrifice, he would dress a long coat with open breast, long sleeves and cloth fasteners. The long coat reaches below the ankles. A earth red band is used to tie the waist. The collar is sewed with 8 to 10 centimeters band. Its color is gentle. He will also wear flower hat with a peasant circus on the hat. Also, he will wear copper chaplet and bracelet to keep away the ghosts.

4. Foreign culture

The Li nationality originated from Luoyue. In the long development of culture, foreign cultures, including Han culture, Zhuang culture and local short black people culture, constantly become integrated into Li culture. Han culture exerted a deep influence on Li culture.

In the long history, the people of Li nationality in Han dynasty lived all over of Hainan Island. In Tang dynasty, Han people occupied the north and Li the south. In Song and Yuan period, feudal kingdom enhanced their control over Li people. And Li nationality was forced to move back to Wuzhi Mountain area and then a pattern was formed where Han people was at the outer and Li in the middle. The Han culture is advanced and strong and exerted influence on various factors of Li culture. However, some of Li cultures were also recognized and accepted by Han culture and hence, a mixed culture is formed.

Since Tang dynasty, it has been recorded that people from the middle plain moved to Hainan Island out of various reasons and became integrated into Li nationality. Up to Ming dynasty, with the further development of feudal economy, more and more Han people moved to Li area. Many of them permanently lived in Li area and become member of Li nationality.

In the process of the mutual penetration of Han and Li culture, the costume structure of Li nationality is changing

gradually. The most obvious is to change the no collar and straight pocket and head-through upper clothes to digging pocket and collar. They also change straight body, straight sewing and straight sleeves to waist body, suture and pucker at wristband. Also, they change no fastener to decorating fasteners or lute fasteners. Finally, they change symmetry front into leaning front.

For example, the women costume of Sai Li nationality, the upper clothes are mostly blue or deep blue. Old women mostly wear black cloth with long sleeve and high collar. The front of cloths is decorated with cloth fasteners of different distance and is very similar to cheong-sam.

The man's costume of Run Li nationality was earlier influenced by Han nationality and hence, they more wear Han costumes. However, when making sacrifice, their clothes are embroidery clothes that have Li nationality features and are made according to Han costume. They buy cloth that are of traditional styles of Li nationality and add them onto the Han costumes from Han merchants.

With the evolution of times and the rapid development of modern cities, more and more Li nationality youth go out of mountains and study and work in economy-developed areas where Han nationality stay. They only wear their traditional Li nationality costume in big festival and significant events.

5. Thoughts on culture inheriting

The Li nationality costume is both a symbol of their nationality and is also a symbol of their nationality's culture. Being the same as other craftworks, the emergence of it is due to the demands of functions. The first one is practical function, which is to cover body and keep warm for the body. And then it comes the symbolization meanings and cultural connotations. At the same time, costume should also have high aesthetic taste in art, which is to mead people's aesthetic spiritual demands.

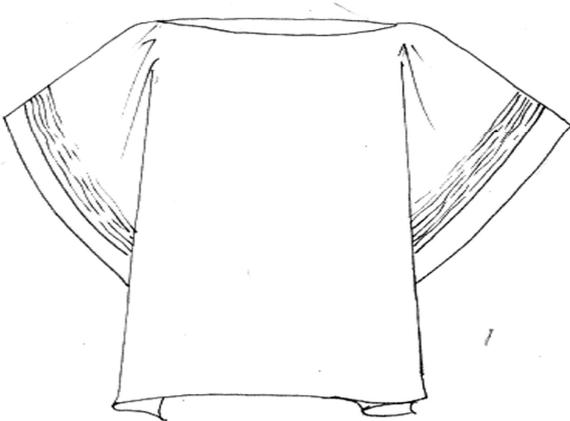
The Li nationality costume has experienced a long development and evolution process and embodies the inevitable trend of times. The Li nationality costume expresses that the Li peoples advocate the aesthetic meanings of nature, history, and life of the body. It has a lot of symbolism meanings and contains many connotations that could not be explained now.

When modern people measure their aesthetic styles with aesthetic principles, they find that the shapes and colors of the Li nationality costumes both follow the common theories of beauty, including contrast and harmony, cadence and rhythm, various styles and unified styles. Their costume structures could be divided into holistic structure and sectional structure. Holistic structure refers to that the outline structure of costume is the style formed by the outline of the costume and is also the theme of the costume style, which is of significance functions to the outlook of the costume.

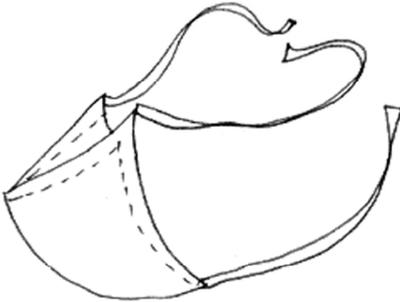
The traditional spinning, painting, kitting and embroider of the Li nationality has thousands of years history. Their techniques, the original forms of materials as well as the original zoology they express have become the living cultural fossil for human society. The knitting cotton is made by hands and uses colors daintily. The designs and patterns of the Li nationality costume become special character signs and record the history and culture of the Li nationality. The double-faced embroidery technique, single-faced flower knitting technique and traditional painting technique have been included into "National non-materials culture legacy magnum opus works list" and attract people's attention. More and more local costume designers start to explore the artistic values of their nationality's elements. However, it is a long and hard task to realize the combination of nationality characteristics with modernization and inherit and carry forward the cultural elite of the Li nationality's traditional costumes.

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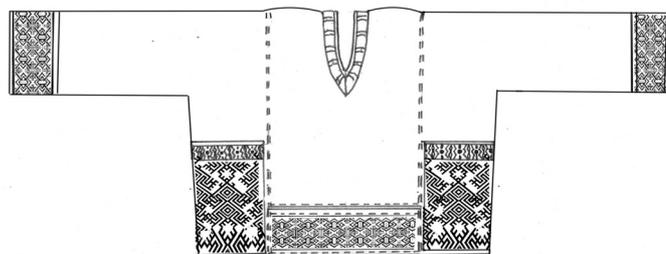
Picture 1.



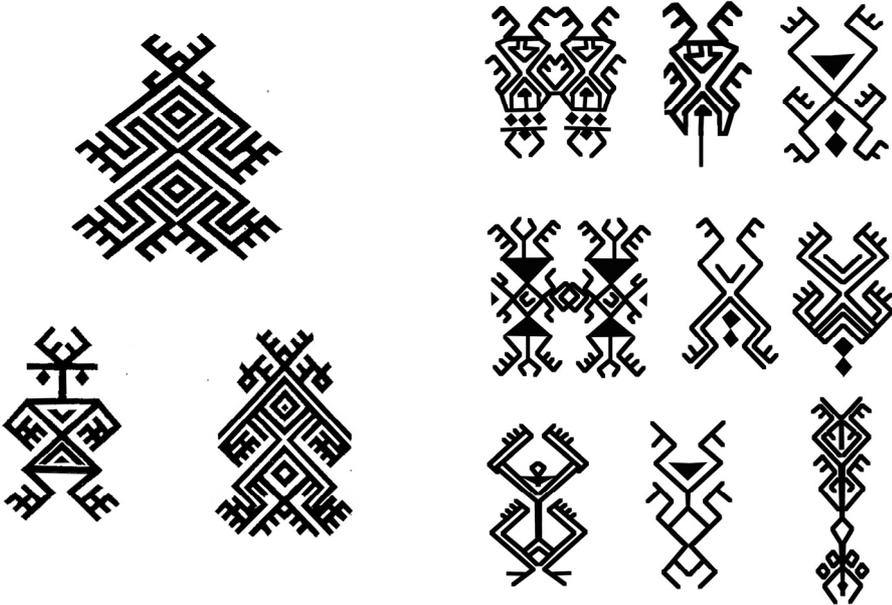
Picture 2.



Picture 3.



Picture 4.



Picture 5.



Conventional Donor Costume of Cave 79 of Kumtura Grottoes

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Abstract

Cave 79 of Kumtura grottoes, is the best preserved cave for images of Uighur donors in Kucha grottoes, which has an important meaning for research on Uighur costume. This paper is intended to analyze the costume characteristics of 8 donors in Cave 79 by comparing image materials between Dunhuang murals and other murals in Xinjiang province.

Keywords: Kumtura, Donor, Uighur, Costume

Located in the peak of upper left Cave 7-9 in south valley, Cave 79 of Kumtura grottoes was discovered in 1982 and cleaned up since then. Having a platform in center, with a square plan but no longer roofed, the cave is about 70cm high. According to research, the cave belongs to Uighur period.

There are two places that conventional donors are frescoed in Cave 79. Five donors are frescoed in kneeling posture on the left side of front wall entrance, in which one is child, and the others are 2 males and females respectively (1). Three donors are frescoed on the front wall of central platform base, with the child in kneeling posture and the male and female in standing posture (2). Thanks to the relatively complete inscription on fresco, the identities of donors can be almost confirmed as Uighur donor. As the best preserved cave of images of Uighur donor in Kucha grottoes, it has an important meaning for research on Uighur costume. So far, there has been a clear description of donor's image, but scholars haven't performed further studies on costume. This paper probes into analyzing the differences and similarities of donor costume in Cave 79 and that in Dunhuang grottoes and Xinjiang province by comparing their image materials, which are mainly in the following aspects:

1. The two male donors on left side of entrance can be identified as Uighur in light of the inscription. Uighur's main costume characteristics are peaked petal chapleted with tying under chin, shoulder-high braid and hair, round-neck robe, belt buckled with knife and firestone bag. This kind of image is also discovered in other murals in Dunhuang grottoes and other grottoes in Xinjiang.

For example, Cave 20 of Bezeklik Grottoes, located in Xinjiang, has 3 male donor images on the left wall of main hall, which all have inscription in Uighur language(3). One inscription is relatively clear, inlaid "Bugela Sali-The Stadholder", while the other two is unclear. Since all three donors wear the same clothing, it is predicted that they are all of Uighur aristocratism. The other example, the inscription on under right side of the male donor in Cave 31 of Bezeklik grottoes(4), frescoed on east side of front view of Buddha platform, inlays "Statuary of Tegin-The Supreme and Sovereign Emperor of Our Country". The so-called Tegin is the brother or son of Khan. According to the definition of *Turkic Dictionary*, the original meaning of Tegin is slave, and later it is evolved as specially used by Khan family. This shows that the male is also of blue blood of Uighur. Similarly, the male donor, who is in the picture *Kings Marching Forward* on west wall of S105 hall of Beiping Gaochang Buddhist temple site, where inlaid "Adjutant-Bu'erchuke Tuohulin", is also a Uighur aristocrat. Costume cited in the three examples hereabove is of the same characteristics as that of two male donors on left side of entrance of Cave 79, Kumtura grottoes.

Same characteristics exist in several other Uighur Khan donor frescos, such as in Dunhuang Mogao Grottoes, on south side of east wall entrance of main hall of Cave 409(5), on south wall of corridor of Cave 148(6), on south wall of main hall corridor of Cave 237, and on east wall of corridor of West Thousand Buddha Caves.

It can be concluded by the above image materials that such costume with peaked petal hat, shoulder-high braid and hair, and round-neck robe was quite fashionable and typical among Uighur male aristocrats at that time, which was widely used and lasted for a long time.

After careful analysis on Uighur costume of XinJiang and Dunhuang, there are also some distinctions besides the style similarity, e.g. costume of Xinjiang is usually red, but that of Dunhuang is always black. From the above-mentioned 4 examples in Dunhuang murals, three donor frescos in Cave 409, Cave 237 of Mogao Grottoes and Cave 16 of West

Thousand Buddha Caves(Xiqianfodong) are wearing black. Besides, the large one-curling dragon design pattern has never been found in frescos of Xinjiang mural. Such phenomenon may result from being much affected by Han culture due to more closely to central plains region.

2. The pattern of crown of male donor in front wall of platform cannot be identified since it has broken, with only white strap tying under chin. This donor grows whiskers, with black braid and hair scattering on shoulder, and wears an ankle-length round-necked robe, which is of red base and white spot cell pattern, with a looming six-petal flower in the white cell pattern of robe bottom. The robe is waist side vent so that the white knee-length underwear with red border shows up. The donor wears a pair of black knee-high boots, and his waist is strapped by Diexie belt, whose matching accouterment is unclear now. Costume of this male is same with that of two males mentioned in section 1, only differs in hairstyle, while the former has forehead hair painted as strip, and the latter has not.

The most popular hairstyle of Uighur male donor is parted in the middle and back combing, while forehead hair is infrequent. So far, such hair style can be found in Xinjiang mural but not in Dunhuang Uighur mural. In the architecture group wall mural of 'Khan Palace' surrounding Gaochang ancient city, there is a Uighur male donor with a black round cap has such forehead hair. Under the face of platform of south wall in Cave E206, located in Buddha temple site of Beiting Gaochang, there is also another conventional donor with black peaked hat, shoulder-high braid and hair, striped forehead hair and red tight sleeve, in front of him is an inscription, noted as 'Image of Kezi Tuoyin'. The only thing different is this donor is of a small size compared to other donors fore and after, so it is very likely to be a child donor. Meanwhile, the child donor above-mentioned in Cave 79 of Kumtura grottoes also has the stripped forehead hair(7). This one wears a white brimmed hat (8), whose style is similar to that of another male donor found in Tempera mural of Karashahr (9). This kind of hat is also unpopular in Uighur donors. On the contrary, the stripped forehead hair style is common in other minorities of Xinjiang mural, like several minority frescos in *Buddha Offerings and Worship* in Cave 20 of Bezeklik Grottos. In general, such hairstyle is of small proportion in Uighur donor.

3. Female donor's costume, in third image of left side of front wall entrance. This female donor wears red robe with tight sleeve, whose collar is crescent-shaped decorated. Two different opinions are upheld for this decoration. One regards this as the turn-down collar, while the other believes this as decoration on V-neckline. As a matter of fact, the two opinions will form different ideas on costume style. If it is a turn-down collar, this robe should be a Mandarin style in all probabilities, and if it is decorated as V-neckline, it would much likely to be a jumper without front opening. Opinion on V-neckline is mainly deduced from modern Uighur costume, whose female collar seldom has turn-down collar and is always decorated by embroidery or collaging materials of different colors. However, both opinions need more documentations and material data before being confirmed.

This kind of red robe is quite common in female donors of Xinjiang and Dunhuang murals. For instance, the three female donors' costumes in inner wall of south side of main hall entrance, Cave 20 of Bezeklik Grottos(10), Xinjiang, were totally same. One inscription is still identifiable, inlaid 'Image of Queen'. Another example of Xinjiang mural is the face-to-face frescos of a male and a female on face of Buddha's seat in Cave 24, Bezeklik Grottos(11). It can be inferred that the female donor is a princess because inscription inlaying 'Image of Princess Yi'er Kai'ermishi'. Same examples are also discovered in Dunhuang grottoes, such as two Uighur female donor frescos in north side of east wall in Cave 409 of Mogao grottoes and the one on east wall of corridor of Cave 16 of West Thousands Buddha Grottoes(12). They all wear the same costume, i.e. tight-sleeve robe with collar decorated. It is obvious that such red robe was popular in Uighur female donors.

The crown style of this female fresco is what really special, because the complete same fresco with such a triangle red headwear style, regarded as red silk and drooping at head(13), still cannot be found in the currently published materials. However, the similar style of triangular crown does exist in certain female donor frescos, such as the one behind two male frescos in the south side of east wall entrance of main hall, Cave 148 of Mogao grottoes; those female frescos on east and west walls of main hall, Cave 16 of West Thousands Buddha Grottoes; and the princess fresco in Cave 20 of Bezeklik Grottos. It is generally agreed that their headwear echoes with the sentence 'Gold accouterments on crown reaching out', (cited from 'Taking off the previous clothes to put on queen's big crimson train skirt, with gold accouterments on crown reaching out' -*Biography in the 'Huihe' Section of Old Book of Tang Dynasty*). Compared with headwear of these females, the female's headwear in Cave 79, Kumtura Grottoes is quite similar in style but totally different in materials, for this one uses the red silk while the former three use metal materials. What on earth is this crown made of? In light of *Section 74 'Uighur Section' of History of Five Dynasties*-'Female hair up to bun as high as 5 to 6 *cun* (according to measurement in Five Dynasties by research, 1 *chi* equals to 23.562cm, and thus 5.5 *cun* is about 13cm), and warp it by red silk'. This headwear is half height of the head on an average general estimation of a female's head length as 25cm. Through careful observation, it can be concluded that the proportion of headwear and head is consistent with that recorded in documentations. Therefore, it is believed by author what triangle red headwear wraps in fresco of Cave 79 of Kumtura Grottos is her bun, whose style is referenced from 'Gold accouterments on crown reaching out' to some extent.

Another similar example of headwear is that of Uighur female group excavated from place near Hasar city of Turpan. Whether it is 'wrapped by crimson silk' cannot be confirmed due to the black & white picture, but the figure and height is pretty similar, which makes to believe that the two crown styles have certain relationships. One thing still unclear in this fresco is a petal ornamental article on the back of headwear.

4. Costume of female donors on front wall of platform and on fifth place of left side of entrance is almost same. The only difference is the former has an extra coat. The latter have kame hair clasp and wears red jacket, light-colored high-waist skirt with a long-tail waistband, and tangerine *Pibo* (silk ribbon) with scattered small flowers. All these costume styles are commonly-used by Han females. Here, taking silk ribbon and kame as examples.

Pibo (silk ribbon), which is also known as *pizi*, *peibo* and *peijin*, is always written in books. In *History Studies of China*-by Ma Gao in Late Tang dynasty, there is a sentence 'During the Kaiyuan period (a period in Tang dynasty), the emperor issued imperial decree that his concubines shall all wear silk ribbon, and this fashion lasts till now'. In *Story of Huo Xiaoyu*-by Tang Jaingfang in Tang dynasty, there is 'Xiaoyu is beautiful. She always wears pomegranate skirt, purple jacket with big sleeves and red & green silk ribbon'. Besides, in poem *For Shi Niang Again (A lady's name)*-by Zhang Wencheng in Five Dynasties, there is 'Tulip silk ribbon dancing in wind, and pomegranate skirt shining under sunlight'.

Wrapping silk ribbon is quite multiple. It can be from back to forth, leaving the ends in front of chest, e.g. the female donor holding a fan under niche, in west wall of Cave 468 of Mogao grottoes and the female in Weaving Picture. It can also be wrapped as one end slipped into belt and the other end left freely for purpose of convenience. In picture of *Watching Birds & Catching Cicadas* in west wall of front hall of Tomb of Crown Prince Zhanghuai, a lady is looking up the bird with one hand holding a hair clasp and the other on the scattered ribbon. The ribbon's right face is red, and the overturned end shows its green inverse side. This is what exactly expressed in *Romantic Story of Huo Xiaoyu*. The third method is to wrap it from back to front, but leaving two ends behind, such as the lady with red & green ribbon in *Staying in Cage, Looking at mirror*-by Wang Shen, maids of honor in *Fan-waving beauty and Palace Ladies Playing Chess*-by Zhou Fang and the beauty in concert of *Han Xizai Gives a Night Party*-by Gu Hongzhong. The ribbon of two Uighur female donors discussed in this section is also in the third method.

The kame headwear is also the common ornament for Han females, cited in many poem and essays in ancient Chinese culture. In Tang dynasty, there are 'Kames on head, smile happily'-by Yuan Zhen; 'Oblige a kame after coming back', *Palace Prose*-by Wang Jian; and "Silver kame ornamented hair", *Palace Prose*-by Flower Madam. Kame ornament is also popular in women of Song dynasty. According to *Entry into Sichuan*-by Lu You (a famous poet), 'The unmarried lady wears Tongxin style bun, which is 2 Chi, with 6 kames and an ivory comb large as hand behind'. The porcelain female, evacuated from a Song tomb in suburb of Jingdezhen city of Jiangxi province, is wearing a Tongxin style bun with a wide hair strap and a big comb under strap. Such ornament style is also recorded in *The Dream of Hua in the Eastern Capital*-by Meng Yuanlao and *Record of Song Dynasty*-by Wang Yong. From the above documentations, it can be concluded that kame is always loved by Han females.

There are altogether 4 Uighur donor murals with kames on hair in Xinjiang. The other three murals other than the fifth female fresco on left side of front wall entrance of Cave 79, Kumtura Grottoes(17), are all found in the relic pieces in Seven-star site of Karashahr. The first piece has 4 donors, 2 males and 2 females respectively. The female's hairstyle is in cone shape on head by a white kame, a little wider than that on the female donor in Cave 79. The others 2 pieces are founded in Qilin Cave 7 of Seven-star site (Le Cap Code). In one piece there are 10 male and female donors standing one by one, and female's hairstyle is ornamented by kame headwear. So it is with the ornaments on other 4 females in the other piece(18). Most females in above 4 murals are wearing the round large earring, which was seldom used by Han female in related dynasty. Therefore, earring must be the specific jewelry ornament of Uighur.

The female donor in front wall of platform wears a long train dress outside the skirt and silk ribbon with turn-out collars, this kind of costume is also found in Dunhuang mural, such as female donor in Cave 390 of Mogao grottoes. Jiang Boqin believes that the turn-out collar clothing of Hu minority used by donors of Cave 309 in late Sui dynasty and early Tang dynasty is fashionable in Hu minority of central Asia such as Sugda area.

Therefore, it can be known that costume of these 2 female donors mixes Han costume and minority costume.

Conclusion

The second and fourth male donors on mural of left side entrance are in same costume, a typical costume for Uighur male, whose main characteristics are peaked petal chapleted with tying under chin, shoulder-high braid and hair, round-neck robe, belt buckled with knife and firestone bag. This kind of image has been lasted for a long time and is discovered both in Dunhuang mural and Xinjiang mural.

Male donor's hairstyle in front wall of platform can be only found in Uighur and other minorities of Xinjiang mural, but not in Dunhuang mural.

The third female donor in left side of front wall entrance is of typical headwear, corresponding with *section 74 of Uighur Section' of History of Five Dynasties*-'Female hair up to bun high as 5 or 6 cun, and warp it by red silk'. However, current images found are only similar but not completely same.

Two female donors in front wall of platform and in fifth place of left side of entrance wear the short jacket, long dress and silk ribbon, while the other one in front wall is coated by a long train dress, identifying such style as mix of Han and minority costumes.

It can be know that female donor's costume of Xinjiang mural is plentiful than Dunhuang mural's. Female donor's costume of Xinjiang mural is affected by minority costumes than Dunhuang mural's.

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1. Donor on the left side of front wall entrance in Cave 79 of Kumtura Grottos, 1,000-1,100 A.D



2. Child donor on front wall of platform in Cave 79 of Kumtura Grottos, 1,000-1,100 A.D



3. Male donor in Cave 20 of Bezeklik Grottos



4. Male donor in Cave 31 of Bezeklik Grottos



5. Male donor in Cave 409 of Mogao Grottoes



6. Male donor in Cave 148 of Mogao Grottoes



7. Male donor in Cave 79 of Kuntura Grottos



8. Child donor in Cave 79 of Kuntura Grottos



9. Male donor of Karashahr



10. Female donor in cave 20 of Bezeklik Grottos



11. Female donor in cave 24 of Bezeklik Grottos



12. Female donor in cave 409 of Mogao Grottos



13. Female donor in Cave 79 of Kumtura Grottos



14. Female donor in cave 20 of Bezeklik Grottos



15. Female donor in cave 148 of Mogao Grottos



16. Female donor of Turpan



17. Female donor in Cave 79 of Kumtura Grottos



18. Female donor of Karashahr

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