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## Factors Influencing Freedom of the Press in South Korea: - A Survey of Print Journalists' Opinions -

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### Abstract

Many factors directly or indirectly influence press freedom in a democratic society. There are three types of factors influencing freedom of the press: external, internal and media related laws, policies and ethics. The findings show that of the three key factors: 'advertisers' were seen as the most influential external factor; 'media owners' were seen as the largest internal factor; and 'the legal proceedings of libel or complaints,' the largest media laws, policies and ethics related factor. These three factors significantly influence freedom of the press in South Korea (hereafter Korea).

**Keywords:** Press freedom, Factors, Influence, Capital, Commercialism, Advertisers, Media owners, Legal proceedings

### Introduction

There are many factors which directly or indirectly influence freedom of the press in a democratic society. According to Herman and Chomsky (1988), there are five main factors (Note 1) which "filter" the news choices of the media. In Korea, a key factor is big capital. It has a disproportionate influence on freedom of the press. The media industry is becoming increasingly commercialized in Korea today and most newspaper companies now focus on pursuing benefits as a private business. This pursuit of their own benefit is often in tension with their public service role.

The key empirical data comprises the survey data collected from practicing print media exponents, current news from online services, and my own experiences at small provincial and specialist newspapers for several years in Korea. The survey questionnaires based on the Korea Press Foundation survey method (Oh, 2005), are designed to glean editors, journalists and sub-editors' opinions on press freedom within contemporary circumstances. The study involves print journalists answering a set of questions through an email survey. Eighty four journalists completed the survey questionnaires and returned them to the researcher. The survey was based on an in-depth structured survey and made up of a mix of closed and open-ended questions. It used both qualitative and quantitative methods. It took about three and half months from 3rd October 2006 to 20th January 2007.

This article explores the findings of a survey of Korean journalists about what factors influence freedom of the press. The survey was structured around three types of factors that influence press freedom: external factors, internal factors and factors related to the media laws, policies and ethics. It discusses the possibility of press freedom in relation to these three factors, assessing how the influence of different factors has gradually changed. For example, the main external factor has changed from the state, the government or the politicians under the military regimes to capital and the market under the civilian governments; and legal proceedings of libel or complaints has become the main factor among media related laws, policies and ethics.

### 1. Journalists' perspectives on external factors

In this study, the term 'external factors' refers to influences which come from outside media companies. These include state/government/politicians, advertisers, interest groups (such as media-related associations), civil organizations (a group of media movement, a group of monitoring etc.), religious groups, readers or viewers, general public and others.

### *1.1 External factors influencing freedom of the press*

The journalists in my survey thought that the main external factors influencing freedom of the press were firstly advertisers, secondly state/government/politicians, and thirdly interest groups and readers/viewers. Next followed civil organizations, religious groups and general public (see Table 1).

#### *1.1.1 First preference results*

Sixty five percent of the journalists selected 'advertisers' as the most important factor influencing freedom of the press. In each of ten categories participants were asked to provide information on gender, job type etc, there are some differences in the percentage ratios of these respondents in terms of their status and education. Firstly, with regard to the sections of news in which journalists worked, the same percentage of the journalists in the sub-editorial and the political sections selected advertisers. However, as there was a higher percentage of the journalists who responded to the survey in the sub-editorial section, this indicates that the journalists in the political section were more strongly inclined to select advertisers than were the journalists in the sub-editorial section. Next, between journalists, who studied Language and Literature, or Economics and Business as their major of the highest degree at university, those who studied Language and Literature responded in lower numbers, yet had a higher percentage affirming that advertisers were the most significant external influential factor.

#### *1.1.2 Second and third preference results*

The journalists chose 'state, government, politicians' as the second most significant external factor influencing freedom of the press. Next followed 'advertisers,' 'interest groups,' and 'readers or viewers.' 'Interest groups' were selected by the highest percentage of the respondents as their third preference. Next followed 'civil organizations,' or 'readers or viewers.' The next most significant factor was 'religious groups.'

### *1.2 Freedom of the press and external factors*

When the journalists were questioned about the possibility of press freedom in relation to external factors, the majority of the journalists believed that freedom of the press could be possible (see Table 2). This included the responses 'mostly possible' (72.6%) and 'absolutely possible' (7.1%). However, some respondents did not agree. Approximately, twenty percent chose 'mostly not possible' (19%) and 'impossible' (1.2%).

#### *1.2.1 Journalists' selections about external factors*

Both those who agreed and disagreed about the possibility of external factors influencing freedom of the press mostly correspond with the percentage ratios of the respondents. However, some differences between respondents occur when assessed in relation to different categories. With regard to selecting that they agreed the same percentage of the journalists who worked in the political section and editorial writer section selected they agreed. However, as a higher percentage of the journalists in political sections responded to the survey, this indicates that editorial writers were more strongly inclined to agree than were the journalists from the political sections. The journalists in the political sections may have experienced more pressure from external factors than editorial writers. Political reporters are more likely to work outside media companies than editorial writers who usually work within media companies. Secondly, with regard to length of service journalists whose working service was more than twenty years selected they agreed. However, shorter service journalists (less than twenty years) selected both agree and disagree, indicating that the longer serving journalists have a stronger inclination towards agreement.

Regarding the selection of press freedom as not possible more Seoul based newspaper journalists answered the survey than journalists who worked for provincial newspapers. However, a higher percentage of provincial journalists selected it was not possible than Seoul journalists, indicating the provincial journalists' stronger inclination towards the negative. The majority of the provincial newspapers in Korea are in economically difficult situations because provincial economic activity is much more narrow and limited than the national economy (Lee, J-R. 2002). Lastly, the younger (30-39 years) journalists were more likely to choose the negative than older (40-49 years) journalists. However, as a greater percentage of older journalists responded to the survey, this indicates that the younger journalists were more strongly inclined to believe press freedom was not possible than were the older journalists. Younger journalists may experience more interference by others than older journalists.

##### *1.2.1.1 The reasons why the journalists made negative selections*

In the qualitative findings some journalists felt skeptical about the possibility of press freedom in relation to external factors. They gave many reasons in a variety of ways. Table 3 presents all the journalists' negative responses. Firstly, the power of capital in the form of advertising was the most common reason for the journalists' negative choice. They consider capital has significant power in the media. Advertising revenue is one of the core profit making sources for the media companies. As C. E. Baker (2002) points out, "Newspapers' primary source of revenue comes from selling readers to advertisers rather than newspapers to readers." Therefore, media companies significantly consider the needs of advertisers. However, the role of the media is generally understood to be not only making money but also working for

the public good. The problem is that the majority of the private media companies in Korea focus on seeking profit or staying viable as private businesses rather than their public service roles. This is evident in the power of advertising, which is increasing and getting stronger. One journalist commented on the reality of media companies in Korea today: "A press company seeks profits to become a powerful institution, it is not a press company but a business company." This suggests a tension between the objectives of the 'press' and a 'business.'

The government's power was another common reason the journalists gave for why they doubted press freedom was possible. C. L. LaMay (2007) points out that 'government repression, archaic laws and emergency regulations' are limiting factors for press freedom. The government has power as the maker of media related laws or policies. As Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue, "In countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, makes it clear that the media serve the ends of a dominant elite." In Korea, the comments of the surveyed journalists reflect this point. As one journalist said, "The press cannot be free from the government's pressures." Some media do not report the truth in order to protect power groups and also they release information in favor of them (Kim, S-S. (2005). Powerful groups such as government and big business companies provide the media with large amounts of advertising revenue. The absolute power of the state has become slowly weaker since the end of 1980s but the power of capital has gradually grown since the 1990s, and the state and capital in society have steadily changed (Park, Kim & Sohn, 2000). According to Park, Kim and Sohn, since the Korean government was established in 1948, the core concern in Korean society is politics. Since then the government and the media have shared their power. The state played an important role as a supporter or sometimes as a controller of the media and also used it for solving political problems and justifying its legitimacy. The media was also used as a tool for achieving rapid modernization and economic growth and also played a role in the social integration and control of the people. Most Korean media under the authoritarian rule put up with being controlled and they have "traditionally maintained a close relationship with political power, have largely represented its interests, and have contributed to maintaining the existing ruling structure" (Park, Kim & Sohn, 2000). The state power is strong and relations between the state and the media companies especially newspapers are not completely independent of each other.

Thirdly, poor economic management of some media companies was one of the reasons for the journalists' negative selection. They suggest some media companies economically cannot afford a management base by themselves. This has been pointed out by Woo and Joo (2002) as a big problem in Korea. Many media companies depend on advertising support.

One journalist's noted his negative selection was based on religion. This was confirmed by some journalists as an influential factor in the quantitative findings. According to LaMay (2007) religious suppression is a limiting factor for press freedom. In Korea, religious issues are very sensitive and not easy to criticize. Some religion groups respond vociferously when the media criticize any problems in their religion. This includes boycotting a particular paper, protesting or sending warnings to the media (Kim, J-S. 2001). Corruption within some religions has been a problem in Korea. In the case of Protestant Church groups, some ministers have given church property or jobs to their children (*NewsHoo* of MBC, 24/03/2007). "The problem is that even if the corruption is reported, the ministers are still OK" the religion academic J-S. Kim (2001) has said. The ministers use their believers to go to the media companies and protest the reporting of this corruption. These conservative elements have more power than liberal elements in Protestant Church leader groups in Korea (Kim, J-S. 2001). They have similar history to the media regarding the relation of political power. In the case of Catholic Church groups, there are many pilgrimage sites, which have been built on state land without permission from the government. According to J-S. Kim (2001), traditional religions such as Buddhist groups have engaged in corrupt behavior. Some leaders of this religion have been corrupted. For example, to be a chair of a temple or to be a chair of the religion, some leaders have fought each other and have given bribes to the decision makers (*Newsis*, 15/10/2007). Corruption within religion is a big problem but the media cannot easily investigate it because of the strong opposition. As one journalist in my survey wrote, "Religious issues are hard to criticize."

The last external factor that journalists suggested limited press freedom was lack of will amongst journalists. This has been pointed out by media academics, Woo and Joo (2002). One journalist in the survey stressed that many journalists lack the will to guarantee press freedom in practice. The journalist said, "If there is no internal efforts, press freedom can be distorted any time. Only a person, who tries to keep freedom can enjoy the freedom." Perhaps, as employees journalists can be forced by media employers to be tame workers.

### *1.3 Advertisers as a powerful factor*

Advertisers are seen as a powerful factor influencing freedom of the press and this is demonstrated in the quantitative and qualitative findings. In the qualitative findings, the journalists selected advertising as the largest external factor influencing freedom of the press. Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue advertising is one of news 'filters' for propaganda model, because advertising revenue is the core income source for the media. In Korea, advertising has a very strong influence on social life. D. Hart (2001) explains this relationship between advertising and the way of life as:

A source of idealized lifestyle for Koreans that serves the needs of the capitalist market by ensuring consumption. Specifically, advertising is a prominent feature of the mass media, and is perhaps the most conscious representative of consumption as a way of life.

In Korea, advertising promotes the idea that not to participate in consuming is to be a social failure (Hart, 2001).

Economic dependence on advertising revenue has greatly increased in the media industry. According to the Freedom House (2006), in Korea "Many newspapers depend financially on large corporations for their advertising revenue." Therefore, advertisers have become powerful influential factors on media content. Under the military regimes the state, the government and the politicians were the main actors influencing freedom of the press. However, since the civilian governments the main factors influencing freedom of the press have steadily changed to capital and the market in Korea because of political democratization (Woo & Joo, 2002). In June 1987, there was the biggest democratization movement in Korea.

However, around the world many academics have pointed out that democratization has focused too much on free markets and economic prosperity. According to LaMay (2007) in most developing countries "Democratization aid's traditionally heavy emphasis on free markets and economic development arguably has left journalists in many countries in situations where their media markets have been commercialized but they have won little if any autonomy from government." As Curran (2002) points out, the problem is "the market can silence media watchdogs altogether" as in Latin American countries under right wing military coups. Also, in Australia Lumby (1999) argues, "All newspapers begin with a profit-driven desire to interest a section of the public and, their definition of public interest depends on how they carve their market up." The newspaper's owners treat their readership as a market and the articles they print need to appeal to that market (Grattan, 1998). In European countries Hallin and Mancini (2004) argue, "One of the central arguments of Habermas and Bourdieu is that the media have lost autonomy in relation to the market and economic system." "Unsupportive market or market fragmentation" is one of limiting factors for press freedom (LaMay, 2007). The responses from the Korean journalists in this survey support these arguments. To protect freedom of the press from the market, a real democratic country does not allow the media to be controlled only by the market (Chang, 2004).

Freedom of the press is not guaranteed everywhere in the world, because capital threatens freedom of the press even in democratic societies. According to Baker (2002), "Commentators who emphasize unique values of news, informational, cultural, or other media products routinely characterize advertisers' influence as corrupting." In America Fiss (1986) argues, "Capitalism almost always won." For example, the American people realized how economic power had begun to corrupt their politics, when capitalism and democracy were compatible:

In the political world these doubts were linked to Watergate and the eventual resignation of President Richard Nixon. The precipitating event was the break-in at the Democratic National Headquarters, but by the time the impeachment process had run its course, we realized how thoroughly economic power had begun to corrupt our politics. Congress responded with the campaign Reform Act of 1974, imposing limits on contributions and expenditures and establishing a scheme for the public funding of elections (Fiss, 1986).

This evidence of capitalism defeating democracy and commercialism in the media limiting press freedom is easily found in the Korean media industry. Most media companies are beholden to advertisers especially big companies such as Samsung (the biggest conglomerate in Korea). Some people cynically call Korea, 'The Republic of Samsung.' This company provides a good example of how a big business group as a big advertiser can threaten freedom of the press in Korea and also how capital can have undue influence in the media. Samsung is a big advertiser and so has undue control in Korean media (Kim, S-S. 2005). Samsung does not advertise in media that are critical about the company. For example, most of Samsung's advertisements were withdrawn from two dailies the *Hankyoreh* and the *Kyunghyang* after they had reported a corruption scandal within the Samsung Group (Journalists Association of Korea, 14/11/2007). The scandal involved "how the conglomerate raised a slush fund to whom it gave the dirty money" (*Korea Times*, 06/03/2008). This story was first released on 29th October 2007 by Yong-Chul Kim, a whistle-blowing former chief in-house lawyer of Samsung, and the Catholic Priests Association for Justice (CPAJ) (Citizens' Coalition for Democratic Media, 10/01/2008). After this release *Hankyoreh* and *Kyunghyang* reported more critically and openly than other dailies in their articles. The Citizens' Coalition for Democratic Media (CCDM) monitored five major daily newspapers (Note 2) regarding the Samsung's advertisements for thirty two days from the 1st December 2007 to the 7th January 2008 (CCDM, 10/01/2008). The situation of major newspapers' reports regarding the Samsung Group's corruption scandal was as follows (see Table 4).

The CCDM (10/01/2008) found that the *Hankyoreh* and *Kyunghyang* dailies hardly got any of Samsung's advertisements. However, *Chosun*, *JoongAng*, *Dong-A* (ChoJoongDong) newspapers were given respectively forty five, twenty nine and fifteen advertisements by Samsung. This result shows that as a big advertiser Samsung controls the Korean media.

According to Hallin and Mancini (2004) "Much European scholarship has historically referred to the commercial press



as the 'bourgeois' press." There is a similar situation in Korea. Samsung influences the media by giving or withdrawing advertising, providing scholarships to some journalists, or suing the media that are critical of them (Solidarity for Economic Reform, 29/02/2008). It is the largest advertising provider in Korea. So to withdraw advertising is significant. Samsung gives advertising to the media which write articles pro-Samsung. S-S. Kim (2005) argues that Samsung provides advertising to dailies mainly to control articles rather than for advertising effect. This has been confirmed through the report of Solidarity for Economic Reform (SER), which analyzed the activity of two media organizations - the Samsung Press Foundation and the LG Press Foundation, both of which belong to the conglomerates Samsung and LG in Korea (SER, 29/02/2008). The SER report concluded that benefits such as scholarships were mainly given to the journalists of major media companies such as ChoJoongDong (SER, 29/02/2008). Showing that these companies want to make media environment favorable toward them through supporting the journalists of major newspapers.

Influence over the media by capital in a democratic society is a threat to freedom of the press. Many newspapers cannot play their proper public service role because of their dependence on advertising revenue. As S-S. Kim (2005) and the SER (29/02/2008) report point out there are problems with major businesses influencing the media and restricting freedom of the press. Moreover, Kim argues many Korean people do not realize this situation is serious.

## **2. Journalists' perspectives on internal factors**

The term 'internal factors' refers to influences which come from within media companies including media owners, media managers, media editors or a group of editors (manager of editorial section, or middle executive of editorial section of company), labor unions within media organization, general (non-editorial) staff within a company, colleagues within a company, journalists' self-censorship or system of internal mechanism, internal code of ethics, internal review board or commission.

### *2.1 Internal factors influencing freedom of the press*

When asked to choose the main internal factors influencing freedom of the press within media companies, the majority of the journalists selected media owners, media managers, and media editors or a group of editors. Those groups can all be understood as media owners because in most privately owned newspapers the owners appoint managers and editors or others who have a similar point of view. The next most selected factor was journalists' self-censorship or the internal system (see Table 5).

#### *2.1.1 First preference results*

About fifty one percent of the journalists selected 'media owners' as the factor most likely to influence press freedom. The same percentage of editors and deputy editors selected media owners as a factor. However, as there was a much higher percentage of deputy editors who responded to the survey, this indicates that the editors were more strongly inclined to select media owners than were the deputy editors. Perhaps, this is because editors deal more directly with owners than deputy editors. Next, journalists, who studied Economics/Business, or Sociology/Philosophy/Psychology/History as their major in their highest degree at university, showed the same frequency in choosing media owners as a factor. Yet those who studied Sociology/Philosophy/Psychology/History responded in lower numbers. This indicates that the journalists who studied Sociology/Philosophy/Psychology/History were more likely to select media owners than were the journalists who studied Economics/Business.

#### *2.1.2 Second and third preference results*

The second choice of many journalists was the 'media managers' as the most significant internal factor influencing freedom of the press. This figure was much higher than the percentage of the next most influential factor, 'media editors or a group of editors.' The next most influential factors were journalists' self-censorship or an internal system. Media editors or a group of editors were the highest percentage as the third preference. The next most commonly selected factor influencing freedom of the press was journalists' own self-censorship or an internal system and 'media managers.'

### *2.2 Freedom of the press and internal factors*

When asked if freedom of the press was possible even with constraining internal factors the majority of the journalists believed that it was possible (see Table 6). This response was made up of about sixty six percent who chose 'mostly possible,' and seven percent who chose 'absolutely possible.' However, some respondents did not think it was possible, which included 'mostly not possible' (23.8%) and 'impossible' (2.4%).

#### *2.2.1 Journalists' selections about internal factors*

Analyzing these results in terms of journalists' status and education, all the managing editors selected a positive response. Also, among editors, deputy editors and reporters, the more highly positioned journalists were more strongly inclined to make a positive choice than were the lower positioned journalists. Secondly, the same percentage of the journalists who had four year Bachelors or Masters degrees as their highest degrees made positive selections. However, lower numbers of the journalists, holding Masters degrees, answered the survey, indicating the Masters journalists had a

stronger inclination towards a positive response.

With regard to the selection 'negative,' journalists, who worked in the sub-editorial and the business sections, showed the same frequency. However, there was more than double the percentage of journalists in the business section who responded to the survey. This indicates that the journalists in the sub-editorial section were more strongly inclined to make a negative selection than were the journalists in the business section. Overall this result indicates that journalists thought internal dealings are less free than external dealings. Lastly, journalists located in Seoul and provincial newspapers showed the same frequency in their responses but journalists who worked in provincial newspapers responded in lower numbers, yet had the same percentage choosing a negative response. This indicates that provincial journalists were more strongly inclined to select a negative answer than were the journalists who worked in the Seoul area.

#### 2.2.1.1 The reasons why the journalists made 'negative' selections

The journalists gave many reasons for their negative beliefs about the possibility of press freedom due to internal factors (see Table 7). One of the key reasons the journalists gave for not thinking freedom of the press was possible was that a journalist is a member of a media company. As a result they cannot criticise the company's policy. S-S. Kim (2005) points out media companies in Korea are controlled by media owners, so individual journalists have many restrictions. As decision makers and employers media owners have the right to manage personnel but journalists are seen as just employees in private companies. If the journalists ignore the directives of owners or managers, there can be consequences. For example, the journalists may be fired, they may have to move to other media companies or change to another kind of job. Therefore, journalists are forced to follow the opinions of the media owners. S-W. Ko (2006a) argues that Korean journalists have become salary men under media owners. As one journalist in this survey commented, "As a member of a media company journalists do not comment in a different tenor to the company. It is difficult to make a comment, which is not in line with the company's stance."

The second reason the journalists gave for their negative choice was that privately owned media companies are profit-making organizations. The privatization of public service media is one of the limiting factors for press freedom (LaMay, 2007). Curran (2002) argues, "Media organizations have become more profit oriented." In Korea, most newspapers are privately owned. S-S. Kim (2005) points out the private media companies focus more on profits through advertising revenue than playing a public service role. Also, Kim (2002) argues the private ownership of the media lets media owners control all parts of the media. So these media owners control the editorials. As the result of this control, the interest of media owners restricts freedom of the press. Kim also found that media ownership in Korea is powerful because of the types of ownership such as family groups or complex business groups. These groups can censor the media indirectly or directly. This censorship threatens editorial independence and the public function of the media, as journalists are forced to follow their company's policy as employees. As a result, they serve for the profit of their companies rather than for the public service role. An example of this situation in the current Korean media industry was given by a journalist: "The journalists at big newspapers in Korea serve not the public good or the objective truth but for the profits of their companies." Another journalist argued, "The media become the owner's private company."

Thirdly, the power of the media owners or managers was one of the reasons the journalists were negative about the possibility of free press. According to Baker (2007), "The owner gets to choose the news emphasis, editorial slant, or columnists. A profit-maximizing firm can have great power over content, that is, over consumer choice, in addition to or even in the absence of power over price." In Korea, the power of media owners especially privately owned media is almost absolute (Kim, S-S. 2002). However, the rights of media editors and the independence of journalists are very weak and diminishing (Woo & Joo, 2002). Media owners have a high level of control over the whole process of media production. Former member of Parliament, Jae-Hong Kim (2004) argues, "Ownership is absolute in the Korean media industry and for the journalists. The power of the media owners cannot be challenged society."

Why do media owners have this power? Many external groups try to exert influence through the media owners. According to media academic J-K. Lee (2003), under the military regimes, the state (the strongest external group) lobbied the media owners, who cooperated with them and still do today. However, media owners' cooperation with external groups means the giving up of freedom of the press for journalists (Lee, J-K. 2003). As a result many Korean people have recognised the necessity of limitations on media ownership. According to one poll in 2001 about limiting media ownership, seventy two percent of the Korean people answered that a limitation on the biggest shareholder was needed (Yang, 2001). This included absolutely needed (29.4%) and sometimes needed (42.6%). One journalist in my survey explained the journalists' situation as employees, "The media owner and manager have the ultimate power in personnel and management, for example joining a company, retirement from a company, promotion, official reprimands, wages, or others."

A fourth reasons for the journalists' pessimism was the lack of mutual discussion within the media companies. In some cases, media owners control the news process without discussion or negotiation with managing editors (such as in the *SISA-journal* case which will be discussed later). Producing newspapers is not an individual task but a cooperative job

among sections and among various positions. Mutual discussion is normal and it is needed for producing accurate news. Journalists cannot work individually. As one journalist said, "Internal factors of the media should not exist to interfere with each other within the company. These are there to help in decisions about daily articles, about how big or small and what direction to report through the mutual discussion." Mutual discussion within the media companies is one of the key processes in the production of the newspapers. So if owners override it it affects the quality of news.

Lastly, the closed nature of the media was a reason for the journalists' negative choice. One example of this is that media companies did not accept the re-employment of journalists, who had been dismissed by their companies under Chun's press purification campaign in 1980. In the Parliamentary guideline of 15th April 2005 for compensation and reward in relation to the democratization movement activists, media companies were directed to give journalists the opportunity to return to work with their companies (Ministry of Government Legislation, 15/04/2005). According to S-W. Ko (2006b), media movement groups such as the National Union of Media workers (NUM), the CCDM and the Journalists Association of Korea (JAK) asked newspaper companies to follow the Parliamentary guideline. However, the newspaper companies did not reemploy the journalists nor did they make reparation for damages done to their professional reputation. The dismissed journalists probably only needed to have reparations made for damage done to their professional reputation, as most are now too old to work. As, one journalist argued, "The media companies are closed in nature."

### 2.3 A media owner as a core influential factor

According to Herman and Chomsky (1988), the 'first filter' to the media is "size, ownership, and profit orientation of the mass media." They argue, "The rise in scale of newspaper enterprise and the associated increase in capital costs from the mid nineteenth century onward, which was based on technological improvements along with the owners' increased stress on reaching large audiences." Moreover, Habermas (1989) points out the commercial basis of media owners in European countries. He argues:

In the measure that the public sphere became a field for business advertising, private people as owners of private property had a direct effect on private people as the public. In this process, to be sure, the transformation of the public sphere into a medium of advertising was met halfway by the commercialization of the press.

Around the world privately owned media tend to more focus on commercialization. In Australia Grattan (1998) argues, "The editorial and commercial sides of newspapers are increasingly converging." This commercialism has endangered the public service role of the media, which has come under pressure from the commercial businesses through the emphasis on privatization. In European countries according to Hallin and Mancini (2004), "The most powerful force for homogenization of media systems is commercialization that has transformed both print and electronic media in Europe." 'Commercialism in media' is one of limiting factors for press freedom (LaMay, 2007). Their arguments are confirmed in Korean newspaper industry.

Most newspapers emphasize the role of seeking profits as a private business. They are highly dependent on advertising revenue or other capital. Many Korean journalists feel skeptical about their jobs because of the power of capital, which directly and indirectly influences the editorial section. S-W. Nam (2001) points out, many journalists have felt skeptical and powerless about the right to editorialize because major media have been commercialized as big businesses. Woo and Joo (2002) criticize the role of the media owners in Korea saying, the biggest problem of the newspaper in Korea is that media owners abuse their power in the management of newspaper companies and interfere in the editorials. Many surveys of journalists have shown that the biggest factor limiting freedom of the press is media owners and managers. In practice, some media owners or managers in Korea have deleted articles (Lee, H-S. 2004) and cartoons (Journalists Association of Korea, 27/10/2007). They have distorted media articles by minimizing or maximizing them (Kim, Y-H. 2004). The *SISA-journal* and the *Kookmin Daily Newspaper* (hereafter *Kookmin Daily*) cases are good examples of how media owners abuse their power.

The *SISA-journal* started as a weekly magazine in 1989 and until 1999 mostly covered broad public affairs. Under the first owner (1989-1999) it was one of the independent media companies that maintained a separation between its managerial and editorial sections (*Hankyoreh*, 26/06/2007a). However, Seoulmoonhwasa (the biggest share-holder of the *SISA-journal*) took over the *SISA-journal* after the bankruptcy of the company during the International Monetary Fund (IMF) intervention Asian economic crisis in 1999. The publisher of the company changed and since then the *SISA-journal* has not been maintained as an independent paper.

On 16<sup>th</sup> June 2006, the owner of the *SISA-journal*, Chang-Tae Kem deleted a negative article about Samsung, which is the largest advertising provider to the media in Korea (discussed in External factors). Kem deleted the article without the agreement of the managing editor at the printing office (*Hankyoreh*, 26/06/2007b). Ideally Kem should have negotiated with the managing editor and the final decision should have been left with the editor. However, Kem abused his power. As a result the managing editor of the *SISA-journal* resigned from the company. Then the company's journalists were on strike for one year seeking a guarantee of editorial independence. However, the strike did not

achieve the aim of the journalists.

On 25<sup>th</sup> June 2007, all twenty two journalists decided to resign from the *SISA-journal* because the leaders of the managerial section of the company refused to negotiate with them (*Hankyoreh*, 26/06/2007a). The journalists then set up another journal, 'SISAIN.' In essence the managerial section of the *SISA-journal* dismissed the journalists (*Hankyoreh*, 26/06/2007b). Moreover, the owner of the *SISA-journal* sued the journalists and others (Note 3) because he had received significant criticism from them (Journalists Association of Korea, 18/06/2007). However, he lost the lawsuit (*Ohmynews*, 31/05/2007).

The owner of the *SISA-journal*, Chang-Tae Kem had previously worked as a journalist at the *JoonAng libo* one of the major daily newspapers in Korea and also one of the related companies of the Samsung conglomerate. Even though the owner denied it this personal relation can be seen to have produced a form of clientelism (*Ohmynews*, 31/05/2007). During the strike the behavior of the owner was not as a journalist but a businessman, who was afraid of damage to this company's profits. However, the roles of the media are not only for making money but also for working for the public good.

Why did the *SISA-journal* case occur in Korea? There are two main reasons: firstly, as a big advertiser, Samsung has tried to control the media (discussed at External factors). During the strike, Samsung was the biggest advertiser in the *SISA-journal* (*Ohmynews*, 18/06/2007). At the same time, the leaders of the managerial section at the *SISA-journal* employed a number of people from Samsung to produce the *SISA-journal*, which praised big business and became a pro-capital paper (*Ohmynews*, 18/06/2007). Lastly, the owner of the *SISA-journal* put economic benefit above the media public service role.

As the journalists surveyed suggested advertising revenue is central to newspaper companies today and it impinges on the journalists' freedom to criticize large companies. As one journalist said, "Even though editorial independence exists, journalists themselves have to change the tone of the article to consider the interests of advertisers, pressure groups or others." Another journalists argued, "A press company sells products therefore it has to consider the taste of big influential actors such as big business groups or government."

Another case of this influence of powerful groups took place in 2008 at the *Kookmin Daily*. This paper reported (21/02/2008) about suspicions of plagiarism by the presidential secretary designate for social affairs Mee-Seok Park (she was later replaced). Park was a former professor of Sookmyung University in Seoul, and she was accused of plagiarizing her student's Masters thesis for one of her research papers (*Kookmin Daily*, 21/02/2008). After the publication of the first article, the journalists wrote a follow-up article. However, this was not published on the orders of the owner of the *Kookmin Daily* (Journalists Association of Korea, 25/02/2008). As a result, the labor union of the *Kookmin Daily* criticized the owner and asked for the reason for the non-publication and also requested the resignation of the managing editor, as he could not protect editorial independence. Several days later (29/02/2008) the article was published because of this resistance. As S-S. Kim (2002) stresses censorship by media owners should be eradicated for internal press freedom in the same way that censorship by the state was eradicated.

As seen above the power of the media owners is very strong in Korea. Media academics J-K. Lee (2003) and S-S. Kim (2002) argue Korean media especially newspapers invariably depend on the ideas or political belief of media owners. The role of media owners is very important in guaranteeing freedom of the press. Therefore, media owners must be bound by high ethical standards of the Korean society. Otherwise, freedom of the press can be seriously threatened.

### 3. Journalists' perspectives on media related laws, policies and ethics

The term 'media related laws, policies and ethics' means influences which come from media related laws, policies or ethical guidelines that include the media related laws, the media policies, the legal proceedings of libel or complaints, the national security law, the media ethics code, the organization of self-censorship (the Press Council, the Press Arbitration Commission, ombudsmen) and others.

#### 3.1 Media related laws, policies and ethics influencing freedom of the press

When asked a question about the main factor influencing freedom of the press among media related laws, policies and ethics, the majority of the journalists tended to say that the problems were legal proceedings of libel or complaints. The next factors were the media related laws, media policies, the organization of self-censorship, and the media ethics code (see Table 8).

##### 3.1.1 First preference results

Almost sixty eight percent of the journalists chose the legal proceedings of libel or complaints as the most influential factor inhibiting press freedom. It is interesting to note that a smaller numbers of journalists, who worked for provincial newspapers, answered the survey. However, a higher percentage of provincial journalists selected the legal proceedings of libel or complaints as a factor than Seoul journalists. This indicates that the provincial journalists may have a stronger inclination to see legal proceedings or complaints as a significant factor. Secondly, the same percentage of

journalists, who worked for longer (20-24 years) and shorter (0-4 years) periods, selected the legal proceedings of libel or complaints. However, as there was a higher percentage of longer service journalists who responded to the survey, this indicates that the shorter service journalists were more strongly inclined to select this option. Thirdly, among journalists, who studied Media and Communication, Economics/Business, or Language and Literature as the major in their highest degree at university, those who studied Language and Literature responded in lower numbers, yet had the same percentage affirming that legal proceedings of libel or complaints were a factor. This indicates that the journalists, who studied Language and Literature, were more strongly inclined to select it than were the journalists, who studied Media and Communication, and Economics/Business.

### 3.1.2 Second and third preference results

The media related laws were the most common factor selected by the journalists as their second preference. Next followed self-censorship, media policies, media ethics code, and the legal proceedings of libel or complaints. As a third preference many journalists chose self-censorship. Next followed the media related laws, media policies, media ethics code, and the legal proceedings of libel or complaints.

### 3.2 Freedom of the press and media related laws/policies/ethics

The majority of the journalists believed that freedom of the press was possible under the existing media related laws, policies and ethics (see Table 9). This was made up of about eighty percent of the journalists who chose 'mostly possible' and about 2.5 percent of the journalists who chose 'absolutely possible.' However, some journalists were skeptical, which included 'mostly not possible' (15.5%) and 'impossible' (1.2%).

#### 3.2.1 Journalists' selections about media related laws/policies/ethics

Some interesting results should be noted. Regarding the positive selections, all the journalists who worked at news agencies, business, English and specialist newspapers selected a positive response. Also, all the journalists who had served more than twenty years selected a positive response. With regard to selecting a negative response, journalists who worked in the business section responded in lower numbers than those from the social sections, yet they had a higher percentage choosing a negative response. This indicates the business journalists were more strongly inclined to be negative about the possibility of press freedom. Thirdly, the same percentage of deputy editors, and editors made a negative choice. However, as there was a higher percentage of deputy editors that responded to the survey, this indicates that the editors were more strongly inclined to make a negative selection than were the deputy editors. Lastly, comparing the journalists working location: a lower numbers of journalists, who worked for provincial newspapers answered the survey, however, the same percentage of the Seoul based and provincial based journalists made a negative selection, indicating the provincial journalists had a stronger inclination towards a negative belief in press freedom.

##### 3.2.1.1 The reasons why the journalists made 'negative' selections

In the qualitative findings journalists gave many reasons for their negative selections about the possibility of press freedom due to media related laws, policies and ethics (see Table 10). Firstly, the power of the media related laws, policies and ethics was one of the reasons the journalists gave to support their negative selection. The journalists suggest they cannot ignore the media related laws, policies and ethics, whether they are right or wrong. As one journalist put it, "After media laws, policies and ethics are established, these have legal force." The media related laws, policies and ethical guidelines are strong mechanisms of media control.

Secondly, the threat of legal proceedings of libel or complaints was one of the reasons the journalists gave for their negative selection. This is also the most significant factor in the quantitative findings. Pearson (2004) argues, "Legal and ethical transgressions can prove costly and painful for journalists and their families, friends, colleagues and employers." This situation is commonly found in Korea. As one journalist said, "Journalists must be daunted by having lawsuits, which relate to libel or the Press Arbitration Commission." Moreover, Pearson points out, "Defamation actions have the potential to leave journalists penniless and to send their companies into receivership. Contempt charges can land journalists in jail for indefinite periods." As a result, in order to try to avoid lawsuits journalists can strongly self-censor when writing articles, especially on sensitive issues. This can potentially restrict freedom of the press. However, the journalists also have a responsibility to society. They need to write accurate articles that reflect what is happening.

Thirdly, another reason the journalists gave for their negative selection about the possibility of press freedom was the chaotic nature of the Korean media industry. S-W. Im et al. (2004) point out this situation. They argue, "It is really hard to make a rule and to follow it because the media industry in Korea is in a period of change." Also, one journalist argued, "Sometimes, the aims of the media are not in accordance with current systems."

Fourthly, one of the reasons for the journalists' negative selection was the necessity of following the media related laws, policies and ethical guidelines. Pearson (2004) argues, "The laws may restrict journalists in their work." However, in Korea K-B. Lee (2001) stresses the law is the ultimate mechanism to guarantee freedom of the press. Power groups

abuse freedom of the press for their own benefit (Im, Y-H. 2001). For example two media related laws passed under the Roh government in 2005. The *Law Governing the Guarantee of Freedom and Functions of Newspapers* (also known as the *Newspaper Law*), and the *Law Governing Press Arbitration and Damage Relief* (also known as the *Press Arbitration Law*) were not designed to restrict owners' right within media companies but to protect journalists' activities from external influences (Constitutional Courts in Korea, 29/06/2006). However, these are not compulsory laws but Parliamentary guidelines. One of the surveyed journalists stated, "Restrictions on press freedom through law, system, policy and others can be seen as a way to guarantee press freedom rather than limiting it."

Next, one journalist pointed out ownership was an important matter saying, "The biggest problem of press freedom is ownership of the media in Korea." Lastly, one reporter gave an other reason saying, "Political groups gag the media by getting citizens' help."

### 3.3 Legal proceedings of libel or complaints as a main influential factor

Legal proceedings of libel or complaints were the largest factor influencing freedom of the press among the media related laws, policies and ethics. This factor was mentioned by the journalists as a negative influence on press freedom in the qualitative findings. According to Herman and Chomsky (1988), in America 'flak and the enforcers' are one of the news filters to the media. "Flak refers to negative responses to a media statement or program. ... The ability to produce flak, and especially flak that is costly and threatening, is related to power." In America, serious flak has increased with economic development resentment of media criticism since the 1970s and 1980s. Also powerful groups have directly or indirectly resented media criticism (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). In Korea, the president has a great influence on freedom of the press. According to J-K. Lee (2003) the philosophy of the president is an important factor influencing freedom of the press because media laws and systems are dependent on the presidents' philosophy. Unfortunately, the current President Myung-Bak Lee follows in the style of military regimes with regard to the media, especially the electronic media. Major private conservative newspapers are pro-Myung-Bak Lee and have cooperated for the inauguration of Lee government in February 2008.

There have been some changes in the factors pertaining to media related laws, policies and ethical guidelines. Media related laws and policies were the core factor under the military regimes, especially the fifth republic in Korea (Woo & Joo, 2002). However, under the civilian governments the largest factor influencing freedom of the press has changed to legal proceedings and complaints. These have greatly increased since the 1990s (Lee & Lee, 2001). They have increased because of political democratization, which has required the media to be more responsible to the society in Korea. Currently the media and journalists in Korea are struggling with legal proceedings such as libel or complaints.

Though it is important for the media to be accountable, it is possible that abuse of the legal proceedings of libel or complaints can restrict freedom of the press. Powerful groups, such as the state (politicians) or big companies, can abuse libel and complaints proceedings in order to muzzle critical media. If power groups abuse these proceedings, the media companies and journalists apply self-censorship, which then limits press freedom (LaMay, 2007). My survey results have confirmed this reality. According to media academic J-J. Lee (2001), the legal proceedings such as libel or complaints restrict the watchdog role of the media. Lee points out the standard of judicial decision regarding the legal proceedings of libel or complaints against the media in Korea have been obscure and subjective. This situation is not only limited to the media industry. There are many laws that have been selectively applied to ordinary people and opposition politicians but not to big businesses and powerful politicians. One well-known political scholar in Korea, Jang-Jip Choi criticizes the body of law in Korea as being a representative for the power groups (*Hankyoreh*, 28/11/2008). S-S. Lee (2000) argues that libel or complaint proceedings against the media can possibly restrict freedom of the press in terms of the people's right to know. Therefore, legal proceedings brought by powerful groups against the media can restrict freedom of the press. In practice this can be seen in the case of '*PD Notepad*.'

On 18th April 2008 the Korean government signed a contract on the full opening of the local beef market to American products. There were some problems regarding the beef deal such as quarantine sovereignty. Even though American beef meat might be found to have some diseases, under this deal the Korean government cannot directly decide to return the meat to America. Other safety conditions are also less strict compared to other countries such as Japan. On 29th April 2008, a current affairs program called '*PD Notepad*' at Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), one of major broadcasters in Korea, raised concerns about safety in relation to this new contract and mad cow disease. It made some errors in the story including a mistranslation. However, this was not the major issue: the major issue was the warning about the safety of the Korean people from mad cow disease as a result of the lax safety requirements in the new beef deal.

From May to August 2008, many Korean people seriously protested against the "beef deal" in a candlelight protest arguing for fresh negotiations to begin. As a result, President Lee made two public apologies in less than a month (*Korea Times*, 20/06/2008). Lee apologized to the Korean people expressing 'painful self-rebuke' and 'serious reflection on failure.' However, his words have not been reflected in practice despite the Korean people's demand. He has failed to renegotiate. According to the *Korea Times* (16/07/2008), one of lawmakers, Kang-Rae Lee, a member of the largest

opposition Democratic Party (DP) argued, "President Lee might have thought the ratification of a free trade agreement (FTA) with the United States would be easier if his team clinched the beef deal." Indeed, Y-H Im (2001) has pointed out that the beef deal is one good example where neoliberalism has made the function of the public sector 'meaningless' in Korea. In a broader sense, Im points out that global capitalists have used neoliberalism to increase their power through the free-market.

The Lee government believes that '*PD Notepad*' story made the Korean people start the Candlelight Protest. On 20th June 2008 the Ministry for Food, Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (MFAFF) asked the court to investigate '*PD Notepad*.' Five public prosecutors investigated the program and it was an unusually intensive investigation (*Hankyoreh*, 28/06/2008). This matter should not have been dealt with through legal proceedings because of the possibility of threatening freedom of the press by muzzling critical media.

There are many critics, internationally and nationally, of the court investigation of this program and the Myung-Bak Lee government. On 5<sup>th</sup> August 2008 Aidan White, General Secretary of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) condemned the court investigation of the program (IFJ Global, 05/08/2008). He criticized the Lee government as follows, "There is a feeling that the bosses of Korean media are being systematically replaced by government cronies. If that happens it will be a catastrophe for press freedom in the country" (IFJ Global, 05/08/2008). White's worry is an ongoing reality. Many Korean liberal and conservative media academics also have criticized the government's behavior regarding the *PD Notepad* case. Media academic Seo-Joong Kim pointed out a problem regarding the investigation of '*PD Notepad*' during discussion time of the Peoplepower 21 (Chamyeyoenda: citizen movement group held on 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2008). Kim argued, "Through its intensive investigation of '*PD Notepad*,' the government wanted to threaten the media not to report this kind of issue in the future" (*Dong-A Ilbo*, 02/07/2008). Also, Kim criticized the government by saying, "The government wants to tame the broadcast media like the ChoJoongDong newspapers" (*Dong-A Ilbo*, 02/07/2008). Furthermore, he said, "The investigation of '*PD Notepad*' was a starting point for change in the media industry" (*Dong-A Ilbo*, 02/07/2008). Kim's point is confirmed in practice. The current government is seeking to privatize public broadcasting media and also to allow cross ownership for newspaper owners. This new media policy is one of the reasons why ChoJoongDong supported Myung-Bak Lee during the 2007 presidential election. Another academic Young-Ho Kim said, "The media have a duty to report the truth if there is one percent of danger about mad cow disease. Therefore, the public investigation of '*PD Notepad*' is not suitable behavior" (*Hankyoreh*, 03/07/2008). According to Min-Wan Kim, if there was a small problem in the accuracy of the broadcast of '*PD Notepad*,' this should be dealt through media ethics processes and not the law (*Hankyoreh*, 28/06/2008). Moreover, Min-Hee Choi former vice Chairman of Korea Communications Commission (KCC) argued, "The '*PD Notepad*' investigation shows Lee government's oppression of broadcasting" (*Hankyoreh*, 28/06/2008). It demonstrates the ways freedom of the press by the critical media can be threatened. As one journalist in my survey said, "Activities of gathering news have been restricted by the media policies, which oppress the media companies through the control of information, lawsuits, or the tax inspection of the media."

In relation to the 'beef deal,' American academic, D. Hart points out that the staging of the candlelight protest by high school students represents hope for the future of the Korean society since these students have started fighting against the abuse and greed of big global business. However, he criticizes the Korean officials and conservative newspapers as being pro-America, pro-capital and betraying the Korean people by 'slavishly' following American demands (*Ohmynews*, 02/06/2008). Further, Hart criticizes the Korean conservative groups, including the media, for blindly accepting American values and activities (*Ohmynews*, 26/06/2008).

## Conclusion

This chapter explored three main factors that influence freedom of the press in Korea: firstly external factors such as advertising; secondly internal factors such as media owners; and thirdly the media related laws, policies and ethics such as libel or complaints. Firstly, in relation to the external factors, advertisers were seen as the largest factor influencing freedom of the press because of the advertising revenue the media companies earn. However, the media should not only pursue their own benefit but should also play a role of public service. Under the military regimes the state, the government and the politicians were the main actors influencing freedom of the press. However, since the civilian governments this has gradually changed to big business and the market. Therefore, big business has significant power and it is not easy to be completely free from this influence as was demonstrated in the case of the two dailies the *Hankyoreh* and the *Kyunghyang*. However, for freedom of the press to prevail the media should be free from the interference of the government and the restrictions placed on them by capital or the market.

Secondly, in relation to the internal factors, the media owners were seen as the most significant factor influencing freedom of the press. Owners have the right as managers to make personnel decisions about employees within the media company. Therefore, how the media owners act is a very important factor in the guarantee of freedom of the press in democratic societies. The belief of many media owners that they have the right to control news can seriously affect freedom of the press. This was demonstrated in the *SISA-journal* and the *Kookmin Daily* cases where journalists were

powerless in practice.

Thirdly, in relation to media related laws, policies and ethics, which are very closely related to the philosophy of the president in Korea, the most significant factor influencing freedom of the press was the threat of legal proceedings such as libel or complaints. There has been a shift from media related laws and policies under the military regimes to legal proceedings of libel or complaints under the civilian governments because of political democratization. However, powerful groups such as the state (politicians) or big businesses can abuse these legal proceedings in order to try to muzzle critical media as was demonstrated in the 'PD Notepad' of MBC case.

In addition, advertisers can be an indirect influence on journalists but media owners can be a direct factor, which is not easy for employees to ignore. Amongst the three factors explored in this project, journalists were least positive about the possibility of press freedom in relation to internal factors. They were most positive about the possibility of press freedom in relation to media related laws/policies/ethics. The direct influence of the state, the government and the politicians has decreased since the advent of civilian government. However, these groups still indirectly and directly influence press freedom through legal proceedings of libel or complaints, and influencing or pressuring media owners.

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## Notes

Note 1. Five main filters: size, ownership, and profit orientation of the mass media; the advertising license to do business; sourcing mass-media news; flak and the enforcers; and anticommunism as a control mechanism.

Note 2. Five dailies were *Hankyoreh*, *Chosun*, *JoongAng*, *Dong-A* and *Kyunghyang*.

Note 3. Their names are Kyoung-Tae Ko (former chief managing editor of the *Hankyoreh* 21), Min-Hee Choi (former CEO of the Citizens' Coalition for Democratic Media), Il-Yong Chung (former president of the Journalists Association of Korea), Yeon-Ho Oh (CEO of the *OhmyNews*), Myoung-Sook Seo (former managing editor of the *OhmyNews*), and

Ji-Woong Kang (producer of the MBC).

**Table 1. Journalists' three choices of external factors influencing freedom of the press in order of preference**

Options	1 <sup>st</sup> (%)	2 <sup>nd</sup> (%)	3 <sup>rd</sup> (%)	Total (%)
State, government, politicians	22.6	28.6	8.3	59.5
Advertisers	65.5	23.8	6	95.3
Interest groups	1.2	17.9	25	44
Civil organizations		9.5	21.4	30.9
Religious groups		6	10.7	16.7
Readers or viewers	9.5	13.1	21.4	44
General public	1.2	1.2	6	8.4
Others			1.2	1.2
Total (%)	100	100	100	300

\*1<sup>st</sup>: first preference, 2<sup>nd</sup>: second preference, 3<sup>rd</sup>: third preference

**Table 2. The possibility of press freedom from external factors**

Categories	Details of categories	TR (%) 100	The possibility of press freedom from external factors (%)	
			P (79.8)	N (20.2)
Sections of news in which they worked	Political	7.1	4.8	2.4
	Social	27.4	23.8	3.6
	Business	20.2	16.7	3.6
	International/North Korean	4.8	3.6	1.2
	Sports/life	1.2	1.2	
	Culture	3.6	2.4	1.2
	Sub-editorial	9.5	6	3.6
	Photo journalism	1.2	1.2	
	General reporting	14.3	10.7	3.6
	Editorial writer	4.8	4.8	
	Managing editors or equivalent	3.6	3.6	
	Others	1.2		1.2
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
Positions held	Managing editors or equivalent	10.7	10.7	
	Editors or equivalent	22.6	16.7	6
	Deputy editors or equivalent	29.8	25	4.8
	Reporters	35.7	26.2	9.5
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
Types of newspapers	Seoul newspapers	32.1	25	7.1
	Provincial newspapers	41.7	31	10.7
	News agencies	3.6	2.4	1.2
	Business newspapers	15.5	15.5	
	English newspapers	3.6	3.6	
	Special newspapers	2.4	2.4	
	Others	1.2		1.2
Location of the company where	Seoul newspapers	57.1	48.8	8.3

<b>they worked</b>	Provincial newspapers	42.9	31	11.9
<b>Gender</b>	Male	94	76.2	17.9
	Female	4.8	2.4	2.4
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>Age group</b>	From 20 to 29 years old	1.2	1.2	
	From 30 to 39 years old	35.7	25	10.7
	From 40 to 49 years old	56	46.4	9.5
	From 50 to 59 years old	4.8	4.8	
	From 60 to 69 years old	1.2	1.2	
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>First or subsequent job</b>	First job	64.3	52.4	11.9
	Subsequent job	34.5	26.2	8.3
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>Length of service</b>	From 0 to 4 years	6	2.4	3.6
	From 5 to 9 years	17.9	13.1	4.8
	From 10 to 14 years	16.7	16.7	
	From 15 to 19 years	44	32.1	11.9
	From 20 to 24 years	10.7	10.7	
	From 25 to 29 years	2.4	2.4	
	More than 30 years	1.2	1.2	
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>Qualifications</b>	Diploma 2 years	1.2	1.2	
	Bachelor 4 years	51.2	40.5	10.7
	Master degrees	41.7	34.5	7.1
	Doctoral degrees	4.8	2.4	2.4
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>Major of highest degree</b>	Media and Communication	22.6	17.9	4.8
	Economics/Business	19	15.5	3.6
	Sociology/Philosophy/Psychology/History	10.7	9.5	1.2
	Law	2.4	2.4	
	Politics/Administration & Planning	23.8	17.9	6
	Language & Literature	15.5	13.1	2.4
	Science	1.2		1.2
	Others	3.6	2.4	1.2
	No answer	1.2	1.2	

\*TR: total respondents to the survey, P: positive, N: negative

**Table 3. The reasons why the journalists selected negative**

Categories	The journalists' comments
The power of capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Even though editorial independence exists, journalists themselves have to change the tone of the article to consider the interests of advertisers, pressure groups or others” (No. 5).</li> <li>• “I have to consider advertisers because of the company’s management” (No.76).</li> <li>• “Influence of advertisers has become the determining factor” (No.52).</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The political influence possibly can be changed. However, it is impossible to maintain independence from advertisers in capitalist society” (No.46).</li> <li>• “Influence of advertisers is getting strong” (No.43).</li> <li>• “It cannot be free from the advertisers” (No.57).</li> <li>• “It is impossible to be free from advertisers in a capitalist society” (No.9).</li> <li>• “It influences directly the income of the press company” (No.49).</li> <li>• “A press company seeks profits to become a powerful institution, it is not a press company but a business company” (No.11).</li> <li>• “A press company sell products therefore it has to consider the taste of big influential actors such as big business groups or government” (No.22).</li> <li>• “Is it possible to be free from money in capitalist society?” (No.80).</li> <li>• “Capital from advertising revenue for management of media company is getting highly dependent than subscription of the media” (No.16).</li> </ul>
The government’s power	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Current situation is not easy to maintain complete independence from the power group” (No.37).</li> <li>• “It cannot be free from the government’s pressures” (No.57).</li> <li>• “Any government does not want press freedom” (No.9).</li> </ul>
The poor management of media companies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The company economically has not got a managing base by itself” (No.61).</li> <li>• “External factors directly or indirectly relate to business management of media company” (No.78).</li> <li>• “Because of company’s poor economic management” (No.40).</li> </ul>
Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Religious issues are hard to criticize” (No.43).</li> </ul>
The lack of the journalists’ will	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “If there is no internal efforts, press freedom can be distorted any time. Only a person, who tries to keep freedom can enjoy the freedom” (No.26).</li> </ul>

**Table 4. The situation of major newspapers' reports regarding the Samsung Group's corruption scandal (CCDM, 10/01/2008)**

	Chosun	JoongAng	Dong-A	Hankyoreh	Kyunghyang	Seoul	Total
<b>Number</b>	83	50	69	135	118	88	544
<b>Percent</b>	15.3	9.2	12.7	24.8	21.7	16.4	100

\* Surveyed by CCDM from the 6th to the 27th November 2007

**Table 5. Journalists’ three choices of internal factors influencing freedom of the press in order of preference**

Options	1 <sup>st</sup> (%)	2 <sup>nd</sup> (%)	3 <sup>rd</sup> (%)	Total (%)
Media owners	51.2	9.5	4.8	65.5
Media managers	4.8	46.4	19	70.2
Media editors or a group of editors	26.2	28.6	31	85.8
Labor unions within media organization	1.2	1.2	3.6	6
General (non-editorial) staff within a company			1.2	1.2
Colleagues within a company		2.4	3.6	6
Journalists’ self-censorship or internal system	15.5	11.9	23.8	51.2
Internal code of ethics			3.6	3.6
Internal review board or commission	1.2		7.1	8.3
No answer			2.4	2.4
<b>Total (%)</b>	100	100	100	300

\*1<sup>st</sup>: first preference, 2<sup>nd</sup>: second preference, 3<sup>rd</sup>: third preference

Table 6. The possibility of press freedom from internal factors

Categories	Details of categories	TR (%) 100	The possibility of press freedom from internal factors (%)	
			P (72.6)	N (26.2)
Sections of news in which they worked	Political	7.1	6	1.2
	Social	27.4	20.2	7.1
	Business	20.2	14.3	4.8
	International/North Korean	4.8	3.6	1.2
	Sports/life	1.2		1.2
	Culture	3.6	1.2	2.4
	Sub-editorial	9.5	4.8	4.8
	Photo journalism	1.2	1.2	
	General reporting	14.3	10.7	3.6
	Editorial writer	4.8	4.8	
	Managing editors or equivalent	3.6	3.6	
	Others	1.2	1.2	
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
Positions held	Managing editors or equivalent	10.7	10.7	
	Editors or equivalent	22.6	17.9	4.8
	Deputy editors or equivalent	29.8	20.2	9.5
	Reporters	35.7	22.6	11.9
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
Types of newspapers	Seoul newspapers	32.1	20.2	11.9
	Provincial newspapers	41.7	29.8	11.9
	News agencies	3.6	3.6	
	Business newspapers	15.5	14.3	1.2
	English newspapers	3.6	3.6	
	Special newspapers	2.4	1.2	
	Others	1.2		1.2
Location of the company where they worked	Seoul newspapers	57.1	42.8	13.1
	Provincial newspapers	42.9	29.8	13.1
Gender	Male	94	67.9	25
	Female	4.8	3.6	1.2
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
Age group	From 20 to 29 years old	1.2	1.2	
	From 30 to 39 years old	35.7	21.4	13.1
	From 40 to 49 years old	56	42.8	13.1
	From 50 to 59 years old	4.8	4.8	
	From 60 to 69 years old	1.2	1.2	
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
First or subsequent job	First job	64.3	47.6	15.5
	Subsequent job	34.5	23.8	10.7
	No answer	1.2	1.2	

<b>Length of service</b>	From 0 to 4 years	6	1.2	3.6
	From 5 to 9 years	17.9	11.9	6
	From 10 to 14 years	16.7	14.3	2.4
	From 15 to 19 years	44	32.1	11.9
	From 20 to 24 years	10.7	8.3	2.4
	From 25 to 29 years	2.4	2.4	
	More than 30 years	1.2	1.2	
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>Qualifications</b>	Diploma 2 years	1.2		1.2
	Bachelor 4 years	51.2	34.5	16.7
	Master degrees	41.7	34.5	6
	Doctoral degrees	4.8	2.4	2.4
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>Major of highest degree</b>	Media and Communication	22.6	16.7	6
	Economics/Business	19	14.3	3.6
	Sociology/Philosophy/Psychology/History	10.7	8.3	2.4
	Law	2.4	2.4	
	Politics/Administration & Planning	23.8	15.5	8.3
	Language & Literature	15.5	10.7	4.8
	Science	1.2		1.2
	Others	3.6	3.6	
	No answer	1.2	1.2	

\*TR: total respondents to the survey, P: positive, N: negative

**Table 7. The reasons why the journalists chose negative**

Categories	The journalists' comments
A journalist is a member of a media company	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "As a member of a media company journalists do not comment in a different tenor to the company. It is difficult to make a comment, which is not in line with the company's stance" (No.70).</li> <li>• "A journalist is one of the members of the company" (No.73).</li> <li>• "Journalists consider the relation between causes and effects" (No.19).</li> <li>• "The tone of the article easily can be changed through self-censorship" (No.5).</li> <li>• "It is impossible to be free from internal factors because a journalist is one of the members of a company" (No.46).</li> <li>• "There is no way to publish articles, which do not agree with the editor or the managing editor" (No.57).</li> <li>• "It is a hierarchic relationship" (No.78).</li> <li>• "I need an agreement if I want to cover an article which includes my intentions" (No.11).</li> <li>• "It is possible to reject an order about a certain thing...but not one hundred percent because I am a member of the organization" (No.9).</li> <li>• "Reporting news cannot be freed completely from internal factors because it is not a journalist's creation but a combination of social norms and of objective truth" (No.63).</li> <li>• "Even each article of journalists is changed by the desk (editor), who produces stereotypical articles" (No.71).</li> <li>• "The important thing depends on media company so journalists try to fit each</li> </ul>

	differences” (No.80).
The media company is a profit-making organization as a private business company	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Journalists at big newspapers in Korea serve not for the public good or the objective truth but for the profit of their companies” (No.71).</li> <li>• “It can be a possible infringement of press freedom when the press violate the interest of the company because a newspaper company is one of profit-making organizations” (No.61).</li> <li>• “It considers the management of media company” (No.78).</li> <li>• “Future of company depends on the competition among media rivals” (No.25).</li> <li>• “The power of capital is stronger than others” (No.37).</li> <li>• “It’s a private company” (No.40).</li> <li>• “The media become owner’s private company” (No.43).</li> </ul>
Owners or managers of the media have the right to personnel management	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The media’s owner and manager have the ultimate power in personnel and management, for example entering a company, retirement from a company, promotion, an official reprimand, wages and others” (No.18).</li> <li>• “The company has the right of personnel management” (No.72).</li> <li>• “Journalists cannot be free from media owners in capitalist society” (No.63).</li> </ul>
The lack of the mutual discussion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “Internal factors need to be controlled to maintain the editorial consistency” (No.22).</li> <li>• “Internal factors of the media should not exist to interfere with each other within the company. These are there to help in decisions about daily articles, about how big or small and what direction to report through the mutual discussion. These are not the mutual interference, but for making newspapers, if these do not exist, newspapers cannot be made. Newspapers are not made by an individual such as a journalist, an editor, a middle manager, a manager, an owner, an advertiser, readers, citizens, or others. Newspapers are made by agreement through the reciprocal action. It is a misunderstanding if this process is seen as an interference of press freedom” (No.79).</li> </ul>
The closed nature of the media companies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• “The media companies are closed in nature” (No.42).</li> </ul>

**Table 8. Journalists’ three choices of factors (laws/policies/ethics) that influence press freedom in order of preference**

Options	1 <sup>st</sup> (%)	2 <sup>nd</sup> (%)	3 <sup>rd</sup> (%)	Total (%)
Media related laws	8.3	32.1	19	59.5
Media policies	13.1	16.7	19	48.8
Legal proceedings of libel or complaints	67.9	9.5	13.1	90.5
National security law	3.6	6	2.4	11.9
Media ethics code	2.4	13.1	17.9	33.4
Organization of self-censorship	3.6	20.2	22.6	46.4
Others	1.2			1.2
No answer		2.4	6	8.4
Total (%)	100	100	100	300

\*1<sup>st</sup>: first preference, 2<sup>nd</sup>: second preference, 3<sup>rd</sup>: third preference

**Table 9. The possibility of press freedom from factors media related laws/policies/ethics**

Categories	Details of categories	TR (%) 100	The possibility of press freedom from factors media related laws/policies/ethics (%)	
			P (82.1)	N (16.7)
Sections of news in which they worked	Political	7.1	6	1.2
	Social	27.4	25	1.2



	Business	20.2	16.7	3.6
	International/North Korean	4.8	3.6	1.2
	Sports/life	1.2		1.2
	Culture	3.6	1.2	2.4
	Sub-editorial	9.5	7.1	2.4
	Photo journalism	1.2	1.2	
	General reporting	14.3	11.9	2.4
	Editorial writer	4.8	3.6	1.2
	Managing editors or equivalent	3.6	3.6	
	Others	1.2	1.2	
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>Positions held</b>	Managing editors or equivalent	10.7	10.7	
	Editors or equivalent	22.6	17.9	4.8
	Deputy editors or equivalent	29.8	25	4.8
	Reporters	35.7	27.4	7.1
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>Types of newspapers</b>	Seoul newspapers	32.1	22.6	8.3
	Provincial newspapers	41.7	34.5	7.1
	News agencies	3.6	3.6	
	Business newspapers	15.5	15.5	
	English newspapers	3.6	3.6	
	Special newspapers	2.4	2.4	
	Others	1.2		1.2
<b>Location of the company where they worked</b>	Seoul newspapers	57.1	47.6	8.3
	Provincial newspapers	42.9	34.5	8.3
<b>Gender</b>	Male	94	78.6	14.3
	Female	4.8	2.4	2.4
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>Age group</b>	From 20 to 29 years old	1.2	1.2	
	From 30 to 39 years old	35.7	28.6	7.1
	From 40 to 49 years old	56	45.2	9.5
	From 50 to 59 years old	4.8	4.8	
	From 60 to 69 years old	1.2	1.2	
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>First or subsequent job</b>	First job	64.3	53.6	10.7
	Subsequent job	34.5	27.4	6
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>Length of service</b>	From 0 to 4 years	6	4.8	1.2
	From 5 to 9 years	17.9	13.1	4.8
	From 10 to 14 years	16.7	14.3	2.4
	From 15 to 19 years	44	34.5	8.3
	From 20 to 24 years	10.7	10.7	
	From 25 to 29 years	2.4	2.4	

	More than 30 years	1.2	1.2	
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>Qualifications</b>	Diploma 2 years	1.2	1.2	
	Bachelor 4 years	51.2	40.5	10.7
	Master degrees	41.7	35.7	4.8
	Doctoral degrees	4.8	3.6	1.2
	No answer	1.2	1.2	
<b>Major of highest degree</b>	Media and Communication	22.6	17.9	4.8
	Economics/Business	19	16.7	1.2
	Sociology/Philosophy/Psychology/History	10.7	9.5	1.2
	Law	2.4	1.2	1.2
	Politics/Administration & Planning	23.8	19	4.8
	Language & Literature	15.5	13.1	2.4
	Science	1.2		1.2
	Others	3.6	3.6	
	No answer	1.2	1.2	

\*TR: total respondents to the survey, P: positive, N: negative

**Table 10. The reasons why the journalists selected negative**

Categories	The journalists' comments
The power of the media related laws, policies and ethics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "After media law, policy and ethics are established, these have legal force" (No.73).</li> <li>• "In practice, I have to consider the media related laws, policies and ethics" (No.45).</li> <li>• "It is impossible to ignore the media law when we are talking about responsibility of the media" (No.42).</li> <li>• "If the current media policy does not change, the possibility of press freedom is unlikely because the current policy protects rights of the media investors" (No.8).</li> </ul>
The legal proceedings of libel or complaints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Journalists must be daunted by having lawsuits, which relate to libel or by the Press Arbitration Commission" (No.57).</li> <li>• "Self-regulatory organizations are getting strong power to avoid lawsuits" (No.11).</li> </ul>
Chaotic periods of identity in the Korean media industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "It is really hard to make a rule and to follow it because the media industry in Korea is in a chaotic period of identity" (No.15).</li> <li>• "Sometimes, the aims of the media are not in accordance with current systems" (No.25).</li> <li>• "The media are variable to media policy" (No.43).</li> </ul>
The necessity of the media related laws, policies and ethics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Factors of law, policy, and ethics play roles of watchdogs for the media rather than violation?" (No.80).</li> <li>• "Freedom of the press is not far from values that society pursues. First what we have to think about what freedom is and freedom for what? What is press freedom of many freedoms? Why do the press pursue freedom of the press? What is the limitation of press freedom? Press freedom is not supremacy. Restrictions on press freedom through law, system, policy and others can be seen as a way to guarantee press freedom rather than limiting it. If those kinds of the restrictions do not exist, press freedom can be restricted in real world, although it looks otherwise on the surface" (No.79).</li> </ul>
Ownership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "The biggest problem of press freedom is ownership of the media in Korea. Therefore, freedom of the press cannot be possible due to media related laws, policies and ethics" (No.29).</li> </ul>
Others	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Political groups gag the media by getting citizens' help" (No.49).</li> </ul>



## A Cognitive Model for Recognition of Genre

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### Abstract

This paper discusses the cognitive process (es) in recognizing instances of genre and the effects of generic features have on recognition of genre. Following the ESP tradition, the paper takes the communicative purpose as the defining feature of a genre and follow Martin's stratified model of language and context in for the analysis. Based on a preliminary study conducted among three geologists, this paper proposes a model revealing the cognitive process (es) in recognition of instances of genre. According to the model, the cognitive recognition of a genre basically goes from the bottom up, and the effects that the generic features have on recognition of instances of genres decrease from the top down. However, as the cognitive processes are very complicated, the top-down and bottom-up processes may sometimes interweave. Even at each stratum alone, the reader may have to experience a complicated interactive process. The schema theory is an important theory that works as a general thread throughout the model proposed. Apart from the general schema-matching processes at the beginning and the end of the whole processes, there might exist a schema-matching process at each processing stratum, too.

**Keywords:** Genre analysis, Genre recognition, Generic features

### 1. Introduction

Although genre analysis has become a heated research topic in recent years and that a large number of analyses have been carried out with types of texts, yet the dynamic processes underlying in recognition of genres seems to be neglected. The ultimate goal of this paper aims to reveal the role of generic features in the cognitive recognition processes of a particular genre. The basic hypotheses in this paper include: 1) In the recognition process, the attention focus of the reader basically goes from the bottom up, i.e. from the bottom level (lexico-grammar) up to the top level (the context of culture). 2) The effects of the generic features on recognition of instances of genres decrease from the top down. 3) The generic features of a typical instance of the genre may have been stored in people's mind as a schema and may help a lot in recognition of a genre. 4) As the actual processes are more complicated than the processes proposed ideally in the models, in each process, either the general overall process or the secondary processes, the bottom-up process and the top-down process may sometimes take place interactively.

### 2. Rationale

The model in this paper is proposed based on the following theoretical foundations:

#### 2.1 The Defining Feature of a Genre

Unlike the traditional way to prescribe certain grammatical forms as the correct ones, recent studies in genre analysis target at revealing the structural patterns and language regularities that are appropriate to a genre. Classical theories tend to over-emphasize the commonness shared by instances of a genre, claiming that shared properties are a condition of membership (Paltridge 1997: 53). Opposing to the classical view, Eleanor Rosch (Rosch and Mervis, 1975) holds that not all instances of a genre have the same status: the most typical examples are the prototypes of a genre; people match actual instances with the prototype and assign membership. However, a lot of texts that have a lot in common are considered different genres or sub-genres. Abstract and Conclusion of the same scientific paper, for instance, may share common mode, tenor and field, and also similar cohesive devices; nevertheless, they are recognized as different genres (or subgenres). This leads to a hypothesis that however similar two established genres are, there must be one feature that distinguishes them as separated. Then what is the defining feature of a genre?

In SFL, Hasan advocates that the obligatory elements of the Generic Structure Potential distinguish genres and help the perception of the completeness of a text. However, Ventola (1987) in her analysis of service encounters finds that

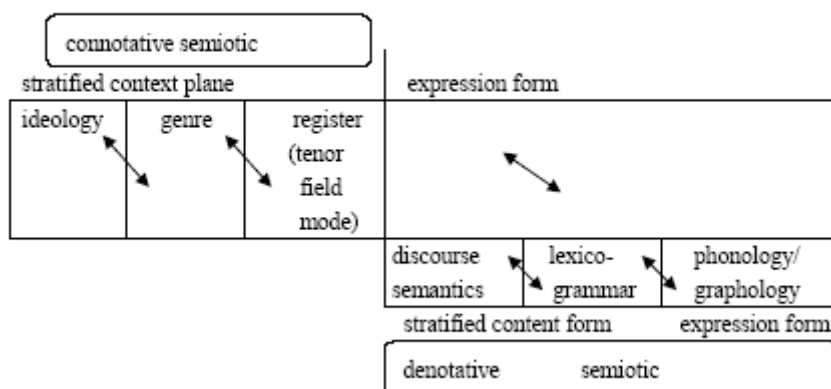
sometimes some obligatory elements may not occur but still the texts are recognized as members of the same genre. If this paper follows Hasan's tradition, then again how is it to be explained that sometimes two texts, Abstract and Conclusion (being the summary) of the same academic paper can share absolutely the same structural elements, but play different functions?

Within the ESP approach, Tarone et al (1981) establishes that the writer's communicative purpose that governs lexico-grammatical choice, and Swales (1990) also holds that the communicative purpose is the defining feature that distinguishes a genre from others. The author agrees to this proposal, which offers the solution to the questions concerning the genre assignment of the abstract and the conclusion of the same academic article. Therefore, this paper takes the communicative purpose as the defining feature of a genre.

## 2.2 A Stratified Model of Context and Language

The analysis and the models proposed in this paper are grounded on Martin's Stratified Model of context and language. Integrating Hjelmslev's notion of semiotic systems, Martin (1999) models the context of text (genre and register) as layered social connotative semiotic systems realized through language, which in turn is taken as layered denotative semiotic systems consisting of discourse-semantics, lexico-grammar and phonology/graphology. In the model, language functions as the expression plane of register, which in turn functions as the expression plane of genre. Martin considers ideology as a higher level of context than genre.

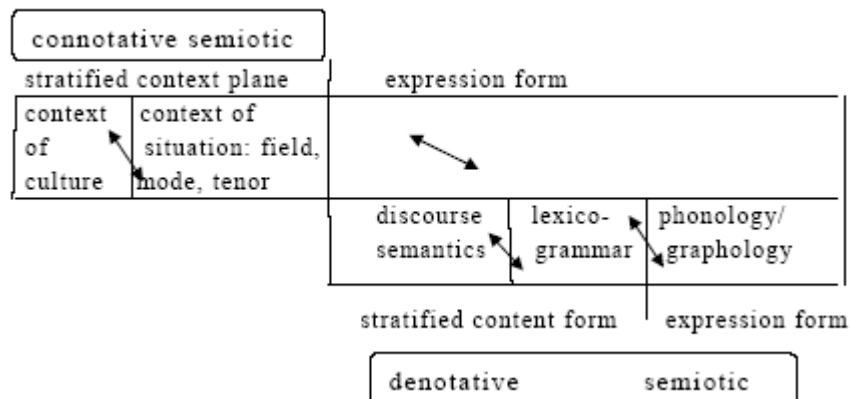
Figure 1. Martin's stratified model for context and language (Martin, 1999)



In this model, the contextual level (i.e. the connotative semiotic level or the stratified context plane) is realized by the linguistic level (i.e. the denotative semiotic level or the expression form); the contextual level includes three strata, i.e. ideology, genre and register with register having three variables: tenor, field, and mode; the linguistic strata include three strata: discourse semantics, lexico-grammar and phonology /graphology. At the contextual level, ideology is realized by genre, which in turn is realized by three variables of register; at the linguistic strata, discourse-semantics is realized by and represents patterns of lexico-grammar, which in turn is realized by and represents patterns of phonology/graphology (Martin 1999).

According to Martin, few people have been trained for analysis of ideology. It is true to me since I have found little literature in analysis of ideology. (Eggs 1994) interprets genre as the context of culture and register as the context of situation consisting of three variables: field, mode and tenor. I agree him to some extent, but to me genre has a larger scope than his interpretation in that the sense of context of culture includes not only genre but also ideology. Therefore, Martin's model is revised as the following:

Figure 2 Revised stratified model of context and language



In this model, while expressing connotations, the stratified context plane is realized by and represents linguistic patterns, the expression forms of text that express denotations. The stratified context plane includes two layers: context of culture and context of situation (of which the context of situation include three variables: field, mode and tenor). Context of culture is realized by and represents context of situation (or the contextual configuration which is realized by the specific values of field, mode and tenor). The strata of linguistic forms include discourse-semantics, lexico-grammar and phonology/graphology. Discourse-semantics and lexico-grammar in turn are the stratified content of the language strata while phonology/graphology is the expression form. Each stratum of the language strata is realized by and represents its lower stratum: discourse-semantics is realized by and represents lexico-grammatical patterns; lexico-grammatical patterns are realized by and represent patterns of phonology and graphology.

### 2.3 The Schema Theory

The schema (Note 1) theory is formulated by Bartlett (1932) in cognitive psychology. According to Bartlett, 'schema' refers to the prior knowledge structure in mind. Carrell (1983) distinguishes formal schemata (i.e. the rhetorical structure of discourse) and content schemata (i.e. general knowledge of the world). The process of understanding a text is seen as an interactive process between the reader's background knowledge and the text (Bartlett 1932, Rumelhart 1980). Based on the conception of 'schemata' (Barlett 1932, Sanford and Garrod 1981, Carrel et al. 1988, Oller 1995), many linguists like Mandler and Johnson (1977), Carrel (1983) and Swales (1990) observe that schemata guide the production and comprehension of both content and forms of text. Carrell and Eisterhold (1983) hold that appropriate schemata must exist and should be activated during text processing to enable efficient production and comprehension.

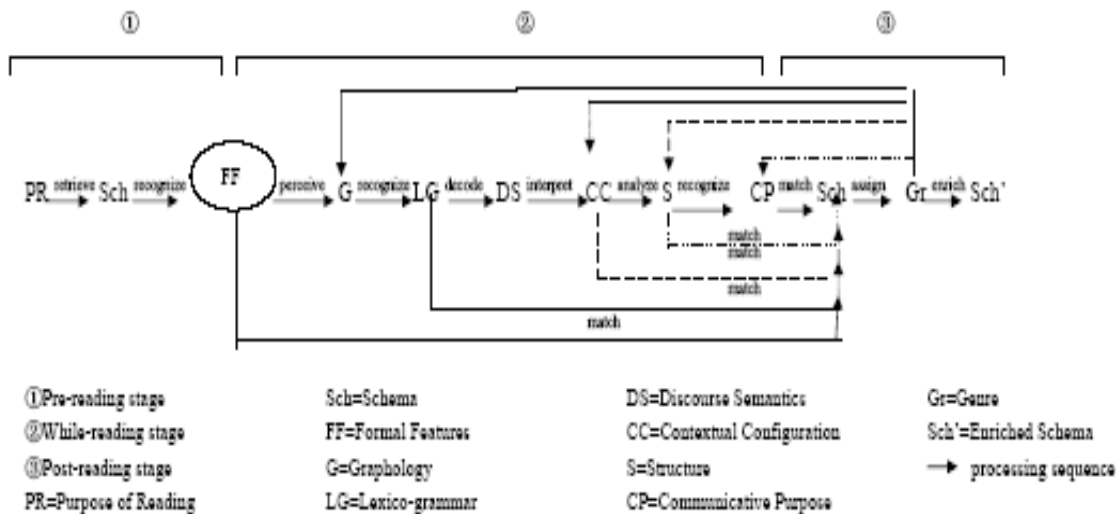
Based on the schema theory and the stratified model of context and language, this paper proposes a cognitive models for recognition of instances of a genre, to illustrate how instances of genres are interactively recognized and how generic features affect recognition of a genre.

### 3. A model for Genre Recognition

In genre recognition, as the text is already in existence, the perception of information relies heavily on the reader's interpretation or comprehension of the writer's intention conveyed in the text. The gap between the writer's intention and the reader's interpretation may affect the conveyance of the information, and thus may affect the assignment of the genre. To correctly interpret the reader's intention and to make an appropriate genre assignment, the reader has to go through a very complicated mental process. Hence, the process of genre assignment is more passive and more complex than the production process.

Genre assignment (or recognition) takes place after the recognition of certain genre-distinctive features embedded in a scientific text. It involves a rather complicated cognitive process of recognizing contextual and linguistic features of the text in which the top-down approach and the bottom-up approach work interactively. Therefore, like the model proposed for text production, the processing model for genre assignment also includes steps involving recognition of features at different strata of the text as Figure 3 demonstrates.

Figure 3 Model for genre recognition



According to this model, the process of genre recognition is composed of three stages: pre-reading stage, while-reading stage and post-reading stage. The pre-reading stage includes two steps: purpose formation and schema retrieval; the while-reading stage forms the text perception process which involves recognizing the conventional formal features of the genre (if there are any), recognizing lexico-grammatical features, understanding discourse semantics, figuring out the values of the contextual configuration, analyzing the generic structure and recognizing the communicative purpose; the post-reading stage includes genre assignment and schema enrichment.

At the pre-reading stage, ordinarily, people read to obtain news-value information. Before the actual reading, the writer should have a certain specific purpose. In accordance with this communicative purpose, the type of text is predicted, and the schema of that type of texts in the reader's mind is retrieved. The reader should then identify some features of the text and assign the text to a genre, so that based on the schema of the type of texts, he can have the idea where to locate the required information. Therefore, with the definite purpose of reading, the reader retrieves the schema of the expected type of text and sets on recognizing the features of the text at different strata.

At the while-reading stage, the text may possibly be assigned to a genre directly after the recognition of a certain feature at a certain step. But it may also be that at a certain step the genre the text is assigned to is a macro one, and the reader has to go on for further features till he assigns the text to an appropriate specific genre. After the text is assigned to a genre, the reader may have more fresh ideas about the features of a genre, and thus enriches the schema of the genre stored in his mind.

This inferential model involves aspects of individual cognitive processing of information. In order to assign a text to an appropriate genre for better understanding of the text, the reader must make certain inferences with the guidance of the schema in his mind. Ideally the stages and the inferential steps are supposed to go from the bottom up and then top down (if necessary) for further features.

#### 4. Summary

To sum up, the discussions above illustrate the effects of Generic Features on Genre Recognition as follows:

(1) Generally speaking, as long as the target genre is familiar to the reader, in the reader's mind there exist the schemata of the genre concerning features at different strata, and at different strata of recognition, there exists a schema retrieval-and-matching process.

(2) The communicative purpose, the structure, the content (more generally, the register) of the texts and the content of a certain sentence may be considered as the major factors that affect genre recognition. However, some other factors, such as figures and references may also help the recognition. Lexico-grammatical features and discourse-semantic features (cohesion) have little effect on recognition of the genres within scientific settings.

(3) The process of the recognition of a genre may take place from the bottom up. That is, the reader may first read the words and recognize lexico-grammatical features, and then the relationship of ideas (discourse-semantic features), the register of the text, the structure of the texts and then the communicative purpose (function) of the texts. This process may be interactively recursive, and the steps may work serially or simultaneously. At each stage from the bottom up, the reader may match the features he recognizes with the schema in his mind. If the features are not enough for appropriate

genre assignment, the reader may go on to a further step or back to the previous step for more evidence until he gets enough evidence for appropriate genre assignment.

(4) Generally speaking, the reader applies the functional criteria to analyze the structure of a text. And the structure of a text is generalized after the reader gets the gist of the text based only on the understanding of key lexical words.

(5) The structure and the lexico-grammatical choices respectively affect people's judgment on the completeness and the appropriateness of the text as an instance of a genre. In other words, the knowledge of the appropriate schema of a text is in fact a necessary condition in genre assignment.

(6). It is noticeable that prior knowledge or the schema of a genre functions as a thread throughout the whole psychological process. At whatever stratum in the production or recognition of a text as an instance of a genre, the writer or the reader holds in his mind what he has already known about the genre as the basis for his decision.

Of course, these discussions are tentative, and more systematic experimentation is required before we can be confident about the conclusions. We hope that further work along this line will help us better understand the cognitive processes involved in genre recognition.

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## Notes

Note 1. Other terms for the concept include 'frame' by Minsky (1975) and 'script' by Schank (1975).



## Malaysian Development Planning System: Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan and Public Participation

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### Abstract

In Malaysia, public participation is not just an alternative for better planning, but is a requirement as stated in the planning law. Town and Country Planning Act 1976 (Act 172) and the amendments require public participation in the process of preparing development plans (structure plans and local plans) in Peninsular Malaysia (except Kuala Lumpur). In Kuala Lumpur, it is stated in the Federal Territory (Planning) Act 1982 (Act 267). Development plan as the name suggests guide the location of development with criteria based policies. Public has the right to know and participate in making decisions, particularly in those which potentially affect the communities in which they live and work. Research had been carried out to identify the effectiveness of the public participation programme for Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan 2020. The research was carried out by collecting feedback from the participants of public exhibitions and workshops. Through the research, it was found that series of workshops are the effective method of public participation for development plan as compared to one public exhibition after draft proposal or plan has been completed. This is because an effective and successful public participation programme should allow members of the community to have an active voice in the process and to have free access to important information.

**Keywords:** Public participation, Planning law, Development plan, Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan

### 1. Introduction

In Malaysian planning system public participation is a vital factor for the achievement of sustainable development. Public participation is compulsory in the process of preparing Development Plans (Structure Plans or Local Plans). The principle of sustainable development encompasses social, environmental and economic issues, entailing concern with present and future generations. In order to move towards more sustainable development, there is the need to identify and increase the effectiveness of public participation programme. An effective public participation programme will increase the level of co-operation between planning authorities and public to achieve their same planning goal, which will benefit all parties. The design of an effective public involvement programme requires both skill and effort. As such it is important for this study to examine the effectiveness of the existing public participation programmes, in order to improve the public participation programme in the development plan preparation process.

It is now accepted as an important stage in development planning and in particular the plan preparation process. The participation of the public is to ensure the local issues and the needs of the local people are addressed. The local people are involved and aware about the planning of their area. The Town and Country Planning Act 1976 (Act 172) Section 9 stated that when preparing a state structure plan, the report of survey which contains key findings of the study area must be publicised. This is to give an opportunity for the stakeholders to make representations. After completion the draft structure plan should be made available for public inspection. Notification for the public is through local newspapers. The public are given is not less than one month from the date of notice and can be extended upon request from the stakeholders.

Kuala Lumpur, the largest city of Malaysia is also the capital city, has evolved around a single nucleus at the confluence of the Sungai Gombak and Sungai Kelang. In 1972 Kuala Lumpur achieved city status and was established as the Federal Territory in 1974. Its territory was extended from 93 square kilometres to 243 square kilometers. Then in the late 1990's the Federal Government decided to establish a new Administrative Capital in Putrajaya. The City Hall of Kuala Lumpur is the local authority for the administration and development as stipulated by Local Government Act



1976 (Act 171). It develops and provides infrastructure and amenities for the betterment of urban living environment. It aims to be the regional hub for financial and economic activities as well as being the centre of the national tourism industry. The future of Kuala Lumpur is the responsibility of the City Hall and the stakeholders. The annual growth rate of 4.2 per cent makes the city among the fastest growing region with the targeted 2.2 million population by 2020.

## 2. Understanding of Public Participation

The aim of participatory activities is to let people involve in the decision making process. Public participation is the process by which the public concerns, needs and values are incorporated into governmental and corporate decision making. It is a two way communication and interaction, with the overall aim of better decisions that are supported by the public (Creighton: 2005:7). Officially, U. S. Environmental Protection Agency (2002), uses the term “public participation” to denote the activities where permitting agencies and permittees encourage public input and feedback, conduct a dialogue with the public, provide access to decision-makers, assimilate public viewpoints and preferences, and demonstrate that those viewpoints and preferences have been considered by the decision-makers.

“The public” refers not only to private citizens, but also representatives of consumer; environmental and minority associations; trade, industrial, agricultural and labour organisations; public health, scientific and professional societies; civic associations; public officials; and governmental and educational associations (U. S. Environmental Protection Agency, 2002). So, the public participation is not limited to individual citizen, but also associations and any organisations, who has interest in the development plan area.

The effectiveness of these public participation methods is arguable. As mentioned by Ortolano (1984), the public hearing is the most rigid way of public participation. The public must know the details of the planning issues, scopes, constraints and detail information. The information related to the subject matter shall include any available information in written, visual, oral or data-base form on the state of environment (physical, biological and human) and impacts from developments, as well as any available environmental management programmes and measures. In improving decision-making processes, planning authority should ensure access of the public to relevant information, facilitate the reception of public views and allow for effective participation.

The Malaysia Federal Department of Town and Country Planning continuously improve the approach, coverage and techniques used in public participation. A Guideline on Publicity and Public Participation has been prepared providing a check list of activities conducted for development plan preparation. Under the Ninth Malaysia Plan (2006-2010) the Focus Group Discussion technique is practiced in the preparation of development plans. In Malaysia the Focus Group Discussion technique is very helpful especially at the local level due to lack of documented data (Mohd Fadhil: 2008).

## 3. Planning Process in Malaysia

After independence in 1957 the Malaysian administrative system is divided into three levels: federal government, state government and local government. The powers of each level of government are enshrined in the Constitution and Parliament Acts. Planning matters are in the concurrent list where both the federal and state governments are responsible for. At federal level, the Federal Department of Town and Country Planning which is under the Ministry of Housing and Local Government is responsible for formulating and administering all national policies relating to town and country planning. At state level, The State Department of Town and Country Planning is an advisory body to the state governments in Peninsular Malaysia while Sabah and Sarawak are practicing under different acts. At the local level, local authorities are responsible for executing town and country planning function as prescribed in the local plan. In Malaysia land is a state matter. Therefore land use planning is a state issue and the Federal government is to take on a supervisory role with the overall land use planning activity. The land use planning system introduced by the 1976 Act express the authorities intentions to initiate, encourage and control physical, economic, environmental and social changes in a particular area.

The first draft of the Town and Country Planning Ordinance of Malaya was prepared in 1966 and revised in 1972 to incorporate the need for a National Master Plan, the creation of several levels of planning authorities and the bringing of public participation into the planning process. In 1976, the Malaysian Parliament enacted the Town and Country Planning Act 1976 (Act 172) aiming at introducing a uniform system of law and policy for town and country planning in Peninsular Malaysia. Among the important features of TCP Act 1976 was the introduction of two-tier Development Plan system: Structure Plan and Local Plan; a system of Development Control; establishment of State Planning Committee and the setting up of Appeals Board. The 1976 Act was amended in 1995 through the Town and Country Planning (Amendment) Act 1995 (Act A933) which emphasised environmental management in planning, such as conservation of topographical features and trees.

In 2001 the Act was again amended through the Town and Country Planning (Amendment) Act 2001 [Act A1129] which seeks to balance the power between the Federal and State governments in matters related to town and country planning. The Act introduces the establishment of the National Physical Planning Council, Regional Planning Committee and National Physical Plan. The latest amendment was in September 2007 through the Town and Country

Planning (Amendment) Act 2007 [Act A1312] which is to confer the executive authority on the Federal Government over certain matters in relation to the control and regulation of town and country planning in Peninsular Malaysia. The Town and Country Planning Act 1976 (Act 172) and its subsequent amendments stated the provision of public participation in Sections 9 (1, 2 and 3), 12 A, 13, 14 and 15. This ensures that public participation is mandatory in the formulation of development plans in the country. The Federal Territory (Planning) Act 1982 (Act 267) provides the legal framework for planning practices in Kuala Lumpur Federal Territory, was also based on the structure planning system and the local plans.

#### **4. Kuala Lumpur Federal Territory (Planning) Act 1982 (Act 267)**

The Federal Territory (Planning) Act 1982 (Act 267) came into force in 1982. It is an Act to make provisions for the control and regulating of proper planning in the Kuala Lumpur Federal Territory, for the levying of development charges, and for purposes connected therewith or ancillary thereto. It is an amalgamation of the previous two Acts. It generally maintains the administrative framework embodied in the City of Kuala Lumpur (Planning) Act (107), 1973, and incorporates the Structure Plan System as propagated by the Town and Country Planning Act (172), 1976.

As stated in Part II (3) functions and powers of the Commissioner, The Minister of the Federal Territory shall be responsible for general policy with respect to the planning of the development of all lands within the Federal Territory and (subject to Clauses (5) and (6) of Article 91 of the Constitution) of the use of such lands and buildings and for such purposes the Minister may give directions of a general character or specific in nature not inconsistent with the provisions of this Act and the Commissioner shall give effect to such directions. While the Federal Territory Advisory Board is to advise the Minister upon matters including the draft structure plan. Part III (7) of the act explained in detail the process of preparing development plans including the structure plan. The Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan 2020 contains the vision, goals, policies and proposals to guide the development of Kuala Lumpur over the next 20 years.

The first stage is the preparation of the Structure Plan, which is in the form of a Writing Statement containing policies and proposals in relation to the planning area (KLSP, 1984). The second stage is the preparation of Local Plans that are concerned with the more detailed implementation of the policies and proposals contained in the Structure Plan. The Structure Plan system puts more emphasis on social, economic, physical, traffic, environmental and other issues with a view to achieving the broader goals and objectives compared to the Comprehensive Development Plan System previously used. The Structure Plan has a perspective period of 20 years and will be reviewed periodically. This will ensure flexibility to accommodate the changing circumstances and problems faced by the Federal Territory of Kuala Lumpur. The preparation of the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan 2020 (KLSP, 2020) was undertaken in the conviction that most of the policies of the 1984 Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan have been rendered obsolete by developments in recent years (KLSP 2020, 2002). The Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan 2020 act as reference for urban development.

#### **5. Public Participation in Draft Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan 2020**

The Draft KLSP applied the methods of 'public exhibition' and 'public hearing' for the public to participate after the Draft KLSP was prepared. The exhibition was held from 10 March to 9 April 2003. The public was invited to inspect and submit written objections to the Draft Plan within the 49 days from 10 March to 28 April 2003 by using the public objection forms provided. Objections filed by the public comprised views, suggestions, recommendations, comments and information.

Besides the public exhibition, Kuala Lumpur City Hall also had given special briefing to a number of organisations based on request. Kuala Lumpur City Hall also organised road shows at KLCC Suria, Mid Valley, Selayang and KL Central. Kuala Lumpur City Hall also uploaded the draft plan to the Kuala Lumpur City Hall's web site (<http://pskl2020.dbkl.gov.my>) for public inspection. There were 945 objections listed in 258 objection forms submitted by individuals, government departments and agencies, educational institutions, professional bodies, elected representatives, political parties and other organisations. About 52 percent or 483 objections relate to four sectors including transportation, community facilities, housing and tourism sectors. The other 48 percent refer to the remaining 13 sectors (Dasimah and Oliver Ling, 2007).

There is a need to identify and increase the effectiveness of public participation programme in achieving sustainable development for our country. The effective public participation programme will increase the level of co-operation between planning authorities and public to achieve their similar planning goal, which will benefit the community.

#### **6. Objectives**

The objectives to be achieved in this study are to:

- a. Identify the basic principles and requirements for effective public participation programme.
- b. Analyse the effectiveness of the public participation methods currently used in the development plan preparation process, in moving towards a more sustainable development practice.

- c. Recommend the appropriate methods, approaches or actions for more effective public participation for the study area, in moving towards a more sustainable development practice.

## 7. Methodology

The study was to identify the effectiveness of public participation programmes for Draft Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan 2020. This research involved with primary and secondary data. As for the primary data the research was based on a set of mailed questionnaire. A total of 250 questionnaires were mailed to those participants as listed in the Draft KLSP attendance record book provided by the City Hall of Kuala Lumpur. A self addressed envelope of one researcher was attached to each questionnaire. After about three months only 31 respondents returned the questionnaires. Secondary information was collected from the related agencies by interviewing the officers. Among the respondents interviewed were town planners and administrators from Kuala Lumpur City Hall and Federal Department of Town and Country Planning, Malaysia. The SPSS was applied for data analysis.

## 8. Analysis and Findings

The analysis involved analysing of feedback from the respondents who were participated in public participation in the Kuala Lumpur Structure Plan 2020. In this study, the analysis was carried out by computing the feedbacks from respondents. Feedbacks of respondents have been studied to identify the effectiveness of the overall programmes and the effectiveness of each main aspect or element of public participation. The effectiveness of the development plans' public participation programmes are discussed. From the survey, it was found that, the highest aspects of concern for most of the respondents were infrastructure and public facilities development, future economic development, and environmental issues and quality.

In general there were 23.3 percent of the respondents who felt that the programme was not effective while another 73 percent mentioned it as moderate. This included the use of banners and presentations. There were 26.7 percent of the respondents who stated that, the banners and presentations were not effective, and another 33.3 percent of the respondents could not understand the information provided in the exhibition or report. The public participation programme also faced weaknesses. Fifty percent of respondents felt that, the programme failed to deliver enough information on the future development of the area. The public were expecting more details or comprehensive information on the future development for their areas. The development constraints were not presented clearly, lack of detailed information and not specific for the public to understand.

The public participation programme failed to deliver enough relevant information to the majority of the participants as mentioned by 63 percent of respondents. Besides that, the method used for giving ideas, opinions or comments by participants also was less effective. The programme was not successful in delivering enough information on the future development of the area during the public exhibition as stated by 55 percent of respondents. There were one third (33.3 percent) of the respondents who felt that, the method used (in written form only) was not effective. The study found that, 61.3 percent of the respondents believed that, the government would not consider their opinions seriously and 50 percent of the respondents felt that they did not have equal rights and chances. However, the publicity of the programme was carried out effectively.

Other factors contributing to the less effectiveness of the public participation programme were the information on the environmental quality was not presented/delivered clearly, lack of detailed information and not specific for the participants. The limitation of the Draft KLSP and the development constraints were also not presented clearly, lack of detailed information and not specific enough for the participants. Majority of the respondents with more than 73 percent stated that, they did not receive response from the government on their final decision, as well as the reasons for accepting or rejecting the public opinions. That had affected the respondents' belief, that the government would not consider their opinions seriously. Technical advice given by the Kuala Lumpur City Hall personnel was not comprehensive enough. Some of the participants did not get the technical advice. It might affect their understanding on the information or plans presented.

From the research, it was found that organising series of workshops was an effective method of public participation for development plan. This is because an effective and successful public participation programme should allow members of the community to have an active voice in the process and to have access to important information. Besides that, through the workshop (the two-way communication), it could:

- a. Create a dialogue session that provides feedback;
- b. Easily establish trust and credibility in the community;
- c. Give input and discuss issues with stakeholders and related groups or people;
- d. Ensure the planning authority to fulfil their obligations on the needs of the public, in particular the participants;
- e. Let the public be involved in the earlier process, receive feedback and address them before making decisions;

- f. Give opportunities to participants to understand the preparation of plan and to give input directly to the study team starting from the beginning of the plan preparation process;
- g. Let the planners and the public understand and respect each others' values and limitations through direct two-way communication;
- h. Make all segments of the interested community to have an equal opportunity to receive information and participate in the process through open discussion and written form;
- i. Easily let the planning authority and planners evaluate the effectiveness of the programme after every workshop or discussion session;
- j. Allow the planning consultants/authority to give direct response to the public or participants on the issues or views highlighted; and
- k. Give opportunities to participants to ask for more information from planners.

### 9. Recommendation and Conclusion

Some of the major developments that have taken place were not anticipated in the structure plan. Development such as the Multimedia Super Corridor (MSC), the Kuala Lumpur International Airport (KLIA) at Sepang and the transfer of federal government administrative functions to Putrajaya are anticipated to stimulate and influence future changes and growth. With globalisation Kuala Lumpur will encounter more challenges within a new international development era.

The series of workshops and public exhibitions should be organised from the beginning of the plan preparation to the final stage of the process, which include:

- a. Workshop at the early stage (before the start of the plan preparation);
- b. Workshop and public exhibition after the technical report has been prepared; and
- c. Workshop and public exhibition after the draft proposal has been prepared.

These workshops should be participated by the planning authority, planners, all the stakeholders, NGOs and general public. Workshop at the early stage should aim at getting the public informed about the purpose, scope, limitation and the importance of the plan making. Besides that, the workshop should give opportunity to the public and stakeholders to give their opinions and views before the preparation of the plan. These workshops and public exhibitions should be held at strategic locations, such as public hall, town square and public transport terminal. The criteria of good location are:

- a. High accessibility via public transport system and roads,
- b. Public focus area or community centre, and
- c. Ample and suitable space for various activities/purposes.

The Government especially the local planning authority is the proper agency to act as an organiser for the public participation programme as agreed by majority of respondents. However, the organiser of the public participation programme should consider the following actions to increase the public trust upon the organiser:

- a. Establishing trust and credibility in the community through honesty and openness;
- b. Involving the public early in the process, receiving feedback, and addressing public concerns before making decisions;
- c. Understanding and respecting the values and limitations of participants;
- d. Providing sufficient information on the development objectives, issues, challenges and potentials, existing environmental quality, positive and negative impacts of the proposed plan/programme/project, and the limitations of the development plan for participants;
- e. Inviting everyone to participate and giving equal opportunity to all participants;
- f. Showing high appreciation to the participants using appropriate approach, such as a letter of appreciation informing them the actions taken by the planning authority on their opinions, comments or views.

There are other proper actions that could be taken by the organiser to improve the effectiveness of the public participation programme. These include:

- a. Evaluating the best types of activities for the community to participate;
- b. Planning the public participation activities ahead of time, allowing flexibility for changing interest levels in the community;
- c. Encouraging the formation of community groups, to ensure that all segments of the interested community have an equal opportunity in receiving information and participating in the process;

- d. Using simple and suitable language and also appropriate format of presentation (report, banner, multimedia presentation and website);
- e. Educating the public regarding the purpose, importance and scope of the development plan, as well as the right, obligation and the proper ways for public to participate;
- f. Giving detail explanation to the participants before they are divided into smaller groups for effective discussion;
- g. Providing sufficient number of planning advisors/facilitators during the workshop and public exhibitions;
- h. Allowing participants to give their comments, opinions or views in both oral and written form;
- i. Providing mobile exhibition room and more venues for public exhibition, such as in housing areas, shopping centres, hospitals, public transport terminals / stations, public halls and high learning institutions;
- j. Evaluating periodically on the effectiveness of the public participation programme;
- k. Providing on-line (internet web) public participation;
- l. Giving free parking fee and special discounted public transport fare for participants; and
- m. Providing longer period (more than one month) for public exhibition and it should include public holidays.

In structure planning process, the government especially the town planners should always provide the best mechanism for the more effective public participation. The whole community should work hand-in-hand to take the challenge for a sustainable growth of development. A holistic approach in decision making bringing together the social, economic and physical environmental issues to ensure that the environment is developed to benefit the present community and the future generation.

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Figure 1. Public exhibition of Draft KLSP



Figure 2. Information counter and the counter for selling Draft KLSP reports



## Research on the Technical Growth Capability of Enterprises and the Countermeasures

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### Abstract

In recent years, how to develop enterprise technological capability has become the foremost issue to be tackled without delay in both the theoretical and practical areas. This paper uses a model to testify the non-linear growing law of technological capability in its life circle from the viewpoint of its connotation and growth mechanism, and puts forward specific measures to elevate the technological capability aiming at its traits in different stages of its life circle.

**Keywords:** Competitive advantage, Technological capability, Life cycle, Technological innovation

### 1. Introduction

As the key to maintain and strengthen the continuous competitive advantage of enterprises, technological capability (thereafter abbreviated as TC) is the deep-seated soil and fundamental source of enterprise competence. However, the practices demonstrate there isn't any enterprise that develops into giant company in our country with globally competitive power, global market, global trademark of fame and global purchases, which makes how to develop enterprise technological capability (thereafter abbreviated as ETC) become the foremost issue to be tackled without delay in both the theoretical and practical areas during the competition wave of international economic integration. Hence, this paper tries to probe into the cumulative mechanism, and expects to provide certain reference for searching for the upgrading path of ETC in our country by studying dynamically the growth track of TC.

### 2. The connotation and growth mechanism of technological capability

Since the concept of ETC was advanced, the experts and scholars have made some annotations of its connotation from different viewpoints. Dore (1982) defined TC as the synthesis of the ability to study, create and search for technology, and described it as the chain-typed process including searching for, studying and creating technology emphasizing the role in lifting TC of the learning process and learning capability. While Desai (1984) identified TC from a much wider perspective as the constitution of the capability to purchase technology, operate or run in the factory, copy, expand and innovate. TDRI (Thailand Development Research Institute, 1989) summarized it as the capability to utilize, acquire, synthesize and generate technology according to its maneuverability. Domestic scholars, Wei Jiang and Xu Qingrui (1995), by summing up the aforesaid scholars' definitions, deemed TC as the enterprise capability to acquire advanced technology and information from its surroundings, then combine with internal knowledge to create new technology and information, lastly achieve the innovation and diffusion of technology, and simultaneously store and accumulate the technology and knowledge. Zhao Xiaoqing and Xu Qingrui (2002), from the angle of strategy management, additionally defined it as the summation of the knowledge and skills in field of technological resources and activities. Technological activities mainly include integration and coordination of internal and external technological resources of enterprise organizations, and technological strategy management. Thereby, TC is manifested by technological assets (including hard wares, information system, soft wares and staff skills), organizational structure and processes, external knowledge web, and strategic logic and shared values. Besides, Fransman & King (1984), Sharif (1986), James (1988), and Guo Bin (1998) etc, also separately put forward their understanding of the connotation of

TC.

To generalize the definitions of TC noted above, this paper thinks it should include the contents, both recessive and dominant. The recessive TC refers to the deposited knowledge, capability and experience still un-activated, while the dominant refers to the activated knowledge or capability, such as the existing patent number of the enterprises. Thus, the growth of ETC is essentially the conversion process from the recessive TC to the dominant influenced by a certain assistant mechanism.

### 3. The growth track of TC evolution in its life cycle

Any technology has its own process of formation, development and disappearance, but its life cycle length not only depends on external changes of surroundings, but also is affected by all kinds of internal institutional arrangements. In order to catch the evolution law in the life cycle of TC, this paper will simplify its contents into a function supported by the existing technology stock. Thereof, the technology stock unit is the function of the recessive and dominant TC, and the conversion from the recessive TC to the dominant TC is also the process of the augmenting of technology stock units. In addition, when external circumstances are certain, technological innovation usually behaves as the organic combination of two or several technological stock units, herein the paper will suppose the combination includes two units.

Suppose TC in its evolution successively experiences T states:  $\emptyset \rightarrow 1 \rightarrow 2 \rightarrow \dots \rightarrow t \rightarrow \dots \rightarrow T$ ,  $\emptyset$  node of which indicates the state when enterprises firstly get their recessive or dominant TC.  $t$  ( $t=0,1,2\dots T$ ) node indicates the TC level under  $t$  state, and  $Y_t$  represents the recessive level, while  $X_t$  stands for the dominant level. Just at the node of  $\emptyset$  the number of the enterprise technology stock units is  $N_0$  (Let's suppose  $N_0 \geq 2$ ), while at  $t$ , the number is  $N_t$ , thereby  $C_t$ , the TC level in different stages of enterprises, could be written as:

$$C_t = \lambda \times F(Y_t, X_t) \quad (1)$$

In the aforesaid formula,  $\lambda$  stands for the inherent connecting coefficient of both the recessive and the dominant TC, then in certain environment, much bigger  $\lambda$  illustrates it is much more beneficial to the conversion from the recessive TC to the dominant TC. Moreover, with the gradually maturing of TC in practice,  $\lambda$  would gradually become less.  $F(Y_t, X_t)$  would be the relationship formula of efficiency function generated by the recessive TC and the dominant TC under  $t$  state. If  $\delta$  ( $-1 < \delta < 1$ ) signifies the environmental effect variable (such as the imitation of competitive antagonist), then under general terms:

$$F(Y_t, X_t) = (1 + \delta)N_t \quad (2)$$

From the formula (1) and (2), we could get:

$$C_t = \lambda(1 + \delta)N_t \quad (3)$$

Therein, when  $\delta > 0$ , it demonstrates the external environment is beneficial to the conversion from the recessive TC to the dominant TC, and at this time TC would tends to ascend. On the contrary, when  $\delta < 0$ , the external environment is not beneficial to this conversion, and at this time TC would tends to suspend or descend. Generally speaking, because of the emergence of new technology or the strengthening of the imitating capabilities of one's competitive antagonists, its growing environmental effect variable,  $\delta$ , would become gradually less till tends to be minus value, and its overall evolution path could be showed as figure 1.

Without regard to external environmental conditions, ETC would be simply the function of technology stock. In regard to the model of Zheng Yali and Tao Haiqing (2002), suppose the enterprise has the increment of the technological stock units numbered  $\Delta N_t$  from the node previous to  $t$  to  $t$ , then we could derive:

$$\Delta N_t = C_t^2 = 0.5N_{t-1}(N_{t-1} - 1) \quad (4)$$

For not all the combinations of two kinds of technology stock units would generate new technology, let us suppose the affinity between the technologies is  $r_s$  ( $0 < r_s < 0.5$ ), then the formula (4) could be:

$$\Delta N_t = r_s N_{t-1}(N_{t-1} - 1) \quad (5)$$

Again because  $\Delta N_t = N_t - N_{t-1}$ , then we could get:

$$N_t = r_s N_{t-1}^2 - r_s N_{t-1} + N_{t-1} \quad (6)$$

From formula (6), we could conclude, the technology stock in the following state is the multiple of the product between the square of the previous one and  $r_s$ , so, by solving this function, we would achieve the general formula of the technology stock at the node of  $t$ :

$$N_t = r_s^{f(t)} N_0^{g(t)} + S(r_s) r_s^{D(t)} + E(t, N_0, r_s) \quad (7)$$

Therein,  $f(t) = 2^t - 1$ ,  $g(t) = 2^t$ ,  $D(t) = 3 \cdot 2^{t-2}$ ,  $S(r_s)$  is a relationship function of  $r_s$ ,  $E(t, N_0, r_s)$  is the remainder of  $t$ ,  $N_0$ ,  $r_s$ .



Let  $N_0 = 2$ , then suppose the affinity between technologies,  $r_s = 0.1$ , we could get the time variation figure of the technology stock. Figure2 illustrates technology stock would tends to non-linearly increase by degrees without regard to external environmental terms; the correspondent TC also shows non-linear growing.

However, TC in its self is closely relevant to industrialization, while the industrializing course is essentially the one facing with environmental changes. Therefore, in order to further probe into the influence of environmental changes on the growth of TC, we could get the relationship function of (8) from formula (3) and (7).

$$C_t = \lambda(1+\delta)[r_s^{f(t)}N_0^{g(t)} + S(r_s)r_sN_0^{D(t)} + E(t, N_0, r_s)] \quad (8)$$

We could know from formula (8), the evolution in the whole life cycle of TC, is influenced by not only the technology stock changes, but the internal connecting coefficient ( $\lambda$ ) between the recessive and dominant TC, also affected by environmental effect variable ( $\delta$ ). Based on the foregoing analysis, under the synthetic impact of  $\lambda$  and  $\delta$ , the track of TC evolution would appear in figure 3.

Figure 3 applies the life cycle theory of Iraq ak Maidisi about the subdivision of enterprise life cycle to TC and redefines it to be survival period (fostering period and infancy period), development period (learning period, adolescence period and prime of life period), maturity period (stability period and elite period), recession period (previous bureaucracy period and bureaucracy period), metamorphosis period (death period). Obviously, in different developing stages, the developing states of the product TC are quite different. And the formation, development and decline of TC does not come into being overnight, but evolves along the non-linear curve with qualitative change points and takes on some regularity. From survival period to maturity period, ETC tends to ascend, whose rigidity will strengthen gradually, while entering the recession period, it would tend to descend, and accordingly, whose rigidity would weaken gradually. And every notable ascending or descending of TC will happen at the qualitative change point, which does not represent only at this point could realize the actualization of TC medium or forcing it to let off energy, but realize the transition from quantitative change to qualitative change.

#### 4. TC growth & institutional guarantee of enterprises

According to the aforesaid analysis of TC growth track, its evolution in its life cycle is essentially a process of accumulating and releasing TC medium energy, simultaneously the process of identifying, cultivating, implementing and renewing TC. In order to actuate its successful conversion from recession to domination, and then lengthen its life cycle, it demands for the support of constructing relevant mechanisms and conditions based on the regularity showed in its evolution.

In survival period although the enterprise has had certain technological research capability or technology specialty, TC has not or just been built without prominent technical results and with more slowly technology innovation. It would give rise to shocks when attacked by external environment. Therefore, the foremost task in this stage is to decompose all manufacturing technologies of the enterprise's present products, then classify them according to technology types, carry out fundamental judgment on them by utilizing scientific methods, lastly integrate the resources and elements into the value chain contributing to the lifting of ETC and its further development under its internal or external conditions.

In development period, after continuous trials and corrections of survival period, TC has acquired further development, and the enterprise has had much stronger self-research capability and formed basic technological platform. Thus this period becomes the bottleneck of TC development. It requires that the enterprises need pay attention to markets, enlarge the input of research funds, timely improve the existing technology to ward off the happening of the rigidity or inertia of TC according to the inherent rule of accumulation, guidance and provocation by effective learning management and shaping of innovative corporate culture.

In maturity period, the enterprise technology has attained to an unprecedented level, and TC has been upgrading to maturity, when the enterprise has owned the technology platform that could be continuously enlarged and difficultly imitated, and realized its persistently stable development, which makes further upgrading of TC become very difficult. In addition, the rigidity of TC at the qualitative point of maturity period and recession period will reach by far the strongest. In the meantime, product technology and manufacturing workmanship have tended to be stable with standardized operation, which makes the focus of competition transfer to cost, price and quality. Besides continuing the tactics of the survival period and development period, the enterprise is required to transfer the emphasis to constructing institutional arrangement beneficial to innovation in order to find new innovation point before entering the recession period.

In recession period, with the influx of new competitive antagonists or changes in market needs (when  $\delta < 0$ ), the enterprise's special technology begins to be continually imitated, leading to the devaluation of the existing TC value. At this very moment, on the one hand the enterprise should fully brandish the role of core technology in its present product field to propel the updating of present products and the upgrading and deepening of product lines, on the other hand, it should fully play the role of core technology in the field of exploiting new products so as to generate accruing point of new economic efficacy. Moreover, it could use the changes of technological competitive environment of new product

markets to regenerate and innovate core technology, and lastly by taking in such cooperative organizations as fresh blood or technology-shared strategy alliance to delay the recession period of core technology.

In metamorphosis period, the enterprise has not any innovation capability ( $\lambda$  tends to 0), and the old product technology may have been fundamentally replaced by market requirements. So, if the enterprise wants to keep growing, it should choose appropriate integrating mode to make its core skill and knowledge assembly to change qualitatively, and finally generate new aggregation and innovate new TC as the platform to stimulate core technology, and finally, by which make the enterprise core technology previously surpass the metamorphosis period. Or it should transfer the focus to excavate new core technology and disuse old TC, and by which enter a new recycle of TC life cycle.

## 5. Conclusions and revelation

The outlook on the life cycle of TC and non-linear evolution track demonstrates that the lifting and accumulating of TC has certain path-dependence and continuity, but sometimes presents certain leaping feature when its own peculiarity or external environment changes. Because the ETC has different externally appearing features in different stages, it should not only have a sober cognizance of TC developing stages, and implement timely and dynamic management aiming at different environment characteristics in different stages, but also be good at adjusting its strategic emphasis and formulating corresponding strategies according to the evolution law of TC, and only by which, could the continuous competitive advantage be formed.

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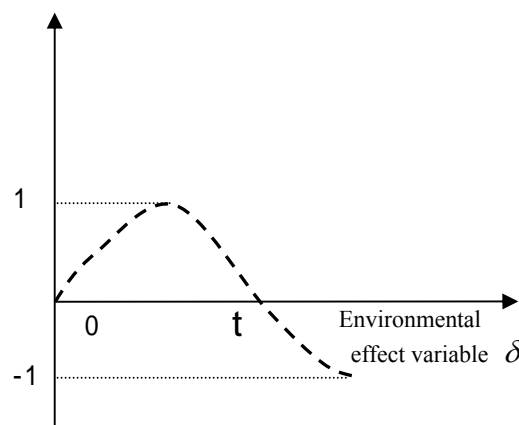


Figure 1. Transformation tendency of  
TC growing environmental effect variable

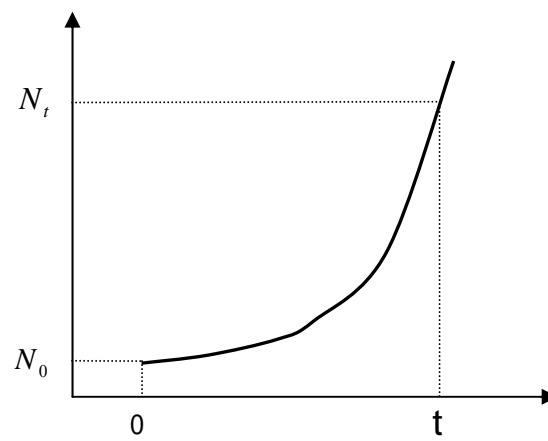


Figure 2. A sketch map of the increasing conditions of technology stock

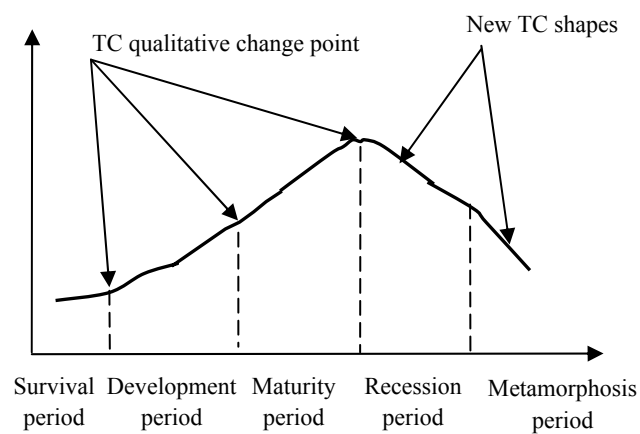


Figure 3. The growth track of TC evolution in its life cycle



## Changing of Women's Roles in Production under a Patriarchal Society: Case Study in a Traditional Craft Village, Northern Vietnam

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### Abstract

Vietnamese women have been playing a key important role in economic development for a long time. Due to the social and cultural constraints of a patriarchal society, rural women were excluded from some kinds of work, especially those which consist of cultural meanings, for instance, art woodcarving industry. Under the changes of economic and social conditions, women are increasingly engaging in traditional occupations. Further, by negotiating with patriarchal idea of gender discrimination of work, women can take part in the so-called "male works", e.g. woodcarving industry not only as direct workers, but also as business owners, entrepreneurs and managers. Even though, the empirical data from Kim Thieu village witnesses that rural women have not totally overcome the domination of male authorities at both family and community levels yet. Thus, gender policies which pay attention to both economic and social empowerment of women are necessary in the context of patriarchal society like Vietnam.

**Keywords:** Rural women, Gender division of labor, Household's livelihood strategies, Negotiation, Empowerment

### 1. Introduction

Vietnamese rural women account for more than a half of the country's overall population, 52 percent of its labor force and 70 percent of rural labor force (Nguyen 2003). Vietnamese women have played a key role in economic development since the Feudal period. They have established an important force in creating physical products and building rural socio-culture. Women have contributed to both economic and non-economic sectors in rural areas. They have produced almost 60 percent of GDP of rural economy (Nguyen 2003).

Even though, due to the social and cultural constraints, Vietnamese women were excluded from a number of economic activities in the past. They mostly worked as farmers in subsistence agriculture and as small traders in local marketplaces, while the so-called industrial works have been assigned to male labors. Woodcarving industry was one of several sectors in which rural women could not participate. However, thanks to the renovation of the state's economic policy, rural women are able to take part in almost all sectors of rural economy including agriculture, industry, handicraft making and product marketing. The reason is the fact that high demand for labor for industrialization and commercialization of rural economy has allowed not only men, but also women to seek their jobs in both on-farm and off-farm activities. Further, as active agents of development process, rural women have found themselves the ways in which they can keenly participate in different income-generating activities. By doing this, women are not only emancipated from male economic dependence, but they also empower themselves at household as well as community level.

As a small contribution to the debates on women's contribution to rural household economy, this paper aims: (i) to investigate how gender division of labor changes according to historical context in a traditional craft village in northern Vietnam; and (ii) to explore the ways in which women negotiate for strategies of livelihood diversification. Finally, the paper also draws some recommendations and policy implications for rural women's empowerment.

## 2. Literature Review and Research Methods

### 2.1 Literature Review on Gender Division of Labor

As gender relations in general, gender relations of production are also socially, culturally and historically constructed and re-constructed. So, arrangement of gender relations of production is not static but it is a changing process and situated in particular context. This means that gender relations of production are continuously reorganized in order to be relevant to production process which is influenced by both internal factors (such as lifecycle of a household, desire of producer) and external factors (such as changes in state policies, in technical renovation, in input and output markets, and so on). However, labor reorganization is not determined by an authority, but it is considered as a process of negotiation of actors under certain social structure.

In the case of traditional craft villages in northern Vietnam, reorganization of gender relations of production, which has been happening in both farming and craft making activities, has been clearly seen since the time of *Doi Moi* (the early 1990s) when traditional handicraft sectors have been revived and commercialized. The high demand for workforce of those industries has absorbed almost all male and female labors in the village. Besides, the active participation of inward migrant labors those who come to work in the craft villages as regular contract labors and as casual hired labors makes the division of labor there become more complicated. As a result, reorganization of gender relations of production cannot be seen as a process of reversing economic roles of male and female labors within a household and a village. According to Agarwal's conceptualization (1994), gender relations of production now should be viewed as power relations and analyzed at multiple levels including household, community, and local labor market. In this paper I pay much attention to "gender differentiation of production" rather than gender relations. Beyond the concept of gender relations, "gender differentiation" implies both gender and class relations in production process.

Moreover, women are social actors in any society, therefore, according to Long (1992) they are "...not simply seen as disembodied social categories (based on class or some other classificatory criteria) or passive recipients of intervention, but active participants who process information and strategize in their dealing with local actors as well as outside institutions and personnel ... The different patterns of social organization that emerge result from the interactions, negotiations and social struggles that take place between different kinds of actor"(p.21). Even in the smallest social unit like household, women also negotiate for their own power. The reason is the fact that the nature of intra-household interaction could be described as containing elements of both cooperation and conflict. Household members can cooperate in so far as cooperative arrangements make each of them better-off than non-cooperation. However, there are also conflicts existing among them in terms of interest distribution and exercising power. In addition, cooperative-conflict relations can be seen in other arenas such as community, local labor market and the state.

In my research, there is an emergence of two main groups of women which can be classified as village women and female migrants who are either casual or regular contract labors. Nevertheless, women are not homogenous, even in a small group, but they are totally heterogeneous in terms of age, marital status, economic condition, and so on. As a consequence, the ways in which they negotiate for their engagement in income-generating activities and for their empowerment are so diverse.

As pointed out by Ong (1987), Agarwal (1994), Mills (2001), and others in the family women negotiate with male authority and traditional ideology of "altruism" and "dutifulness" for their economic independence with the hope that it can more or less empower them. At community level, especially in the kinship, women negotiate with patriarchal norms, customs and constraints which relate to gender differentiation of work. In the labor market, my case study shows that both female villagers and migrants have to bargain not only within and between one another or with male authority in labor management, but also with a number of actors who engage in woodcarving industry and farming activity. Thus, in the arenas like labor market and state, women negotiate not just because they are women, but also because they are villagers and/or producers and/or workers.

In summary, a variety of contemporary literatures have witnessed that rural women have to negotiate for their livelihood diversification. Through negotiation process, they get more advantages in gender relations at different levels. But, it is observed that gender relations in production are not changed so much at macro level. In northern Vietnam, women remain a crucial workforce in agriculture either as farmers or as wage laborers. The striking change is the fact that rural women work not only on their own farms, but also on the others'. Additionally, in off-farm sectors, rural women chiefly occupy the lower position with poorer wage of labor markets.

### 2.2 Research Methods

The ethnographic approach has been used in collecting data. This means that the researcher might have spent a time as long as four months in the field site. In addition, the researcher had to join all the so-called "everyday life" activities of local people in order to find the way in which gender division of rural labors in production has been arranged and the reasons for which women as well as men have been assigned to different economic activities in the past and at present. A number of the participatory rural appraisal (PRA) techniques such as group meeting, participatory observation and

oral history recording have been employed to get information from different villagers. Together with PRA techniques, the in-depth interview method was also applied to gather data from 20 typical households. Moreover, key informants such as head of communal women's union, headman of the village, some young and senior women and men were interviewed.

Information and data which were collected that focused on the ways in which gender division of labor was carried out in the households and in the workplace. Further, individual stories concentrated on the ways in which village women negotiated for their entrance to the "traditional occupation". All the data are analyzed by the qualitative methods which are mainly based on the typical stories of villagers rather than on the general information. Additionally, the SWOT analysis matrix is applied to scrutinize the advantages and disadvantages of village women when they participate in the diverse economic activities. Based on the result of analysis, the major policy implications will be recommended to empower women as well as to reduce gender inequality in rural areas.

### 3. Overview of the Research Site

Located in Red River delta, 30 km from Hanoi capital, Kim Thieu is considered as a traditional craft village with age-old history. Nobody can say when woodcarving industry was first appeared in Kim Thieu village. They have heard that since the period of domination by northern invaders (old Chinese), there were some villagers accompanying with thousands of woodcarvers who had to go to China to work as slaves. There was a hypothesis which supposed that woodcarving might be present in Kim Thieu as well as in surrounding areas due to the appearance of Thang Long capital under the Ly dynasty (eleventh century). Woodcarving cooperative was established in the late 1950s according to the state movement of collectivization. However, similar to agricultural cooperative, the handicraft cooperative collapsed after 27 years of its existence. Thanks to economic innovation, woodcarving industry has been revived and developed at household level since the late 1980s. Thenceforth, traditional woodcarving industry has linked local livelihood and production process to global market because most of its outputs are exported to China or to other countries through China while its inputs are imported from Lao, Cambodia and other Southeast Asian countries. Woodcarving industry has generated almost all income of several households, so that it has been considered as a crucial livelihood strategy in the village since *Doi Moi*.

There are about seventy percent of total households that still cultivate in agricultural land what they were allocated by state since 1988 and even in the areas which are borrowed from other villagers, though most of their income is generated by woodcarving industry. In 2007, Kim Thieu had 1726 inhabitants who lived in 411 households (*ho*) of which 315 households have involved in traditional woodcarving industry. Total cultivated area of the village is 36.72 hectares (1020 *sao*<sup>1</sup>), and the agricultural land area per capita is about 200m<sup>2</sup> that is considered as the lowest in the region, so that people cannot live on farming only. For this reason, people have to develop their livelihood strategies by combining a number of activities together, but mainly based on farming and woodcarving activities.

**Table 1. Demographic Data, Labor and Income Source**

Indicators	Unit	Total	Farming	Handicraft	Service	Others
Inhabitants	Person	1726	142 (8.23%)	1394 (80.76%)	170 (9.84%)	20 (1.17%)
Labor	Person	977	82 (8.39%)	799 (81.78%)	76 (7.78%)	20 (2.05%)
Main Income from	Household	411	33 (8.03%)	315 (76.64%)	48 (1.17%)	15 (3.65%)

Source: Provincial Department of Statistics, Bac Ninh 2007

The question is how people can operate both labor intensive sectors – farming and woodcarving at the same time. Regarding labor organization the revival and development of woodcarving industry have absorbed not only male but also female as well as not only village labors but also a number of people from other places as either regular or casual contract workers. Thus, labor relations in woodcarving industry and in farming activity have remarkably changed. It can be observed that changing division of labor at the village as well as at the family level has allowed villagers to operate farming and craft making together in the context of labor scarcity.

### 4. Changing Women's Roles in Production in Kim Thieu Village

As mentioned in the previous section, women have not been allowed to participate formally in traditional woodcarving industry since the early days. Traditionally, rural women were assigned to some kinds of work which were considered as relevant to their "biologic" characteristics and to gender reproductive roles such as agriculture, small trade and weaving in very limited spatial mobility. However, women's occupation as well as their spatial mobility has been remarkably changed in historical context. In this paper, the changes in women's roles in production will be analyzed in three major periods of economic development in northern Vietnam, which are pre-collectivization, collectivization and economic liberalization.

#### 4.1 Women's Roles in Production in Pre-Collectivization Time

In the time of pre-collectivization, villagers lived mainly on farming, animal rearing and partly on woodcarving activities. The reason was the fact that rice cultivation alone was not able to make a village a complete economic cell (Tung and Dinh 1993). As mentioned in a variety of oral histories, there was not clear gender division of labor in farming activity. Men and women worked together as farmers in their own small plots or as tenants in the fields of the village landlords. However, gender division of labor in farming at that time reflected the physical and psychological qualities attributed to respective sexes - the strength of men, the dexterity and patience of women (Elson and Pearson 1997). Based on this sexual differentiation, various tasks were assigned to men or to women. In general, those tasks requiring great strength and energy such as plowing and irrigating fell to men, whereas women were responsible for work that was more onerous and time devouring such as transplanting, weeding and harvesting. Besides, although animal rearing and gardening could be seen as important secondary sources of households, these activities were assigned to different generations of female members such as grandmother, mother and oldest daughter. Like in other regions of Asia, Kim Thieu villagers have considered animal feeding and gardening as female sectors because they were conducted in domestic sphere.

Similar to other villages in Red River delta, handicrafts provided villagers with a particularly significant source of subsidiary income, especially in the case of starvation (Scott 1976). Nevertheless, craft making activities were merely considered as "supported activities for household economy" in this period. The peasants reserved only their leisure time for craftwork, doing them after finishing their farmwork in the fields. The oral histories of Kim Thieu village indicate that most of artisans who had to go to work outside the village were landless peasants. This means that many peasants had forcedly to become artisans because of their subsistence security. Moreover, in this period, woodcarving services used to be paid in-kind, frequently by rice or paddy with small amount that merely met the workers' need and a little surplus for their family members. Thus, the craftwork was perceived as equally to the farmwork in terms of economic contribution. Nevertheless, according to the rungs of Confucian ideological framework (1.scholar, literati; 2.peasant; 3.artisan; 4. merchant), craftwork was at the lower position in comparison with farmwork (Luong 1997).

Although woodcarving was seen as equal or lower position in comparison with farmwork in terms of economic gain, it was more privileged in cultural aspect because of patriarchal social constraints and differentiations not only between men and women, but also between insiders (local residents) and outsiders (non-residents). Before colonial period, woodcarving was bounded within the village. It has never been taught to the outsiders, even to the village daughters. Besides, village customs did not allow matrilineal practice. All these local laws were maintained in order to prevent special skills of craft production from the outsiders.

Almost all interviewees contended that in the Feudal period, only men could participate in the craftwork because of two reasons. First, the craftwork was related to constructions of temple, pagoda, communal house, imperial palace and making a roof where women had been excluded from due to the gender ideology of spirituality. Secondly, provision of woodcarving services and selling products in Hanoi city needed the labor's mobility which was one of the major constraints for women in patriarchal society. Both spiritual and spatial mobility restrictions prohibited women from involvement in traditional woodcarving activities.

Even though, this gender work was contested. Although were not able to engage in woodcarving as the same way as could take part in by their roles in the family. Female villagers used to travel with their husbands in order to look after not only their husbands, but also the team of carvers such as food providing, washing, and doing some minor works as active helpers as demonstrated in the popular local idiom.

*Wherever you (male carvers) go to work,  
I (carvers' wives) will carry chisels and planes and go with you.  
(Local idiom)*

ideology of  
women

men, they  
traditional

In the Feudal period, woodcarvers in Kim Thieu village were called "artisans" with more or less respectable attitude. The reason is the fact that there were very few artisans in general, woodcarvers in particular at that time. The know-how of woodcarving was strictly kept within the village. As a result, it was impossible to deliver to everyone. In addition, the craft products merely served wealthy people and those who were privileged in society. Besides, those products were produced for special purposes such as religion, mostly Buddhism, and national symbols. For these reasons, craft making activities mostly belonged to men, not to women. Patriarchal customs coupled with Buddhist ideology of gender excluded women from craft activities. The term artisans had only referred to men, and implicated male superiority over female.

#### 4.2 Gender Division of Labor in Production in the Collectivization Period

At the end of the 1950s, Vietnamese government implemented economic reform on agricultural and rural economy. The main content of this reform was to collectivize all means of production such as agricultural land, labor, draft animals, and tools. By doing this, almost all labors had to work in either agricultural cooperative or handicraft cooperative. The

cooperative regime has significantly contributed to the equalization of male-female relations by transforming wives, unmarried daughters and daughters-in-law from unpaid family labors to cooperative paid members. This way of women's liberalization had been carried out not only in agriculture but also in other sectors including rural industry, craft making, and rural trade. In other words, in the time of collectivization, women's works were remunerated by the same system as the male members in their family.

Immediately after the establishment, Handicraft Cooperative's Management Committee in Kim village invited lecturers from Hanoi University Art going to teach modern fundamental theory of woodcarving for its members including both women.

*It can be said that it was the first time we (female villagers) had been taught how to carve, and since that time we could join formally in traditional craft work.*

(A village woman - April, 2006)

Thieu  
of Fine  
men and

However, female workers were merely allowed to carry out the simple works. Particularly, during the late 1960s and the early 1970s, Handicraft Cooperative seemed to stop carving wood and changed to carve ivory based on the contracts between Central Art Import-Export Company with Indian Companies. Women could not engage in such activity because ivory carving was defined by the cooperative leaders as so difficult work that only high-skilled male carvers could do. In the late 1970s, due to the withdrawal of Indian Companies, Handicraft Cooperative changed to sculpt statues and to carve wooden pictures in order to export to Eastern European countries. Unlike ivory carving, female workers were allowed to participate in statue and picture carving. Even though, female cooperative members were fewer than male in both absolute number and proportion. Moreover, Handicraft Cooperative employed the Fordist model of specialization to its production process in which male carvers were responsible for the main and more important stages such as framing, basic carving, and assembling while female carvers only completed or made the products better.

In short, there were a lot of changes in craft making activity in collectivization in comparison with the previous period. One of the most important changes is that the skills of woodcarving were no longer kept secret within small group of male carvers. All men and women in the village, even outsiders, were able to access to the so-called "know-how" of woodcarving because these skills were taught as other scientific knowledge by modern methods. As a consequence, artisans' position was no longer important as before, and the meaning of craftwork was also changed. The most significant change was the fact that craftwork was no longer a male dominated occupation. By contrast, women were able to participate in.

Even though, women's liberalization and gender equality in the period of collectivization in Vietnam could be seen as a "myth" because of the following reasons. Firstly, though women can go and work in the same unit with men, they are usually in the lower rank of work in comparison with men due to the traditional ideology which assumed that they were in lack of education, of skill, and of productivity. For example, in the agricultural cooperative men mostly occupied the works that need great strength and energy like plowing and pesticide spreading, so they used to get higher work-points than what women got. Thus, they had more power in control over the distributed produce at family level. Similarly, in handicraft cooperative men got higher salary than women because they used to do the skilled works while women were assigned to unskilled works. Secondly, there were less women can reach to the leading position as men in the productive organizations such as cooperatives and factories. Lastly, women could go and work in the same unit and do the same work as men in the workplace, but they had to spend the same time for the domestic works including cultivating in private plots and home gardens and keeping animals as before. The fact that even if women can go to workplace like men, they continue to be subordinated, but "by a new form of socialistic patriarchal family, socialist working conditions, far from having liberated women, doubly burdened them" due to patriarchal customs (Rofel 1999, p.51).

#### 4.3 Changing Women's Roles in Production in the Period of Economic Liberation

##### 4.3.1 A Big Change of Women's Roles in Woodcarving Industry

*Before Doi Moi, even in the collectivization period, it was not seen any woman who was able to carve the sophisticated wooden pictures. But nowadays, they can not only carve, but also design the subtle wooden arts. Some of village women become very successful in woodcarving business. Their families have big factories and they have contracted with several other factories in Kim Thieu and in surrounding villages. All woodcarvings produced by these factories have been exported to China. These persons have good relationships with many big customers in large cities in China such as Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Xian, Guangzhou, Fukien, Shangdong, and Shengzhen, so they can sell a lot of woodcarvings. The monthly revenue of their business is about a billion VND (more than six hundreds thousands USD). These women usually go back and forth between the village and the border market (Puzhai trade zone – 150 km from the village) five or seven times a month because they have rented showrooms there.*

(Nguyen Van San – A statistical staff in commune, October 2006)



Since the initiation of de-collectivization of both agricultural and handicraft cooperatives in the late 1980s and its more recent acceleration by new land reforms, agriculture and rural livelihoods in Vietnam have experienced great transition (Tuan 1995). The peasant household economy has become the most important mode of production. In the period of economic liberalization, peasant livelihoods in Kim Thieu village are no longer depended on rice cultivation, but on a number of income-generating activities including on-farm and off-farm. Changing in peasant livelihoods has brought about the change in gender relations in production. Due to the expansion of production with high demand for labor, most of male and female villagers engage in the craft works. The roles of female labors in the craft works now are more diverse than before. Women who were born in the village can take part in the stages from which they had been excluded because of traditional patriarchal customs and gender discrimination. Village women involve in craft works in various ways. They either directly participate in woodcarving production or take responsibility for product circulation. If they are contract labors, they are mostly assigned to the simple tasks such as product polishing and cleaning before selling.

#### 4.3.2 Livelihood Diversification: Double-burden or Empowerment?

The reality of craft village development witnesses the fact that livelihood diversification forces women in most craft villages in northern Vietnam to experience the triple-burden when they are responsible for on-farm, off-farm and domestic works because they don't want to entirely give up farming for off-farm jobs. The question is why village women keep farming even if their household income is mostly generated from craft making industry.

A variety of agrarian studies interpreted that villagers try to keep farming even if they can get high income from off-farm sources because of their subsistence security in the context of economic vulnerability (Romyen 2003; Eder 1999; Kitahara 2004). This finding is entirely relevant to the case of Kim Thieu village where people live on commercial and instable woodcarving industry. Many villagers suppose that they can earn a lot of money from woodcarving activity when the market demand for its products is high, by contrast, they may have not any cash in hand when the market demand is decreased. Sometimes, they even have not enough money to buy food for their families. For this reason, farming, especially rice cultivation, still plays an important role in sustaining their livelihood. However, from the view point of gender research, it could be contended that keeping small farming in off-farm-based community helps women to empower themselves because of several reasons. Firstly, women's income sources become more diverse than men's. While village men only generate income from woodcarving, women can contribute to family budget not only by off-farm and cash, but also by on-farm and in-kind incomes which, for Beneria (1997), will be very significant in the context of economic crisis when stagnation happens with woodcarving industry. Secondly, by keeping farming as a strategy in livelihood diversification, women provide not only rice, but also vegetables and other foodstuff for their family members including men, not for themselves (Schroeder 1999). Further, in the time when chemical inputs are overwhelmingly used, providing their family with organic and fresh farm produces makes women become more powerful ever. Of course, this conclusion may be only relevant to the regions where people's living standard is relatively high, so they pay much attention to food quality rather than quantity. The evidence is the fact that most of interviewees in Kim Thieu supposed that food produced themselves must be safer and fresher than what is bought in the market. Thirdly, by leasing their farm works out to others, women not only avoid the double-burden, but they also create themselves a new kind of power. The case of Kim Thieu woodcarving village witnessed the rise of hierarchical relationship among women – one whose livelihood based on off-farm activities and other whose livelihood is agricultural-based. The discrimination is expressed not only between the female owners and female workers, but also between other villagers and hired labors. Some village women, even though they have never hired labors, still consider female hired labors as subordinate to them. It can be argued that women have capability to turn rice farming from subsistence, female, and less privileged sector into the sphere producing their new kinds of power at both intra- and extra-household levels.

#### 4.3.3 How Village Women Can Diversify Their Livelihood Strategies?

A proliferation of livelihood studies showed that when rural livelihoods become more diverse, there are three trends of gender arrangement of labor in rural households (Kabeer 1998; Ellis 2000). The first trend asserts that women have been left behind with farming tasks and numerous chores, while male members go to seek outside works. The second popular trend of labor arrangement refers to the double-burden or multiple-burden of rural women when they have chance to diversify their livelihood strategies. The last trend seems to be unreal when discussing about the flexibility and interchangeable roles between men and women in both productive and reproductive spheres in the context of a patriarchal society like northern Vietnam. All of these trends are not able to explain the ways in which village women negotiate for diverse livelihood strategies in Kim Thieu village.

*Now you cannot see any village women directly work in the rice field because earning from woodcarving is much higher than what you need to pay for hire labor. If I spend one day on woodcarving, I can pay for two or three mandays of farmwork. Moreover, woodcarving can be carried out in the home space while farm work has to be done outside with dirtiness. For this reason, I usually give my mother money to hire labor in the peak-seasons such as transplanting and harvesting, instead of doing by my self. It is very easy to look for female labors those who are willing to work in others' plots in our region.*

(Tran Thi Tuyet, twenty-one-year-old girl, October 2006)

Unlike popular trends of labor rearrangement mentioned above, high income from woodcarving industry allows village women to hire labors, mostly women, from agriculture-based community for rice cultivation. By doing so, they can both participate in woodcarving as direct workers and conduct farming as managers. A number of women, especially young women, assert that they can keep farming as a strategy of their diverse livelihoods but they do not need to do by themselves.

The question here is why market of contract labor becomes available in rural area today. Like other regions in Southeast Asian, there is the introduction of numerous technical innovations in agricultural production that helped to reduce remarkably amount of labors per land unit. As a result, women in farm-based communities can finish their farmwork faster and they have more time to work outside as casual contract labors. The motivation of livelihood diversification of

*I usually get up at four AM, and go to slaughter pig with some villagers as my colleagues. We slaughter one pig a day then divide into three parts for three retailers. I start to sell pork since seven AM in the local market because I am one of retailers. I often finish my business at nine or ten o'clock. I come home to prepare lunch for my family including two regular contract labors. In the afternoon, I spend time on farming activities, woodcarving product polishing, or participating in some activities of Women's Union.*

(Nguyen Thi Toan, October 2006)

farm-based women can be seen as an element that helps women in woodcarving village realize their diverse livelihood strategies. Together with the availability of contract labors and the introduction of technological innovations, rural women succeed in negotiation for their livelihood, thus for their empowerment, thanks to the combination between their own exertion and outside supports from public agencies and development programs such as education, infrastructure, and so on. Apart from farming and woodcarving, some village women perform different income-generating activities. These active women do many types of business such as pig slaughtering and pork selling, operating a grocery, and fruit trading in the local market.

Another question is how village women like Mrs. Toan can operate very complicated livelihood strategies as described though they remain responding to almost all domestic tasks. According to Mrs. Toan and Mrs. Hoa, they don't have to do all the works by themselves. They can ask the help from other family members. In the case of Mrs. Toan, she has two single daughters who work as craftswomen at home. So, when she comes home late, her daughters stop working earlier for food preparing and pig feeding. Further, with the help of modern facilities such as electric rice cooker and other family machines, chores are no longer work-loads for women. Like Mrs. Toan, Mrs. Hoa can get the help from her husband and her mother-in-law when she went to China for her business. She usually makes appointment with Chinese customers prior, so she merely spends two or three days on a journey from her home town to Puzhai market. Besides, the support of modern means of communication and transportation allows her to contact with Chinese customers more easily but don't need to take so much time.

Dissimilar to Hoa's and Toan's cases, several village women are still main doers in domestic works, though they increasingly participate in different economic activities and play more important role in household economy. They remain facing with patriarchal constraints in everyday life, especially at communal level. The traditional customs of a patriarchal society seems to be a barrier which limits rural women to take part in social and cultural activities in their community. Mrs. Thich – a fifty-four-year-old woman recalls that:

*On the day of village festival, my husband invited his friends to have lunch in my house. I have prepared food for them before I went to join a music performance of village women because I was one of the best folk singers. But, do you know what happened when I came back from the performance. I was shock when I saw all the plates and bowls were cast down the yard in front of my house. Further, my husband angrily shouted at me that "who allow you to be absent when we have lunch?" Did he mean that I had to stay at home to serve them as a maid? I was very sad but I kept quite. I was afraid that if I said something against him, I won't have a chance to go out for such activities. (November, 2006)*

In summary, in the modern time, village women not only have more job opportunities, but they also know how to improvise different factors and social relations in order to negotiate for their livelihoods. Moreover, in the process of negotiation for livelihoods, village women can obtain two purposes which are both to improve the living-standard of their families including them and to empower themselves at the household and the community levels. However, it can be argued that village women still accept patriarchal differentiation of gendered roles within the family, particularly reproductive roles. Most of them adopt the traditional norms because they don't want to trade off their total freedom by losing their stable relationships intra-family.

### 5. The Opportunities and Challenges of Rural Women in Economic Development

In this section, the SWOT analysis matrix is applied to indicate the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of rural women when they are increasingly participate as major labor force in a number of economic activities. As an outcome of PRA approach, the SWOT matrix here was built based on the interviews of key informants and group meeting of village women (table 2). Based on the result of SWOT analysis, the major recommendations for policy-makers on women's empowerment and gender equity are drawn as following:

*First*, although Vietnamese government have promulgated a number of policies and programs aiming at improving women's roles in household economic development, these programs mostly targeted those who live in the remote areas while they seemed to neglect women who live and work in pre-urban places. As a result, women in Kim Thieu village have rarely benefited from such development projects, though they need to be supported the knowledge on doing business in the context of commercialization and global economic integration. Most of female traders there suppose that they do business either based on their own experience or learning from their relatives. Thus, providing women in pre-urban area like Kim Thieu village with business knowledge should be a focus in national economic policy.

*Secondly*, as pointed by other researchers on gender issues, the growing participation of women in paid employment has contributed significantly to the economic and social empowerment of women. Access to earned income improves women's position within the household substantially, gives them greater control over the distribution of such earnings and household resources, and generally improves their status and strength in society as well as their own self-esteem. However, this line of argument seems to ignore the power relations intra-family in the patriarchal society. The empirical data in Kim Thieu village has demonstrated that even if women significantly contribute to household budget, they are still subordinated to male authorities in social and cultural aspects. For this reason, apart from the measures to give women employment opportunities, government agencies should pay more attention to social relations in making policies on gender equity.

**Table 2. SWOT Analysis Matrix of Rural Women's Participation in Production**

Strengths	Weaknesses
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Women can access to traditional woodcarving industry because they were born in the village</li> <li>- Some women were trained the skills of woodcarving since the early days of collectivization; Most of female artisans have been trained by transferring traditional skill from generation to generation</li> <li>- Village women possess "nimble fingers", patient and patient characteristics</li> <li>- Small credit fund targeting rural women for household economic development</li> <li>- Strong capacity of local women's union in supporting its members in economic development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Woodcarving industry – high return economic activity is still considered as "male sphere"</li> <li>- Women are seen as main doers of farm sector and domestic chores</li> <li>- Patriarchal and Confucian ideas of gender differentiation prevent village women from politic, social and cultural activities</li> <li>- Traditional perception of gender division of labor more or less devalues women's contribution to household economy</li> <li>- Many women tend to accept the traditional norms and customs which confine women in reproductive sphere, especially the idea of "son preference"</li> </ul>
Opportunities	Threats
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- High demand for woodcarving products of domestic and international consumers creates employment opportunities for village women</li> <li>- Availabilities of hired labors in local market, modern agricultural technologies and domestic facilities help women to avoid double-burden</li> <li>- Availability of policy on gender equity in the country as well as in the region</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Instability of global market for woodcarvings effects women's economic contribution</li> <li>- Low educational levels among women</li> <li>- Women have to cope with health problem caused by pollution of both woodcarving and agricultural production</li> <li>- Lack of general project integrating rural women into economic development</li> </ul>

*Thirdly*, while there is a growing number of women are succeeding in the use of new and innovative technologies in formal sector, women who work in the family-based sector remain trap into simple, traditional and manual techniques. For this reason, pollution from those technologies negatively impacts on the health of female workers. So, supplying women with the knowledge of protection from noise and dust should be put as an important part of the strategies of revival and development of traditional craft village in Red River delta.

*Lastly*, aside from providing women with training courses on innovative technologies and business skills, government and non-government organizations should help rural women to actively perceive their important roles and positions in

both production and reproduction. By doing this, rural women can empower themselves and will become more self-confident to participate in different economic as well as social activities.

## 6. Conclusion

Women's works and values of their works should be perceived and assessed in specific context. The case study in a traditional craft village indicates that patriarchal ideology of gender in work differentiation can be changed accordingly to the variation of economic, social and political conditions. The data and information evidence that the clear discrimination of work can be seen in the pre-modern time and even in the communist regime under the structure of cooperatives. But in the period of economic liberalization, gender relations in both farming and craft making industry have changed a lot. Women are no longer confined in the traditional occupations, but they have occupied many kinds of work that used to belong to men. Changing in gendered patterns of work brings about the change in gender relations not only in production, but also in other aspects. By taking responsibility for domestic works and for a number of income-generating activities, women have more voice in their families as well as in the community.

It can be argued that patriarchal ideology of work and patriarchal gender division of labor are not fixed structure, but they can be interpreted in particular situation. Therefore, the patriarchal customs and norms are de-constructed and re-constructed in specific historical context. In the case of Kim Thieu village, women have been negotiating for changing their occupations as well as their economic contribution to the households. Nevertheless, at the end of the day, they still adopt the traditional patriarchal customs of gender differentiation as "identity" of village women.

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**Notes**

Note 1. One sao equals to 360 m<sup>2</sup>



## Thirty Years of Chinese Reform --- Transition from Planned Economy to Market Economy

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### Abstract

The traditional Chinese planned economic system was formed during the first several years of the founding of PRC. Under this system, all sorts of behaviors by individuals, economic organizations and administrative organizations for their interests restrained vigor of the economy. Cost of this system was extremely high, but its efficiency was rather low. Reform started in the late 1970s has taken on features of gradual progress. The period before 1992 was the double-system stage, and afterwards has been the overall market economy stage. At present, framework of Chinese market economic system has taken its initial step, but its reform is not thorough. Several inertia factors and thinking methods in the traditional system still have impact on distribution of economic resources, and on behaviors of individuals, enterprises, and government, especially state-owned enterprises and departments.

**Keywords:** Planned economy, Market economy, Economic system

Chinese economy system (including basic economic instructure and economic operating mechanism) has undergone two major development stages since 1949 when the People's Republic of China was founded. The first stage was from the founding of PRC to the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which was the establishment period of the socialist basic economy system and prevailing period of highly concentrated planned economic system. The second stage was from the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China up until now, which is the perfection period of socialist basic economy system and gradual establishment period of socialist market economic system.

At the early beginning of the first stage, namely, from the year 1949 to 1956, firstly, New Democracy economy system was established within the entire country (by means of taking over assets of foreigners in China, confiscating bureaucrat enterprises to be owned by the country, and accomplishing reform of land system). Then from the end of 1952, a comprehensive socialist reconstruction was made on individual agriculture, handicraft industry, and capitalism industry and commerce. By the year 1956, the three great reconstructions had been basically finished, and public ownership system under socialist of production materials had predominated in the national economy.

In terms of national economy management system, high concentration and unity was implemented at the beginning of the foundation of the country. In March 1950, administration council of the central people's government issued "Decision on Unifying National Financing Economy", whose major content includes: unifying national financing income and expenses, unifying national material distribution, and unifying national cash management. This was one of the most important measures taken in terms of economy management after the foundation of PRC, which laid foundations for Chinese financing economy management system. The highly concentrated planned economic system was taken into form under the then background with the unification of national financing economy, with the implementation of the first five-year plan, with the socialist reconstruction and with expansion of large-scale economic construction. Although this kind of system had been affected largely by "Soviet Russia Mode", it was not copied completely. Some elements were originally created in combination with the Chinese situation. Especially in the beginning, there was some flexibility in the application of market factors. However, after the completion of socialist reconstruction, under the circumstance in which public economy predominated, a centralized planned system came into being with authority centralized, and administrative command organizing economic activities.

About major disadvantages of this system, “Decision on Reform of Economy System by the CPC Central Committee” passed in the Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth Central Committee of PRC in 1984 had the following generalizations: “administrative and enterprise functions were not separated, with barriers between different departments and regions. The nation had too much and rigid control over enterprises, and ignored significance of commodity production, law of value and the market. Equalitarianism was serious during distribution.” Of course, this was just recognition at the beginning of the reform. By 1990s, humans further realized the fatal drawback of the traditional system was ambiguous property right, in which there existed connatural disadvantages in the micro-enterprise system as the basis of economic system. Furthermore, such issues as unsound legal systems were all significant features of the traditional system.

An analysis from the perspective of system performance may reveal disadvantages of the traditional planned economical system in several aspects.

### **1. Enterprise behavior**

According to modern economics, enterprise is an organization with the purpose of benefits. An enterprise has all necessary power for production, operation and distribution based on property rights. Superiors of an enterprise should on complete behalf of its interests, while under the traditional system, an enterprise was merely subordinate of administrative organs. It was more like a production workshop inside an enterprise, and the entire society was a huge enterprise. Principal of an enterprise was like a workshop director, monitor or group leader. An enterprise should have to accept command of an administrative organ, comply with all its commands, and have no independent investment decision-making right. Task of an enterprise was to finish planned production assignment by its superiors. Because an enterprise under the traditional system was not one in its real meaning, principals of the enterprise were nothing more than officials of a certain rank (indicated by paths of their appointment, promotion, awarding and punishment, etc.). Under this system, an enterprise need not take any responsibility for its behaviors, since its benefits or loss would not have any impact on the enterprise and its principals, and bankruptcy would not happen, neither. Therefore, an enterprise didn't have any innovative motive, with extremely high operation cost and serious waste of resources.

### **2. Individual behavior of laborers**

According to hypothesis on human economic behavior in economics, each laborer (even each individual in participation of economic activities) intendeds to obtain maximum economic income with minimum labor paid, which is the internal tendency of laborers under the traditional planned system. In the environment of collective labor, laborers could not dominate capital property rights of their personal labor force, and domination of their labor force rested with the country or a collective organization. Although distribution according to work was executed nominally, it could not be realized due to complex calculation of personal labor. Therefore, equalitarianism and the big pot were inevitable. Under the thinking mode in which “Plan” penetrated into each aspect of economic activities, a unified salary standard (with age and official rank being primary parameters) by the nation seemed to be a necessary choice. Although in the situation in which effective supervision and calculation on labor per se, stimulation measures of super economy ( typical of propaganda of master s spirit, selfless dedication spirit and political honor, etc,) revealed their validity during a certain period, they would finally appear impotent under the influence of the strong “economic man assumption”.

### **3. Behavior of the government and its service officials**

In a society, its complicated economic running system can be supported or maintained mainly by means of two relations: one property relation as discovered in the typical market economy country and another hierarchical relation confirmed by political status or identity. This is similar to the situation in the countries which implement highly planned system analyzed, (such as ancient India and some European countries in the Middle ages). The economic organization system before the Chinese reform was the representative of the latter, which was defined by Li Yiping as “a typical super administrative section”.

“In traditional system, ownership was equalized to property rights, in which property right form under public ownership was not studied to support its running, but administrative section setting was studied to define positions and rights, and to communicate instructions for supporting economic running. Therefore, a position was not only defining of rights, but of interests. In addition to material benefits, political honors were also taken into consideration, also including satisfaction of realization of self-value, etc.” “Those in administrative positions of all ranks were principals of all levels in super administrative sections”. “ The traditional theory usually assumed that they were selfless, altruistic and served people whole-heartedly. Actual analysis would prove that, the fact was just as what Buchanan pointed out profoundly that, ‘there were no difference between their behaviors and those of others studied by economists’ ”.

To protect vested interests (positions and corresponding rights and remuneration) and to strive for higher positions was the motive of principals of administrative sections of all ranks (namely, government officials of all ranks, including all ranks of administrative personnel in an enterprise). Since appointment and removal was mainly determined by superiors, subordinates often had to be at their beck and call. Principals of an enterprise would rather breach economic rules, waste resources and increase costs than violate intention of superiors to make economic decisions. The fact that they held back

unpleasant information, craved for glory, issued confused orders, suppressed subordinates and creative spirit of grass root laborers then followed a rational line. In such a background, creativity and scientific spirit of all ranks of economic administrative sections, officials and enterprise principals were inhibited. And together with interruption of such noneconomic factors as political activities, it would be certain that efficiency and benefits of the entire economic mechanism were low. Although some people might do their utmost subjectively or objectively for the society out of political enthusiasm, they were not able to change the negative impacts of the entire system.

Anyhow, under the traditional highly concentrated planned economic system, all sorts of behaviors by individuals, economic organizations and administrative organizations for their interests restrained vigor of the economy. Cost (Organizational cost of economic activities. For the moment, we do not use the concept of dealing cost, which should be a concept under the economic system of free market) of the system was extremely high and efficiency of the system was extremely low, which was exactly the impetus for reform.

From the Eighth Congress of the CCP to the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in the process of its formation and development, disadvantages of the highly concentrated planned economic system took on continually, which aroused attention of the central government. Therefore, the government had tried several times to improve the situation, such as: power decentralization for several times, market adjustment on production and circulation of agricultural byproducts for a certain period of time, focus on economic legislation and supervision for a time, and attempt to open companies, etc.,. However, all these reform measures were merely confined to adjust central, local and segmented administrative management, or to activate circulation of consumer goods. They didn't refer to core elements of economic system, such as resource distribution means and property rights, etc.,. Meanwhile, rigidity of the theory caused these confined reform measures to be given up halfway, and led to a state of inconstancy.

Since 1978 when the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was held, under the drive of rural economic system reform, the entire economic system reform centered with reform on cities was gradually unfolded. From 1978 to the year 1992 was the first stage of reform, namely, reform stage of bipartite system. The period from 1992 up until now is the second stage, namely, reform stage of comprehensive marketization. Thereby, it is observed that, system transition from planned economy to market economy takes on obvious gradualness.

From 1978 to 1992 when was the period of bipartite system, the overall economic system was coexistence of planned economic mechanism and market economic mechanism, which played their role respectively in different fields, different areas and to different extent.

Reform of state-owned enterprises remained central aspect of reform on Chinese economic system. For this, all forms of explorations and attempts have been conducted, such as granting power to enterprises and allowing them to keep more profits, shifting from profit-sharing to tax-levying, responsibility system of contracted business or leasing system. Through the reform, operational mechanism of state-owned enterprises begin to change, changes took place to relations between administrative government and enterprises and enterprise vitality was aggrandized. However, many practices of traditional planned economic system are retained, so distribution of important resources and determination of price are still as in the traditional mechanism. For instance, primary essential factors of production still have to satisfy needs of state-owned enterprises, then is possible the entrance into the market of production means. "In the process of fund distribution, state-owned enterprises have the priority, the probability of their obtaining the capital is relatively high, the system cost of their use of the capital is relatively low, and the total cost of their use of the capital is lower than the market cost, so they still maintain the capital intensive technical structure which has a higher cost and which is inconsistent with Chinese resource endowment structure". Thereby, quite a good many unsatisfactory consequences are resulted, such as irrational industrial structure, serious loss of an enterprise, bad relationships between administrative sections and enterprises, and substantive dealings of power and money, etc.,.

As for the majority of non-state-owned enterprises, because they didn't get policy support from the country in terms of capital and other resources, they had no choice but to seek for a way out in the market. Due to advantages of their property rights and mechanism, their pursuit of interests was much stronger, so they outperformed state-owned enterprises in terms of cost control, and labor productivity, etc, and their economic profits were far higher than those of state-owned enterprises. Besides, with more and more abundant rural labor forces seeking for employment in the city, sufficient and low cost labor forces were provided to private non-state-owned enterprises. Non-state-owned enterprises with flexible employment mechanism then turned to be main force for absorbing rural abundant labor forces. For them, market mechanism played a leading role in their production resource distribution. Lots of labor-intensive enterprises had the advantage of low cost, which exactly conformed to Chinese resource endowment structure, namely, abundant but low cost labor force and rare but valuable fund and capital. "In this sense, differences of systems are not only fundamental reason for technical selection differences between non-state-owned enterprises and state-owned enterprises, but internal cause for much more competition and more rapid development of non-state-owned enterprises.

During the period of bipartite system reform, the overall change situation was that, elements of planned economic



system were gradually reduced, role of resource distribution by the market mechanism was gradually enlarged. Especially during the period from the end 1980s to the early 1990s when comparative advantages of state-owned enterprises were obviously revealed, decision-making section of the central government decided to transit from bipartite system to the market economic system..

Starting from 1992 when the era giant Deng Xiaoping held the important talks and when the Fourteenth Congress of CCP was held, reform of China entered a new stage. In the congress, it was clearly put forward that, the target of economic reform was to establish socialist market economic system. In 1993, the Third Plenary Session of the 14th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China passed "Decision on Several Issues in the Establishment of Socialist Market Economic System by the Central Committee of the CCP", which said that, "Establishment of Socialist Market Economic System is to enable the market to play a fundamental role in resource distribution under the national macro-control." It also sketched out the basic framework of Socialist Market Economic System, namely, to adhere to the strategy taking public ownership as the main body, and the strategy in which multiple economic sectors develop together; to further transform operational mechanism of state-owned enterprises; to establish a modern enterprise system required by the market economy, in which property rights are clear, rights and responsibilities are definite, administration and enterprises are separated, and management is scientific; to set up a market system which is open to the whole nation; to realize close combination of city and rural markets; to link up domestic market and oversea market so as to promote optimized distribution of resources; to transform functions of government control on the economy, and to set up a perfect macro-control system dominated with indirect means so as to ensure healthy running of national economy; to set up an income distribution system in which distribution by labor is the subject, efficiency first and fairness second; to encourage earlier better off of some areas and people, so as to keep to the road of richness for all; to establish a social guarantee system of multi-levels, so as to provide for city and rural citizens with social guarantee consistent with our national situation, and to accelerate economic development and social stability.

Considering prominent problems under the bipartite system, key points of the reform in the new stage are as follows: firstly, reform on property right system of state-owned enterprises, which is to establish modern enterprise system, optimize capital structure, industrial structure and strategic pattern of state-owned enterprises, and to shape micro-basis for the market economic system. Secondly, reform on financing and financial system, especially on investment and financing system, which is to establish investment mechanism by legal persons and obligation mechanism of bank credit. The key point is the establishment of risk obligations in investment and credit and improvement of investment benefits by means of commercial reform on state-owned financial enterprises. In other words, the originally plan-oriented fund and capital running mechanism should be transformed into the market-oriented mechanism.

In reform practice, the government adopted the strategy of "grasping the large and neglecting the small", which enabled large-scale state-owned enterprises to obtain more financial and financing support. Such strategic adjustments as capital reconstruction, bankruptcy, and merger were basically conducted under instruction of the government. Afterwards, capital scope of large-scale key state-owned enterprises got expanded, their structures got further optimized, and their leading industrial position got further confirmed. In the process of reform, with establishment of modern enterprise system, running of an enterprise was almost under control of the market rules (value laws, and competition laws). The government pushed state-owned enterprises towards the market, which made possible equal competition between state-owned enterprises and non-state-owned enterprises. Therefore, the government no longer posed any intervention towards production and operation of all sorts of enterprises. However, in the distribution field of important resources, the government still partly retained monopolized resource distribution system, which was mainly indicated in the following several respects according to study by Liu Xuejun:

Firstly, in the process of the complete marketization, national monopolization of the financial system was retained and strengthened.

Secondly, on one hand, commercialized reform of the bank consolidated interest motive and risk consciousness of bank business; on the other hand, monopolized commercial bank structure was formed with the major four state-owned banks as the subject.

Thirdly, control on bank rate was held continually.

Fourthly, in order to ensure that investment would comply with requirements of the government strategy, government sections still retained the system of approval on investment projects.

Fifthly, industry admittance policies and regulations of all forms were still preserved .

In a word, reform progress of marketization since 1978 was rather difficult. Due to inertia role of the traditional planned economic system, the reform has not been completely finished so far. Although structure of Chinese economic system has been greatly altered, the market has generally played a fundamental part in resource distribution in competitive fields, and basic framework of the new system has come into being. However, many structural elements of this framework have not been perfect, especially modern property right system, market system of production elements,

credit system, social guarantee system, macro-control system, system of supervision on the market by government, and legal system, etc,. Compared with perfect market economic system, and with final target of the reform, there still exist disparities. Reform is still on the way. Especially in the current situation when the global economy is faced with crisis, intervention on the economy by government will be intensified, so it should be particularly noticed that revival of the old economic system should be avoided.

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## Chang Chien's Ideas and Activities on Constitutional Monarchy

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### Abstract

Chang Chien was born on July 1<sup>st</sup> in 1853 in Haimen Kiangsu and died on August 24<sup>th</sup> in 1926 in Nant'ung Kiangsu. Chang Chien's ideas and activities on constitutional monarchy are significant and thus this article is to examine them.

Constitutional monarchy, according to Chang Chien, was a separation of the three-power political system under an emperor. In order to accomplish constitutional monarchy, local self-government should be strengthened and therefore without local self-government, constitutional monarchy was impossible to be really achieved.

Special characteristics of Chang Chien's constitutional thought can be categorized as: (1) constitutional monarchy is related to industry, education and local self-government; (2) He prefers to middle-way, reform, and golden means.

Chang Chien had played a very important role in the constitutional movement. In the gestation period of 1904-1906, he acted behind the scene to push the Ch'ing government to adopt constitutionalism; In the developing stage of 1907-1911, he advocated the petition-for-a-parliament movement and as a result the Ch'ing government shortened the preparation period toward constitutional government by three years or so.

**Keywords:** Constitutional Monarchy, Local Self-government, Industry, Education

### 1. Introduction

The purpose of this article is to examine Chang Chien's thoughts on constitutional monarchy with special reference to his ideas and concerns of Chinese constitutional movement especially during the period 1909 to 1911. He played a very important role in the petition for a constitutional government in 1910 and finally forced the Ch'ing government to shorten the period of preparation toward a constitutional government by three years or so.

Constitutional monarchy, according to Chang Chien, was a separation of the three-power political system under an emperor. But he did not discuss who were entitled to vote for, and to be elected as, members of parliament. In order to accomplish constitutional monarchy, self-government should be strengthened and therefore without self-government, constitutional monarchy was impossible to be really achieved. Self-government, according to Chang Chien, meant that everyone should devote himself to the development of industry, education and other local affairs under the leadership of the gentry, the representatives of the people, and hence local councils were essential to self-government. Therefore, Chang Chien's thought on self-government was realistic (Wang Tung-ch'in, 2007:266)

Chang Chien saw self-government as the basis of a constitutional monarchy. He expressed this point of view on different occasions, in 1906:

Self-government is the essential basis of constitutional monarchy ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Cheng Wen Lu (On Politics), chuan 3, 13a).

And in 1910, he praised the Ch'ing government's regulations for self-government:

The emperor has issued "The Regulations for the Local Self-government of Cities, Towns and Villages". These regulations see self-government as the root of constitutional monarchy, and see cities, towns and villages as the primary foundation of self-government ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Tzu Chi Lu (On Self-government), chuan 1, 11a).

And on June, 13, 1911, in Peking, Chang Chien told the Regent, Tsai-feng :

I have been paying particular attention to the affairs of Local self-government since Emperor Kuang Hsu introduced new reform in 1906 on constitutional monarchy ( Chang, Chien, 1986,13/06/1911(the seventeenth day of May, the third year of Huan-t'ung Emperor) ).

Chang Chien always took a moderate, middle-way, gold means, step-by-step, and practical stand in the fulfilment of the affairs of self-government and constitutional monarchy. He took actions rather than empty rhetoric. He believed that the success of the reform movement depended on a functional division and cooperation between the government and the gentry. The task for the government was to enforce a political reform, that is, to establish a constitutional government; the task for the gentry was to foster social reforms, including educational and economic modernization which he referred to as "Local self-government" ( Wong, king-kong, 1957:40).

In 1906, while his colleagues were arguing over the relative speed with which the constitutional movement should be pushed, he was willing to let the ultimate initiatives come from the government. For private individuals, he believed, industry, education, and self-government should be the primary concern. He urged the government to inaugurate a constitutional regime and also advised the gentry to promote educational and economic modernization. He told them:

It is the responsibility of the government to establish a constitutional regime, and we the people should promote the local self-government by engaging ourselves in educational and economic careers. It is better to act than to talk. An advance from poverty and illiteracy to richness and literacy of even a foot or an inch is valuable ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Chuan Lu (Special Section), chuan 7, 14b).

Chang Chien was not a man equipped only with armchair strategies. He preferred to action rather than words. This trait help him in various enterprises including cotton mills, and educational institutions including normal schools in his home district, as well as in the promotion of local self-government and constitutional monarchy. He personally devoted himself to the development of industry, education and other affairs of local self-government in order to achieve a constitutional monarchy, and later a republic.

Chang Chien thought that local self-government and constitutional monarchy were related and mutually influenced, and thus he was inclined to have a parliament to define the shape and size of taxation. In his article of "Appeals for a Parliament for the control of taxation and Expenditures for Self-government", Chang Chien explained this in 1910:

Taxation regulations bear upon the success or failure of self-government and the life or death of tax-payers. Is there any country in the world that is known to have laid down taxation laws without their having passed through the parliament? ...Self-government presupposes money, money comes from taxation, taxation must be systemized and proportioned, and taxation system and rate require the work of a parliament. Hence it is almost impossible to deliberate and plan the local self-government affairs for a constitutional monarchy unless a parliament is available ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Tzu Chih Lu (On Local Self-government), chuan 1, 13b-14a).

Therefore, special characteristics of Chang Chien's constitutional thought can be categorized as: (1) He prefers to middle-way, reform, and golden means rather than revolution (Wang Tun-ch'in, 2007:29); and (2) Constitutionalism is related to industry, education and self-government.

## 2. A Brief Look at Chang Chien's Careers and Thought

Chang Chien, *tzu* ( courtesy title ) Chi-chih, *hao* (alias) Se-an, and Se-Weng, was born the fourth of five sons, on July 1, 1853 in the village of Ch'ang-lo, Hai-men, Kiangsu, and died on August 24, 1926 in Nant'ung, Kiangsu. Chang Chien began his student days in 1856 at the age of only four. His first teacher was his father Chang, P'eng-nien, who taught him to read *Book of A Thousand Characters*. The following year, 1857, Chang Chien was sent to a village school. The teacher was Ch'iu, Ta-chang, under whom Chang Chien in a period of seven years ( 1857-1863 ), had finished the primers such as *Trimetric Classics*, and *Books of Family Names*; the basic poetic readers such as *Works of A Thousand Poets* , and *Poems of A Boy Prodigy*; and the Confucian Classics such as *The Great Learning* , *The Doctrine of Golden Means* , *The Analects of Confucius*, *Mencius* , *The Filial Piety Classic* , and *The Book of Odes* . The study of these books served as a basis for examination work, though they were for elementary education only.

In 1864, his father employed Sung, Hsiao-ch'i as family teacher to help Chang Chien and his brothers in the preparation for local examinations. The teacher asked Chang Chien to study again *The Great Learning*, *The Doctrine of Golden Means*, *The Analects of Confucius*, and *Mencius*, but from better editions. Then he proceeded to teach the boy *The Book of History*, *The Book of Change*, *The Book of Rites*, and *T'so's Commentary of the Spring and Autumn Annals*. Under his teacher's effective guidance, Chang Chien learned to write examination poems and examination essays which were required in the examinations. Unfortunately, this enthusiastic teacher died in the Summer of 1866, and Chang Chien was sent to follow Sung Lin, the dead teacher's nephew, in a neighbouring village, Hsi T'ing. Under the new teacher, Chang Chien advanced to study two more Confucian Classics, *The Rite of Chou* and *The Book of Ritual* ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Chuan Lu, chuan 6, 2a-4b).

Chang Chien's examination life was a long and toilsome history. In the first stage, Chang Chien was lucky enough. He spent only five years, 1864-1868, in preparation, successfully passed through the district, prefectural, and Yuan (one conducted by provincial literary examiners) examinations, placing twenty-sixth in the latter, and was classified a Fu-sheng (licentiate) in 1868, at the age of sixteen (Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1930:25-26).

The second stage was very hard for Chang Chien. He spent seventeen more years, 1869-1885, failed five times in the provincial examinations. In 1870 he tried for Chu-jen degree for the first time, and succeeded in placing sixteenth in the k'o examination but failed to pass the provincial examination. He was to repeat this pattern of succeeding in the k'o examinations and failing in the provincial examinations four times in 1873, 1875, 1876, and 1879. The degree of Chiu-jen continued to elude him until 1885, when he competed in the provincial examination and succeeded in placing second highest among who passed.

Chang Chien spent nine more years, 1886-1894, in preparation, failed repeatedly four times in the examinations for Chih-shih degree in Peking in 1886, 1889, 1890, and 1892. In 1894, at the age of 42, Chang Chien, at the insistence of his elder brother, Chang Ch'a, and the encouragement of his aged father, once more took the metropolitan examination. This time, his name was found in the sixtieth position. He improved on this in the re-examination by placing tenth, and when the palace examination was over, he was chosen to be Chuan-yuan, the highest of all. He was duly appointed a Compiler of the First Class in the Hanlin Academy. Unfortunately, only six months after he had won the highest title of Chuan-yuan, he lost his father, who had played the most important role in his examination life. Four years later, in 1898, when he had decided to take no office in the government and when he was busy promoting local development in his home area, Chang Chien did not forget to come back to Peking for his last examination in Hanlin Academy. According to himself, this unnecessary effort was again to fulfil the dream of his deceased father.

Chang Chien's life of 74 years witnessed a series of momentous intellectual changes and incidents: the Self-strengthening Movement in 1860-1894, the Hundred Days of Reform in 1898, the Boxer Incident in 1900, the Constitutional Movement in 1905-1911, the Revolution of 1911, the May Fourth Movement around 1919, and the rise of communists from 1921. It was against this backdrop of intellectual changes and incidents that Chang Chien's thought developed. His thought and activities in turn played a part in shaping modern China. Chang Chien played a key role, especially, in the promotion of China's earlier industrialization and education, in the petition for an earlier convening of a parliament in 1909-1910, and during the period of North-South Negotiation in 1911-1912.

Through the traditional training, Chang Chien had accepted the pragmatic and the reciprocal aspects of Confucianism which later functioned as his guiding spirit in promoting industry, education and self-government as the foundation of a constitutional monarchy, and then a republic. Chang Chien believed that the best way is somewhere between the two extremes. As he understood it, there were no basic conflicts between the Chinese tradition and Western civilization. It was possible to find some form of compromise by adhering to the broad principles of Confucianism and adopting Western technology, organization, and even political system of constitutional monarchism and republicanism. Chang Chien thought that "practical use" might be changed but "basic principle" should be permanent and could not be changed. Chang Chien's ideas on industry, education, self-government, constitutional monarchy and republic had changed according to situations, but Chang Chien's belief on Confucian ideas of serving the people had never changed.

With the pragmatic and reciprocal aspects of Confucian ideas serving the people, adjusting to China's concrete situations, Chang Chien developed his thought firstly, saving China by industry from 1866, the time self-strengthening movement in progress; secondly, saving China by industry and education from 1895 to 1900, the time after Sino-Japanese War; thirdly saving China by industry, education and self-government from 1900 to 1903, the time self-government movement in progress; fourthly saving China by industry, education, self-government under a constitutional monarchy from 1903 to 1911, the time constitutional movement in progress; and lastly, saving China by industry, education, self-government under a republic from one month after 1911 Revolution, the time he changed to a republican, until his death in 1926. Chang Chien indeed had successfully made considerable contributions to China's economic, educational and political modernization. The case of Chang Chien's subtle promotion of China's modernization demonstrated clearly that Confucianism was not necessarily incompatible with modernization (Sun, Shun-chih, 1995:98).

The main lines of Chang Chien's political thought may be briefly summarized as follows: industry is the basis of education; education and industry are the foundation of self-government; and self-government is the basis of constitutional monarchy (or later, a republic). The ultimate purpose of his political thought was to make China wealthy and powerful. Please look at Figure 1 at the end of this article.

Chang realized that for the local people public services and economic development were equally urgent, but for those who would initiate local modernization in various fields the industry were most urgent. They had to obtain sufficient funds by operating some economic enterprises before they would have the resources to establish various social services. He also realized that after the initial stage the maintenance and development of self-government institutions would depend on the income of the local people. He recognized that people have to be rich before they are able to be educated.

Thus the first step for him to take in his self-government program was the establishment of Da Sun Cotton Mill in T'ung-chou in 1896. Later, a number of economic enterprises such as cotton mill, land reclamation, salt manufacture, flour milling, glassmaking, wine-making, machine manufacture, match manufacture, shipping, banking and fisheries were established and modernized one after another in T'ung-chou under the promotion, direction and management of Chang Chien. As Chang Chien admitted in later years, the development of education, social welfare and others in T'ung-chou was really a result of the development of these economic enterprises.

Chang Chien had personally undertaken the responsibilities of rescuing people from poverty and ignorance to richness and knowledge by promoting industry, education, water conservation, and civic and philanthropic enterprises such as the public granary; the benevolent institution for the relief of the destitute; the survey maps; the local prison; the law-enforcement agencies; the police training schools; the foundling home; the homes for the aged; the workshops for the poor; the medical clinic; the home for the disabled; the school for the blind and dumb; the publishing house; the museum; the library; the meteorological station; the theatre; the dramatic school; the parks; and the network of paved motor roads. Finally, Nant'ung had become a new world and a model district of China (Yu Li-tzu, 2007:1-2). The Nant'ung story illustrates how, in early 20th century China, using new commercial means to exhibit modernity and promote political images was taken for granted (Shao, Qin, 2004:286).

### 3. Chang Chien's Ideas and Activities on Constitutional Monarchy

Before 1895, Chang Chien mainly spent his time in preparing civil service examinations, the ladder of success in the imperial China, and hence he expressed no idea of constitutional monarchy at this stage. During the period from 1895 to 1900, he had the idea of mutual assistance of industry and education, but he still had no idea of constitutional monarchy yet. Chang Chien did not mention self-government until 1901. After his return from Japan in 1903, Chang Chien's ideas on constitutional monarchy was great crystallized by the example of Japanese experience; During the period from 1906 to 1911, he thought that self-government was the basis of constitutional monarchy; During the period 1912 to 1914, he hoped that self-government could be implemented under the republic; and thereafter until his death in 1926, he devoted himself to the cause of self-government though it was neglected by central government.

#### 3.1 The Gestation Stage of 1904-1906:

##### *leading to Ch'ing government's 9-year Preparation for Constitution Monarchy*

Chang Chien identified constitutional monarchy with the establishment of a parliament and a responsible cabinet, and the making of a constitution to accomplish a separation of the three-power political system under an emperor. In his preface to a Chinese translation of *The History of Japanese Parliament* authored by Kosogava Hirosei in 1906 Chang Chien said:

Constitutional monarchy presupposed a written document by which a separation of the three-power (legislative, executive and judicial power) political system can be established. Just as the Westerners have said, political rights can not be granted unless an adequate political system is available ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Wen Lu (Essays), chuan 6, 5a).

However, who should be members of the Parliament? Who should have the right to vote for the members of the parliamentarians? Chang Chien did not discuss these matters in detail. As far as we know, he preferred to let the intellectuals and the rich to be the memberships of the Parliament and this was very similar to the early stage of democratic development in Britain.

The need for a written constitution in China was first emphasized by K'ang Yu-wei in his 1898 memorials. The constitution that K'ang had in mind was patterned after the Japanese constitution of that time, which framed a constitutional monarchy. He proposed to establish a Chih-tu-chu (Laws Drafting Bureau) to draft the constitution, but during the short period of his Hundred Days' Reform the drafting of a constitution had not been ordered. In the years after the failure of 1898 reforms there had been no demand for a constitutional government either from the officials or the gentry ( Wong king-kong, 1957:41). It was Chang Chien in 1901 in his *Pien-fa P'ng-I (Reasoned Discussion on Reforms)* in which he suggested a National Assembly made up of members appointed by four or five ministers, themselves to be members of the assembly. Its function would be the deliberation of the proposed reform programs or any feasible reform measures, and the planning of the various stages of reforms to be carried out ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Cheng Wen Lu (On Politics), chuan 2,1b-2a). At that time Chang Chien himself did not recognize the need to change the basic political structure of the country. The reforms embodied in the *Reasoned Discussion on Reforms* would only graft some new branches of specific improvements onto the old tree of the existing government structure ( Samuel C. Chu,1965:60). However, Chang Chien personally had a very favourable impression of the Japanese Genroin or Senate of the early Meiji era, which was created in 1875 to enact laws for the emperor and dissolved in 1890 when the Imperial Constitution was promulgated and the House of Peers was established. The Genroin in fact did not have any representative or elective character ( Joseph M. Goedertier,1968:58). At this time, Chang Chien gave the Manchu Court a hint that it would be wise to set up a National Assembly patterned after the Genroin of the Meiji period. He stressed that the Genroin had successfully played a dual role, that is, enacting new laws and amending existing laws

for the emperor on one hand, and serving as a go-between to facilitate communications between the above and the below on the other hand ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Chuan Wen Lu, chuan 2, 1b-2a).

Of course, the proposed “National Assembly” would have only the most limited power, and its members were suggested to be appointed by “four or five ministers”, and hence it could not be compared to the Parliament of today. However, it might be regarded as an initial or transitional institution toward the adoption of constitutional monarchy.

The idea that a constitution was a desirable thing in itself first came to him on his trip to Japan. Early in 1903, Chang Chien accepted an invitation to attend the fifth Japanese industrial exhibition which would be held in Osaka in the summer of the same year. He boarded the ship in the morning on May 23, and arrived in Japan in the evening on May 24. During his sixty-four-day sojourn from May 24 to July 27 in Japan, he visited thirty-five educational institutions and thirty agricultural, commercial, and industrial enterprises. Japanese accomplishments made a deep and favourable impression on him. He reasoned that, if Japan, endowed with less advantage than China, could be so advanced in industry and education, she had to possess something which China did not. The obvious thing was her constitution (Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Chuan Lu, chuan 4, 1a-33a). On his return, he took every opportunity to discuss a possible constitution with his friends and to induce their cooperation. In the April of 1904, he held discussions on the topic of constitutionalism with K’uai Kung-tien of Hofei, Anhui ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Chuan Lu, chuan 7, 11b). In the May of 1904 he was asked by governors-generals Chang Chih-tung and Wei K’uang-t’ao to draft a memorial requesting the adoption of a constitution by the imperial court. He fulfilled the task after consulting a number of his friends and revising the draft seven times. Nevertheless, it seemed that Chang Chien was not satisfied with this draft memorial, in which he privately commented that words were too gentle and ingratiating and the tone was lacking in courage. In June 1904, Chang Chih-tung further gave instruction to Chang Chien that Yuan Shih-k’ai, then governor-general of Chili and the imperial superintendent of trade for northern China (Pei-yang Ta-ch’en), should be consulted in regard to constitutionalism; and T’ang Shou-ch’en, Chang Chien’s friend also persuade Chang Chien in so doing. Under this circumstance, although Chang Chien had not made contacts with Yuan for twenty years since his return from Korea in 1883, he took the initiative to resume the old friendship, purely for the cause of constitutional government, he wrote Yuan a letter asking for support. Yuan replied that it still was not the proper time yet to introduce constitutionalism at this stage ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Chuan Lu, chuan 7, 12a). And therefore the submission of this memorial finally suspended due to Yuan Shih-k’ai’s cautious attitude ( Daniel H. Bays, 1978: 250). It was Chang Chien’s way of thinking that in addition to the efforts and appeal of the gentry, the commitment of influential officials and their willingness to submit memorials were the key to accelerated adoption of a constitutional monarchy by the imperial court. Chang Chien himself, a leader of the gentry and merchants and a noted scholar, who enjoyed good relations with many distinguished people in government circles at this time was unquestionably the best qualified person for the role in the formation of an alliance between officials and gentry ( Liao, Sheng-hsiung, 1979:270).

Chang Chien’s effort for constitutionalism was not only directed towards powerful officials, but also towards the Manchu Court. In July 1904, he completed the printing of *The Constitution of Japan*. His friend Chao-Feng-ch’ang sent twelve copies of the book to the capital, some of which eventually fell into the hands of the Empress Dowager herself. This book seemingly attracted the interest of the Empress Dowager, Tz’u-hsi. Afterwards, on a summons occasion, the Empress Dowager made such a remark: “That Japan has a constitution is very good to the country”. Officials at the scene were stunned and unable to respond. Immediately after this episode, Grand Secretary Ch’u Hung-chi dispatched his younger brother to Shanghai to collect work on constitutionalism. Chao Feng-ch’ang was asked to lend a hand to this task. Interestingly, both Ch’u brothers were ignorant of the fact that Chao was one of publishers who circulated *The Constitution of Japan*. Learning this, Chang Chien deeply sighed. He doubted the value of ruling officials who were blind to current developments ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Chuan Lu, chuan 7, 12a).

In September of 1904, he printed another book *Ji-pen Hsien-fa I-chieh I-hui Shih* (Japanese Constitution and Diet: An Interpretive History). He sent copies of it to another influential and progressive-oriented Manchu, Tieh-liang in Nanking. Of course, Chang Chien did not miss this good opportunity to have discussions on constitutionalism with him ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Chuan Lu, chuan 7, 12b). Pleasant discussions on constitutionalism drew these two reform minded men closer. Thereafter, primarily for the governmental affairs, they kept in constant touch with each other.

As a matter of fact, since the failure of the Boxer Movement, the Empress Dowager and her conservative supporters had awakened to the fact that mere anti-foreignism could by no means save the empire. After 1901, they had no choice but to effectuate most of the reform programs originated by K’ang Yu-wei and his associates during the under Days of reform in 1898. On the list of needed reforms were establishing new educational systems, sending students abroad, adopting Western military methods, developing agriculture and industry, instituting better laws and taxes, abolishing sinecures and corruption, and so on. The dynasty’s reform efforts were not merely opportunist responses to the pressure of the revolutionary movements but concrete attempts to revive the empire. For modern purpose, some reforms of the administrative structure at Peking were also inaugurated in the first years of 1900s. For example, the Tsung-li Yamen in 1901 became a full-scale Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Wai—wu Pu); A ministry of Commerce (Shang-wu Pu) was

established at the capital in 1903; and a law-compilation bureau began work in 1904 ( John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Albert M. Crag, 1965:614-615;623). Nevertheless, as a whole, those reforms of the early 1900 were still conservative, and the political structure of the Ch'ing dynasty remained unchanged.

Government personnel in the very beginning of this century were entirely in the hands of Jung-lu and Prince Ch'ing (I-kuan, 1836-1916). Among the important governors-general were Li-Hung-chang, Yuan Shih-k'ai, Chang Chih-tung, and Liu K'un-i. Shortly after the signing of the Boxer Protocol, Li Hung-chang died in 1901. and Yuan Shih-k'ai succeeded Li as Chili governor-general. After Liu K'un-I's death in October 1902, Yuan Shih-k'ai and Chang Chih-tung became the leading governor-general. In April 1903, Jung-lu also died, leaving Price Ch'ing as the pillar among the nobles. In former times, Yuan had flattered Jung-lu in order to secure special favour from the Empress Dowager. After Jung-lu's death, Prince Ch'ing was similarly used by Yuan. Holding the position of governor-general of Chili from 1901 to 1907, Yuan worked closely with Prince Ch'ing, and consequently brought himself very close to the imperial power centre. Prince Ch'ing and Yuan Shih-k'ai accordingly emerged as the two most important figures of the empire, with power considerably greater than that of Chang-Chih-tung ( Teng, Ssu-yu and Jeremy Ingalls, 1956:196-197). Although only possessing a moderate education, Yuan had great ability in military affairs and exceptional understanding of political tactics, which rendered him as an influential figure in modern history of China.

In late May 1905, The Russo-Japanese War came to an end. Japan's spectacular victory immediately made this island nation a full-fledged imperialist power. Moreover, it had great demonstrative effect on Asian peoples, especially the Chinese intellectuals and the officials. In the eyes of the Chinese, the defeat of a large autocratic Western power by a tiny oriental constitutional monarchy was proof of the superiority and effectiveness of constitutionalism though in fact Japanese won the war mainly due to their well-prepared military. The leading newspapers in China all agreed that the success of the Japanese and the failure of the Russian was proof of the superiority of constitutionalism. *Chung-wai Jih-pao* (*China and the World Daily*) commented that "Russia's weakness would have remained unexposed, and the question of the relative merits of a constitutional monarchy and an autocratic monarchy unanswered, had it not been for this war" ( *Chung-wai Jih-pao*, May 21<sup>st</sup>, 1905; September 20<sup>th</sup>, 1905). *Wai-chiao Pao* (*Diplomacy*) claimed that "Russia's defeat is the result of her autocracy" (*Wai-chiao Pao*, November 20<sup>th</sup>, 1905). In an article entitled "Constitution as the Panacea" *Nan-fang Pao* (*The South*) compared ruling a country to piloting a boat: "The destination must be determined before the voyage begins, or the vessel will drift and get nowhere. A constitution is to a state as a compass is to a captain" (*Nan-fang Pao*, August 23rd, 1905. The above 3 items are cited from Jerome Ch'en, 1972:71;225). The premise that a constitutional monarchy was better than autocracy was now generally accepted among the Chinese officials and intellectuals.

The floundering Chinese were impressed by the fact that nearly all of the flourishing Western powers had constitutional government, while those backward and unimportant nations had not. By this time the people of Russia were also starting a revolution and the Russian government, under the pressure of popular demands, was also showing its intention of adopting a constitution and convoking a duma (assembly) ( Teng, Ssu-yu and Jeremy Ingalls, 1956:198). Under these circumstances, the Chinese were apparently reluctant to leave their country as an autocratic nation. The outcome of the Russo-Japanese War engendered in China an unexpected national clamour for constitutionalism.

As an ardent advocate of constitutional monarchy, Chang Chien seized this opportunity to make his efforts for the introduction of a constitution. Clearly understanding that the Imperial Court would not voluntarily initiate constitutionalism, he decided to resort to the reputation and influence of Yuan Shih-k'ai, the only Han Chinese who could put substantial pressure on the court. Before the peace treaty between Japan and Russia was concluded, Chang Chien wrote in 1904 a letter to Yuan Shih-k'ai advocating a constitutional monarchy, part of his letter reads:

Sir, Now you are commanding the important troops of the empire and shouldering the heavy responsibility of the nation. You should take grave concern for the life or death, the rise or fall of the nation; and you should also realize that the dangers of 1894 and 1900 can not be compared to those of today. It would be futile to change a little bit here and there without having a fundamental reform of the political system, and it would be useless to attempt an appeasement policy while the Russo-Japanese war has not yet been concluded... Victory in the war will be the triumph of constitutionalism over autocracy. What nation today is completely autocratic? Can an autocratic nation survive among all the constitutional nations?... In Japan, Ito, Itagaki, and others worked out a constitution and magnificently achieved the great goal of respect for their emperor and at the same time protection of their people; that is really fortunate for Japan. As far as your ability is concerned, you are not inferior to them. Even I myself think that my ambition and will are also certainly not beneath those of the Japanese constitutionalists (Teng, Ssu-yu and Jeremy Ingalls, 1956:198-199).

It is noteworthy here that Chang Chien said "It would be futile to change a little bit here and there without having a fundamental reform of the political system". In 1901, on his *Reasoned Discussion on Reforms*, Chang Chien still did not recognize the necessity of fundamental political reform, but now Chang Chien really did.

In June 1905, China's first modern boycott--against the United States' discriminatory treatment of Chinese, and particularly the total exclusion of labours--was taking place mainly in the treaty ports. The anti-American boycott of



1905 over the Exclusive Act was one of the most conspicuous indications that a new Chinese national spirit had been aroused to a new nationalism which, although it evoked overtones of the tributary system, was in the main a new, anti-imperial drive. The anti-American boycott, which began at Shanghai, soon shifted its centre to Canton. Although it was officially ended late this year, meetings and demonstrations continued into 1907. Numerous incidents accompanying the boycott show that Chinese merchants and workers were prepared to make substantial material sacrifices in order to achieve the broad objectives of the new nationalism (Mary C. Wright, 1968:10). On a short-term basis the boycott could be effective, since to some extent the Chinese merchants were indispensable adjuncts of imperialism. In the long run, however, there was no hope of success. Chinese entrepreneurs were too dependent on foreign capitalists and too much involved in foreign trade to withstand the effects of a decline in imports and exports, the difficulty in getting rid of goods, and a consequent accumulation of stocks (Marie-Claire Bergere, 1968:253). What was Chang Chien's attitude toward the anti-American boycott of 1905? On June 27<sup>th</sup> 1905 Yuan submitted a memorial urging the Ch'ing Court to prohibit the growing boycott movement. Learning of Yuan's proposal, Chang Chien immediately sent out a letter advising Yuan to let the people choose their own course, for public opinion should be regarded as the basis of all public policies including foreign policy. After stressing the importance of public opinion, Chang Chien, in the latter half of this letter, again told Yuan that it was the right time to urge the Court to adopt a constitution. In conclusion, Chang wrote in considerate and expectant tone that:

Because you are in a dominant position, your call for the adoption of a constitution will surely be echoed and supported nationally. The establishment of a constitutional monarchy will bring peace and security to both the above and the below. It is a great virtue and an immortal achievement. Sir, don't you have any intention of achieving it? Please do not miss this opportunity. If you do, in the future, you will feel great regret, for somebody else will eventually accomplish this magnificent task some other day (Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Cheng Wen Lu, chuan 3, 9b).

In addition to this letter, Chang Chien had already asked a friend, Mr. Wu, to pass his verbal message to Yuan. In this letter, he simply reiterated and emphasized his opinions about the boycott movement and the constitutional monarchy (Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Cheng Wen Lu, chuan 3, 9a). Apparently Chang Chien liked to make use of nationalistic sentiment immediately after the anti-American boycott of 1905 as a means to push for a constitutional monarchy. This time, Yuan Shih-k'ai did not disappoint him. On July 2<sup>nd</sup>, Yuan, together with Chang Chih-tung and Chou Fu, the governor general of Liang-kiang, memorized the imperial Court and proposed that a constitutional government be set up after due preparation in the following twelve years (Daniel H. Bays, 1978:127). Probably this joint memorial by the three most powerful governors general exerts great influence upon the Manchu Court.

In the capital, constitutionalism became more popular than ever. High officials like T'ieh-liang, Hsu Shih-ch'ang, Tuan-fang, and Tsai-chen were all in favour of the adoption of a constitution. The latter two Manchu officials, particularly, repeatedly gave favourable accounts of constitutional monarchy in the Court (Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Chuan Lu, chuan 7, 13b). In 1906, Chang Chien wrote to T'ieh-liang and reminded him the Westerners were starting to fear the appearance of a constitutional government in China, for they felt the increasing sentiment of nationalism of the Chinese people caused by the large scale boycott and therefore the establishment of a constitutional monarchy must not be delayed. Furthermore, Chang Chien indicated that the Japanese constitution was an appropriate model because of great similarities between the two nations. Since the Japanese had learned much from the constitutions of Germany and England, Chang Chien suggested that their system be consulted in the making of a Chinese constitution. As for the constitutional government of France and the United States, due to the great differences between China and these two countries, it seemed they could offer but small reference (Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Cheng Wen Lu, chuan 3, 13b-14a), and hence Chang Chien's Japanese style constitutional thought differed from ideas of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao which seemed to be close to British traditional liberalism (Chang, P'eng-yuan, 1969a, Hsiao, Kung-chuan's Forward, p.2). In fact, as Hsu, Chieh-lin said, the Japanese constitution of 1889 was a constitution of emperor's sovereignty (Hsu Chieh-lin, 1980:169). According to this constitution, the emperor holds absolute power beyond executive, legislative, and judicial authorities. Chang Chien suggested the adoption of Japanese constitution partly because it would be easier for the emperor to accept.

Chang Chien spent much time and energy, through every possible means, to promote the adoption of a constitutional monarchy. In the same letter to T'ieh-liang, Chang Chien also recommended that Manchuria be the first area for the constitutional experiment. He gave no reason for his choice for Manchuria except that it was substantially an administrative affair (Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Cheng Wen Lu, chuan 3, 14a). Probably as Liao Sheng-hsiun surmised, "Although Chang Chien was eager to see the realization of constitutional government particularly as it applied to local assemblies in the early stages, he must also have been aware of the Manchu Court's reluctance to usher in the operation of constitutionalism by Han Chinese. The only feasible way to diminish this reluctance was to let the Manchu themselves test the first constitution at their own home. Very probably, this Manchurian experiment would result in success and pave the way for constitutional implementation in the rest of China" (Liao, Sheng-hsiung, 1979:282). Chang Chien's effort, together with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's massive propaganda and other calls for constitutionalism—such

as that of Sun Pao-ch'I, the minister to France, made in late March of 1904—eventually drew the aged empire to the brink of a constitutional government.

In the meantime, the reformists under K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao came into direct contact with the revolutionaries because they were both operating in Japan. When K'ang Yu-wei first arrived in Japan in late 1898, there was an attempt on the part of interested Japanese to promote an alliance between K'ang and Sun Yat-sen. The effort failed as much through disagreements between the two groups on basic issues as through the rise of personal antipathy between the two leaders (Marius B. Jansen, 1954:78-81). Thereafter the reformists and the revolutionaries in Japan fought each other continuously for the allegiance of the overseas Chinese. This group was essential to the reformists and the revolutionaries alike because its members were the chief source of financial support for both. Consequently competition between the two groups was intense. Sometimes this took the form of rough-house tactics, but primarily the two factions fought each other by means of Chinese-language newspapers. The central organ of the revolutionaries was the *Peoples Tribune (Min Pao)*, published in Tokyo under the joint editorship of Chang Ping-lin, Hu Han-min, Wang Ching-wei, and Chu Chih-hsin. Opposed to it was the reformists' *New People Miscellany (Hsin-min Ts'ung-pao)*, of Yokohama, edited by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Outside of Japan there were opposing newspapers in Hong Kong, Hawaii, San Francisco, Singapore, and Vancouver. The contents of these newspapers reveal quite clearly the stands taken by the two camps. Opposed to the revolutionaries' call for the immediate overthrow of the dynasty and the establishment of a republic, the reformists advocated the establishment of a constitutional monarchy under the Kuang-hsu Emperor. The essays of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, written in a mixture of classical and vernacular style but with fresh vitality, had a great influence on the mind of the literate Chinese, particularly the younger group. His arguments received a hearing because the ideas embodied in them were fresh and seemed to have a particular pertinence for the contemporary situation (Samuel C. Chu, 1965:62). Facing such pressure both from the home and the abroad, the Empress Dowager was aware that constitutional monarchy should no longer be opposed.

On July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1905, the court issued an edict that appointed Tasi-tse, Tai Hung-tz'u, Hsu Shih-ch'ang, and Tuan-fang to lead a commission to go abroad and investigate foreign political systems in the hope that a certain form of government would be found to best suit the needs of China. On July 27<sup>th</sup>, Shao-ying also named to join the commission. An attempt was made by Wu Yueh, a revolutionary, to assassinate the five high officials at the railroad station in Peking as they were setting out on their journey abroad. Two of them, Hsu Shih-ch'ang and Shao-ying, were frightened by their narrow escape and withdrew from the mission. Later they were replaced by two other appointees, Shang Ch'i-heng and Li Sheng-to. They were divided into two missions, one visited mainly the United States and Germany; the other, Japan, England, and France. The two groups were abroad from December of 1905 to August of 1906. Prince Ito lectured the visitors to Japan on the necessity of the emperor's retaining supreme power, not letting it fall into the hands of the people (John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Albert M. Crag, 1973:736). The dispatch of these five high-ranking officials as special commissions was general viewed as prelude to introduction of a constitution.

The edict of July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1905 was indeed one of the landmarks of Chinese constitutional history. It meant that the Ch'ing Court gave approval to the trend toward constitutional monarchy. What forced the Empress Dowager and her confidants to make this concession were the national clamour for constitutionalism, and the changes of world situations. Nevertheless, without Yuan Shih-k'ai's urging and the persuasion of Tsai-chen, Tieh-liang and Tuan-fang, the Manchu Court might have pretended to know nothing about the constitutionalism for some time and still hesitate to take concrete action to meet the popular demand. Yuan and the above-mentioned advocates undoubtedly played roles in the 1905 constitutional breakthrough. And behind the scene, Chang Chien had subtly pressed Yuan, Tuan-fang and T'ieh-liang to move ahead in their quest for constitutional monarchy. From his own enlightenment and experience, Chang guided influential members of high-level bureaucracy toward constitutionalism (Liao, Sheng-hsiung, 1979:278).

In this promotion, Chang Chien had been both persistent and practical. Now he directed his efforts toward the five commissioners. In December 1905, the commission stop in Shanghai en route from Peking to foreign countries. Chang seized the opportunity, acting as a host, to entertain these distinguished guests with banquets, and at the time persuade them to lend the support to the cause of constitutional government. When the commission had another sojourn in Shanghai on their way home after they completed constitutional investigation in the summer of 1906, Chang Chien again gave them banquets and exhortation. Specifically, he had serious discussions with Tuan-fang and Tai Hung-tz'u. To these two commissioners he stressed that the introduction of a constitution should not be put off any longer, that imperial Court must adopt constitutional monarchy as soon as possible. On behalf of commissioners Tuan-fang and Tai Hung-tzu, Chang drafted a telegram soliciting support from local governors and governors-general throughout the country (Ta, Fu-hui, 1970:31).

In August 1906, all commissioners returned to Peking. Upon their return in the following year two of the commissioners, Tai-Hung-tze(1853-1910) and Tuan-fan(1861-1911), jointly presented to the throne a work on *The Essentials of European-American Government*. This book is significant in many ways. First, it represents the commissioners' understanding of the principles and operation of constitutional monarchy. Tai, an orthodox of

Confucian scholar-official, and Tuan-fang, a Manchu official with a reputation for vigour and enlightenment, went as far as the dynasty was willing to go in the matter of constitutional government. Their summary of Western constitutionalism is as interesting for what is rejected as for what is accepted. Secondly, this work underlines the utilitarian interest of the reformers of the period: justification for the constitutional form of government is sought in practical rather than in theoretical terms. In the introductory chapter, for instance, the authors explain that the adoption of a constitution would increase the efficiency of the emperor's rule, not detracted from it. They stress the expectation that when people are allowed to participate in political affairs, their interest in the nation's needs will be stimulated; whereupon a great development of resources will follow, and this in turn will facilitate the government's tax collection. Thirdly, such arguments were not intended for the ear of the Empress Dowager only, they were intended also to provide a reasoned basis on which the throne's actions could be publicized to the entire country. It is noteworthy that the book was published within a year of the commissioners' return. A comparison of the arguments contained in this book with the writings of reformers in contemporary journals shows a close affinity in the points of view. It is clear that this work was part of an effort in traditional government circles to win greater support from the scholars and thereby stem the revolutionary tide (Teng, Ssu-yu and Jeremy Ingalls, 1956:207-208).

The commissioners were received individually in a series of audiences. Separately and jointly, they submitted a number of memorials to the Court and recommended the Japanese model that a constitution and civil liberties including "public discussion" all granted by the emperor so that the emperor could strengthen his position by remaining himself above them all. On August 26<sup>th</sup>, Tsai-feng (the second Prince Ch'un), Princes Ch'ing, Yuan Shih-k'ai, T'ieh-liang, Hsu Shih-ch'ang, Sun Chia-nai, and others to the number of twelve were appointed to form a body to examine and report on the memorials submitted by the returned members of the constitutional commission (United States Department of States, 1969. 1906:348-349). Influenced by Yuan Shih-k'ai, Tsai-feng, the head of the examining body memorized the court on August 29<sup>th</sup> to express his endorsement of constitutional government. Three days later, the Empress Dowager issued one of the greatest of reform edicts of her reign, the pronouncement of September 1<sup>st</sup> 1906 which proclaimed the Throne's adherence to the principle of constitutionalism and encouraged all generals, officials, the literary classes, and the common people to make due preparation for the coming constitutional government. Part of this significant edict was as follows:

All commissioners' reports are agreed that...the wealth and strength of other countries are due to their practice of constitutional government, in which public questions are determined by consultation with the people. The ruler and his people are as one body animated by one spirit, as a result of which comprehensive consideration is given to the general welfare and the limits of authority are clearly defined...There is nothing which is not made the public concern of the people. Moreover, these nations all learn from one another, and are constantly improving their methods so as to attain the highest degree of prosperity. The success of government and the concord of the people have their origin here. Under these circumstances we can not but consider carefully the form of government best suited to the needs of the times, and adopt a constitutional polity in which the supreme authority shall be vested in the crown, but all the questions of government shall be considered by a popular assembly. These are the foundation principles upon which the perpetuity of the states is to rest. As yet, however, the constitution is not prepared, and the people, too, are not properly equipped with the necessary knowledge...In a few years,...we can, after due consideration of the circumstances, collate and compare the methods of other nations and adopt a satisfactory form of constitutional government as well as fix a date for putting it into operation...Thus we may hope that the people will accumulate the stores of wisdom needed for the establishment of a constitutional form of government (United States Department of States, 1969. 1906:349-350).

Although "the supreme authority shall be vested in the crown", it is significant that the Ch'ing Court officially admitted "but all questions of government shall be considered by a popular assembly". The edict was a watershed in the development of Chinese constitutionalism. This was the first time in the Chinese history that an emperor officially announced his intention to achieve a constitutional government. In the gestation period, Chang Chien did play a key role behind the scene in the formation of a favourable political climate for constitutionalism and eventually led the Imperial Court to dispatch the investigatory commission in 1905 and to issue the unusual edict of September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1906. There were celebrations and speeches all over the country. Chang Chien felt gratified and respect for Yuan Shih-k'ai's efforts in scoring this victory. In a letter to Yuan, he called Yuan the Okubo Toshimichi of China (Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Cheng Wen Lu, chuan 3, 13a-13b).

Chang Chien's constitutional efforts were matched by the organization of *Yu-pei li-hsien kung-hui* (*The Association to Prepare for the Establishment of Constitutional Government*). In the Summer of 1906, as mentioned before, Chang gave banquets for returned commissioners Tuan-fang and Tai-Hung-tz'u in Shanghai. He had already revealed his idea of establishing an organization in order to promote constitutionalism to his two guests (Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Chuan Lu, chuan 7, 14a). Thereafter, along with T'ang Shou-ch'ien and Cheng Hsiao-hsu he led the local gentry to institute a constitutionalists club. The three leaders were all ranking scholars who were influential in their home provinces. T'ang, a holder of Chin-shi degree, was a native of Chekiang. Cheng, a Fukienese, was a Chu-jen of 1882, who had served as an official in Anhwei and Kwangtung prior to his retirement to Shanghai in 1906. On December 16<sup>th</sup>, 1906, the

*Association to Prepare for the Establishment of Constitutional Government* was formally founded in Shanghai. Cheng was elected as the president while Chang and T'ang were elected as vice president (Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Chuan Lu, chuan 7, 14a-14b). Many prominent dignitaries in the three adjoining provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang and Fukien were attracted to the association, which was very active in the promotion of constitutionalism in the last year of the Ch'ing dynasty. Chang Chien was always a pragmatic constitutionalist. Immediately after the establishment of the association, members voiced many different opinions on the relative speed with which the constitutional movement should be pushed. In this regard, he was willing to let the ultimate initiative come from the government. He urged private individuals to pay their primary attention to industry, education, and self-government which would function as the foundation of constitutional monarchy.

The Ch'ing Court, in late October, 1906, nearly two month after the edict of September 1<sup>st</sup>, ordered the reorganization of the central government as its first step in preparing for a constitutional government. In August, 1907, *K'ao-cha Cheng-chih Kuan* (*The Political Research Institute*) was reorganized into *Hsien-cheng Pien-ch'a Kuan* (*The Institute of Constitutional Planning*). In September of this year another constitution-study commission was organized and members were sent to the countries with a constitutionalist form of government: Wang Ta-hsieh to England, Yu Shih-mei to Germany and Ta-shou to Japan. At the same time the establishment within a few years of Tzu-cheng Yuan (National Assembly) in Peking and Tzu-I Chu (Provincial Assembly) in various provinces was ordered (Wong king-kong, 1957:44).

### 3.2 The Developing Stage of 1907-1911:

#### *leading to Ch'ing Government's Shortening of 3 Years for Preparation of Constitutional Monarchy*

The constitutionalists were not satisfied with the Ch'ing Court's progress in constitutionalism, and therefore 1907 to 1911, they launched the Petition-for-A-Parliament Movement. The first stage, from autumn 1907 to summer 1908, was devoted to affixing signatures of various provincial constitutionalist bodies to petitions for a Parliament. The second, from October 1909 to November 1910 was active with a high tide of sending petitions for a Parliament. The third, from December 1910 to January 1911 was marked by the Ch'ing rulers suppressing the petitioners' activities (Geng Yunzhi, 1980:116).

In 1907 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and several of his colleagues founded in Tokyo the *Political Information Club* (*Cheng-wen She*) for the express purpose of advocating the establishment of a constitution: (1) responsible parliamentary government; (2) legal reform to insure judiciary independence; (3) local self-government and clear demarcation of authority vis-a-vis the central government; and (4) cautious diplomacy to strive for equal rights in the international community (Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, 1983: 415). Members of this organization who were students in Japan were active in promoting this cause after their return to China. Liang, however, was still persona non grata with the Ch'ing government, which in December, 1907, issued an order prohibiting students from participating in political activities. When members of the *Political Information Club* persisted in their efforts, a few key leaders were arrested in July, 1908, and the organization in China ordered dissolved (Samuel C. Chu, 1965:65).

The Petition-for-A-Parliament Movement in the year of 1908 was participated in by deputies coming from fifteen provinces carried some 100,000 signatures including about 13,000 signatures from Kiangsu Province. However, the Petition-for-A-Parliament Movement in the year of 1908 was not started by Chang Chien (Geng Yunzhi, 1980: 134).

Although Chang Chien was not so keen on the petition of 1908, he did play a very important role in the second stage of Petition-for-A-Parliament Movement from October 1909 to November 1910. On October 13<sup>th</sup>, 1909, Chang Chien, the chairman of the Kiangsu Provincial Assembly approaching Reui-ch'eng, governor-general of Kiangsu Province, trying to enlist his support for the Petition-for-A-Parliament Movement and get him to contact other governor-generals and governors of other provinces to send a joint memorial to the Throne for the establishment of a responsible cabinet (Chang, Chien, 1986, October 13<sup>th</sup>, 1909 (H.T.1/8/30)). Chang Chien also dispatched messengers to make contact with the counterpart Assemblies of other provinces with a view to getting their representatives to come to a conference to be held in Shanghai. As a result, in December, 1909 over fifty representatives from sixteen provinces met at the appointed venue and after sufficient consultation an agreement was reached to send the Capital a petition delegation headed by Sun Hung-I, the chairman of Chili Provincial Assembly, to petition for an earlier convening of a parliament and the establishment of a responsible government. In his *Send-off Speech in Honour of the Deputation Bound for the Capital on the Petition Mission* on December 24<sup>th</sup>, 1909, Chang Chien encouraged the delegates to appeal unceasingly to the Ch'ing Court in demanding the immediate convening of a Parliament and the establishment of a responsible cabinet:

The foreign threat is more and more serious. But the rulers are pursuing a wrong policy. Therefore the national conditions became more and more critical and people are living in distress. The emergency measure for national salvation is to call a Parliament to organize a responsible cabinet immediately...If our demand is refused, we will try again and again without ceasing...Even we fail ultimately... The future generations will remember that we, the people

of this age, have done our best ( Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Wen Lu, chuan 10, 10a-11b; Chang, Chien, 1986, December 24<sup>th</sup>, 1909 (H.T.1/11/12)).

In the meantime, Chang Chien wrote a letter to Tsai-feng, the Prince-Regent, persuading him to accept the petition of the Provincial Assemblies. He told the Prince-Regent that (1) the only way to save the nation was to secure support from the people. The best form of cooperation between the government and the people was calling a Parliament. The misery of the melon-cutting of China by the foreign powers would be avoided if they knew the Chinese people in firm support of their government. (2) A responsible cabinet might serve to reduce the responsibility of the throne and the work of Prince-Regent. (3) The situation was so critical that it would be too late to secure the support of the people and to resist foreign aggression after the long nine-year period of preparation for a constitutional government. Everything could be done more effectively after the convening of a Parliament, except the promulgation of the Parliamentary Law and the Election Law. And therefore the Parliamentary Law and the Election Law should be promulgated within six month, a provisional Parliament should be called immediately after that, and the formal Parliament should be convoked in 1911 (Chang, Hsiao-jo, 1983, Cheng Wen Lu, chuan3, 25b-28b).

The petitions, presented on January 26<sup>th</sup>, June 22<sup>nd</sup>, and October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1910, were carefully worked out (Chang, P'eng-yuan, 1968:161; Sheng Pao, October 14<sup>th</sup> 1910 (H.T.2/9/12), page 1, edition 4). According to Chang P'eng-yuan's estimation, 200,000 people signed the first petition, 300,000 the second, and much great numbers (but less than the proposed numbers of 25,000,000) the third (Chang, P'eng-yuan, 1969b:71). Comparing them with 1895 petition, made in a very short time, signified a spontaneous motion of "the younger", "intellectual elites" and the spontaneity created the first shock and the utter rejection of the Tung-Chih Reform tactics. This time, however, the petitioners further requested the government to open a parliament immediately, and a separation-of-three-power political system which had not been requested in 1895 or even in 1898.

The constitutionalists cited three reasons for the immediate convening of a parliament. First, China's international position was very dangerous because the foreign powers had been threatening partition; only a Parliament which showed national unity could prevent the catastrophe of nation's downfall. Second, China was on the brink of bankruptcy, and the outbreak of revolution was imminent; only a Parliament which lent popular support to the government could prevent such disasters. Third, the present government officials had not devoted themselves to their duties; only a Parliament could force them to be responsible (Chang, P'eng-yuan, 1968:162-163).

On January 26<sup>th</sup>, 1919, shortly after their arrival in the Capital, the delegates sent in the petition through the Imperial Censor-ate, demanding that a Parliament should be opened within one year. This time the Petition-for-A-Parliament Movement had an all-China scale of representation, but the representation was confined to the members of the Provincial Assemblies. The Ch'ing government refused their demand politely on January 30<sup>th</sup>, 1910 by saying that "Preparations were not yet completed" and that "The people's level of political knowledge was not yet uniform, nor up to the standard of constitutional government" (Geng Yunzhi, 1980:119).

To make up for this failure, which they had half expected, the constitutionalists tried another tack. The delegation organized the *All-China Petition-for -A-Parliament Fellow's Society* with the head office at Peking, which was to make contact with the constitutionalists in all the provinces and direct them to set up branches in their localities. The new *Fellow's Society* also made the decision that the Provincial Assembly of Kiangsu, Chili and Kuangtung Provinces should send emissaries to their neighbouring provinces and to foreign countries where there were overseas Chinese to do propaganda among them and win their support (Geng Yunzhi, 1980:120). The second memorial was presented on June 22<sup>nd</sup> asking the period of constitution preparation be shortened and the date of opening of Parliament hastened. But on 27<sup>th</sup>, the government once again refused to consider this request by saying that:

We have perused the memorial presented through the medium of the Censor-ate by the members of Provisional Assemblies and the representatives of the Banner-men of the various provinces praying for the speedy opening of the Parliament. Let it be understood that in the twelfth moon of the last year when the members of Provisional Assemblies presented a joint memorandum on the same subject, we distinctly decreed that as soon as the nine years' preparation were completed and the qualifications of the general public were up to the required standard, we would without hesitation issue an edict to fix a date for calling a meeting of the Parliament. Every care has been taken by the Throne in the matter in the hope that our subjects would not adopt a superficial form and overlook the substantial result to be achieved...In pursuance of the scheme of their late majesties we hereby adhere to the system of making constitutional preparations for nine years, at the expiration of which period another decree will be issued fixing a date for a meeting of the Parliament. We appreciate perfectly the loyalty of your subjects; but this affair is very important and must be carried out in a methodical manner (United States Department of States, 1969. 1910:337).

Chang Chien was not satisfied with this reply, and thus he contacted the chairmen of other Provincial Assemblies suggesting that a *Joint Committee of the Chairmen of All Provincial Assemblies* be set up to launch a third petition in Peking in December 1910 during the National Assembly sessions and the chairmen would depart from their respective province in the late November 1910 after the conclusion of their Provincial Assemblies (Kuo-feng Pao, No.23,

1910:107-108). Finally the chairmen of Provincial Assemblies decided that the meeting in Peking would be arranged earlier to have sufficient time for preparing their petition; and that the title of the delegation to be changed into the *Joint Committee of Provincial Assemblies* because they were afraid that probably some chairmen could not attend. As a result, in August 1910, the representatives from various Provisional Assemblies met in Peking discussing matters on petition (Chang, P'eng-yuan, 1969b:67-68).

Matters remained in an impasse until October, 1910, when the National Assembly, the establishment of which had been promised by the government at the time when it released the constitutional outline, was convened (Samuel.C.Chu, 1965:67). The National Assembly met on October 3<sup>rd</sup> 1910, under the Presidency of Prince Pu Lun, and was opened at noon by the Regent in person. The place of meeting was the converted lecture hall of the Law School in the south-west corner of Tartar city. In the course of his speech the Regent said that, although the opening of the Assembly was only the initial step towards Constitutional Government, it was an emblem of hope of the country's great future (H. T. Montague Bell and H. G. W. Woodhead, 1969-1974, 1912:371). Thereupon the delegation sent its petition through National Assembly to the emperor. In the meantime, the governor-generals, governors, and generals of as many as 17 provinces also sent a joint memorial to the Throne, appealing for an early convocation of a Parliament with a responsible Cabinet. Finally, on 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1910, the Manchu Court was forced to issue a decree to promise the shortening of the period of preparation for a constitutional monarchy, with the establishment of a Parliament in 1913 and a responsible cabinet before the convening of the Parliament but simultaneously order that the petitioning organization be disbanded and that no more petitions be presented (Chin Yu-fu, 1934, chuan 28, 1a-2b).

The issuance of the November decree split the constitutionalists into two camps. The one that represented the *Association to Prepare for the Establishment of Constitutional Government* under the influence of Chang Chien believed that its objective had been reached and that no reasonable purpose could be served by further agitation. For instance, in his diary on November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1910, Chang Chien wrote:

I reached Shanghai and know that the Court issued a decree two days ago promising the establishment of a Parliament in 1913. Hence it is not necessary now to go north to Peking for further agitation (Chang, Chien, 1986, November 6<sup>th</sup>, 1910(H.T.2/10/9)).

And on the next day, November 7<sup>th</sup>, the National Assembly received "congratulatory telegrams" from the Provincial Assemblies of Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces, and from commercial and educational bodies of Kiangsu (Geng Yunzhi, 1980:124).

This view was sharply disputed by representatives of other provinces. Men like T'ang Hua-lung of Hupeh and T'an Yen-k'ai of Hunan persisted in agitating for the immediate opening of Parliament (Samuel C. Chu, 1965:68).

After this November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1910 edict, some constitutionalists in Peking did not simply go home. Instead they drew up further plans in secret before leaving. According to Hsu Fo-su, chief editor of *Kuo-Min-Kung-Pao* and the liason between Liang Chih-ch'ao and the constitutionalists, the attitude of petitioners changed greatly:

In the third petition, strong words appeared. The summary sentences say: "If the government has no sympathy toward its people's suffering; and will do nothing to prevent revolution or chaos, and is determined not to call a Parliament immediately, we, the representatives, can hardly return home to report to the people that the government was disappointing. We will beg no more". As I understand them, these rather radical words expressed not only the indignation of the representatives, but also indicated that if the government refused them again, they might return to revolution. The Ch'ing Court was very angry after reading the third petition. An edict was sent down which ordered the representatives to depart immediately from the capital and return home. The representatives were also angry. The evening after receiving the edict, they all gathered together in my office of *Kuo-Min-Kung-Pao* and secretly decided: "Let us go back home and report the hopeless political condition of the government to the provisional assemblies. We here decide that we shall lead revolution secretly. All the comrades of the assemblies will form the body of the organization. If there is any event in the future which could lead to an uprising, comrades in each province will respond by proclaiming independence immediately". When the secret decision had been made, they left Peking the next day. The Ch'ing Court, knowing nothing about the decision of the representatives, was delighted to see their peaceful departure. The Court took it for grant that they would be no more disturbances: but the fool's paradise did not last long (Chang, P'eng-yuan, 1968:168-169).

And Wu Hsien-tze, who was a petition representative of the Overseas Chinese in America, recalled the conversation similar terms:

On the day the petition representatives were ordered to leave the capital, they had a secret meeting. They would proclaim provincial independence in demanding a constitution. That T'ang Hua-lung, P'u Tien-chun, and many others who had been petition leaders and had attended the secret meeting seized the opportunity to proclaim their provinces' independence in no trivial incident (Wu Hsien-tzu, 1952:16).

The constitutionalists of Fentian, Chili and other Provinces, and the students under their influence launched the third stage *Petition-for-A-Parliament Movement* from December 1910 to January 1911 in demanding further shortening of the preparation period for the convocation of a Parliament. However, in December, 1910 and January 1911, the government cracked down hard on the dissatisfied constitutionalists and students. For instance, the delegates from the Three Northern Provinces were ordered to return to their home provinces under military escort, and one man, Wen Shih-ling of Zhili was sent in exile to Sinkiang (Geng Yunzhi, 1980:124-126).

Why was Chang Chien satisfied with the result? Geng Yunzhi explained that:

The Constitutionalists fell into two categories: those who were led by Zhang Jian (Chang Chien) belonged mainly to Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces, representing big capital and high gentry; and those who belonged to other provinces, representing the lesser bourgeois elements. The former had certain relations with the ruling class and tended to compromises. They avoided direct confrontation with the Revolutionists, though they hated them and were prejudiced against them. The Constitutionalists of the latter categories had not so much at stake as the big capital and gentry and less contact with the rulers, their representatives being Sun Hongyi and Wen Shilin of Zhili, Tan Yankai of Hunan, Tang Hualong and Zhang Kuorong of Hubei, Pu Qianjun of Sichuan. Their aspirations for bourgeois constitutionalism were more genuine and they expressed them in actual activities and struggles. They were, as a matter of fact, the backbone of the *Petition-for-A-Parliament Movement*, organizing and financing it ( Geng Yunzhi, 1980:148).

It was true that the constitutionalists split into two groups, and that Chang Chien represented the moderate one. While Sun, Hung-I and others were to readjust their future position, Chang and his comrades from Kiangsu-Cheking area celebrate the concession of the Manchu Court (Chang, P'eng-yuan, 1968:180). However, the reason Chang Chien accepted this concession from the Ch'ing government was not mainly due to his class status, but mostly due to his individual characteristics. Because he was a man with "golden means", he was a moderate and practical figure after all, he did not like extremes. And therefore, at this stage, he thought that the government's concession was acceptable. He would like to wait and see the beautiful scenery of the opening of the Parliament three years later in 1913.

#### 4. Conclusion

Chang Chien had expressed his feeling that: "the success or failure for the cause of a constitutional monarchy has been one of my greatest concerns in my brief span of life" (Chang Hsiao-jo, 1983, Wen Lu, chuan 10, 8a). His contemporary, Yuan Shih-ka'i had praised Chang Chien as a theoretical leader in promoting constitutional monarchy (Chang Yi-lin, 1966, chuan 7, 6b).

Special characteristics of Chang Chien's constitutional thought are: Constitutional monarchy is based on industry, education and local-self-government and hence industry and political system are mutual related; and a separation-of-three-power constitution under an emperor as content of his constitutional ideas.

Chang Chien's activities on constitutional monarchy: 1904-1906, leading to Ch'ing government's 9-year preparation for constitution monarchy; and 1907-1911, leading to Ch'ing government's shortening of 3 years for preparation of constitution monarchy.

During the petition-for-a-constitution movement in the last years of the Ch'ing period, the constitutionalists backed up their demands with democratic slogans, which the revolutionaries also proclaimed. Both attacked the corruption of the government, though the constitutionalists sought legal rather than violent solutions. Without the constitutionalists opposition, the imperial system might have been preserved and renovated (Chang, P'eng-yuan, 1968:183). The petition-for-a-constitution movement during the last years of the Ch'ing period indeed had unveiled the weakness of the Ch'ing government and paved the way for the revolution of 1911 ( Teng, Ssu-yu, John K. Fairbank and others, 1954: 195).

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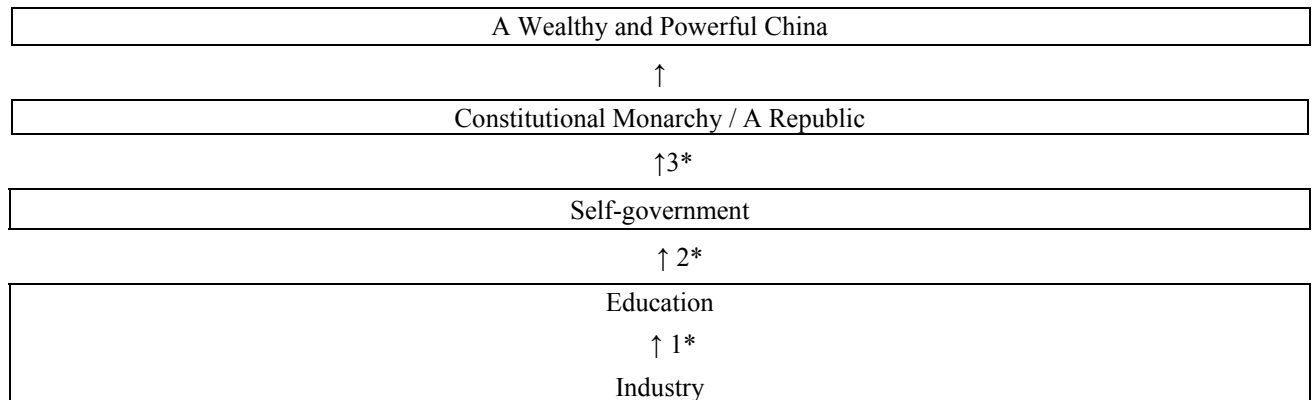


Figure 1. The Main Lines of Chang Chien's Political Thought

#### Legend:

1\*. Industry is the basis of education since educational expenditures have to be supplied by the income of industry. Industry, according to Chang Chien, incorporated agriculture, labour and commerce and it is roughly equivalent to the term of "economic development" of today. Chang Chien saw industry as a means to supply funds for education and also saw industry as a means to save China. He personally devoted himself to the cause of the development of industry and had made great achievements. The success of his economic endeavours enable him to advance education

2\*. Education and industry are the foundation of self-government since they are the essentials of self-government. Education, according to Chang Chien, was not merely "instruction", but was the means for the people to obtain wisdom, learning, and knowledge. In order to save China, Chang Chien thought, people should have ordinary knowledge, and ordinary knowledge must be obtained through adequate education. Chang Chien regarded education and industry as the foundation of self-government, and also avenue to a strong nation.

3\*. Self-government is the basis of constitutional monarchy (or later, a republic) since constitutional monarchy or a republic cannot really be achieved without self-government. Self-government, according to Chang Chien, meant that everyone should devote himself to the development of industry, education, and other local affairs under the leadership of the intellectuals—the representatives of the people, and thus local councils were essential to self-government. Chang Chien saw self-government as the basis of a strong nation. Constitutional monarchy, according to Chang Chien, was a separation of the three-power political system under an emperor. Chang Chien thought that self-government and constitutional monarchy were related and mutually influenced, and thus he was inclined to have a parliament to define the shape and size of taxation.

Chang Chien had played a very important role in the Constitutional Movement: in the gestation period of 1904-1906, he acted behind the scene to push the Ch'ing government to adopt constitutionalism; In the developing stage of 1909-1911, he advocated the Petition-for-a-Parliament Movement and as a result the Ch'ing government shortened the preparation period toward constitutional government by three years or more.

Although for a couple of years Chang Chien had been extraordinarily enthusiastic in the promotion of a constitutional monarchy, he changed from a constitutional monarchist to a republican within less than one month after the 1911 Revolution. Why did he change?

The reasons leading to Chang Chien's change were complicated. However, the underlying reason could be attributed to his political thought with flexibility that industry, education and self-government which were able to be achieved under whether a constitutional monarchy or a republic. The second main reason should be attributed to his pragmatic attitude. He had no choice but to accept the fact that revolution had broken out and that most of the provinces had declared

independence, and lots of the constitutionalists had changed their attitude toward republican, and he could not reverse the trend. Even his home county of Nant'ung and home province of Kiangsu were under the threats of troops in Nanking. He was concerned with the safety of his own county and province. He thought that the only way to stabilize the society was to accept the republic in order to avoid chaos so as to achieve his industry, education and local self-government program. The third main reason should be attributed to his despair with the Ch'ing government. His Chuan-yuan background made it impossible for him to lead an uprising, but he could accept the fact of revolution. Although he had no ambition in obtaining political power, he had to get involved in politics. Therefore he found a solution by supporting Yuan Shih-k'ai as president of the republic in exchange for the abdication of Ch'ing court under some concession. Behind the scene during the period of North-South negotiation 1911-1912, Chang Chien had played a very important role.



## Military Men and Women Facing Challenges of Adapting to New Military Environment

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### Abstract

To adapt themselves to the new military environment, the military men and women must recognize the duty of a military person, get accustomed to special way of life in the Army and be on alert for military operations.

The military service is a special career. The role of a military person is decided by his or her duty and obligation to society and restricted by the career and norms of society. Military persons have common personal characters, which are influenced by military operational environment and their life style is characterized by collective or group form, connected by common goals of their operations, and based on special way of living as a group.

They must adapt themselves to this form of life and interpersonal environment. Their adaptability to military operations is a comprehensive one, which requires tough physical strength, strong wills, high level of coordination and enhanced personality.

**Keywords:** Military personnel, Military profession, Military environment, Adaptation

The Army is the cradle of young officers, who grow tougher and stronger in military operations. Those, who have served in the Army, have long-cherished memories and take great pride in themselves and enjoy great spiritual wealth for life.

The dual aspects of adaptability to military environment include self-adaptability to the new changes of environment and change of social and natural environment.

They must adjust psychologically to the new changes, develop their cognition and harmony of an inner and outer-self, maintain a healthy person mentally and physically so as to keep up with the social development and requirement of the new era. It is a part of a systematic complex with great influence and practical significance. They must adapt themselves in three aspects; the role of a military person, special way of living as a group and military operations.

### 1. The role of a service man or woman

The military service is a special profession. The role of a military person is decided by the duty and obligation to society. They are supposed to meet the expectations of the people and their duty is the base of the military organization as a group. From the day they join the Army, their values, psycho-composition and behaviors are restricted by the career characteristics and by the society. Therefore, the basic guarantee of a successful service life is that of abiding by and giving a full play to this role. There are 3 criteria in judging whether the behaviors of a service man or women suit their positions and environment.

#### 1.1 Prolonged time of the role

The longer a serviceman/woman keeps his/her role or stays in the Army and gets involved in military operations, the stronger his/her ability to adapt to military environment is.

### *1.2 Depth into the role*

They should keep the role within an appropriate range, recognized by the public standards and professional norms.

### *1.3 Number of roles*

The more roles he/she plays in the Army, the more adaptable he/she is to the role and stronger and longer the time of the role is.

The characteristics of the role as serviceman/woman are: team spirit, good conducts, full self-confidence, strong willpower, extraordinary endurance, tough physique, honesty, a strong sense of duty and obligation and self-pride, all of which help to make a true soldier or officer, who is respected by the general public of a society. A qualified professional serviceman/woman must meet the following requirements; full understanding of self-image and clear goals of self-development and military career.

## **2. Special life style as a team**

The life style is in a form of being a team in which Interpersonal relationship is established with clear goals in career and characterized by comprehensive abilities to adapt to a new way of life style and new interpersonal relationship.

### *2.1 Life style*

The life style of the Army is characterized by its duty, missions and specialty of its task, which all the other aspects must be geared to; food, accommodation, recreational and cultural activities, values, morals and aesthetic conceptions.

During certain period of time in history and under certain circumstances, the life style of the Army is an important part of military socialization and guides the direction, essence and level of the process of individual socialization.

The Army life style changes with the social development. Life styles of different historical periods and social systems have had their impacts directly or indirectly on the cognition, emotions, willpower, behaviors, human values and attitudes toward society.

The management of life in the Army is that of being closed or semi-closed, characterized by group living, central supply and high coordination, order, strict military discipline and regulations. Some personal habits and needs must submit to the interests and the image of the Army as a whole.

We must understand that most of the service men and women going through this “melting pot” have changed greatly and become a new type of “human beings”, melting a self-being into a bigger “self-being”, and developing into maturity. To become a serviceman/woman gives one an opportunity to remold oneself and excel oneself to have better survival abilities.

Everybody in society must face the reality, seize any opportunities, and acquire different abilities in adapting to the new environment and survive. The Army provides for every young man and woman such an opportunity.

### *2.2 Interpersonal relationship*

Group living or collective life style is one of the life styles people choose to live and also the basic motivation of an individual to face society. If a person is rejected by or stays away from the group, he or she will feel lonely, restless and painful. The collective form of life style in the Army can satisfy people’s needs to communicate with and learn from each other, cultivate team spirit, and build up emotional links and basis of interpersonal relationships.

The life in the Army can make people’s behavior and reaction be accepted by the group and society. The way of reaction to outside information is the key to establish and maintain interpersonal relationship. There are three promoting and three behavioral factors influencing interpersonal relationship. The former refer to the factors in which an individual can explore and understand oneself to achieve satisfaction in interpersonal relationship. The three factors are: sympathy -- the ability to look at the world from others’ point of view and to appreciate others’ experiences and feelings; mutual understanding -- the ability to understand one’s own feelings of experiences and others’ as well; reality -- the ability to respect and accept reality.

The behavioral factors guide individuals to behave according to one’s own wills at a higher level of manners. They include: honesty -- the ability to interact with others in an honest and positive way; respect -- the ability to care about and trust others with passion; service -- the ability to share other’s feelings and experiences and to serve them.

The basic core of team spirit is the common goal and values among fellow comrades and the significance of team spirit is that everyone in the team is aware of the importance to share and enjoy himself in the team and obtain a sense of achievement, progress and pride, which can hardly be achieved by oneself alone. A person has to put his destiny in the hands of others on many occasions during his life time. Good cooperation, mutual trust and help, mutual support, and interdependence in interpersonal relationships are the true meanings of healthy relationship, which can promote things to develop in a peaceful and successful way.

### 3. Military operations

Military profession is one of the hardest and most noble careers that require great dedication and self-sacrifice. The adaptability to military operations reflects a person's comprehensive abilities in his or her personal traits, intelligence, physique, skills and values.

A military officer must have high moral standards and versatile abilities in organizing and dealing with different local cultures and the people. Military leadership requires high adaptability, creativity and strong ability to lead in difficult and uncertain situations.

A person can benefit from a successful military career for life. The experience in the service enables a person to face life in a calm way, to face fate in a natural way, and to face the world with a heart of mercy. In fact, there are four aspects in the military operations involving adaptability to environment.

#### 3.1 Strong physique

A strong physique is a guarantee in military operations, which requires special physical health of the military personnel. The cruel and unusual military operations or war situations need extraordinary physical and psychological fitness that are almost beyond human limits and tolerance.

In order to meet the requirements in military operations, the Army has established a series of training plans and procedures, including military sport competition programs, physical training programs and skill training programs to train the soldiers and officers to become a tough fighting force physically and psychologically, so that they can accomplish military operations under hard and arduous circumstances beyond normal biological limits and under heavy "loads".

#### 3.2 Staunch willpower

Young soldiers and officers must be trained to become strongly-willed and firmly confident in themselves in order to accomplish those dangerous, arduous, complicated and unexpected military operations, which come as a stern challenge to test their self-control, self-consciousness and psychological tolerance.

According to different kinds of pressure sources and psychological pressure dimensions faced by the men and women in military operations, the Army has constituted a series of strategies and tactics and different training programs in which the Army can put the troops in real-world situations and let them experience hardships, pains and shocks during military operations, rarely encountered in other careers or occupations.

The highly-developed self-consciousness and initiatives cultivated in the Army enable them to overcome difficulties on their own, without depending on outside help or supervision. The highly-developed cognitive abilities enable them to make a clear distinction between right and wrong, make right decisions and then execute them. The highly-developed judging abilities enable them to control and manipulate their behaviors in order to achieve the planned goals in a spirit of "Never give up, never lose heart. Go, go, go to win".

#### 3.3 Good coordination

Team coordination is very important in the Army. One of the features of military organizations is that of strong cohesion, which is the core of a team and its members are united closely around it and are proud of it. The members stick strictly to the values and norms commonly agreed up by the team and the team's functions is given a full swing to achieve tactical advantages in future operations.

The members of a team must be highly coordinated, skilled and have a variety of knowledge. They must also be "psychologically-coordinated" in order to deal with different kinds of dangerous and unexpected situations and be highly alert and well-prepared for the future. Team coordination is of great significance in the development and the future of a serviceman and woman.

#### 3.4 Lofty moral characters

In the light of social psychology, characters are cultivated in the process of individual socialization under the influence of personal and social interactions and under certain cultural circumstances. A military person's characters are featured by the military career and have a direct influence on the fighting capacities and successful completion of the missions.

The quality of moral characters of officers is the key of the whole team performance. The sense of pride and faith is the key of the common value system of the Army. The characters of the servicemen are typical, special, identical, adjustable, and influenced by the environment of military operations.

The creative characters of contemporary servicemen and women are the core of healthy human characters, factors of outstanding character advantages of excellent soldiers and officers and realization of the pursuit of human progress and human life.

Experiences of failures and successes and values of healthy human characters are of great significance to give impetus

to social progress, to advance personal characters and all-around development of the military personnel and to win the victory of our great cause.

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## Readiness for Life Long Learning and Computer Literacy among Students in Technical Institute in Malaysia

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### Abstract

Malaysia nowadays is emphasis the effort to produce large scale amount of k-workers for facing an economic competitive at global level. Industrial organization is also searching k-worker to activate industrial production and then is able to compete with other industrials whether at local and global competitiveness level. Almost industrial organizations are depending on Technical and Vocational Education and Training institution to supply human resource such as workers. Prominently to be k-worker the workers have to qualified in work based knowledge especially the knowledge of the lifelong learning method and computer literacy. This research was conducted among 638 students in Technical and Vocational Education and Training to identify their level of knowledge in term of long life learning and computer literacy to be industrial k-worker. Research finding shows that the students are ready with these types of knowledge. Although some attributes of these knowledge are suggested to be upgrade.

**Keywords:** Lifelong learning methods, Computer literacy, Technical and vocational training institution, Knowledge worker

### 1. Introduction

Malaysia is also has gone through experience in effecting the information technology rapidly changes. The change is absolutely promptly impacted on organization administration in Malaysia. The advance change in information technology is bringing out the concept of borderless world and globalization which any changes happen out side the country will immediately effected to all countries over the world. According to Noe (2002) the challenges of competitiveness facing by organization can be divided into; Globalization challenges, challenging to fulfill the needs of significant holder and challenging in working system highly performance.

By using new technology such as production computer aided, expert system, fuzzy logic, the companies will gained much advantage. New technology will assist worker be admitted smart worker that able to produce quality product and service.

Technologies recently use in the production administration system will defeat its production capability to new invented technologies for the next future time. Consequently the company has to involve in reengineering the working design, training programmed, and remuneration system for sequences time to undoubted the knowledge utilize in the company is always renew and fit with coming new technologies.

According to Delahaye (2002) since 1990s developed countries were introduced with learning organization and knowledge capital concept in the business management and administration. It is apply for the purpose of assisting managers to strengthen the economy and confronting the global competitiveness effectively. Learning organization concept implies knowledge elements are significantly like a major capital for business organization to stimulate business activities. Zalina Zainal *et al.* (2001) divided business capital into psychical capital and knowledge capital. Towards both of the capitals, knowledge is dominant in strengthening the company economy and effort able company

to compete with other business organization. The overriding to use knowledge in managing the business activities in economy system is identified as knowledge economy (k-knowledge).

There are two types of knowledge not to put aside while discussion in the way to decide the scope of knowledge should be given to the worker candidate instead of other knowledge known as curriculum. The knowledge is lifelong learning methods and computer literacy. Curriculum is the entire spectrum of educational experiences made available to students through an institution. Determining curriculum in technical and vocational training institution is a problem of broad policy definition related to the overall career needs of students and labor forces of a geographic region. Curriculum development in technical and vocational training institution has to do with determining which occupations should be covered by the institution's educational efforts, and what priority order resources should be allocated (Wenrich *et al.*, 1988). Lifelong learning is a term that is widely used in a variety of contexts; however its meaning is often unclear (Aspin and David, 2007). The term recognises that learning is not confined to childhood or the classroom, but takes place throughout life and in a range of situations. During the last fifty years, constant scientific and technological innovation and change has had a profound effect on learning needs and styles. Learning can no longer be divided into a place and time to acquire knowledge (school) and a place and time to apply the knowledge acquired (the workplace) (Fischer, 2000). Computer literacy is the knowledge and ability to use computers and technology efficiently. Computer literacy can also refer to the comfort level someone has with using computer programs and other applications that are associated with computers. Another valuable component of computer literacy is knowing how computers work and operate. As of 2005, having basic computer skills is a significant asset in the developed countries (Wikipedia, 2008).

It is clarify that if the workers candidate well performance in lifelong learning methods and computer literacy, they will have great potential to be an everlasting workers for the industrial. Both types of knowledge is catalyst of knowledge value added continuously to the workers.

In conjunction with the beneficial carried out by the learning lifelong learning methods and computer literacy knowledge arrange equipped upon workers to the workplace organization, there will be a necessity to conduct a research to identify the readiness for lifelong learning and computer literacy among students in technical institute which the institute plays role in supplying in worker for work place organization. The objective of this research is to identify the readiness of lifelong learning methods and computer literacy among the students in technical and vocational education and training institution to fulfill industrial workplace competence.

## 2. Problem Back Ground

The implementation of knowledge economy must be operated by knowledge workers (k-workers). K-workers are the workers whose are always ready in to value added their knowledge. They are creative, imaginative, and willing to use the new ideas while working. Beside expert in using information technology, they have multiple skills for accomplishing the task of work.

Lifelong learning methods and computer literacy are among the knowledge and skills that have to equip by k-worker. Lifelong learning seeks to deal with individual continuing education. The aim of lifelong learning is to encourage people gaining the knowledge that significant functional in their life. There are several methods can be invented to motivate workers getting knowledge for example non-credit short courses, basic adult education and workplace training. The over-riding principle for the lifelong learning concept is the education and training should be regard as a continuously learning process and accessible throughout the whole life. It must not be thought of as predominantly confined to the formal period education system such as formal primary school, secondary school and even tertiary education (Zainai, 2006).

Furthermore computer literacy among the workers is mainly created to help them generate solution to overcome the rise working problem. With the skills of computer literacy they are able to collect information from all over the world sources and then aggregate, cleanse, and filter before extract it as valid information suitable for decision making to take any action. Computer literacy is also helping the organization store the information systematically and secure and then effortless to retrieve if necessary.

Through become skilled at lifelong learning methods and computer literacy worker are able to be more creative and imaginative. They are also sooner in getting the new information that required by the organization of work place. The organization than has opportunities to use latest knowledge immediately to produce product effectively. Education and learning institution will play initial role to develop lifelong learning and computer literate toward workers. Attributes of lifelong learning and computer literacy should equip to the students before they are admitted the job market.

Malaysia has its own stance and strategy to allow country moving forward to become an industrial country on year 2020 (Abdullah, 2006). One of the approaches to achieve this target is by giving technical and vocational education training to human resource through Malaysia Industrial Training Institute (MITI) to generate knowledge workers (k-workers). It is include delivering the lifelong learning methods and computer literacy to them.



MITI was establishing under Malaysia Ministry of Human Resources for the purpose of providing formal technical training to industrial sector workers and youth of secondary school leavers (Human Resource Department, 2006). Till year 2006 there are 20 MITI in Malaysia which enroll 8689 students in all over the institutes.

Even though MITI was given responsibility to deliver the lifelong learning methods and computer literacy, they are many factor that influence students learning performance. The ability students to acquire lifelong learning methods and computer literacy from MITI are also influenced by teaching environment provided at MITI. According to Wenrich *et al.* (1988) the teaching environment, whether it is a classroom, shop, or laboratory, are social system with characteristics similar to any other social organization. Teaching environment depends, to a large extent, upon the leadership behavior of the teacher. Teaching environment pressures created by external social and technological conditions and by internal pressures brought about by type of instructor and type of students. Furthermore Wenrich *et al.* (1988) clarify that vocational instructors can enhance their roles as instructional managers and leaders by showing more confidence students and using their ideas in planning, thereby making the students more responsible for achieving instructional goals. Vocational instructors can also improve the effectiveness of their efforts in the classroom if they are know the problems faced by individual students and create a climate in which two-way communication is facilitated. Instructor should make decision on the basis of institution policy and students considerations, and should involve students in decision making, especially those decisions related to students' classroom obligation. Instructor and students should participate in evaluating classroom performance.

Basically, instructors are managers of a specific learning environment. They control the specific inputs necessary for learning process, and plan, direct, and coordinate the specific activities of students in the classroom. They may also control various resources required for instruction. In effect, the instructor also sets instructional priorities, even if these decisions are limited to specific course or program. Vocational programs will be most effective if faculty view themselves as managers who control a variety of resource inputs and whose goal is to provide an optimal learning environment for a group of people with diverse abilities and characteristics.

### 3. Research Methodology

They are 638 out of 8336 final semester students from technical and vocational training institution in Malaysia namely is Malaysia Industrial Training Institute (MITI) was cluster randomly chosen as research respondents. To acquire the samples firstly all the MITI is divided into four zone groups. The four zone group cluster of MITI is shows in Table 1. MITI which was selected to construct up research sample is shows in Table 2. Selected students for research sample are obtaining through random sampling. According to Krejeie and Morgan (1970) since population amount is 8336, 368 sample amount is enough to meet the 95% level of confident.

The data collection is gained through research questionnaires that distributed to the respondents. Pre research was conducted upon 20 respondents in order to identify the reliability of the questionnaire. The result of the reliability test is shows in Table 3.

The Cronbach's Alpha reliability index of the questionnaires for Lifelong learning method is 0.948 and Cronbach's Alpha reliability index of the questionnaires for Computer literacy method is 0.922. Content validity of the questionnaires was validated by two human resources development from the industries and two officers from technical and vocational training institution.

Respondent are requested to state their readiness in lifelong learning methods and computer literacy by choosing one of the scale showed in Table 4. The data gained from respondents are analysie by using of mean score statistic and standard deviation. Statistic interpretation of readiness is showed in Table 5.

### 4. Research Finding

Readiness of lifelong learning upon students in technical and vocational education and training institution is illustrated in Table 6. Base on Table 6 it given representation that the readiness of lifelong learning upon the students in technical and vocational education and training institution is at the ready status (mean score 4.036).

The readiness in computer literacy upon students in technical and vocational education and training institution is illustrated in Table 7. Based on Table 7 it agreed the illustration that the readiness in computer literacy upon the students of technical and vocational education and training institution is at the ready status (mean score 3.810).

Focusing on gender profile of the respondents, research finding showed that among 638 sample research they are 473 male students and 165 female students. Male students' readiness in lifelong learning method is at ready status (mean score 4.014) and female students also at ready status (mean score 4.036). Male students' readiness in computer literacy is at ready status (mean score 3.748) and female students also at ready status (mean score 3.986).

T-test has been conducted to identify the differences of lifelong learning method readiness among male students and female students. The test result shows that there is significantly no difference of readiness in lifelong learning method among male students and female students ( $t=.726$ ,  $df=636$ ,  $p>0.05$ ). T-test also has been conducted to identify the

differences of computer literacy knowledge readiness among male students and female students. The test result shows that there is significantly a difference of readiness in computer literacy knowledge among male students and female students ( $t=-4.490$ ,  $df=400.659$ ,  $p<0.05$ )

There are four MITIs involved in this research. Statistic analysis enlightened that all the MITIs' students are at ready status upon readiness in lifelong learning method and computer literacy knowledge. Overall readiness mean score of lifelong learning method for MITI (XIII) is 4.090, MITI (V) is 4.010, MITI (III) is 4.0667 and MITI (IX) is 4.0437. The readiness mean score of computer literacy for MITI (XIII) is 3.5682, MITI (V) is 3.7019, MITI (III) is 3.6539 and MITI (IX) is 3.5055. By using T-test the result showed that there are significantly no mean score deference in the readiness of lifelong learning method among the MITIs. There are two significantly mean score deference in the computer literacy knowledge among the MITIs namely MITI (V) and MITI (IX)  $\{t=2.776$ ,  $df=354$ ,  $p<0.05\}$ , and MITI (III) and MITI (IX)  $\{t=2.026$ ,  $df=321$ ,  $p<0.05\}$

## 5. Conclusion and Suggestion

Base on the research finding it can conclude that students in educational and vocational education and training institution are equipped with lifelong learning methods and computer literacy at a good level since for preparedness to admit the job market. They are geared up active to achieve any given responsibilities from the employer and willing to fulfill industrial need. Although to develop them to be more marketable and employability a number of lifelong learning and computer literacy attributes suggested to be increased upon students. It is because mean score of both knowledge are still not meet mean score 4.21 (mean score 4.21 and above is interpreted as strongly ready with the knowledge). Thus technical and vocational education and training that interested to increase lifelong learning methods and computer literacy over the students should focus on the attributes that below min 2.41.

Lifelong learning methods attributes that below mean score 4.21 are

- Knowing the place to search new knowledge about work skill from now onward (mean score 3.959)
- Like to read latest reading materials about work (mean score 3.956)
- Willingness to use own money to upgraded knowledge about work (mean score 3.925)
- Awareness on the changes of working method in others workplaces (mean score 3.792)
- Able to use internet getting the materials about work (mean score 3.752)
- Experienced in using internet to get the materials about work (mean score 3.690)

Computer literacy attributes that below mean score 4.21 are

- Able to use computer to write report (mean score 4.046)
- Able to use computer to faster accomplishing work (mean score 3.889)
- Able to use computer for data processing (mean score 3.862)
- Able to use computer to get work information (mean score 3.825)
- Able to use computer to do work (mean score 3.821)
- Experienced in using computer to accomplish work (mean score 3.701)
- Experienced in using computer to improve job quality (mean score 3.527).

By referring to the industrial back ground where their human resource officer appointed to validate the questionnaire it is shows that the knowledge of lifelong learning methods and computer literacy can be use in accomplishing the task of work. The works here are related to electrical and electronic technology, information technology, gas pipe fitting, refrigerator and air-condition, furniture technology, building construction, graphic and printing, computer maintenance, and industrial instrument. These fields of occupation need the worker have enough knowledge and skill to achieve the work task. Even though industrial worker graduate from MITI suddenly found his lack of knowledge since doing work task, he will immediately know the appropriate place to get new suitable knowledge. This proactive attitude indirectly assures the production system is going smoothly and effectively.

By comparing the level of student readiness in lifelong learning and computer literacy it is found that the level of readiness in lifelong learning methods (4.036) is higher than the level of readiness in computer literacy (mean score 3.81). If choice is given, MITI students have to initially upgrade the level of computer literacy than lifelong learning methods. Computer literacy aptitude that lowest equip to the students carried out lowest of computer literacy are Experienced in using computer to improve job quality' (mean score 3.527) and 'Experienced in using computer to accomplish work' (mean score 3.701). Meaning that if the students are given enough appropriate experience in using

computer to improve job quality and using computer to accomplish work it might help MITI students in upgrading their computer literacy readiness to be k-worker in industry.

Computer is a form of technology that very helpful to worker for simplifies their job task. For certain tasks computer will help worker complete the task on time without compromise on work quality. While working, besides using for writing, analyzing and data recording, computer also use for prediction, task job planning, and getting information for facilitate problem in job.

Several industries use verities of machines operated by computer control to produce products such as Computer Numerical Control (CNC), Computer Aided Design, Computer Aided Manufacturing, Coordinate Measuring Machine, Roundness Tester, and Hardness Tester. Gibson (1995) found that so many administration and management task in industries be able to simplify with computer aided especially in favor of planning, managing and controlling on industrial activities. According to Hasliza Hashim (2004) a survey in the management department shows that there are many work activities run by computer compared to work activities by manuals.

Although the level of student's readiness in lifelong learning methods shows it is higher than the level of student's readiness in computer literacy instead it is better to endeavor intended for upgrading the level by upgrading the lowest readiness aptitude lifelong learning level upon the MIT students. Two lifelong learning methods that are the lowers equip in MITI student are 'Experienced in using internet to get the materials about work' (mean score 3.690) and 'Able to use internet getting the materials about work' (mean score 3.752). It seems both of the attributes is related with the computer literacy even though there are the aptitude of lifelong learning methods because by using internet it is possible for worker to gain the knowledge. This finding implies that the MITI students need more appropriate activities in using internet to get the materials about work. If MITI give enough experience in using internet to get material about works to the students perhaps their readiness in lifelong learning is increase too. To make MITI students easy to get experience and able to use internet, they should be encouraged of having own computer attached with internet instead of MITI computer for them to explore and getting latest material about job task. While they are become industrial k-worker they must put priority to buy computer attached with internet system for the same purpose.

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**Table 1. Zone group cluster of MITI**

Zone Group	Malaysia Industrial Training Institute (MITI)
Southern zone	MITI (I), MITI (II), MITI (III), MITI (IV)
Central zone	MITI (V), MITI (VI), MITI (VII)
Eastern zone	MITI (VIII), MITI (IX), MITI (X), .
Northern zone	MITI (XI), MITI (XII), MITI (XIII), MITI (XIV)

**Table 2. Research samples**

MITI	Selected samples
Southern zone; MITI (III)	151 students
Central zone; MITI (V)	182 students
Eastern zone; MITI (IX)	173 students
Northern zone; MITI (XIII)	132 students
Total	638 students

**Table 3. Questionnaire Reliability**

Readiness catogery	Questionnaire Item amount	Reliability Coefficient (Alpha)	Reliability Coefficient (Split)	Questionnaire Item Correlate	Mean score	Standard Deviation
Lifelong learning method	9	0.948	0.929 0.862	.709	3.874	0.695
Computer literacy knowledge	7	0.922	0.915 0.869	.535	3.933	0.413

**Table 4. Scale Statement of Readiness In Lifelong Learning Knowledge And Computer Literacy**

	Strongly not agree	Not agree	Moderate	Agree	Strongly agree
Scale	1	2	3	4	5

**Table 5. Interpretation of Readiness In Lifelong Learning Methods And Computer Literacy**

Mean score range	Interpretation of Readiness
1 to $\leq 1.80$	Strongly not ready
$>1.80$ to $\leq 2.61$	Not ready
$>2.61$ to $\leq 3.41$	Moderate
$>3.41$ to $\leq 4.21$	Ready
$>4.21$ to $\leq 5.00$	Strongly ready

**Table 6. Readiness of Lifelong Learning Upon Students In Technical And Vocational Education And Training Institution**

	Mean score	Std. Deviation
Experienced in using internet to get the materials about work.	3.690	.948
Able to use internet getting the materials about work	3.752	.913
Awareness on the changes of working method in others workplaces	3.792	.708
Willingness to use own money to upgraded knowledge about work	3.925	.781
Like to read latest reading materials about work.	3.956	.731
Knowing the place to search new knowledge about work skill from now onward	3.959	.690
Willingness to learn new knowledge about work	4.390	.627
Willing to learn new technology	4.403	.653
Willing to learn new knowledge	4.462	.586
Conclusion readiness of lifelong learning methods among the students	4.036	.453

**Table 7. Readiness in Computer Literacy Upon Students In Technical And Vocational Education And Training Institution**

	Mean score	Std. Deviation
Experienced in using computer to improve job quality	3.527	.999
Experienced in using computer to accomplish work	3.701	.974
Able to use computer to do work	3.821	.842
Able to use computer to get work information	3.825	.881
Able to use computer for data processing	3.862	.812
Able to use computer to faster accomplishing work	3.889	.832
Able to use computer to write report	4.046	.747
Conclusion of computer literacy among the students	3.810	.694



## Beijing Olympics: a New Brand of China

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### Abstract

The article analyzes Beijing Olympic brand value from the dimension of nation, cities, enterprises and citizens. The author holds the view that, the nation displays in the Beijing Olympic Games the brand value of harmony, confidence and tolerance; cities convey the brand value of tradition, modern, and green; enterprises market the brand value of independence, quality, and value; citizens express the brand value of civilization, passion and smile. The brand value of Beijing Olympic Games is a significant part of the Olympic spiritual heritage and research on it will have a positive effect on spiritual civilization construction.

**Keywords:** National brand, City brand, Enterprise brand, Citizen brand

On August 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008, in the interview with Chinese and foreign reporters in the great hall of peoples, the Chinese President Hu Jintao pointed out, “hosting of the Beijing Olympic Games will leave behind a set of sports stadiums and infrastructures for us. We cherish very much these tangible heritages, and will fully explore their functions and significance. Meanwhile, we realize that, the spiritual heritage of Beijing Olympic Games will be more permanent and invaluable.” Among the spiritual heritage series of Beijing Olympic Games, the heritage of brand value is “the most permanent and invaluable”. A brand is a kind of language readable to people in the whole world, and China as a growing up country, should enable whole world to understand it. On the best platform of Beijing Olympic Games, China displays to the whole world its national image, city enchantment, enterprise force and citizen making. This article systematically studies Chinese brand built up by Beijing Olympic Games from the dimension of nation, cities, enterprises and citizens, excavates historical value of Beijing Olympic Games, and deeply surveys “Green Contribution” made by sports to social development. The Beijing Olympic Games will not only change history of international Olympic Games, but also is altering international path of China. Therefore, how to protect and manage the brand value of Beijing Olympic Games is a topic with both realistic significance and long-term strategic significance.

### 1. National brand

In recent years, growing up of China has been a phenomenon extensively concentrated by the international society. Meanwhile, such misunderstandings and prejudices as “theory of china threat” have also appeared accordingly. Under such a circumstance, how to effectively manage the national image of China and how to enable China to gain the respect of the whole world while being concentrated has also been an important topic in the process of its peaceful growing up. The 2008 Beijing Olympic Games is exactly an important opportunity to upgrade the national image. The highest level of Olympic marketing is to successfully market a country, while the marketing of a country is to set up the image and status of a country internationally, which is also a process of displaying the national brand. The national image refers to the overall assessment of the international society and public on the stability of the country. National image is not an entity, but a symbol and a sign. It is constituted by several factors, such as the geographic surroundings of a country, its internal and external policies, its development conditions, its cultural features, and its national spiritual styles, etc.. The national image is affected both by hard strength and by soft strength of a country. The former refers to specific measurable resources and rights, including population, territory, natural resources, economic power, military power, social power, and rights and influences in the international affairs. While the latter refers to cultural appeal and political values. The latter is the constructive foundation of the national image, which attracts and affects others with its internal vigor and enchantment, and which is more permanent and effective.

In the history of modern Olympic Games, America has held Olympic Games for 8 times and has promoted its national

brand and culture to the greatest extent. However, the international society generally believes that, it is South Korea that has most successfully marketed the national brand by holding the Olympic Games. Beijing Olympic Games is the best stage to display Chinese national image, and is the most important opportunity to market its national brand. Since the reform and opening up, China has successfully finished its great historical transition, and realized rapid economic and social development. Its GDP has increased from 364.5 billion RMB to 22.66 trillion RMB, its economic gross has sprung up to the fourth in the world, and its comprehensive national strength has increased continually. In these 30 years, historical changes have taken place to the visage of Chinese people, to the influences of the socialist China, and to the status of Communist Party of China. Through display of these historical changes, the whole world is appreciating the civilized and open national image of Chinese democratic advancement. We regard the period from the reform and opening up to the entrance into WTO as the first phase of China going towards the international stage. Successful hosting of the Beijing Olympics, and important role of China in this financial tsunami prove that China has entered the second phase of developing its national image and building up the Chinese brand. The series of national brand value displayed in the Beijing Olympic Games is as follows:

### *1.1 Harmony*

Harmony is the primary tone of Beijing Olympic Games. When displaying well-rounded culture of the world, Beijing is also exhibiting harmony of Chinese culture and profound details of Chinese civilization to the whole world. The ideal of “technology empowered Olympics, culture enriched Olympics, environment friendly Olympics” contained in the harmonious, and esthetical harmony, pursuit of “One World, One Dream”, and perfect complement for the sports culture of Olympic Games -- “Higher, Swifter, Stronger” are exploitation and development of Olympic spirit. The long-standing Chinese civilization will also creatively realize communication and integration with Olympic culture, and will implant new connotations for “Peace, Friendship, Progress”. China has fulfilled its commitment towards International Olympic Committee out and out, Beijing Olympic Games has been held orderly and the Chinese people have behaved perfectly, which altogether leave an overall impression upon the world: a peaceful China, a civilized China, and a progressive China. China in such a condition is not frightening, but on the contrary, it is affable and harmonious. “The world will finally go towards progress and brightness. Success of Beijing Olympic Games is not only owing to China, but to the whole world.”

### *1.2 Confidence*

Chinese people were called “Sickman of East Asia” before its liberation; in old China, the Olympic Games was “One Man’s Olympics”; the reform and opening up of China broke through the history of the number zero in the total number of golden medals; in the new century, an Olympics with “high quality and special features” was held, in which China won the most golden medals among all countries; all these facts prove that, such rapid development of Chinese sports cause has gained stronger confidence in Chinese people. Before and after Beijing Olympics was held, never stopped negative information about China by western media, their critical reports, and their comments of resisting Beijing Olympics. In face of all kinds of doubt, arraignment, and unfriendliness, no blame or complaint has been manifested whether in leaders of the country or in its common citizens. Instead, they confront all with an attitude of understanding, tolerance and gentleness all along. They have tolerated all with their broad bosom, they transfer all misunderstandings into trust with lots of indisputable facts, and they change arraignment into high praise. Chinese peoples’ tolerance, their open mind, and their diversified voices are all harvests from the Beijing Olympics. Of course, all these harvests can be summarized as indication of a more confident country. That is, what we have gained from the Beijing Olympics is confidence of the Chinese people.

At the time when China is recognized by the international society, it is inevitable that it will endure much exclusion and doubt, and conflicts of ideology and culture. Western countries never doubt whether China has the competence to hold the Olympics, but they doubt about validity of it holding the Olympics. It can’t be denied that, there has stronger central consciousness of western discourse. In evaluation of various activities of the Beijing Olympics, it is natural that they measure all with the western standard. Chinese people regard the “collision of different thinking modes” as a process of learning, perfection and growing, and they further achieve self-identity and self-expression in the process of conflicting communication, so as to confirm the future status in the international society. Therefore, “in order to maintain and display a perfect national image, we should listen to and accept different voices leisurely with an attitude of tolerance, promote cross-cultural communication frankly, and see it as motive for sustainable development and progress. Meanwhile, Chinese people are undergoing self-check and reflection on “the national characteristics”, For example, Du Li missed the first golden medal of the Olympics, Lang Ping led American female volleyball team to defeat the Chinese team, the Flying Man Liu Xiang suddenly withdrew from the contest --- in face of these facts, the majority of Chinese people acted with an attitude of tolerance and understanding, which has won praise and respect from the whole world.

The Beijing Olympics takes advantage of all sorts of paths to introduce to the whole world ancient and civilized Chinese culture, to display the positive spirit and social life of its people, to declare the spiritual essence and key elements in its national image, to affect or change western countries’ long-time opinions and views on the outdated conditions of Chinese people, and to elevate the overall national image and brand.

## 2. City brand

"In 1970s, politicians, entrepreneurs, and other interest-related parties regarded sports as a tool for elevating the image and appeal of a city, especially of a region. According to them, sport was one of the few means to figure the image of a city." In the current society of globalization and commercialization, impacts of Olympics on the society increases day by day. Accordingly, the city government gradually realized that, they could acquire potential interests from organizing and holding an Olympics, and World Cup, etc.. Of course, sports contest can be an effective tool for realizing administrative target of a city. For instance, city brands of some European countries, such as Barcelona, Rotterdam, and Turin are all world-famous because of their sports contest. Therefore, "Success or failure of an Olympics does not depend on its temporary gain or loss, but on the long-term development of the host city. Without the Montreal Olympics in 1976, its current development would not be possible." With the three major ideals of "environment friendly Olympics, technology empowered Olympics, culture enriched Olympics," Beijing quickens its construction, upgrades its overall development level, greatly promotes its city brand, displays its city enchantment, and is, therefore, highly praised by overseas guests. The city brand value conveyed in the Beijing Olympics is as follows:

### 2.1 Tradition

The Beijing Olympics is a great combination of the Olympics with a history of 100 years and the Chinese civilization with a history of 5000 years, a grand gather of culture from all over the world and the Chinese culture, a passionate talk between the Eastern civilization and Western civilization, and will become a window for mutual understanding of China and the world. Chinese elements have displayed their particular enchantment in the long cultural corridor of Olympics. For example, the Olympic badge "Chinese stamp, dancing BJ", the Official Mascots "Friendlies", the torch "Auspicious Cloud", and the golden medal "Gold and jade" all perfectly integrate Chinese culture with the Olympic Spirit. Chinese people have revealed extreme passion towards the Olympics. The crowded torch relay, the Olympic slogan everywhere, and Olympic tickets sold out once--- the ancient and traditional Beijing has been implanted with adolescent energy, and an Olympic atmosphere can be felt everywhere.

### 2.2 Modern

The stadium design and construction of Beijing Olympics has become a nonesuch of a harmonious combination of history, culture and nature. From the perspective of city development, Asian games realized the route from central axis to North 4th Ring, while Olympics has realized the extension of the central axis from North 4th Ring to North 5th Ring --- such Olympic facilities as the national stadium, and Olympic Forest Park have enabled the central axis to pass across Olympic Center and to extend towards north. An overlook at the central axis after extension, it is in the shape of a dragon constituted by a water system. The Olympic Forest Park also constitutes a water system sight of central axis together with the original six seawater systems, which altogether form an open ending of central axis centered with natural virescence. All this makes such Olympic building complex as the Bird's Nest and Water Cube introjected into the historical and modern Beijing, and into the natural virescence and cultural virescence. Total investment amount for the Beijing Olympic infrastructure was 280 billion RMB, the total investment amount for the stadium construction was 13 billion RMB, and total running capital was approximately 14 billion RMB. In 2001, the length of subway route in Beijing was only 54 kilometers, while by July 2008, the total course of its traffic had reached 200 kilometers. The newly built expressway, new airline station building at the airport, environmental control and environmental protection investment, and informationization establishment all have obviously improved infrastructure and service level in Beijing. A modernized Beijing is exhibited to the whole world.

### 2.3 Green

Beijing Olympic stadiums are all "Green Buildings". According to incomplete statistics, environmental protection projects adopted in the whole Olympic projects approximated over 190. Merely in the construction of Olympic Village and the National Stadium, 36 and 26 advanced technologies were respectively integrated and applied. In the Olympic Village, regenerative water heat pump system was applied for the first time, which could save 60 million kilowatt-hour each year. The adoption of advanced sewage treatment has enabled regenerative use rate of the sewage treatment in Olympic stadiums to reach 100%. Such tough measures as capital steel relocation, channel sedimentation clearance, energy saving and drainage reduction, etc, have regained Beijing the green water and blue sky. Forests in the whole city covers approximately 50%, and those in mountainous areas attain 70%. Both sides of "the Five Rivers and Ten Routes" have been lined with a virescence belt of 23,000 hectares, and urban districts have been lined with a virescence insulation belt of 12,000 hectares. Three green ecological screens have been almost completed, and virescence coverage rate in the city has exceeded 40%. Besides, the number of days when the quality of the air is above Grade Two has been increased from the original 50% to the current 70%. Therefore, it can be said that Beijing has realized its "Green Commitment".

Olympics is not only a sports game, but an economic game, which can promote rapid growth of a hosting city. However, afterwards, long-term demand driven by expansion of investment demand dramatically shrinks, and the rapidly



improved economy descends due to loss of motive, which is the normally named "Post-Olympic risk". In 1999 after the Nagano winter Olympics, its manufacturing industry descended by 30%, and 211 enterprises went bankrupt, in which Nagano underwent a pain of "Post-Olympic syndrome. The claimed most successful Olympics in the history --- Sydney also didn't escape from the "Post-Olympic risk". And even more seriously, the Athens Olympics in 2004 suffered a lumbering "Post-Olympic risk". Beijing Olympics is the first Olympics held by developing countries. Whether from the perspective of Chinese economy, or from the perspective of Chinese development speed and the city construction space, Beijing is completely capable of avoiding "Post-Olympic risk". However, the American "Financial Crisis" after Beijing Olympics has swept the global economy, which inevitably is affecting reversely Chinese economy. In order to keep the economic development speed, the Chinese government has adopted a series of tough measures to enlarge its internal demands, which will strengthen the Chinese economic confidence and play a driving role in promoting its economic development.

### 3. Enterprise brand

Quality is the life of an enterprise, and brand is the eye of an enterprise. Today when the globalization tendency is pricking up, Olympics is a huge incubator of an enterprise brand. Elevation of enterprise brand in the international competition in virtue of Olympics has become an important marketing strategy for the self-development of an enterprise. "According to the statistics, if an enterprise intends to upgrade its brand recognition in the world, it needs an advertising expense worth of 0.1 billion USD for each 1% of its improvement, while the same amount of expense can upgrade its recognition up to 3% if it is used to sponsor large-scale sports contests, such as Olympics."<sup>[8]</sup> Olympic economy has become an overwhelming economic phenomenon in the global economic development of recent 30 years. Olympic economy is brand economy, which could build up a set of well-known products and enterprise brands if perfectly operated. Olympic economy is also brand economy, and through perfect running, quite lots of well-known product and enterprise brands can be built up. An enterprise can deeply excavate the connotation of "Swifter, Higher Stronger" of the Olympics according to its operational field and its brand features, find out reasonable explanation for its brand, and manifest its power and credit. Coca Cola, GE, Kodak, McDonald's, Panasonic and Samsung are all typical cases. Especially for Samsung, it has been the cooperative partner of the International Olympic Committee since Seoul Olympics in 1988, and has been for a succession of six years. In the recent 20 years, Samsung has finished its span from "South Korean Samsung" to "International Samsung", and has been the global brand in digital electronics and home appliances.

Within the 30 years since the reform and opening up, a batch of large-sized enterprises has emerged in China which could be accounted into the World Top 500. However, the international popularity and international brands of these enterprises still have a long way to go compared with those of Coca Cola and Samsung. China has made full use of the unprecedented opportunity of Beijing Olympics to shape its brand value and status. The enterprise brand value marketed in the Beijing Olympics is as follows:

#### 3.1 Independence

Enterprise brand can be said to be an unity of credit, competence and performance. Credit is accumulation of an enterprise's long-term credibility, competence includes such external factors as products, service, and quality, etc, while performance refers to propaganda of power and credit. At the time when consumers of the whole world are paying attention to the Olympic contest, it is inevitable that they acquire information of enterprises, brands and products in between. During the year preceding the Olympics, the year of Olympics, and the year following, Chinese enterprises have designed marketing combination centering on Olympics, and have effectively marketed their brands, which not only helps to elevate their total sale amount, but is likely to gain marks for their brand value. During the Olympics, Chinese enterprises broke through independent innovation value for their brand marketing. For instance, the president of Legend Holdings Ltd., Liu Chuanzhi believes that, the purpose of their sponsoring the Olympics is to make full use of this opportunity to manifest technology of Legend. Legend manifesting of technical innovation has attained its perfection, which is indicated in the fact that, merely design and making of the "auspicious cloud torch" has broken through tens of independent innovation technologies, and has created the history of "auspicious cloud torch" inflaming without extinction on Mount Everest.

#### 3.2 Quality

With the concept of green Olympics gradually penetrating into people's heart, requirement for environmental protection has been the important precondition for purchase of Olympic facilities. Air-conditioners used to be one of "chief criminals" in damaging the global ozone layer, of which Haier made best use of the advantages and avoided the disadvantages, and successfully invented the best quality of energy saving, environmental protection and service. It is by replacement of the "environmental protection and cooling catalyst" with technical quality that Haier has won actual scores for its brand value. Data of the top 100 enterprises in electronics information issued by Ministry of Information Industry in 2006 indicated that, in 2006, the export amount of Haier Group attained 10.73 billion RMB. Currently, several Chinese home appliance enterprises have had conditions for entering the international market. The quality

strategy by Haier is a wonderful lesson for how to enter the international market and how to realize rapid development. Meanwhile, in respects of fulfilling responsibilities of the social Olympic citizens, and transmitting Olympic spirit and culture, etc, Haier Group has realized the target of mutual stimulation of the brand popularity, reputation and Olympic transmission.

### 3.3 Value

If an enterprise could fulfill strict requirements of International Olympic Committee for its cooperative partner, and become the partner of the Olympics, this would have direct and strong stimulative effect on the elevation of its value chain and on the distillation of its value chain. "To fulfill requirements of the Olympics" has become the unified standard of an enterprise on each aspect of its value chain, which is helpful for an enterprise to distribute more outstanding suppliers, sellers and other service agents, and to increase the overall advantages and competence of its value chain. For instance, in the case of Tsingtao Beer, its combination with the Olympics is firstly indicated in their strategic inosculation. Tsingtao Beer is an international brand per se, and Olympics is also an international contest, so inosculation is satisfied in their strategies. The slogan of Beijing Olympics is "One World, One Dream", while that of Tsingtao Beer is "Passion, dreams & success", in which their brand relevancy is quite obvious. Whether for manufacturing enterprises or for service enterprises, internationalization doesn't merely refer to that of its products, or to that of the enterprise per se, but an internationalization of all its partners in its value chain, especially its upper suppliers.

As for Chinese enterprises, both sports marketing and Olympic marketing are a new subject. Therefore, most of the time, our enterprises are lacking in strategic ideas and even eager for quick success and instant benefit. For example, a good many enterprises consider Olympics a perfect opportunity to expand itself, and make great effort in advertisement propaganda and market promotion, but normally ignores basic requirements of Olympic spirit, not having much more positive interaction with consumers, and with relative groups in the community, the city and the national government. Hence, they can only gain superficially --- with popularity, but without reputation, more returns and persistence of their brands. Facing the significant issue of Olympics, many enterprises reveal disadvantages of commercial experiences and management skills compared with brand marketing of Coca Cola in that, boldness and negligence has become the largest disadvantage in their operation during the Olympics. For example, Sanlu toxic baby milk incident which took place after the Beijing Olympics has affected adversely Yili, and seriously damaged its original strength, which was a painful lesson. Still, Chinese enterprises should strengthen their sport marketing in terms of values, social responsibility, Olympic citizens' life realm and everlasting spirit, etc,. All this tells that, there is a long way to go for Chinese enterprises to realize their internationalized brand strategy.

## 4. Citizen brand

Citizen brand refers to manifestation of the national citizen's quality. National quality also refers to competence and makings of all the national citizens in the social activities. It is extremely significant to a country, since it is related to the national destiny and future. Beijing Olympics is also a window to manifest spiritual civilization of the present Chinese people, and is a hard-won stage for displaying the national quality. In recent years, western industrialized countries have not reached an agreement upon praise and satirization of Chinese people. Their general comments on China are no more than that, Chinese people created unprecedented and gorgeous civilization, but they don't possess any quality of modern civilization. Chinese superiors lay great importance to improvement of national quality, and they firmly believed that the quality of Beijing citizens were decisive in success of the Olympics even when the Olympics was successfully bidden for. In cooperation with relative departments and through vigorous mobilization of several years, the Beijing Olympic Committee made propaganda extensively, offered education and training. In return, during the Olympics, Beijing citizens and volunteers displayed new standards of national quality development, and left positive impression upon guests from all over the world. The national quality brand value displayed during the Beijing Olympics was as follows:

### 4.1 Civilization

"Welcomes the Olympics, stressing civilization, a new trend, --- I have been involved in, my dedication, my happiness". From successful application for the Beijing Olympics until its coming, civilians in Beijing have been practiced this slogan with their actions. Not only in Beijing, this activity of "stressing civilization, a new trend" has spread all over the whole China. A lot of cities and towns, schools, organs, and enterprises printed and distributed handbooks of civilization and etiquette, and propagandized various etiquette criteria. To realize politeness, to learn politeness, and to put it into practice has become a vogue in the Chinese citizens. Olympics not only provides a platform to manifest Beijing and China, but an opportunity to supervise and promote the national civilization and politeness. With the notion of humanism Olympics, and the gradual improvement of city functions, civilization quality of citizens, their spiritual outlook, and the social modern civilization degree all get further improved. We warmly welcome guests from all around the world with politeness, and in return, we get respect from them. Such a smile also enables volunteers everywhere to be beautiful scenery of the Beijing Olympics. Most of the volunteers are young people born in "the late 1980s", and

their loveliness, smile and diligence is the best name card for displaying China's image, and for exhibiting China's future and brightness. In Rogge's viewpoint, "Beijing Olympics has elevated consciousness of environmental protection in Beijing people and people of the whole China." All sorts of environmental protection education and propaganda activities unfolded all over the country have improved the public environmental consciousness gradually. Such voluntary environmental protection activities as rubbish assortment, planting of carbonneutral forest, and one fewer day of driving have been more and more overspread, and have been a brand-new highlight of the green Olympics, environmental protection notion gradually penetrating into inner heart of each national citizen.

#### 4.2 Passion

Altogether, the largest volunteer team is constituted by 100,000 games volunteers, 400,000 city volunteers, 1 million social volunteers, 200,000 cheering squad members, and 550 city service stations. Under the impelling of the slogan "I have been involved in, my dedication, my happiness", they provide excellent service all the way with their hundredfold efforts and passion. In the whole city, a perfect atmosphere emerged with smile as the center. It was devotion and earnest efforts by thousands of people that fulfilled a glory new to the whole world. 5000 years' civilization and friendliness of the Chinese nation gets thorough manifestation. From the 380 medal presentation ritual girls to thousands of Olympic volunteers, and from smiling cab drivers to smiling ordinary people everywhere, a shocking power of most friendly smile and etiquette country with ancient civilization was, all without exception, displayed to the world. What should be particularly mentioned, in face with Wenchuan earthquake, Chinese people combined the great earthquake relief work spirit of "hearts together, dreams come true, face a difficulty" with the Olympic spirit of "Challenge the limit and indomitable struggle" with their indomitable spirit and strong will, and brought much more brilliance to the Beijing Olympics.

#### 4.3 Smile

Dedication is the core of voluntary spirit. The grand global ceremony held by the 1.3 billion hosts was shocking not only owing to its magnificent vigor, but more to the enjoyable sea gathered from minor dedication. In the upsurge of "Welcomes the Olympics, stressing civilization, a new trend", each face was filled with warm smile. On most occasions, Chinese audience could cheer up for all athletes with an attitude of appreciation and encouragement. And in some contest fields, Chinese audience even cheered up for struggling losers with no identification of nationalities, hosts and guests, for those players who insisted on competition even with injury, and for those falling off from sports facilities due to rough handling in adventurous high-altitude movements. All these civilized and friendly behaviors indicated the worshipful humanity and gracious spiritual pursuit, highly appraised by athletes from many countries and judges of the Olympic Committee.

The Beijing Olympic spirit helps improvement of Chinese people's quality, figuring of their concepts, and transition of their life style, and helps all-around development of the contemporary Chinese people and their modernization. Chinese people in the eyes of people all over the world, not only inherit the traditional moral and cultural attainment, but also possess modern open civilization bearing. An upgoing, firm and confident spiritual feature of Chinese people has won respect from the entire world. However, if we really take the root of the civilization habit and perfect life style promoted during the Olympics into China, and "enable them to be component of the national life style", there would be lots of difficult tasks to overcome and a long way to go.

By and large, "We all live in an era of attention economy". The Beijing Olympics has attracted attention of the whole world, and has left us abundant brand value heritage. We can study and excavate the brand value of Beijing Olympics from different perspectives. However, among all brands, the national brand is the most particular one and is a central brand. All other brands, such as city brand, enterprise brand and citizen brand, are all organic elements of the national brand, which support the national brand, and meanwhile, the national brand offers the most fundamental and directing support for the other three brands. Owing to the Beijing Olympics, the national brand gets upgraded, which would necessarily play an overall promotive role in manifestation of the city enchantment, marketing of enterprise brand, and improvement of the national citizens.

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## Testing for Service-Led and Investment-Led Hypothesis: Evidence from 'Chindia'

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### Abstract

This study examines the meaningful relationship between economic growth, and service sector contribution and domestic investment in two major Asian economies, namely India and China. Autoregressive Distributed Lag (ARDL) bounds testing procedure is employed to analyze the impact of the selected variables namely (1) contribution by the service sector, (2) (4) domestic investment on economic growth and *vice versa*. The period of interest is 1960-2005 using annual data. The empirical results demonstrate that for the case of India, there is (1) a unidirectional causality from domestic investment to economic growth and (2) from economic growth to services. As for China, only unidirectional causality from services sector to economic growth is detected, while no meaningful relationship was found between domestic investment and economic growth.

**Keywords:** China, India, Service-led, Investment-led, Bound Testing

### 1. Introduction

Comparing world's two population superpowers, China and India is an interesting subject and they have long fascinated and stimulated studies, but until fairly recently they were small players on the international economic scene. Both countries, by virtue of their sheer size, have the potential to be dominant forces in the international economy and are poised to change the global economic landscape. The emergence of China as a major economic power was followed by a slower, but still important, economic transformation in India. Before 1980, economic growth in both China and India, as measured by the growth rate of income per capita (in purchasing power parity terms), was relatively slow. After 1980, growth in both countries accelerated, dramatically in China and more modestly in India. China rapidly overtook India, and now has substantially higher income per capita. Until the early 1990s, GDP per capita in China and India was at comparable levels, but China adopted wide-ranging economic reform one decade earlier than India.

The Chinese economy is much more integrated with the world economy through international trade and investment, which helps to explain its stronger rate of GDP growth during most of the past 30 years. China's ratios of domestic savings and investment to GDP are roughly double those of India's. China's early steps to liberalize its economy and invest heavily to modernize its physical infrastructure gave it a substantial edge over India in terms of income per capita levels which also made China a more attractive destination to foreign investors. China leads India in foreign investment, a key contributor to economic growth. China has been growing at roughly 9% a year with an investment/GDP ratio of around 40% while India has been registering about 6% a year with an investment/GDP ratio of about 25%. This indicates that India is using capital more efficiently, in the sense that it gets more growth for the investment. India is picking up the pace, not far behind from China in the past 25 years (6% to 9%). Although India's potential higher rate may rest on a different set of factors than the ones that have driven China

According to the World Bank, spectacular growth in China and India has pushed the number of people around the world living on less than a dollar a day below the 1 billion level. Lately, there have been a number of articles extolling the rise of China and India in the world economy. Phrases like 'the two Asian giants' have become commonplace. Economists have also speculated about a 'tripolar' scenario of the US, China and India dominating global affairs in a decade or two from now and new terms such as 'Chindia' have been used to reiterate this sentiment. The numbers of studies on these two economies have been on the rise. Ljungwall (2006), Hu and Khan (1997), Kahrl and Roland-Holst (2008) are example of studies for China while for India the studies are of Singh and Kalirajan (2003), Chakraborty and Nunnenkamp (2008) and Pachauri (2004).

Traditionally, export, foreign direct investment and trade have often been referred to as the "engine of growth" that propelled the development of today's economically advanced nations during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, thus studies have flourished on economic growth and its determinants. However, very few researchers have taken into consideration the level of domestic investment, and fewer on the contribution of service sector as a stimulus of growth. Studies of investment-led growth normally rely on foreign direct investment and not domestic investment. Blomstrom et al. (1996), Collins (2004), and Liu et al. (2002) are example of three studies on causality between growth and domestic investment. While examples of services led growth literatures are such of Sasaki (2007), Chakraborty and Nunnenkamp (2008) and OECD (2008)..

This paper is organized as follows. In the next section we discuss some prior evidence on the effect of service sector contribution and investment (especially domestic) on economic growth followed by some stylized facts on India and China. In section 4, we present the unit root, cointegration and *Granger* causality tests in the ARDL bounds testing framework used in the study. In section 5, we discuss the empirical results and the last section contains our conclusion.

## 2. Related Literature

Chakraborty and Nunnenkamp (2008) in a sectoral level analysis in India found only transitory effects of foreign direct investment (FDI) on output in the services sector; however FDI in the services sector appears to have promoted growth through cross-sector spillovers. Blomstrom et al. (1996), Collins (2004), Liu et al. (2002) and Liu and Hsu (2006) found mixed results in their studies. While Blomstrom et al. (1996) suggest that there is a one-way causal relationship running from economic growth to fixed investment, Liu et al. (2002) suggest otherwise, a bi-directional causality between these variables. Collins (2004) found contradicting results between countries in her result on Japan and Korea with respect to the domestic investment (I-S) and external balances during the respective rapid growth era. It shows that when personal saving fell in Korea, the discrepancy with the domestic investment which in itself is set by the government planning is financed by external borrowing. Japan avoided foreign borrowing in the 1950s and 1960s by curbing investment when necessary. Therefore, there are significant qualitative differences between Japan and Korea in their economic growth process.

Li and Zhang (2008) in a study on both China and India suggested that the segmentation of global manufacturing and services provided China and subsequently India with a golden opportunity to make full use of their absolute advantage-low-cost, yet educated labour- to integrate into the world economy within a comparatively shorter period of time than some earlier industrialisers. The findings of Abu-Bader and Abu-Qarn (2008) suggest the need to accelerate the financial reforms that the Egyptian government launched in 1991 and to improve the efficiency of the financial system to stimulate saving/investment and, consequently, long-term economic growth

Sasaki (2007) and OECD (2008) are two studies on the impact of services sector on economic growth, both on the subject of Japan. Sasaki (2007) investigated and suggest that given that the growth rate of productivity in the service sector is lower than that in the manufacturing sector, both the employment share in the manufacturing and rate of economic growth will decline in the long run irrespective of the size of the elasticity of substitution between labour and service input. a sentiment which is shared by , OECD (2008), a study which suggested that enhancing productivity growth in the service sector is crucial to boost economic growth in Japan. Another study on Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and Thailand by Tan et al (2007) shows evidence that economic growth in these Asian economies are found to be generated by capital formation or investment.

### 3. Stylised facts on India and China

Figure 1 and Figure 2 illustrates the relationship between the growth rate of gross capital formation which is used as an indicator for domestic investment, growth rate of the services sectors contribution to GDP, and real GDP per capita, which is used as an indicator for economic growth respectively. It can be observed that for the first twenty years, growth rate of investment and growth rate of economic growth was moving in tandem, where else the following twenty years the growth rate of investment was much more volatile compared to the economic growth. As for services, its growth rate is quite calm compared to economic growth, and the trend remains the same throughout the study period. Figure 3 and Figure 4 illustrates the relationship between the growth rate of gross capital formation and the growth rate of the services sectors contribution to GDP, and real GDP per capita, respectively for the case of China.. It can be observed that for the growth rate of investment is very volatile (as high as 50%) compared to the economic growth, while the growth of service sector, except the first ten years, it is identical to economic growth.

### 4. Data and Methodology

All series examined in this study – services sector contribution to GDP is used as a proxy to test the services led-growth hypothesis while gross capital formation is used as a proxy of domestic investment to test the investment led-growth hypothesis or vice versa, respectively – are collected from the *IMF statistics* and *WDI*. The data is annual and spans the time period 1960 to 2005. All the variables are expressed in natural logs.

In terms of methodology, the ARDL approach to cointegration (Pesaran *et al.*, 2001) involves estimating the conditional error correction (EC) version of the ARDL model to estimate the hypothesis is:

$$\Delta \ln y_t = \delta_0 + \lambda_1 \ln y_{t-1} + \lambda_2 \ln x_{t-1} + \sum_{i=1}^{\rho} \theta_i \Delta \ln y_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{\rho} \phi_i \Delta \ln x_{t-i} + \varepsilon_t \quad (1)$$

whereby  $\lambda_1$  and  $\lambda_2$  are long-run multipliers and  $\delta_0$  is the drift. Lagged values of  $\Delta y_t$  and current and lagged values of  $\Delta x_t$  are used to model the short-run dynamic structure. All variables in natural logarithm and  $\rho$  is the optimal lag length.

The *F*-test is conducted to test the existing of the long-run relationship. The alternative hypothesis for a cointegration among variables in equation (1) is  $H_1: \lambda_1 \neq \lambda_2 \neq 0$  against the null hypothesis  $H_0: \lambda_1 = \lambda_2 = 0$ . The *F*-test has a non-standard distribution which depends on (i) the number of regressors, (ii) whether variables included in the model are *I*(1) or *I*(0) and (iii) whether the model consists and intercept and/or a trend. Given a relatively small sample size in this study of 40 observations, the critical values used are as reported by Narayan (2005) which are based on a small sample size between 30 and 80.

If the *F*-test statistic exceeds their respective upper critical values, we can conclude that there is enough evidence of a long-run relationship between the variables. If the *F*-test statistic is below the upper critical values, we failed to reject the null hypothesis of no cointegration and if it lies between the bounds, a conclusive inference cannot be made without knowing the order of integration of the underlying regressors. If there is a cointegration, the following long-run model is estimated:

$$\ln y_t = \beta_1 + \sum_{i=1}^{\rho} \phi_{1i} \ln y_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{\rho} \phi_{1i} \ln x_{t-i} + \nu_t \quad (2)$$

The orders of the lags in the ARDL model are selected by either the Schwarz Bayesian criterion (SBC) or the Akaike information criterion (AIC), before the selected model is estimated by ordinary least squares (OLS).

The ARDL specification of the short-run dynamics can be derived by constructing an error correction model (ECM) of the following form:

$$\Delta \ln y_t = \alpha_1 + \sum_{i=1}^{\rho} \lambda_{2i} \Delta \ln y_{t-i} + \sum_{i=0}^{\rho} \varpi_{2i} \Delta \ln x_{t-i} + \psi ECM_{t-1} + \xi_t \quad (3)$$

whereby  $ECM_{t-1}$  is the error correction term, defined as:

$$ECM_t = \ln y_t - \beta_1 - \sum_{i=1}^{\rho} \phi_{1i} \ln y_{t-i} - \sum_{i=0}^{\rho} \phi_{1i} \ln x_{t-i} \quad (4)$$

All coefficients of the short-run equation are coefficients relating to the short-run dynamics of the model's convergence to equilibrium and  $\psi$  represent the speed of adjustment.

## 5. Empirical Results

Prior to the testing of cointegration, we conducted a test of order of integration for each variable using Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) and Phillip-Perron (PP). Even though ARDL framework does not require pre-testing variables to be done, the unit root test could convince us whether or not the ARDL model should be used. Table 1 shows that there is a mixture of  $I(0)$  and  $I(1)$  of underlying regressors and therefore, there ARDL testing could be proceeded with.

The calculated  $F$ -test statistics for cointegration are reported Table 2. We find a cointegrating relationship between gross domestic product per capita (GDPC) and the macroeconomic variables in both the bivariate cases for India and only one of the two bivariate cases for China. In India, the (1) GDPC is cointegrated with gross capital formation with causality running from investment to growth thus supporting the investment-led growth hypothesis. However surprisingly, the services-led growth hypothesis is rejected. When the GDPC is the reggresand, we could not detect any causality running from services to economic growth compared to when services is used as the reggresand. It is a clear indicator that growth causes services and not the other way around.

In China, in both bivariate models, namely, GDPC-gross capital formation and GDPC-services, (1) it is found that the causality runs from the services to the GDPC, in contrary with the results for India. The results indicate that for the case of China the services led-growth hypothesis is valid. (2) As for the second model, the  $F$ -test statistics are below the critical values, indicating that the null hypothesis of no cointegration cannot be rejected at the 10% level or better, thus no meaningful relationship exists. The results of the long-run elasticities, for both the countries are presented in table 3. Each of the independent variable is positively significant to the dependent variables. In India, for example, increase 1% in gross capital formation and money supply will lead to the gross domestic product per capita rise by 0.65% and 0.24% respectively. Besides that, 1% rise in GDPC increases the exports and services by 2.6% and 4.58% respectively. In China, we find that 1% rise in services will increase the GDPC by 0.81%.

The results of the ECM and short-run elasticities are presented in Table 4. Each of the coefficients in the ECM is statistically significant. The results show that the error correction term –  $ECM_{t-1}$  – is negative, indicating that the feedback mechanism is very effective in India for investment led-growth and growth led-export hypothesis, and also for services led-growth hypothesis in China. For example, convergence to long-run equilibrium after a shock to money supply is instantaneous for the GDPC in India. The  $ECM_{t-1}$  takes for the value of -0.14, suggesting that a deviation from the long-run equilibrium level of money supply in one year is corrected by about 14% in the next year.

## 6. Conclusion

In this study the autoregressive distributed lag (ARDL) bounds testing procedure was employed to investigate the dynamic and long-run relationship between economic growth, and service sector contribution and domestic investment inv two of the most populous nations in the world namely China and India. Bivariate analysis on the impact of services on the economic growth; and the impact of investment on economic growth, *vice versa* was conducted for both the nations. The sample period was 1960 – 2005 and the data was annual. All the data went through log-log transformation so that the estimates will be less sensitive to outliers or influential observations and also in order to reduce the data range.

The results suggest that all the variables chosen are  $I(1)$  or in other words they are non-stationary variables and achieved stationarity only after first differencing. The cointegration analysis using the ARDL bounds testing approach clearly indicates that (1) investment-led hypothesis is valid in India and (2) service-led hypothesis is valid for China. The results are interesting, with these two giant economies not sharing common attributes. India's result are similar with the finding for Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and Thailand as per the study of Tan et al (2007) while in contrary with the finding of Blomstrom et al. (1996) and Liu et al. (2002). While Blomstrom et al. (1996) suggest that there is a one-way causal relationship running from economic growth to fixed investment, Liu et al. (2002). suggest otherwise, a bi-directional causality between these variables. As for the result of China, it is in contrary with Sasaki (2007) and OECD (2008), whereby both these studies indicated that for the case Japan, services lag in productivity and could not drive economic growth.

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Table 1: ADF and PP unit root tests

Variables	India		China	
	ADF	PP	ADF	PP
$\ln GDPC_t$	-0.2382 (0)	0.7070 (8)	-1.5517 (1)	2.3990 (8)
$\Delta \ln GDPC_t$	-7.1708 (0) <sup>a</sup>	-9.3969 (13) <sup>a</sup>	-6.9840 (0) <sup>a</sup>	-8.8859 (10) <sup>a</sup>
$\ln GCF_t$	-0.9268 (0)	-0.7141 (3)	-7.4285 (1) <sup>a</sup>	-6.3072 (1) <sup>a</sup>
$\Delta \ln GCF_t$	-6.7187 (0) <sup>a</sup>	-6.8486 (5) <sup>a</sup>	-	-
$\ln SERV_t$	0.9461 (0)	0.7514 (3)	-3.8190 (1) <sup>b</sup>	-6.0289 (4) <sup>a</sup>
$\Delta \ln SERV_t$	-4.9701 (0) <sup>a</sup>	-4.9145 (10) <sup>a</sup>	-	-

Notes: Superscripts <sup>a</sup> and <sup>b</sup> denote significance at 1% and 5% levels respectively.  $\Delta$  is first-difference operator.

Table 2: Cointegration test

Long-run specification ( <i>F</i> -test)	Long-run specification ( <i>F</i> -test)
<i>Country : INDIA</i>	
$F$ (GDPC GCF) = 5.8859 <sup>b</sup>	$F$ (GCF GDPC) = 2.2361
$F$ (GDPC SERV) = 2.1018	$F$ (SERV GDPC) = 7.9414 <sup>a</sup>
<i>Country : CHINA</i>	
$F$ (GDPC GCF) = 1.3126	$F$ (GCF GDPC) = 2.4399
$F$ (GDPC SERV) = 4.0678 <sup>c</sup>	$F$ (SERV GDPC) = 0.2185

Notes: The 10% critical values for  $I(0)$  and  $I(1)$  are 3.190 and 3.730. The corresponding 5% and 1% critical values are 3.877, 4.460, and 5.607 and 6.193 respectively. The critical values are obtained from Narayan (2005).

Table 3: Long-run elasticities

	Independent Variables		
	$\Delta$ GDPC	$\Delta$ GCF	$\Delta$ SERV
<i>Country: INDIA</i>			
Dependent Variables:			
$\Delta$ GDPC		0.6483 <sup>a</sup> (0.1012)	
$\Delta$ SERV	4.5784 <sup>c</sup> (2.5826)		
<i>Country : CHINA</i>			
Dependent Variables:			0.8105 <sup>a</sup>
$\Delta$ GDPC			(0.0354)

Notes: Superscripts <sup>a</sup> and <sup>c</sup> denotes significance at 1% and 10% levels respectively. Standard error in parentheses.

Table 4: Short-run elasticities

	Independent Variables			
	$\Delta$ GDPC	$\Delta$ GCF	$\Delta$ SERV	$ECM_{t-1}$
<i>Country: INDIA</i>				
Dependent Variables:				
$\Delta$ GDPC		0.2355 <sup>a</sup> (0.0612)		-0.1182 (0.0744)
$\Delta$ SERV	0.0833 <sup>b</sup> (0.0411)			-0.0182 (0.0191)
<i>Country : CHINA</i>				
Dependent Variables:			0.1665 <sup>a</sup>	-0.2055 <sup>a</sup>
$\Delta$ GDPC			(0.0562)	(0.0749)

Notes: Superscripts <sup>a, b</sup> and <sup>c</sup> denote significance at 1%, 5% and 10% respectively. Standard error in parentheses.

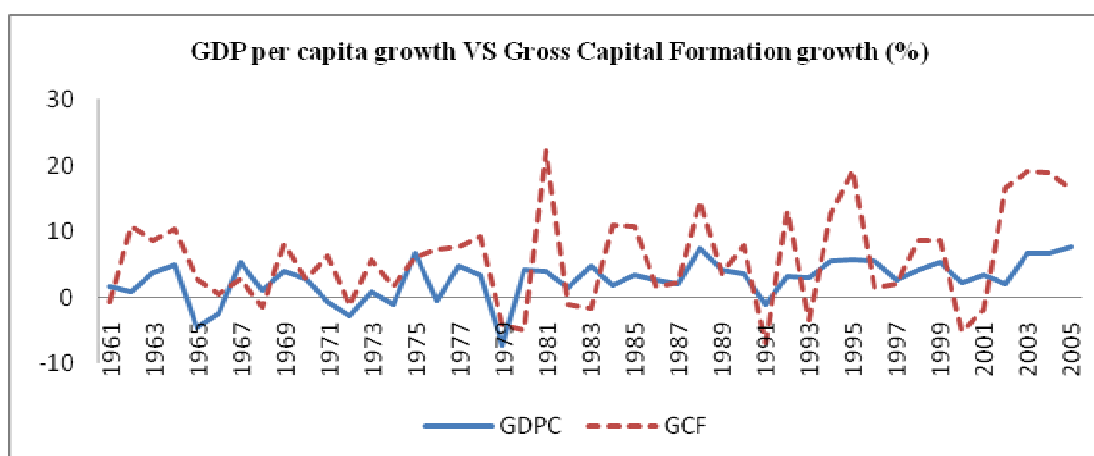


Figure 1. India

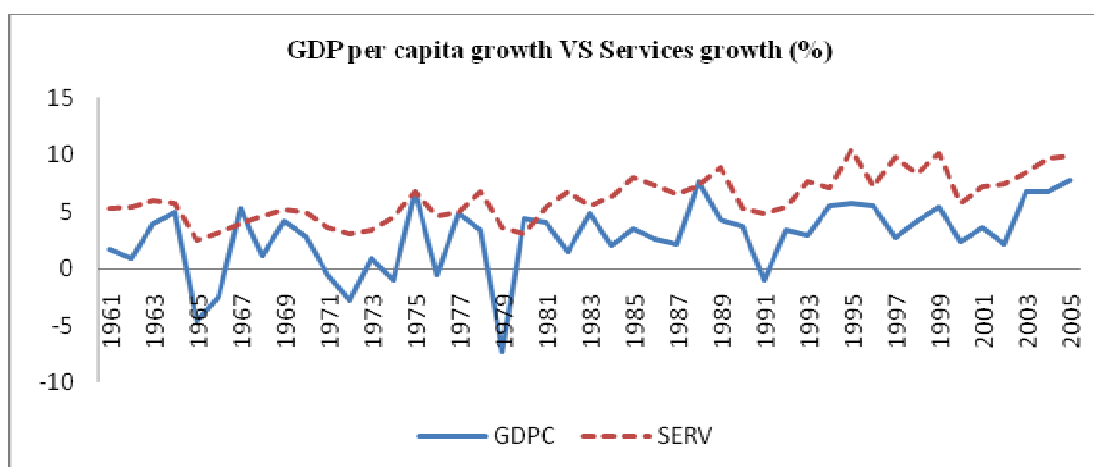


Figure 2. India

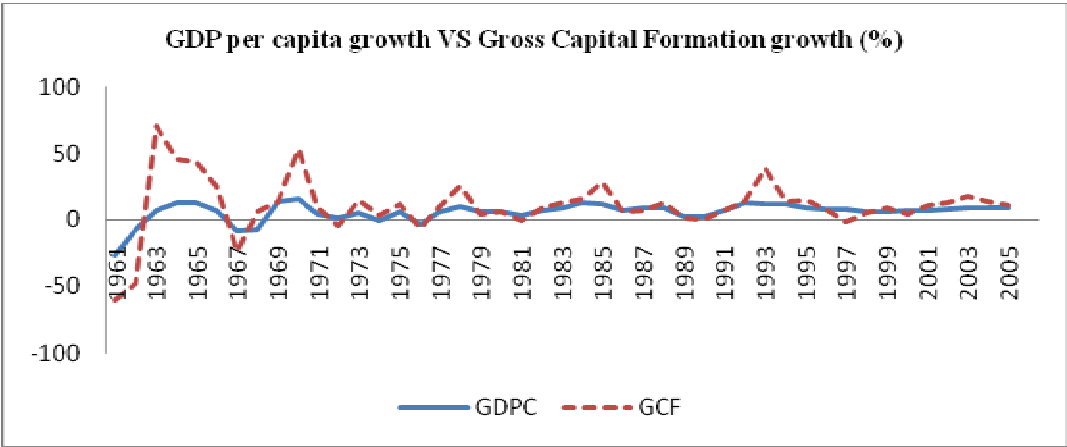


Figure 3. China

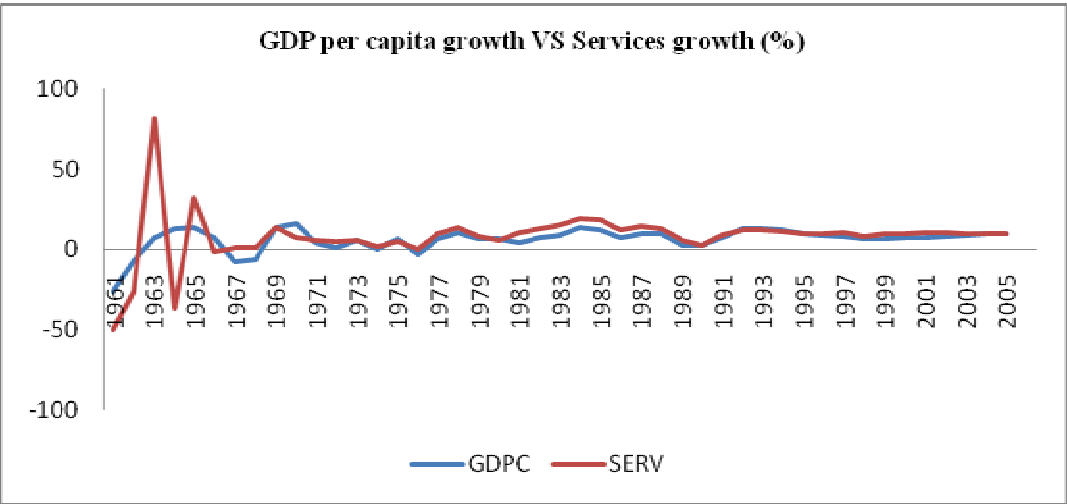


Figure 4. China



## Labor Dispatching under Regulation of Labor Contract Law

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### Abstract

Employing mode of labor dispatching has had certain effect on employment of laborers, employing of enterprises, and appropriately resolving economic relations among regions. However, in recent years, this kind of employing mode has been unboundedly expanded in terms of its scope, which reveals its negative effects. Labor dispatching units under regulation of labor contract law need adjust their own operation strategies, effectively link requirements of dispatched laborers with those of employing units, provide corresponding value-added service to both parties, and promote further development of labor dispatching industry.

**Keywords:** Labor dispatching, Labor contract law, Labor relation

Employing mode of labor dispatching has had certain effect on employment of laborers, employing of enterprises, and appropriately resolving economic relations among regions. However, in recent years, this kind of employing mode has been unboundedly expanded in terms of its scope, which reveals its negative effects. Since the implementation of “Labor Contract Law” on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008, criterion of labor dispatching industry has been intensified, and strict legislative criterion has posed challenges to labor dispatching industry. Risks of employing units in using employing mode of labor dispatching are also being increased, and labor dispatching industry has attained the key period of its development so far. Under such a new circumstance, it is necessary to give research and straightening up to labor dispatching under regulation of labor contract law.

### 1. Analysis of advantages of labor dispatching

Labor dispatching refers to the fact that, dispatching units sign a contract with employing units, and dispatch laborers who have signed a labor contract with them to employing units so as to offer their labor. During labor dispatching, labor contract relation exists between dispatching units and dispatched laborers, while offering of labor force exists between dispatched laborers and employing units. The most obvious feature of labor dispatching lies in separation of employment and application of labor force, which results in the particular situation of “relation without labor and labor without relation”.

#### 1.1 Advantages of labor dispatching

As a new type of employing mode, labor dispatching is helpful in cutting down employing cost, reducing employment management expense, and decrease labor disputes on the part of employing units. And for laborers, it is helpful in establishing stable labor relations, and obtaining sufficient social guarantee. Advantages of labor dispatching is primarily indicated in the following several aspects: firstly, flexibility of labor employing mode. Labor dispatching is a kind of market configuration of human resources. According to requirements of production and operation, employing units can ask dispatching companies to increase or reduce laborers dispatched at any moment, which is propitious to flexibility of employing. Meanwhile, it helps to offer extensive employment opportunities for laid-off and unemployed people and farmers, increase supply-and-demand matching rate of employing positions and effectively cut down on cost of employing units. Secondly, satisfaction of demands from different entities. As for labor dispatching personnel, use of labor dispatching and signing a labor contract between employees and labor dispatching institutions ensures that, employment is protected by the law and employees’ rights are guaranteed on the condition of complying with labor contract law on the part of both parties. Even if labor dispatching personnel are unemployed, they will get a certain

amount of income, which ensures living requirements of the labor dispatching personnel to a certain extent. As for laborers, labor dispatching not only offers regular employment channels for those with low employment capacity, but also satisfies some particular demands of those with high employment capacity. Thirdly, rapid change of labor relation. Since labor relation is kept in labor dispatching companies, administration of personal files should also be kept there, which enables rapid issuing of various certificates related to personal files for laborers, and lays foundation for social guarantee to cover labor dispatching personnel. The implementation of labor dispatching has reduced burden of employing enterprises and has enabled them to concentrate more on participation of market competition.

### *1.2 Disadvantages of labor dispatching*

As a new type of employing mode, although labor dispatching has resolved part of social employment issues to a certain degree, yet it has also revealed many problems in practice due to disordered development of Chinese labor dispatching industry, outstandingly in the following aspects: excessive establishment of dispatching institutions, similar work with different salary, and frequent infringement on social insurance rights, etc.. Ambiguity of rights and obligations in labor dispatching companies, laborers and employing units is open to be further resolved. Firstly, low status of dispatched laborers. Since most of labor dispatching is short term, employing units don't consider dispatched laborers as their employees, so a great deal of social welfare and salary are missed. Their salary tends to be lower than that of employees in the similar position. Quite lots of dispatched laborers think that their social status is "lower than others". Employing units choose not to provide them with any continuing education training that is helpful for their long-term development, so there are relatively fewer opportunities for their individual positions. Some labor dispatching companies even reduce laborers' salary at discretion. All the above phenomena have impacts on working enthusiasm of dispatched laborers. Secondly, labor dispatching regarded as normal employment mode. Except that a limited number of management personnel are formal employees, other positions, such as sale personnel, counter personnel and even teachers etc, are all dispatched laborers. Employing units see labor dispatching as a normal employment mode, and under the employment pressure, the weak group in the society --- the large quantities of laborers have no choice but to stoop to compromise in the reality of not obtaining any guarantee for their rights. Thirdly, in terms of organization and administration, dispatched laborers may show low positivity the organization may show low promise, and laborers show low performance, etc.. At the time when labor dispatching realizes multi-party win-win of the society, labor dispatching institutions, employing units and dispatched laborers, it also poses inherent limitations, that is, all parties in participation of labor dispatching will encounter great risks: lack of ascription sense on the part of dispatched laborers, bad stability of their work, high pressure of their work and psychology, impossibility to obtain guarantee on their legal rights, and ambiguous career development direction. Although employing units have reduces part of cost by means of labor dispatching, their loss will be greater due to lowered performance of dispatched laborers. All the above phenomena are disadvantageous for labor dispatching institutions, employing units and dispatched laborers.

## **2. Mutual relations among three parties of labor dispatching under regulation of "Labor Contract Law"**

With regard to labor dispatching, "Labor Contract Law of PRC" which came into effect on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008, made particular regulations on labor dispatching system in Section Two, Chapter Five, and mentioned such issues as setting up labor dispatching units, rights and obligations of the three parties involved in labor dispatching and formulation of labor dispatching agreement, etc., "Labor Contract Law" defined rights, obligations, and interests of the three parties, and reset balance condition for interactive relations between the three parties, which has brought new game rules for effective running of labor dispatching. In labor dispatching, interactive relations are built up among employment units, labor dispatching units and dispatched laborers. Therein, a legal relation that defines obligations and rights of the two parties exists between employment units and labor dispatching units; an administrative relation with the purpose of performance output exists between employment units and dispatched laborers; a labor contract relation with the purpose of guaranteeing rights and interests of them and an administrative relation with the purpose of supporting employment units exist between labor dispatching units and dispatched laborers.

### *2.1 Labor dispatching units are faced with new challenges*

Currently, what labor dispatching institutions execute is self-discipline administration. Since the overall legal system of Chinese labor guarantee is not sound, labor dispatching has no law to comply with and no regulation to follow in its practical running. After the implementation of "Labor Contract Law", labor dispatching units are confronted with more challenges, which is embodied in the fact that, this law has largely elevated admittance threshold for labor dispatching units. It prescribes that, labor dispatching units should not reduce wages of dispatched laborers, not charge any fee from dispatched laborers, and has changed the originally generally applicable payoff rules. It also stipulates employment units' identification of labor dispatching units, which should carry out all responsibilities of employment units. It specifies that, labor dispatching units should sign a labor contract with fixed term above two years with dispatched laborers, and they should pay labor reward monthly. Furthermore, after the issue of "Labor Contract Law", labor dispatching units should assume more responsibilities, and be up against more challenges. Strict admittance system and conditions ask for assurance from those with considerable financing and aptitude. Establishment of checkup and elimination system has aggrandized difficulty of labor dispatching.

## *2.2 "Labor Contract Law" intensifies protection strength upon dispatched laborers*

Obviously, "Labor Contract Law" is inclined to protecting legal rights and interests of laborers, who, according to the law, have the right to sign a labor contract with labor dispatching units, to enjoy rights specified by the contract, and to acquire labor guarantee. Once their rights and interests are violated, labor contract will become evidence for protecting their rights. Labor rewards of dispatched laborers get guaranteed. Dispatched laborers have rights to enjoy equal payment for equal work with permanent staff of employment units. Employment units should not delay paying off or reducing labor reward of dispatched laborers. For those dispatched laborers who are dispatched cross-regionally should enjoy labor reward and conditions carried out in the place of employment units. Dispatched laborers have the rights to know what employment unit where they are to be dispatched, dispatching time limit, employment position, labor reward, amount of social insurance and payment means promised in the labor dispatching agreement. They also have the rights to legally participate in or organize labor unions in labor dispatching units or employment units, and to vindicate their own legal rights and interests. Therefore, "Labor Contract Law" has eliminated dispatched laborers' future worries that their legal rights and interests would be violated, and has impelled a lot more laborers to accept labor dispatching.

## *2.3 Demand of employment units on labor dispatching is restrained and also impelled*

On one hand, "Labor Contract Law" restrains employment units to abuse labor dispatching. In order to prevent employment units from abusing labor dispatching and escaping from legal obligations, "Labor Contract Law" restrains applicable scope of labor dispatching. It definitely specifies obligations to be assumed by employment units, and intensifies punishment strength upon illegal use of labor dispatching by employment units. When accidents happen, employment units and labor dispatching units should bear joint and several compensation obligations. So it turns out to be more difficult for employment units to extensively employ dispatched laborers as cheap work force. Employment units should bear more obligations and encounter more restrictions in use of labor dispatching. On the other hand, "Labor Contract Law" gives prominence to advantages of labor dispatching in terms of criterion of common employment mode from employment units. "Labor Contract Law" intensifies protection strength on laborers, and aggrandizes restraint upon direct employment system's flexibility of employment units. As for employment units, adoption of labor dispatching on temporary and auxiliary positions has more advantages. In labor dispatching, employment units can flexibly confirm labor dispatching term based on position requirements, and need not assume any stable employment risk brought about by the labor contract without fixed term with laborers. After the dispatching term, when dispatched laborers return to labor dispatching institutions, employment units need not pay any economic compensation to dispatched laborers. As for unqualified dispatched laborers, employment units merely should reject them back to labor dispatching units, which will reduce employment risk of employment units. Adoption of labor dispatching on temporary and auxiliary positions can help employment units to aggrandize flexibility of their response to outside changes. In the market situation of efficiency as a priority, labor dispatching still get popularized among employment units.

## **3. Development countermeasures of labor dispatching units under the new situation**

In the interactive relations among the three parties of labor dispatching, labor dispatching units need to take into consideration requirements of both dispatched laborers and employment units in the practical operation. They have the competence to provide value added for the double terminals of the supply chain. And through professional operation, they set up a platform for joint of the two parties of supply and demand, and by means of value provision to the two parties, they broaden the development space of their own, so as to promote development of labor dispatching industry. Standardized operation of labor dispatching units and improvement of efficiency and value of workforce resource supply chain are the key to further development of labor dispatching industry. After the issue of "Labor Contract Law", labor dispatching units need to make improvements in the following aspects in order to offer corresponding value to employment units and dispatched laborers and to obtain self-development.

### *3.1 They should standardize two contracts and make clear rights, obligations and interests of the three parties involved*

Labor dispatching units should communicate effectively with dispatched laborers and employment units, and standardize labor contract and labor dispatching agreement on the basis of what "Labor Contract Law" stipulates. And they should make clear rights, obligations and interests of the three parties, and evade frequent labor disputes and employment risks in labor dispatching, which is the primary condition for further development of labor dispatching industry. Then they should establish risk security fund for labor dispatching. As the legal employers of dispatched laborers, labor dispatching units should bear more responsibilities when laborers' interests are violated. In order to effectively stand against risks, labor dispatching units should establish dispatching risk security fund system, and pick up part of their own earnings as risk fund, which will be used when dispatched laborers' interests are violated but there is no way to repay temporarily.

### 3.2 Labor dispatching units should build interests share inspiration mechanism, and realize win-win of three parties involved

Interests of three parties involved rests with performance of dispatched laborers in employment units. Labor dispatching units and employment units should have thorough communication, set up an information share platform, and support performance assessment system targeted at dispatched laborers. Labor dispatching units should respectively negotiate on benefit distribution means of the three parties in the labor dispatching agreement and labor contract, and establish a three-party inspiration mechanism. Labor dispatching units afford effective labor dispatching service for employment units, while dispatched laborers produce value for employment units. Salary scheme of dispatched laborers should be rationally designed, and their excellent performance should be encouraged. In the labor dispatching agreement, labor dispatching units should negotiate with employment units that their benefits will be connected to value produced by dispatched laborers for employment units. Inspiration mechanism may maximize value created, realize win-win of three parties involved and accelerate long-term development of labor dispatching.

### 3.3 Labor dispatching units should set up value-added platforms for human resource training, and upgrade skills of dispatched laborers

In virtue of their professional advantages, labor dispatching units offer employment instruction to dispatched laborers, help them accumulate work experiences and elevate their value. In order to maintain their manpower within a relatively long period of time and to offer dispatching service to employment units more effectively, labor dispatching units should provide training for dispatched laborers, which can upgrade skills of dispatched laborers and elevate manpower value. As professional human resource institutions, labor dispatching units should set up training platforms of human resource and conduct professional operation by integrating various resources. In this way, they can offer a demand-jointing platform for dispatched laborers and employment units, provide required value for the other two parties, and aggrandize appeal of labor dispatching to dispatched laborers and employment units.

“Labor Contract Law” standardizes labor dispatching industry, intensifies protection strength on dispatched laborers, and propels demand of enterprises upon labor dispatching. With gradual perfection of labor dispatching regulations and entrance of oversea labor dispatching companies into China, competition of labor dispatching will necessarily get more and more vehement. In such a new situation, labor dispatching units should adjust their own administrative strategy, effectively link up demands of laborers and employment units, provide corresponding value-added service, and promote further development of labor dispatching industry.

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## The Malaysian Private Finance Initiative and Value for Money

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### Abstract

The concept of value for money (VFM) is the fundamental reason for most PFI projects to be attractive in many developed and developing countries. The concept encourages governments to deliver Mega projects by using PFI procurement method. The aims of this paper are to investigate the notion of VFM for PFI projects by different countries (i.e. UK, Australia and Japan) and to discover the detailed components of Public Sector Comparator (PSC) protocol to evaluate VFM.

Based on the consideration of these models, the paper proposes a framework of VFM assessment for PFI projects in Malaysia. The proposed framework outlines six processes to be considered: key assessment criteria (affordability, risk sharing and competition) of VFM assessment; VFM assessment approach by using PSC; VFM appraisal by application of three tests (financial, qualitative and cost benefit analysis); VFM drivers; benefits; and barriers that could affect the VFM assessment process. Hence, achieving VFM can be described in terms of three core components; economic, efficiency and effectiveness of PFI projects. The framework developed in this paper will help to gain a better understanding of VFM in PFI projects and to establish PSC guideline in the evaluation of VFM.

**Keywords:** Private Finance Initiative, Public Sector Comparator (PSC), Risk allocation and Value for Money

## 1. Introduction

Private Finance Initiative (PFI) was originated in England in 1992 under the United Kingdom's Tory-led government of John Major (Williams, 2005). PFI is one type of Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) where project financing rests mainly with the private sector (Akintoye et al., 2003). The rationale of PFI is to combine the resources of the public and private sectors for the purpose of providing more efficient public services. In some cases, the capital invested in a project is financed, constructed and leased back to the private sector over a pre-determined period of between 25 and 30 years. This is inline with a number of empirical studies by various researchers (Akintoye et al., 2003; Zhang, 2005; Zhang, 2006; and Pitt & Collin, 2006) indicating that PFI is a method in which project delivery rests mainly with the private sector, which includes designing, constructing, financing and operating the asset. Dixon et al., (2005) has taken the definition of PFI further by expanding the scope to include financing of long term infrastructure and public services in which, project debt and equity that are used to finance the project are paid back from the cash flow generated by the project. Moreover, Adam (2006); Shen et al., (2006) and Carrilo et al., (2008) reckon PFI as the provision of a public service to meet the needs of public facilities. The basic idea of PFI as noted by Shinohara (1998) is based on the concept that public sector purchases "public services provided by private sector to increase the quality and deliver value for money".

PFI in Malaysia was officially implemented by the Malaysian Government through the Ninth Malaysia- Plan (2006-2010) under the National Privatization Plan (EPU, 2006). It is among the effort by the Malaysian Government to encourage private participation in the local development projects and to reduce government's expenditure in providing public infrastructure and services. PFI transfers to the private sector the responsibility to finance and manage a package of capital investment and services for a Mega project including construction, management, maintenance, refurbishment and replacement of public sector assets. The private sector will create the asset and deliver a service on behalf of the public sector client. In return, the private sector will receive payment commensurate with the levels, quality and timeliness of the service provision throughout the concession period.

Many countries around the world have successfully implemented PFI projects and have benefited from the results. Serco (2007) reckons that the United Kingdom, Japan, Italy, France, Germany, Australia and USA are the world leaders in PFI. In effect, the UK government has been a pioneer of this procurement through concession contracts ranging from 10 to 40 years, embracing services, IT, facilities management, transport, defense, health and education (Smyth & Edkins, 2007). The trend is also similar to Malaysia. The government of Malaysia is now emphasizing on PFI because PFI is claimed to offer value for money (VFM) than traditional procurement over the life of a project. Indeed, value for money is the main justification for choosing public or private finance for delivering public services (Shoul, 2005; Grimsey & Lewis, 2005; and Pitt et al., 2006).

Despite PFI being perceived by most governments as the most cost effective means of procuring public infrastructure projects, a debate about the nature and method of achievement of VFM in PFI project is still disparaging (ACCA Survey, 2002). The probable reason for this predicament is due to the difficulty of measuring project outcomes because of the complexities in PFI projects (Broadbent et al., 2003; Heald, 2003; Shoul, 2005; and Khadaroo, 2007). A studies conducted by Shoul (2005) and Leigland & Shugart (2006) claimed that the complexities of most PFI projects lead to the difficulties to measure VFM for the outcomes. To a certain extent only, one percent of the respondents strongly agreed that PFI generally provides value for money as reported by the ACCA Survey. Therefore, this paper attempts to investigate the notion of value for money (VFM) for PFI projects by different countries such as the UK, Australia and Japan.

The core test of VFM for PFI project is determined through a comparative analysis of the benefits, risks and costs by using both quantitative and qualitative analysis (Grimsey & Lewis, 2005). According to them, there are four main alternative approaches to provide the core test of VFM. These could be done by using full cost benefit analysis, PSC-PPP comparison, UK style PSC –PPP, and competitive bidding. Among others, the UK style PSC- PPP comparison has been adopted by many countries such as Australia, Hong Kong, Japan, and Canada. Nevertheless, the method has come under growing criticism, in terms of whether PSC calculation is the most appropriate way to evaluate VFM due to the ambiguity and complexity problems.

Hence, this study investigates two fundamental issues; the notion of value for money (VFM) for PFI projects undertaken in different countries such as UK, Australia and Japan, and to examine PSC as a tool in VFM assessments. The research findings will then form the basis for a proposed a model that targets PFI projects in Malaysia.

## 2. PFI in Malaysia

Since 1983, the Malaysian Government has advocated many new forms of PFI modalities such as Built, Operate and Transfer (BOT), Built and Operate (BO), Built Lease Transfer (BLT) for new projects and outright sale, lease, management buy-out and corporatisation for existing projects (Abdul Rashid, 2007). It was officially implemented in 2006 by the Malaysian Government. The main aim was to encourage private participation in the local construction

development and to reduce government's expenditure in providing public infrastructure and services. The Government sectors that are responsible for establishing the PFI Central Unit include the Ministry of Finance (MoF), Economic Planning Unit (EPU), and National Implementation Directorate (NID). In order to facilitate the implementation of PFIs, the Ministry of Finance Malaysia has acquired a substantial amount of funds to facilitate the first wave of PFI implementation in Malaysia (Jayaseelan & Tan, 2006). The Employee Provident Fund (EPF) Department has agreed to invest RM 20 billion in terms of loan to facilitate PFI projects under the Ninth Malaysia-Plan.

The structure of PFI in Malaysia starts by establishing PFI project agreement which is entered into between the Public sector (represented by various government ministries) and the Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) Company (private consortium). The PFI Sdn Bhd, a specific government body is set up to administer the Malaysian PFI procurement process. PFI Sdn Bhd borrows money from EPF to finance selected projects under the Ninth Malaysia-Plan. The commitment of PFI Sdn Bhd is to design, construct, operate, manage and maintain the facility throughout the concession periods (Tan et al., 2006). Therefore, the risk associated with the project includes the risk of construction, management, and maintenance of the assets. In return, the Government is contracted to pay for the services based on performance and standard provided. Future tariff revisions are also subjected to a Reward-and-Penalty system (Edge, 2006; Express., 2006; and Kok, 2006).

The evaluation of a project proposal is done through a bidding process and all proposals will be evaluated on the basis of "Value for Money" (VFM) which evaluates its costs and benefits. The bidding proposal is compared against the Public Sector Comparator (PSC) of each project, which acts as a checker to the items and costs stipulated in the tender document. The capital expenditure and the maintenance costs of the project must be less than the PSC benchmark before a PFI project could be awarded to a private partner.

Based on literature reviews by Edge (2006); Hardy (2006); Jayaseelan & Tan (2006); Netto (2006); EPU (2006); and Zolkepli (2007), the nature of PFI in Malaysia can be divided into two forms. These are government and private sector initiated. The Government sector initiated PFIs is further sub-divided into two categories; PFI projects which falls within the RM 20 billion scope (funded by EPF) and PFI projects which fall outside the RM 20 billion scope. In addition, Jayaseelan & Tan (2006) point out that the Malaysian PFI deviates from the basic definitions of international PFI framework. The arrangement is different with limited real risk transfer to the private sector since both counter parties to the contract are government entities and also on project financing scheme. The Malaysian version of PFI is financed by the Employee Provident Fund (EPF) loans. Edge (2006) also notes that although financing is provided by the EPF, in return EPF will receive 5 to 6 per cents of the total profits gained out of it. Nevertheless, there is a view that the government could still bear the risk to a certain extent, in particular if any of the PFI project becomes unsuccessful. Although the PFI may have been tested for more than a decade in developing countries such as the UK, Australia, US and others, the appreciation of it is relatively new in Malaysia. The commitment and willingness of the government to bear a substantial portion of the risk (through EPF) even in PFI development projects reflects the high social obligation of government in these projects.

The concept of Malaysia's PFI compose of six major characteristics which includes; (1) partnership of public and private sector; (2) government buys services, not asset; (3) service delivery against specified outputs based on agreed performance standards; (4) whole life costing of a project; (5) detailed and transparent procurement process with competitive tenders which demonstrate value for money rather than lower costs and (6) integration of design, construction finance, and operation. The ultimate purpose is to improve on the inadequacy of the previous privatization program to obtain a better PFI through a more stringent control over projects.

### **3. Value for Money in PFI Projects**

VFM is defined as the 'optimum combination of whole-life costs, benefit, risks, and quality (fitness for purpose) to meet the user requirement and getting the best possible outcome at the lowest possible price' (HM Treasury, 2003; Grimsey, 2005; English, 2006; and Hong Kong Guide to PPP, 2006). It is usually associated with three Es, Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness (English & Guthrie, 2003; Grimsey & Lewis, 2005; and Shoul, 2005). VFM is assumed to be measured using the concept of net present costs, a variant of the net present value technique, involving of 3 step assessment: based on estimate of future cost, risk transfer in delivering whole life economy and the level of the analysis is narrow and focuses on VFM within the agency concerned.

PFI seeks to share risk between the public sector and the private sector in a fair manner. Nevertheless, in PFI there is little actual detailed guidance that has been presented on what VFM is and how it should be achieved (HM Treasury, 2006). Furthermore, the lack of transparency in PFI process contributes difficulty to determine the actual VFM for PFI projects. Therefore, in seeking VFM for PFI projects, three initial strategies should be deployed by most governments. These are: effective evaluation mechanism where there is a clarity of fundamental principle in bidding appraisal; viability of PFI contractor means the capability to fully bear and deliver the required outcomes; and the commitment to VFM means providing a framework VFM assessment. It is important that VFM assessment should take place at the earliest practical stage of any decision making process.

The process to confirm VFM within PFI procurement is gradual. VFM is assessed by comparing a cost of PFI bids against a PSC. According to the HM Treasury, (2006) PSC is a hypothetical, estimated, risk adjusted, cost of the government itself delivering the project output. It is expressed in terms of the net present cost of providing the output under a public procurement using a discounted cash flow analysis that adjusts the future value of the expected cash flow to a common reference date. It is advisable to construct an initial PSC as early as possible. Theoretically, the project considers VFM if the net present value for PFI bids is lower than the PSC. The baseline cost of the PSC is usually based on historical costs for services that have traditionally been offered by the public sector and adjusted based on project future demand, demographical changes and political consideration. Long term forecasting requires assumptions to be made about the future. Once the NPVs of both PSC and SPV have been prepared and adjusted to a comparable basis, then a simple comparison of both will be carried out.

#### 4. Methodology

This is an initial phase of research and purely based on the literature review. It reviews VFM assessment models applied in the UK, Australia and Japan. It addresses six areas of concern: key critical factors (affordability, risk sharing and competition), VFM assessment approach, VFM appraisal, VFM drivers, benefits and barriers that influence to the effectiveness of VFM. The aim is to investigate the notion of VFM for PFI projects by these countries and to discover whether PSC protocol is the most appropriate way to evaluate VFM. Comprehensive empirical research in the form of triangulation approach (questionnaires and case studies) is planned for the findings and conclusion.

#### 5. Synthesis of VFM Model Assessments

Table 1 shows the VFM models assessment for PFI projects adopted in the UK, Australia, and Japan. The purpose of adopting these model for the fact that PFI have been in UK, Australia and Japan since 1990s and there are good track record of performances that could be learned, in particular from the VFM point of view. Indeed, the UK is the pioneer of PFI and the inventor in the form of the VFM assessment approach. These models are discussed in turn:

##### 5.1 The UK's VFM Assessment Model

The UK VFM assessment model of PFI project by Grimsey & Lewis (2005); and Pit et al., (2006) outlines a process which starts by looking into key assessment criteria of VFM assessment. These are affordability, risk sharing and competition. Affordability means the appropriately allocation of resources, cost distribution and within the budget, risk sharing is referred to the optimum allocation of risk between private and public sectors and competition means contestability in the market (i.e. in the bidding process and once the contract is concluded and in operation).

The UK model has adopted PSC as a tool when assessing VFM. In making a robust assessment of PFI project, VFM appraisal takes into consideration the financial element (NPV) and qualitative factors (merit base). When the total NPV of private sector supply is less than the NPV of the base cost of the service, adjusted for the cost of risk to be retained by the government (Grimsey & Lewis, 2005). The VFM testing of the PFI option and the PSC should employ economic appraisal principles which include: identification of costs and benefit, calculation of net present value, analysis of uncertainties, weighting of others factors and presentation of result. The results of VFM is demonstrated when the project shows a reduction in cost, innovation in quality and appropriate level of project risk. However, there are some barriers identified in implementation of PSC such as: VFM is too subjective, simplistic and the presence of unquantifiable and risky elements.

In addition, Pit et al., (2006) reckoned several VFM drivers in the UK model such as risk allocation, output specification, competition and private sectors management expertise, nature of contracts (scope, bid cost etc.) and performance measurement. They suggested that, in order to achieve effective VFM drivers; the procurement needs to be well planned, managed, executed and have a transparent process. The assessment of VFM concept in this model can be regarded as complex. It involves the preparation of a hypothetical set of costs of a project, evaluation of risks and financial benefits. To assess VFM therefore, it requires an ability to define, estimate its related outcome and to compare it to alternative approaches. Thus, the project will achieve VFM in terms of comprehensive costing, quality, performance and risk allocation. Nevertheless, the absence of capital funds in PSC calculation is a weakness of the model.

##### 5.2 The Australian VFM Assessment Model

The Australia VFM Assessment Model is quite similar to the UK model which also takes into consideration the key assessment criteria, VFM appraisal, PSC, drivers and barriers. However, the dissimilarities are two folds: firstly, VFM is achieved through innovative capabilities, skills to deliver performance improvements, and efficient savings. Secondly, the introduction of the public sector comparator (PSC) and the public interest test (PIT). The primary purpose of PSC is to provide quantitative benchmark against which to judge VFM of bids. The PSC is based on most viable project as a reference. The use of PIT on the other hand, is to ensure that a broader assessment of the public interest to be taken into account before they are offered as Private Finance Project (PFP). Essentially a checklist is needed by PIT and the components of the list include project effectiveness, impact to stakeholders, public access and equality, consumer rights,

security, privacy and other associated non-economic costs and benefits (English & Guthrie, 2003). Hence, the two models of VFM assessment of PFI projects the (UK and Australia) seems to be similar in which, both of them emphasizes on raw base cost, transferable risk, retained risk and competitive neutrality.

### 5.3 The Japanese VFM Assessment Model

Following the perceived success of PFI efforts in the UK, the 'PFI Law of Japan' was enacted in 1999. Since then, more than 200 PFI projects have been launched involving various sectors, i.e., public facilities, official facilities and public utilities (Japan PFI Association, 2007). The Japanese PFI utilizes the concept of the UK PFI and modified with Japanese styled subsidies. Construction and application of PSC is an integral component in VFM assessment. VFM is demonstrated by comparing private sector bids with a detailed PSC. The calculation and confirmation of VFM is required from project planning stage. The business period of PFI projects usually lasts for 25-30 years and hence, the NPV method is used for the assessment of VFM. The total amount of a PFI project (including running costs) is converted into NPV to assess the value for PFI project. The assessment for VFM considers for quantitative and qualitative factors, which are identical to the UK and Australia practices. There are some forms of government support specifies as a key drivers under VFM Japanese model including interest free loan from government finance institution and tax measures. The Japanese model of VFM assessment supports the UK approach except in some issues such as long term delivery (i.e., concessionaire) which are not described and discussed in detailed.

### 5.4 VFM in Malaysia PFI project

In the context of Malaysia, three main drivers have been recognized in PFI procurement projects by the Malaysian government. These are: value for money (VFM), efficiency and mobilizing private sector funds. PSC approach is used to measure VFM for PFI projects. The tender bids will be benchmark against the PSCs which remain confidential. It is likely that the Public Works Department will play a key role in drawing up the PSCs for most of the standard construction projects. The formation of PSC is fundamental to the successful of PFI project and appears to be used as a test to achieved VFM.

For genuine efficiency and value for money, it is essential to ensure that contracts are awarded on the basis of capability and ability of PFI contractor. Under PFI, a venture is planned, designed, built, financed and operated by the private sector in return for a steady stream of payments by the government over a set period of time. Typically, the involvement of government is critical in particular, at project planning stage. A set of performance standard is incorporated, while modes of payment are also stipulated. Nevertheless, the establishment of PSC guideline with regards to VFM for PFI contracts is yet to be established (Jayaseelan, 2007). This is paramount for the fact that PSC is subjected to limitations, while VFM is a problematic concept which is hard to operationalise in PFI contracts. In addition, the PSC is subjective and sensitive to changes in cash flows, discounted rates and risks assumption.

## 6. A Proposed Framework of VFM Assessment for PFI Projects in Malaysia

Figure 1, shows the proposed framework for VFM assessment for PFI projects in Malaysia. This has been developed based on the preliminary literature review and the understanding of VFM assessment model adopted by various countries (UK, Australia and Japan). The framework outlines a process which starts by looking into key assessment criteria of VFM assessment including, i.e., affordability, risk sharing and competition. The main reason for using VFM approach is to ensure that risks are fairly distributed between private and public sectors.

The next stage is the VFM assessment approach. In this approach, factors such as contract type, payment mechanism, procurement process, and concession length are the crucial points of the VFM assessment. As a normal practice, PSC is used as a benchmark against the tender bids. Further, in the VFM appraisal, the procuring should consider the quantitative (financial elements), qualitative elements (i.e., bidder's background, design etc) and cost benefit analysis (social obligation) to be formulated into a robust assessment approach. The inclusion of cost benefit analysis is based on the high commitment of the government on its role as a caretaker of the public at large and the social obligation that are naturally attached to it. Cost benefit analysis is the practice of assessing the desirability of projects from the perspective of economist. It takes a wide view in the sense of examining the effect of the project on society, industries and region. It draws on a range of sub disciplines within economist, such as resources economist and public finance to create a coherent view of the project. In this case a number of factors (known as VFM drivers) are listed: Government support, output specification, competition, contract duration and scope, bidding cost, risk allocation, private management skills, client management skill, performance measurement, and contract flexibility (Anderson, 2000; Pitt & Collins, 2006; and Nisar, 2007). In some cases, the innovation process and commissioning programme are also important to be considered (Pitt & Collins, 2006).

The benefits of VFM assessment are considered in the form of a whole life cycle, better risk allocation, faster implementation, and improved public services. Despite the benefits, there are obstructions or barriers that could affect the VFM assessment process. Explicitness in public policies, lack of transparency, difficult of assessing the reputation, uncertainty of future events and measurement outcomes are some form of them. The framework aims to achieve VFM

in terms of three core components; economic, efficiency and effectiveness of PFI projects. These could be translated in the form of optimal risk transfer, innovative design, efficient of public service and leveraging private sector. Nevertheless, more extensive empirical research works on the proposed framework are needed for the future findings in particular to validate the effectiveness of framework.

## 7. Conclusion

This paper attempts to review, synthesize and developed a framework of VFM assessment for PFI project in Malaysia based on the notions of VFM assessment model from the UK, Australia and Japan. It also attempts to investigate the components of PSC as a tool to evaluate VFM. It appears that all these countries are using PSCs mechanism for assessing VFM in procurement, evaluating and quantifying risk. However, there is no one best way of establishing VFM for the fact that assessment of VFM in PFI contract is usually hindered by the lack of transparency and public accountability in the processes. Therefore, it is imperative for Malaysian Government to establish PSC guideline in the evaluation of VFM and to consider VFM critical key drivers. Due to high social obligation placed on PFI projects in Malaysia, the proposed framework of VFM assessment for PFI in Malaysia also include cost benefit analysis as integral components of the VFM appraisal.

The research presented in this paper is part of an ongoing PhD research at Faculty of Architecture, Planning and Surveying, UiTM to develop a framework value for money (VFM) assessment for Public Private Partnership (PPP) projects: Public Sector Projects. The results of the study could provide an insight into the Malaysian construction project development and will hopefully provide valuable guideline, especially to public or private sectors in Malaysia.

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Table 1. VFM assessment for UK, Australia and Japan

Variables	UK VFM Model (Grimsey and Lewis, 2005 and Pit et al. 2006)	Australia VFM model (Partnership Victoria, 2006)	Japanese VFM model (Mori, N, 2006 and Kajita, 2007)
<b>Key assessment criteria</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Affordability</li> <li>• Risk Sharing</li> <li>• Competition</li> <li>• Public Sector Comparator (PSC)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Affordability</li> <li>• Risk Sharing</li> <li>• Competition</li> <li>• Public Sector Comparator (PSC)</li> <li>• Public interest test (PIT)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Affordability</li> <li>• Risk Sharing</li> <li>• Competition</li> <li>• Public Sector Comparator (PSC)</li> </ul>
<b>VFM Appraisal</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial (net present value)</li> <li>• Qualitative (merit base)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial (net present value)</li> <li>• Qualitative (merit base)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial (net present value)</li> <li>• Qualitative (merit base)</li> </ul>
<b>Barriers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subjective</li> <li>• Simplistic</li> <li>• Unquantifiable</li> <li>• Risk</li> <li>• Incomplete</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Inaccuracy</li> <li>• Omitted risks</li> <li>• Manipulation</li> <li>• High cost</li> <li>• No consensus on discount rate</li> <li>• No public sector alternative</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Complexity of procedures</li> <li>• Bureaucracy</li> <li>• Disclosed of information</li> <li>• Lack of a transparency</li> </ul>
<b>VFM Drivers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Risk allocation</li> <li>• Output specification</li> <li>• Competition</li> <li>• Contract duration and scope</li> <li>• Bid cost</li> <li>• Innovation</li> <li>• Borrowing cost</li> <li>• Private and client management skills</li> <li>• Performance measurement</li> <li>• Contract flexibility</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Definable and measurable service output.</li> <li>• Whole life costing</li> <li>• Integration of design, operation and maintenance</li> <li>• Opportunity for innovation</li> <li>• Risk transfer</li> <li>• Greater asset utilization</li> <li>• Market capability</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Government support</li> <li>• Deregulation and opening market to private sector</li> <li>• Private sector capability and expertise</li> <li>• Proper contract conditions</li> <li>• Private willing accept risk</li> <li>• Capacity of financial markets</li> </ul>
<b>Comprehensive VFM concept</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economy</li> <li>• Efficient</li> <li>• Effectiveness</li> </ul> <p><u>Achieving :</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Optimal risk transfer</li> <li>• Efficient of public services</li> <li>• Innovative design</li> <li>• Leveraging private sector</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economy</li> <li>• Efficient</li> <li>• Effectiveness</li> </ul> <p><u>Achieving :</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Optimal risk transfer</li> <li>• Efficient of public services</li> <li>• Innovative design</li> <li>• Leveraging private sector</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economy</li> <li>• Efficient</li> <li>• Effectiveness</li> </ul> <p><u>Achieving :</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Optimal risk transfer</li> <li>• Efficient of public services</li> <li>• Innovative design</li> <li>• Leveraging private sector</li> </ul>

Source: Grimsey and Lewis (2005)., Pit et al. ( 2006)., Partnership Victoria (2006)., Mori, (2006) and Kajita, ( 2007)



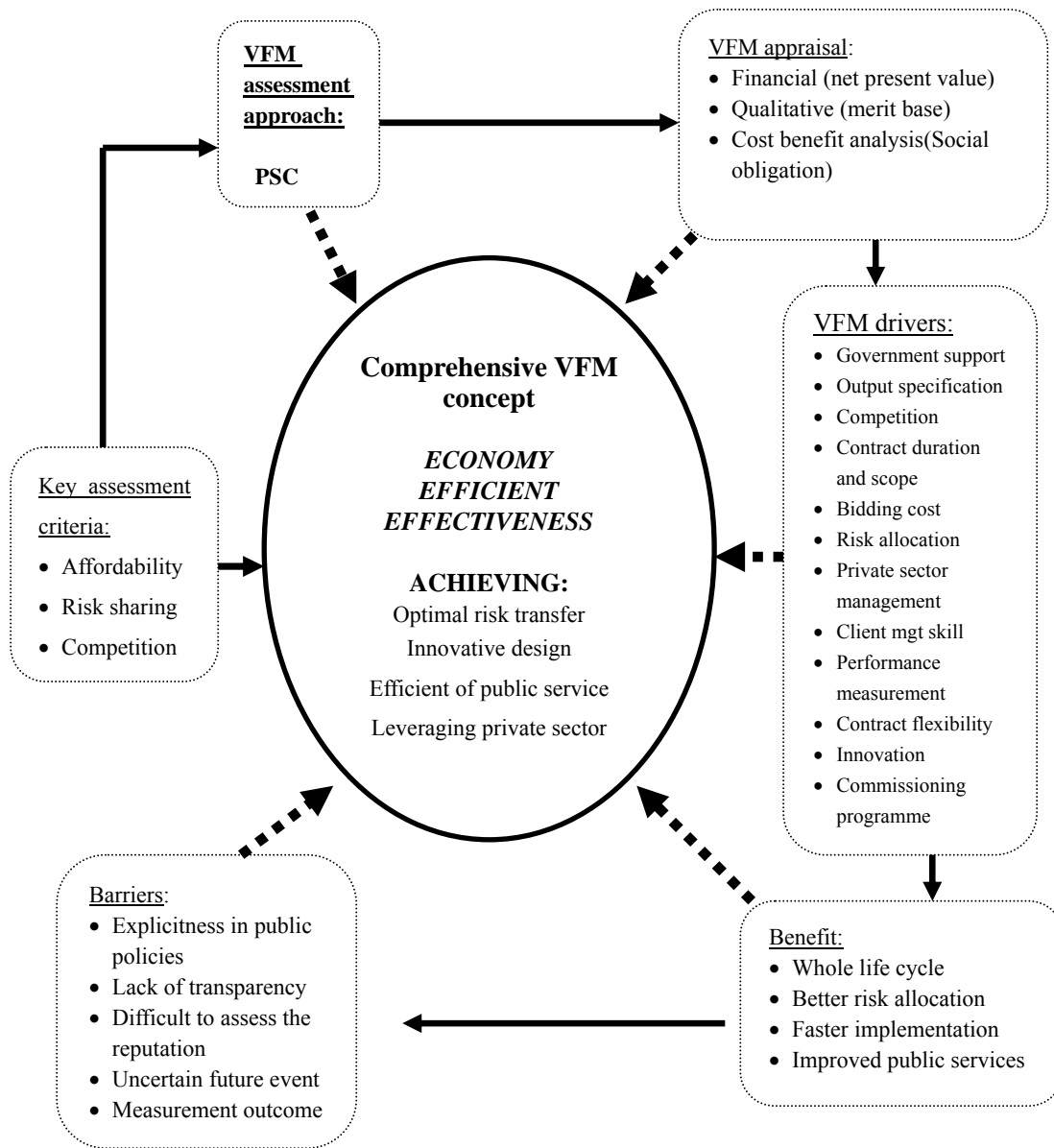


Figure 1. Propose a framework of VFM assessment for PFI projects in Malaysia



## On Cultural Differences in the Two English Versions of *A Dream of Red Mansions*

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### Abstract

The famous Chinese classic novel *A Dream of Red Mansions* has two complete English translation versions; one was translated by Chinese translator Yang and the other by foreign translator David Hawkes. By comparing the materials cited from the two different English renditions, this paper considers to study on the cultural differences in them, especially the functions of translators' different cultural backgrounds in translating. It argues that the variations of translators' cultural backgrounds are often the reasons of differences in translation versions. In other words, translation is invisibly affected by translator's aim, ideology and national psychology etc.

**Keywords:** *A Dream of Red Mansions*, Translation, Cultural differences, Intercultural communication

### 1. Introduction

#### 1.1 The Chinese classical novel *A Dream of Red Mansions*

Among the Chinese classics, *A Dream of Red Mansions* has been most widely read and studied by the general public and scholars since the later part of the 18th century. This work vividly and realistically unveils a pure world of that dynasty. Besides its mythical beginning, more than 400 human characters come to life in the Jia palace throughout the one hundred and twenty chapters of this book.

The author Cao Xue-qin was born in the early part of the 18th century during the period of Emperor Kong Xi and died in the Ching dynasty. Historical research reveals that the personal experiences of the author were striking similar to the events setting of this novel.

As the time goes by, this novel has been translated into more than twenty languages with over one hundred translation versions, and been read and loved by millions of people from all walks of life all around the world. It especially appeals to young people because the entire antagonist in the story is young as well. There are six English translation versions. Four of them are translations of selected chapters and only two are complete versions.

In this book even those chambermaids with rather low social status are given distinctive and unforgettable personalities, besides them, the poems of these characters are worth mentioning. The author's literary feats enable him to weave poetry by presenting their inner woes and shadowing the future developments of the plot as well as the fate of the books characters.

This book could also enable the English readers to get a deep understanding of the rise and decline of a prominent family with a fresh impression of old Chinese culture of that time.

#### 1.2 The two complete English versions of *A Dream of Red Mansions*

*A Dream of Red Mansions* is one complete English version translated by Yang Hsien -Yi and Gladys Yang. They were published by Foreign Language Press, Beijing, China in 1978 in three volumes.

The other complete English version is *The Story of the Stone*, because the hero of this novel was born holding a precious stone in his mouth as the human form of the discard ethereal stone. The whole book of this version concludes five volumes, and the first three volumes were translated by David Hawkes, published in 1973, 1977 and 1980 respectively. The last two volumes, which contained the last forty chapters, were translated by John Minford, the son-in-law of David

Hawkes, and were published in 1982 and 1986 separately.

These two versions are preferred as the most popular English versions, and at the same time remain as the only two complete translations as well.

## 2. The relation of culture and translation

As the person between original work and reader, a translator must transfer all kinds of information of original work, either linguistic or cultural. At the same time, he should take readers' psychology into consideration and try his best to let readers of translation version have the same, or at least, similar feeling with reader of original work.

Traditionally, translation is to render something from one language to another language, including the rendering of differences in language structures. However, another problem should be paid attention to in this process: the cultural differences between source language and target language. This paper tries to argue that translation is not merely selecting equivalent words, but incarnating culture of target language at the same time.

As we referred previously, the two English versions were translated by one Chinese translator and one foreign translator respectively. Nida has said: "The rule of language within a culture and the influence of the culture on the meanings of words and idioms are so pervasive that scarcely any text can be adequately understood without careful consideration of its cultural background." (Nida, *Language, Culture, and Translating*) In this way, varied cultural backgrounds may lead to various translations. By comparing materials cited from the two English renditions, this paper considers to study on the functions of cultural differences in translating, in other words, what role was played by cultural backgrounds in this progress?

By citing and comparing examples on various aspects, this paper also tries to show that translation is an action of intercultural exchange, which bridges up the gap between two different kinds of cultures.

## 3. Cultural differences in the two different translations of *A Dream of Red Mansions*

### 3.1 Thought patterns

In the same way with culture, thought patterns vary from one to another. According to the diagram, (Robert B. Kaplan, *Cultural Thought Patterns in Inter-cultural Education*), an English paragraph normally follows a straight line of development; however, Chinese classical paragraph tends to follow a circular line of development. This shows that each culture has its own special way of thinking. Interpreting Chinese into English is not only a matter of rearranging words and word groups in a sentence. If words and word groups of source language don't fit together in the same way as the words of another language do, the order also needs a change. Besides this, the same words and symbols may create different images in different cultures, in other words, we can also say that one's thinking mode can hardly divide from his culture and language.

(1) "Nǐ mèimei yuǎn lù cái lái, shēnzǐ yòu ruò, yě cái quàn zhù le, kuài bié zài tí le."

(Disān huí. p30)

"So don't reopen that subject."

(Trans, the yangs Vol. p39)

"So let's have no more of this."

(Trans, Hawkes Vol. p92)

It could be found that Prof. Hawkes's translation is in the order of English, however, Prof. Yang's translation structure is very similar to oriental Chinese sentence structure. Under this occasion, Prof. Hawkes's translation is certainly the one which is more readable and acceptable to foreign readers, and remains the original stylistic color consequently.

### 3.2 Values

Values are expressions of what is considered good or evil, beautiful or ugly, and right or wrong. Values are also standards being used by people to judge the actions of ourselves and others around us. (Charles O. Ellenbaum & Gail B. Ellenbaum)

Different cultural individuals might have distinctiveness on values. If applied to translation, these differences in ideology could be reflected as differences in language áexpressing, because language could reflect people's images on culture.

(2) Bǐshí Dàiyù zài chuāng xià duì jìng shūzhuāng, tīng Bǎoyù shuō shàngxuě qù, yīn xiào dào: Hǎo ! Zhè yí qù ,kěshì yào 'chánguōngzhéguì' le ! Wǒbùnéng shòng nǐ le."

(Dǐjiú huí)

"She was sitting before her mirror by the window and smiled when he told her that he was off to school. 'Good,' she said, 'so you're going to pluck fragrant osmanthus in the palace of the moon. I'm sorry I can't see you off.'"

(Trans, the yangs Vol. , p134)

“He found her by the window making herself up at the mirror. Her answer to his announcement that he was off to begin school was smiling but perfunctory: ‘Good, *I wish you every success. I’m sorry I can’t see you off.*’”

(Trans, Hawkes Vol. , p149)

The Chinese idiom “chángōngzhégù” means to win in the imperial examinations. According to an Chinese old tale, there was a cherry bay in the moon, so winning in the imperial examinations is expressed as “chángōngzhégù”. Prof. Yang literally translated this literary quotation to “pluck fragrant osmanthus in the palace of the moon”, as foreign reader may not understand if there are no notes for this idiom. Based on sociolinguistic points, different scopes of sociolinguistics may use various ways to refer to the same thing. Here Prof. Hawkes used adaptation and translated it to “I wish you every success”.

Concerning the sentence “Wǒ bùnéng sòng nǐ le”, both versions are the same: “I’m sorry I can’t see you off”, they both added “I’m sorry” to cater to English readers and achieve successful inter-cultural communications.

(3) “Jiǎmǔ Wáng fūrén dēng yīn sù xǐ Lǐ Wán xiánhuì ,qiě niánqīng shǒu jié, líng rén jìngfú jīn jiàn tā guāshēn lái le, biàn bùkěn jiào tā wàitou qù zhù. Nà shěnmǔ suī shífēn bùkěn, wúnài jiǎmǔ zhīyì bùcóng, zhǐděi dài zhe Lǐ Wén Lǐ Qí zài dào xiāngcūn zhù xià le.”

(Disishíjiǔ huí, p607)

“Because the Lady Dowager and Lady Wang appreciated Li Wan’s good qualities and her admirable conduct since her husband’s untimely death. They would not hear of her widowed aunt staying anywhere but in their house. So although most reluctant to impose on them, on the old lady’s insistence *Li Wan’s aunt had to move into Paddy-Sweet Cottage with her two daughters.*”

(Trans, the yangs Vol. , p128)

“Grandmother Jia and Lady Wang esteemed Li Wan as a good and virtuous young woman who, having lost her husband at an early age bore widowhood with fortitude and restraint. Now that this widowed aunt had arrived, they refused to hear of her taking lodgings outside, and thought the good lady made many polite efforts to decline, insisted that her and her two daughters, *Li Wen and Li Qi, should move into Sweet-rice Village and stay there with Li Wan at the family expense.*”

(Trans, Hawkes Vol. , p473)

Following the original text, Prof. Yang used literal translation and reveals the politeness and indirectness of Chinese discourse habit. Another kind of Chinese national psychology is also reflected—avoiding talking about money—which is a custom dated from old time.

Concurrently, Prof. Hawkes added “stay there with Li Wan at the family expense” from cultural view. In westerners’ conception of value, money is a powerful thing and a measure of success, for example, they will make out bills clearly even between full brothers. Based on this cultural difference, background information should be provided to English readers to explain why Grandmother Jia insisted in Li Wan’s aunt’s moving into Sweet-rice Village and “stay there with Li Wan at the family expense”.

### 3.3 Tradition, customs and life style

(4) “Liǎngbiān kào mén yì xiǎozhuō: Lǐ Wán hé fèngjiě ,xūshè zhuòwèi ,liǎngrén jiē bù gǎn zuò, zhǐ zài Jiǎmǔ Wángfūrén liǎng zhuō shàng cihou.”

(Disānshíba huí, p461-462)

“...and the small one near the door on the west for Li Wan and His-feng The seat sat this were unoccupied, however, as they were waiting on the tables of the Lady Dowager and Lady Wang.”

(Trans, the yangs Vol. , p461)

“A little table was laid for Xi-feng and Li wan on the west side, of the doorway, but this was only for form’s sake, since both of them remained on their feet in order to wait on the other two tables.”

(Trans, Hawkes Vol. , p243)

Though both translation versions are faithful, here Prof. Hawkes’s translation sounds more interesting and expressive. In Hawkes’s translation, the cultural words “xūshè zhuòwèi” was rendered into “this was only for form’s sake”, which gives us an impression of Hawkes’s remarkable mastery of Chinese. In *A Dream of Red Mansions*, when Jia family gave a dinner party, it is true that they did according to Chinese old customs. Based on *The Customs of A Dream of Red Mansions* (<<Hōnglóumèng fēngsūtān>>), the most respectable one will sit at the head of the table, with two people sitting on each side, and at the other end of the table no seat will be set, for the sake of serving food.

(5) “Jì yào xué zuòshī,nǐ jiù bài wǒ wéi shī.”

(Disishíbā huí,p597)

“If you want to write poetry you must acknowledge me as your tutor.”

(Trans, the yangs Vol. , p115)

“You can make your kowtow and become my pupil if you like.”

(Trans, Hawkes Vol. , p456)

As an old custom in China, “bàishī” means making actual kowtow to one’s teacher. Through translating Hawkes reveals this historical background to the target readers, while Prof. Yang’s version gives us a flavor of modern sense which seems not quite go hand in hand with the original.

(6) “Nǐ búyòng pà tā,děng wǒ xìngzi shànglai,bǎ zhè cùguānzi dǎ ge xīlàn,tā cái rèn de wǒne.”

(Dìershíyī huí)

“Don’t be afraid of her. One of these days when I really lose my temper, I’m going to give that vinegary bitch a good beating to show her who’s master here.”

(Trans, the yangs Vol. , p215)

“One of these days when I get my temper up, I’m going to lay into that jealous bitch and break every bone in her body. Then perhaps she’ll know who’s master round here.”

(Trans, Hawkes Vol. , p145)

As a thing existed in both eastern and western, vinegary refers to someone who is narrow-minded and jealous in Chinese culture, but is used to describe somebody who is sharp-tempered in the western world. Probably because of this, Prof. Yang and Prof. Hawkes rendered this sentence in different ways.

In *A Dream of Red Mansions*, Xi-feng is famous for her cruelty. She would not let her husband have any connect with any women except herself, so “cùguānzi” refers to her. Here Prof. Hawkes leaves out the meaning of “cù” but directly shows the internal meaning—jealous. Referring to dictionary, vinegary means unkind, bitter and sour-tempered (*Oxford Advanced Learning’s English-Chinese Dictionary*), and this explanation is corresponding to Xi-feng’s personality. Furthermore, it holds the image of vinegary in the meantime. Prof. Yang’s version is more faithful to the original text.

### 3.4 Religious differences

The center of Chinese traditional religions is Confucianism; while the counterpart in western traditional religions is Christians. These two religions represent different cultures’ concepts of rules.

(7) “Shí rén dōu xiǎo shénxiān hǎo.”

(Dìyī huí)

“All men long to be immortals.”

(Trans, the yangs Vol. , p16)

“Men all know that salvation should be won.”

(Trans, Hawkes Vol. , p63)

(8) “Móushì zài rén,chéngshì zài tiān.”

(Dìliù huí)

“Man proposes; heaven disposes.”

(Trans, the yangs Vol. , p90)

“Man proposes; God disposes.”

(Trans, Hawkes Vol. , p152)

“Shénxiān” and “tiān” are basic concepts of Chinese Taoism, so Prof. Yang literally translated them to “immortals” and “heaven”, which reserved the cultural color of words. Thus it’s very faithful to the original text. In the meanwhile, Prof. Hawkes found two equivalent concepts in Christian: “salvation” and “God”, which are more readable and understandable for English readers. Here, concepts in target language which are similar to that in source language could be found, but could lead to the loss of the religious color of the original.

(9) “Liú lǎolao dào: ‘āmítuófó! zhè quānzhang le sǎozi fāngbiàn le’.”

(Dìliù huí)

“Buddha be praised! I’m most grateful for your help, sister.”

(Trans, the yangs Vol. , p93)

“Bless you, my dear, for being such a help.”

(Trans, Hawkes Vol. , p156)

Different religious colors are revealed in the two interpretations. Prof. Yang’s version is very formal with the color of Buddhism, while the other version is not so formal with the color of Christians. From the point of linguistics, we can find that Prof. Hawkes’s translation is easier for English readers to accept.

### 3.5 Cultural differences

(10) “Mò xiàng dōngfēng yuàn bié.”

(Dièrshìèr huí)

“Blame not the east wind for this separation.”

(Trans, the yangs Vol. , p324)

“And on the wind I drift off broken hearted.”

(Trans, Hawkes Vol. , p448)

(11) “Chàngwàng xīfēng bào mēn sī.”

(Disānshíá huí)

“I gaze around in the west wind, sick at heart.”

(Trans, the yangs Vol. , p559)

“The autumn wind that through the knotgrass blows.”

(Trans, Hawkes Vol. , p250)

(12) “Duìlǐ dōngfēng lǐ, zhǔrén yīng jiě lián.”

(Dìshíā huí)

“Facing each other in the soft east wind”

(Trans, the yangs Vol. , p261)

“Their mistress, standing in the soft summer breeze”

(Trans, Hawkes Vol. , p370)

“Dōngfēng” and “xīfēng” are words with Chinese culture flavor. Under Prof. Yang’s translation, “dōngfēng” is literally rendered into “east wind” and “xīfēng” into “west wind”, but are freely translated into “summer breeze” and “autumn wind” by Prof. Hawkes. What’s the reason of these differences?

Different ways of looking at the original text and different methods of translation are indicated. Prof. Yang’s translation primarily focuses upon the semantic content of the source text; meanwhile the comprehension and response of receptors are focused on Prof. Hawkes’s version.

Owing to the differences of geographical positions, some words refer to different conceptual meanings. To a Chinese, “dōngfēng” refers to warm and wettish wind blowing from the Pacific Ocean in spring and summer, and often connects with spring in poems to create poetic images. Take the lines from “The Romance of Western Brower” written by Wang shifu(Wāng Shífū) for example, “Kě zhèngshì, rén zhí cáncún pú jùn dōng, mén yǎn chóngguān xiāosì zhōng; huāluò shuǐ liú hōng, xiánchóu wànzhōng, wúyǔ xiào dōngfēng.” Other examples : “Dōngfēng fā méi liǔ, wàn wù shēng chūnguāng” (Tāng Dézōng) and “èryuè èrri jiāngshàng xíng, dōngfēng rīnuǎn wén chuīshēng” (Lǐ Shāngyǐn). Through these examples we can see that east wind equals to spring wind in Chinese culture. Moreover, “xīfēng” is always associated with late autumn, as an example: “Bì yú tān, huáng yè dì, xīfēng jīn, běi yàn nán fēi, xiǎo lái shuǐ rǎn shuāng lín zuì, zōngshì lí rén lèi.” (Xīxiāngjì)

On the other hand, to English reader, “west wind” is warm and wettish wind blowing from the Atlantic Ocean which signs the spring’s coming. Such as the famous quotation from *Ode to the West Wind*: “If Winter comes, can spring be far behind?” (Percy Bysshe Shelly). In the similar way, “east wind” is associated with summer to an English reader.

From the information given above, it could be acknowledged that the meanings of “dōngfēng” and “xīfēng” are just the oppositions in Chinese and Western cultures, as a result, referred to Prof. Yang’s translation, if “dōngfēng” is simply translated into “east wind”, “xīfēng” into “west wind”, a big misunderstanding will occur to English readers.

In this occasion, the version of Prof. Hawkes is more faithful to the original text, and more readable to English readers; the process of inter-cultural communicating and bridging up culture difference is also successful.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this paper, two English versions of *A Dream of Red Mansions* are compared through analyzing materials on the following five aspects: thought patterns, values, tradition, customs, life style, religious differences and culture differences. Just as Nida says, "The meaning of verbal symbols on any and every level depends on the culture of language community", language is an indispensable part of culture; interactional and interdependent are the relationship between language and culture. As a complex communicational activity involved two languages and two cultures, the influence of cultural differences to translation is unavoidable, and we can see the great function of cultural differences through former analysis. To conclude, cultural differences should be paid special attention in translating practice, and the translator should be the master of both source language and target language.

On the other hand, the aim of translator also affects interpreting. Prof. Hawkes's aim is to let English readers understand more easily; however Prof. Yang's motivation is to deliver Chinese traditional culture to the world outside. In this situation, English readers are tending to read Prof. Hawkes' work. In translating practices, culture differences should always be taken into account, and many translating theories, such as literally translation and free translation, could be used to achieve the success of intercultural communication.

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## The Implementation of Social Welfare Policy in Taiwan: Regarding Single Parent Families

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### Abstract

Within members of the global village, affluent or poor nations alike, the family structure has undergone a dramatic change. Taiwan is no exception. In the past, the traditional Taiwanese family secures social order by fusing social forces adhesively. However, accompanied with economic development, feminist movement and population immigration, the traditional Taiwanese family structure has undergone a dramatically change. The traditional family has faced colossal challenges; the increased unwedded mothers, sky-high divorce rate, separated family due to parents working in the both side of the Taiwan Strait. All of these contribute towards making the single parent family as a “social fact” in the trend of Taiwan social change.

Unlike other countries, the ratio of single parent family with male headed families has been relatively high in Taiwan. A 2001 nationwide survey of 3500 single parent families in Taiwan indicates that the ratio of male headed and female headed single parent families respectively is close to 1:1, and the economic condition has no significant difference. Furthermore, since the remarried rate of parents in the single parent family is low (in 2007 the divorce rate in Taiwan was 2.5/1000, the remarried rate for male was 27.1/1000, for female was 11.2/1000), more than half of surveyed single parent families have lived in such structure more than five years. It shows that the lifestyle of single parent family in Taiwan has become commonplace.

Two distinctive characteristics of Taiwanese single parent family are the high ratio of (1) covert single parent family due to a conservative culture regarding separation being better than divorce; (2) three generation family with grandparents, single parent, and children becomes the most significant social support network of single parent family. Follow this line of thinking, Taiwanese social policy of single parent family should be planned to adjust to the special cultural needs of single parent families in Taiwan like single parent family living with grandparents. However, Taiwanese government has not yet implemented such policy and establishes various social aids for eliminating poverty. These unstructured aids have focused generally on single parent family with mother only while most single parent families relied on un-official and non-organizational support.

This study has suggested that the government should actively construct comprehensive family-focused policy and support network among single parent families to provide services to reduce their heavy housework and work load and



explore different needs of various single families.

**Keywords:** Social welfare policy, Taiwan, Single parent family

## 1. Introduction

Family, the nutshell of social organization, is the earliest socialization locale; it is the foundation and sanctuary for individual survival, race propagation, founding nation, culture heritage, and maintenance of the social order. Regardless of the social change, family has been the prime social unit providing co-living, protection, emotional support, economic cooperation, education, sex and reproduction. Nonetheless, the traditional family structure has qualitatively changed after the WW II. For instance, a 1995 report by the Population Council in New York points out that the family is no longer the cohesive and adhesive social unit. The modern decreased-member family, as Wetzel (1990:4-5) suggests, has experienced wobbly family life and heterogeneous families and significant reallocation of housework and family income.

On top of these phenomena, the undercurrents agitated the modern family are the increase of teenage mothers (in 2007, 4,312 out of 203,711, about 2.1% of new born babies in Taiwan were born by mother aged 19 and under), the increase of divorce rate (in 2007, the divorce rate was 2.23/1000), the increasing number of single parent families, and the increase of female poverty (in 2007, the labor participation rate of female headed families was 29.9%, male headed families was 52.8%). Within members of the global village, affluent or poor nations alike, the family structure has undergone a dramatic change. It is a worldwide phenomenon.

The single parent family is the fastest growing family type of the modern family. Bumpass (1984) had predicted that 50% of those who were born in the US in the 90's would live in the single parent family and McLanahan and Sandefur (1994) suggested that they would have a higher chance to live under the poverty line. Furthermore, Kamerman and Kahn (1989) reported that between 1960 and 1990, the single parent family has increased 50% in the UK and Austria, 20% in France and Swiss. Overall, the single parent family has increased 30 to 50% within the nations of OECD (Chang, 1995; Pong & Chang, 1996). Such increase rate also occurs in Taiwan in which the single parent family has increased 21% from 1990 to 2000 (as indicated in Table 1).

The operational and conceptual definitions of single parent family are diverse. There is no single agreement among official Taiwanese government, academic researchers and social welfare practitioners on the accurate numbers of such family in Taiwan, although everyone agrees that it is a growing fashion. For instance, based on a 1990 population survey, Hsueh (1996) has estimated that the number of single parent family is about 200,000--a 3.9% of the total family and the ratio of single male and female parent family is 4:6. However, it is 6.5% of the total family with children aged 18 and under.

In a latter report Hsueh (2001) reanalyzes 1991 to 99 data from "Family Income Survey" conducted by Department of Auditing, the Executive Yuan and redefines the single parent family as (1) single parent family of unwedded, divorced, separated, or widowed, (2) single parent family of the first definition and two parents family with one of the parents who lives outside the family or does not register in the family, and (3) single parent family of the first two definitions and lives (either with single parent or not) with grandparent(s). Hsueh reports that, according to the third definition, there are 277,585 single parent families--a 4.3% of total households, a 5.5% of total families, and a 9.4% of total families with children age under 18, at year 2000, in Taiwan. Among these single parent families, 80,986 belong to the third definition--a single family with grandparent(s), which is also the fastest growing household in the past ten years (Table 1, below). Furthermore, in comparison to 1990 survey the single parent family children are 325,476, about 5% of total children in Taiwan, the number has increased to 443,540, about 8% of total children in 2000. 3% increases of the single parent family children in the past 10 years indicate that the change of living condition of single parent family (Hsueh, 2002). Such growing trend can be found in a 2001 national survey conducted by Population Affairs Administration, Ministry of Interior, which reports that the single parent family is 318,544, 4.73% of total 6,738,529 families.

A noticeable finding in Hsueh (2001) analysis is that the separated single parent family becomes the third largest single parent family type (Figure 1). Furthermore, it appears as the second largest single male parent family type. One of the most important reasons of this type of single parent family is the separation of parents by living condition. It may have greater adjustment problems of traditional Chinese culture society and need more helps.

Toward the twenty-first century, the increase of single-parent families in Taiwan has become one of the most significant social changes. Department of Auditing, Executive Yuan (2007) reported that there were around 273,000 single-parent households in 1988 and however, 548,000 in 2004 with 100.7% growing rate. It is estimated that there are 334,825 children and adolescents staying in single-parent families, which has made up 8.63% of national households (Table 2 indicated as below). Furthermore, children under 18 years old in the single parent households increased from 112,000 to 167,000. Most single parent families are female headed households, three times as much as male headed households in 2004. (According to a 2001 survey based on 3500 single parents, the ratio between female headed families and male

headed families was 1:1)

In addition to demographic description, academic research of single parent family reflects the degree of attention given to this issue. There is no lack of research on the single parent family in Taiwanese learning of the past decade; they nonetheless, exhibit at least three deficiencies. First, research on single parent family has focused mostly on the single parent family children and mother; the spotlight has been upon the low-income single mother family. On the other hand, little attention has paid to single father family, and unwedded, adoptive, or separated single parent family. Secondly, subjects of these researches are purposive sample from either educational or social welfare institutional setting. Thus these qualitative analyses fail to generalize a representative result. And finally, there is a tendency of "e-sampling"--which on the one hand provides an alternative data gathering technique for sensitive subjects, while we cannot surmount the problem of sample's generalization on the other hand. Nonetheless, these studies indicate that the causes of single parent family are varied.

Since the discrepancy of Taiwanese single parent family is high, the nucleuses of their problems are quite different. For instance, the most common problem for single mother is property while the single father is pressure of parent-children relations, and children of single parent family have deviant behaviors. Research indicates that the problems of parents of single parent family can be categorized as "economic security", "children rearing", "psychological disposition", and "social adaptation" while those problems for children of single parent family are "psychological disposition", "self-concept", "social adaptation", and "deviant behavior". Compared to the nuclear family, the single parent family lacks of resources to deal with above difficulties and becomes more vulnerable (Chang, 1995).

The research in the past two decades provides insights of our understandings of single parent family and clears its stereotypical views of "broken family" or "deviant family" for "alternative family" type. Moreover, Pong and Chang (1995) have discussed the upheld perspective of single parent family and concluded to help the single parent family overcome its crisis, solve problems, and self-develop from this upheld perspective.

Like many natural things, the marriage will eventually come to the end. Divorce, together with the sickness, accident (may or may not come to the death) and unwedded mother, have become common mean to end the marriage and contributes the single parent family as a "social fact" in the tide of Taiwanese social change. Evolved from this "social fact" are problems associated with both parent(s) and children of the single parent family--economic security, children rearing, psychological disposition, social relationship, job and living, as well as legal consultation. Policies to implement these families' welfare need to be able to discriminate the degree of emergency in accordance to the vulnerability of single parent family in question to provide adequate helps. Table 3 has summarized the needs of different single parent family by its economic conditions: the average single parent family, the low-income single parent family, and single parent family and its children age under 18 years old.

## **2. An international comparison of social welfare policy on general family**

In this section, we will first compare social welfare policies of different nations on general family and then examine Taiwanese policy of single parent family.

### *2.1 Analysis of different nations' single parent family policies*

Although different nations have different general family policies for the discrepancies of society and culture, the purpose of these policies is similar: to eliminate poverty or to provide various supports to solve impediments. Regardless of the similar purpose of various welfare policies to resolve problems of economy, children education, medical attention, psychological well-being of general family, there is great divergence of the implementation of such purpose. Few nations definitely designate the single parent family policies, while most of the nations implement a general welfare policy for female, mother, low-income, or minority population (Chang, 1998). These differences are shown in table 4 below.

A brief glance of table 4 indicates that:

- A. France and Germany have comprehensive family policies with few items being designed for the single parent family.
- B. Sweden and Denmark employ a two-tier policy, which combines working and welfare strategies and strengthens it with day/night-care system. Under the principles of encouraging working and the sexual equality of working place, these nations have high employment rate and less single parent family under the poverty line.
- C. Norway and Ireland treat single parent family as special interest group and design special policies for it. However, the problem of poverty still exists in the single parent family.
- D. The US, Canada, Spain, and Taiwan employ an anti-poverty policy and provide single parent family welfare from an assisting perspective.

From table 4, it is obvious that like the US, Canada, the UK, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, the Taiwan's social welfare

policy of single parent family is based on the concept of social assistance whose implementations indiscriminate the single parent family and the low-income family. Such conceptualization and operational definitions run into two complexities. First, although the income of many single parent families is below the poverty line, it may not be appropriate to treat them in unison. However, around 1% of the families can meet the supplementary aid standard below the poverty line and around 4% of the families can meet the middle-low-income level, but the subsidy is not enough to live with it. Compared with the Western countries like Japan, the U.S., England, Norway et al., fewer families can accept social assistance from the government in Taiwan. The needs and wants of single parent family may be the same as the low-income family. Second, the general welfare policy in any nation has to compete with other national policies in a shrinking budget situation. Besides, such policy has been altered because national resources cannot meet many needs of welfare industry and family, such as capability of raising funds, emphasis on welfare nation statement and new social changes (i.e., structure of population, employment and unemployment) (Taylor-Gooby, 2006). More than often, the administration would label the social welfare policy deepening the budget deficit and make no effort to realize or employ such policy.

Lin (1995) has argued that if the policy maker recognizes the single parent family as social sickness or problem, and only the double parent family is normal; then the welfare policy for the single parent family will remain as the remedy of social assistance or the subsidy of working stipend. On the other hand, if the policy maker treats the single parent family positively; then the policy will emphasize on the equal opportunity of working and multi-social service replacements and income preservation plans. Hence, in the latter, single parent family policy will include job training and employment for the parent of single parent family, day/night-care service and education subsidy for the children of single parent family, home consoling for psychological and legal problems, rental assistance and low-interest home mortgage, and school social work's net, et al. All these plans aim to establish the self-reliant ability of the single parent family, so it can eventually stand on its own foot.

## *2.2 Taiwanese single parent family policies*

As stated above, like many nations around the world, the number of single parent family has increased dramatically in Taiwan in recent years. The divergence of family types, the increase of single parent family, and the advance of feminist conciseness have accelerated social change, weakened the interaction and structure of traditional family, and reconstruct family and its social relationship. Lee (1994) has pointed out that although questions like "do we have family policy?" or "do we need family policy" have been raised in Hong Kong and Taiwan, the family welfare policy or family social work is overlooked in most Asian nations. The crucial reason of this negligence (Hsu, Lee, & Chung, 2000) is a cultural value of family privacy and integrity underlying the traditional family system which requires individual to seek gratification from the family and to keep family secrecy in the family.

The negligence of family policy also reflects on the making of family policy. Currently, there is no single comprehensive family policy in Taiwan. Policies related to family have scattered in five different laws, administrative orders, drafts whose purposes do not aim to protect, support, or help family as a whole. Thus, the issue of family is dwindled into various separate "problems". In the following, we will try to illustrate the dispersed Taiwanese family policy in brief; special focus will be upon the articles related to the single parent family.

### *2.2.1 The Social Welfare Policy Guideline (revised by the Ministry of the Interior in June, 1994)*

This Guideline reflects the government's recognition of a family-centered public welfare policy to intervening traditional family autonomy; the welfare service replaces the family's self-reliance. The Article 3 states that the principle is to construct a family-central social welfare policy to promote family ethics and improve family relationship to maintain welfare of its members.

### *2.2.2 The Civil Law (May, 23, 2008 revised) (Ministry of Justice, 2008)*

In respect to the gender equality, the increasing female labor participation (49.4 % in Taiwan in 2007, comparing to 67.1% of male labor participation) and the appreciation of equal responsibility of children rearing for both parents, the traditional patriarchy weakens and gender equality raise. The Civil Law is revised to acknowledge such change and to reduce the gender inequality. Furthermore, it states that when the families dissolve or dysfunction, the law should consider the children's best interests as the first priority, in its revised Articles 1055 and 1069.

### *2.2.3 The Children and Youth Welfare Law (May, 28, 2003 announced) (The Legislative Yuan, 2003)*

The Children and Youth Welfare Law is to provide protection and support for children. In its Articles 15, 19, 24, 39, 40, 41, 48 and 49 state that the fundamental principle of protection of the custody, rearing, and family of children is in the child's best interest. When the family has suffered accidents (e.g., as parents' death and unwedded mother etc.), the government or private-sector welfare institutes should provide children's family life assistances, cares and medical aids.

### *2.2.4 Administrative Order of Family Assistance for Women Anomalous Condition (May 24, 2000 announced) (Ministry of the Interior, 2000)*

The Administrative Order is to strengthen welfare policies upon those women who are in particular conditions (such as husband is dead or missing, being abandoned, being victim of family violence, sexual assault, or other crimes, being raped or adopted to pregnant, being single mother unable to work, or husband is in prison for more than one year). The Articles 4, and 6 to 12, state that the government should provide emergence living supports, children's educational subsidy, children's living stipend, medical aid of injury, children's day/night care subsidy, legal expense, and low-interest business loan for woman in particular conditions.

#### 2.2.5 Draft of Family Education (February 22, 2000 reviewed) (Ministry of Education)

The law is to confront the structural change of family, and the decline of family function, role, and interaction in contemporary Taiwan, by educating the concept of family values, functions, roles. Thus, it takes an education perspective to preclude family problems and adolescent crime in advance.

In short, the implicit family policy design covering single parent family welfare policies in contemporary Taiwan's laws and orders reveal five characters.

A. A Patched Welfare Policy: There is no comprehensive policy for the single parent family. Although there are many scattered supports and aids in various laws and orders, without treating the family as a unique unit, these supports and aids may not be sufficient enough. The chief responsibility for the government is to rebuild the family, to help it stand on its feet, then, to step aside to provide supportive social welfare services and networks.

B. Based on Children's Best Interest: Welfare policies of single parent family consider the minority in the family--children and adolescent, so they provide services and helps from the viewpoint of the best interest of the children.

C. Government's Intervention to Family Autonomy: Like many nations the government's "public authority" gradually intervene family "private sphere", thus it replaces the traditional protection of family secrecy or respect of family autonomy to the protection of the minority and maintenance of public interest.

D. Problem Solving and Prevention: These welfare policies provide needs and helps for the single parent family on one hand; they also try to prevent the dysfunction of family by teaching family values, roles, and functions on the other hand.

E. Lack of Designated Public Office to Plan and Execute: Figure 2 below shows that there are several patched social welfare services scattered in the different administrative departments, providing supports for the single parent family indicated in contemporary Taiwan's social welfare policies. However, there is not a designated public office for the overall planning and implementing these plans and policies. Questions regarding to the efficiency are obvious: Are policies and implementations overlapped? Are there places these policies neglect?

Currently, there is not a comprehensive and explicit family social welfare policy in Taiwan, but various patched social welfare services scattered in different laws and orders. These welfare services may, in fact, aid needing families from different perspective and dimension, the concept that the family is a holistic unit is dissolved in these practices. This economic security or anti-poverty concept adopted from early OECD nations focuses upon strengthening economic security by means of supplementary benefits or aids in order to beat poverty, emphasizes that the single-parent families lacking of opportunity and deprivation from the society are in the disadvantaged situation, thus, their children suffer welfare stigma from poverty in the long run and result in social exclusion as well. The economic disadvantage and living dilemma of single-parent family are not consequence of low income, but inclined to the working poor or marginal income target population (Chang & Pong, 1998). Hence Hsu, Lee, and Chung (2000), and Hsieh (1995) all point out that the social welfare system in Taiwan often lacks of integration while sometimes full of contradictions.

### 3. An initiative policy

In recent years, accompanied with economic growth and political democratization, Taiwan society undergoes a dramatic change; the needs of social welfare also increase proportionally. Under the change current, the number of single parent family becomes the second largest family type. Encountered with the difficulties of single parent family, Taiwanese government modifies its latent policy of economic security assistance to an active single parent family welfare policy. Based on a 2001 survey of Taiwanese single parent family, this section will discuss policy implementation from the perspective of these surveyed families.

#### 3.1 Re-conceptualize the essence of life of the single parent family from a "gender-neutral" perspective and recognize problems and needs of the male-single-family.

We should discard traditional stereotypic image of the single parent family and treat it as "social fact", so we can discuss it from a macro-perspective. Furthermore, because of the role constrain of the traditional male gender expectation, male headed families are more reluctant to look for help than female headed families. Moreover, in current Taiwan social assistance system, most of the social benefits (aids) or services are income-tested, because of the lower labor participation (29.9% while the labor participation rate of male headed families was 52.8% in 2007) female headed

families usually tend to be more financially vulnerable than male headed families, so it is easier for female headed families to meet the aid qualification. For these reasons, many male headed families have been overlooked, and their family problems and special needs are neglected. Hence, government should pay special attention to male headed family problems and social welfare needs.

### *3.2 Face the tides of social change and initiate policies confronted to the challenges*

Since 1970, feminization of poverty has become the focus of poverty problem (Karger & Midgley, 1994), and it has become a public issue in the 80's. Single parent family spends more on child-caring, talent training, and day/night care. With 35% of divorce rate (almost one of three marriages), the living condition and children's care and development become one of significant issues to pay more attention. Hence, government and private supporting sectors should design a comprehensive financial plan to assist single parent family children's caring, education, teaching as well as parent's job and career needs.

### *3.3 Subside the cost of raising the children*

According to Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior (2002) survey, parent of single parent family thinks that the first priority of government's support should be "assistance of children education"; the second is "helping of emergency living support". Furthermore, over 60% of surveyed families say their "expenditure is bigger than income". Other studies report that more than 20% mother of single parent family work more than 53 hours weekly, (Cheng, 1988). Since parent of the single parent family lacks a pattern in the family life cycle to share the responsibilities, he/she often experiences role overloaded (i.e., care or rear children). In addition, due to poverty or low-payment job, single-parent family may consequently be in the underclass level and circularly reproduce intergenerational poverty. Hence, the government should provide policy to eliminate sexual separation, family ideology, and negative social security system, laws, or education contributing to sexual discrimination. Furthermore, it should provide humanized policies and family-focused services--such as economic assistance, career training, for the parent and quality and cheap day/night care for the children.

### *3.4 Construct effective welfare policy and economic safety net for the single parent family.*

The government should encourage academic research institutes pay more attention to the single parent family, so they can provide analyses and suggestions for effective policy making. The single-parent family should be avoided in accordance with causal model of poverty. Instead, a holistic and comprehensive policy including economic security, vocational safety, health security, social security, etc. should be constructed as a whole in order to provide positive supports.

### *3.5 Provide career training program and employment information to the single parent family.*

The same survey (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, 2002) also finds out that only less than 15% of parent of the single parent family is unemployed. Half of these parents express that they could not find any job while others say they are temporary out of work. In either case, it indicates that they have financial pressure and need job. Thus, government should provide job training and employment information to help them finding job. As for the employer, the best way to help the single parent family is to provide flexible working schedules or parental leave policy to reduce the conflict between parenting and working (Gladding & Huber, 1984; Keshet & Rossenthal, 1978:).

### *3.6 Offer social and organizational networking for emotional support and release.*

Interpersonal relationship can be either a supportive network or a source of pressure. The two problems for Taiwanese parent of single parent family are economic pressure and children rearing, (Department of Auditing, the Executive Yuan, 2000:18). Many single father families receive children caring and housework taking as well as emotional supports from relatives; while single mother families receive financial assistance from the relatives at the beginning. On the other hand, sometimes the relatives and friends of marriage would change or dissolve when there is a divorce, (Wang, 1988). Hence, the co-living relatives play the most important informal supportive role, (Chang, 1998). Nonetheless, Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior (2002) survey also indicates that the greatest trouble for the members of single parent family is to feel sorry to their relatives, then the pressure of work or economy.

The same survey reports that 60% of single mother family constitutes with mother and children and less than 30% is composed of grandparent(s), mother, and children; on the other hand, 51% of single father family lives with the grandparent(s). It indicates that Taiwanese single mother family receives less unofficial support. Thus, the government needs to understand the support system of different family types and provides adequate assistance. For instance, to strengthen social support network of single mother family will release the emotional pressure for single mother family.

### *3.7 Encourage single parent family to participate in social networking.*

As discussed above, most of the social supports for single parent family are from relatives and friends, while official supports of "government" and "social institute" are less utilized (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, 2002). Furthermore, the single father family participates less in the social activities and adjusts less of social life than the single

mother family, (Wu, 1992). Thus, parent of single parent family needs to rearrange their values and behavioral models to accept norms and behaviors of the new role for social interactions and self-balance. However, the government and private welfare sectors must also promote and encourage the participations of single parent family, (Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior, 2002).

### *3.8 Arrange home service for daycare children and elder.*

More than 30% of the unemployed mother of the single parent family has to take care of the housework, grandparent(s), or children. Furthermore, the same study shows that more than 35% of the single parent family has children age between 6-11 years old. Hence, in addition to the job, parent of the single parent family has to take care of the children personally. The parent of single parent family experiences pressures from work and rearing children, he/she has no adequate channel to release his/her overloaded depression, loneliness, and frustration, (Wu, 1992). Government and private welfare institutes need to plan integrated home service and provide single parent family elders/children day-care service. Furthermore, the government needs to implement sexual equality law and parental leave in workplace.

### *3.9 Campaign for safety sex.*

Like other types of single parent family, the number of unwedded single parent family also increases steadily. Noticeably, more than 80% of the parent-under-20-year-old single parent families are unwed mothers. They are the minors within the minority for they have to face their own uncertain careers on one hand and rear their children on the other. Thus, that the government and school have to teach adequate sex education is obvious.

### *3.10 Promote the importance of parenting education.*

In contrast to the married and conflict families, children of the divorced single parent family exhibit more behavior problems, higher pressure, and worse parent-children relationship (Acock, 1988). Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior (2002) study also finds out that parents of the single parent family think that "children's deviant behaviors", "disciplinary problems", and "no time to teach" are serious problem; and more than 30% of the parents feel their parental-children relationship being bad but do not know how to improve it. Poverty and role loads can become a child welfare issue, such as child abuse in the single-parent family. Hence, educational and social welfare systems need to provide the parental training and education as a support system in order to decrease child welfare issues.

### *3.11 Establish the "big-brother" and "big-sister" system.*

Coletta (1979) and Hsieh (1993) suggest that from the dual parents to the single parent, the relationship between the parent and children becomes worse. Department of Statistics, Ministry of Interior (2002) study shows the parents of single parent family think that children's most serious education problem is "unable to help children's homework", the second one is "children's low academic achievement", and "children do not like to study". Thus, government and schools can introduce collegial volunteers as big-brother/sister for assisting parent help children's learning or autonomy in order to decline parent-child conflicts.

### *3.12 Provide part-time job for 15 year-old children of single parent family.*

Children of the single parent family may also suffer a series of emotional crisis, adjustment problem, and identity problem in the family, (Wu, 1994). Furthermore, the children of the single parent family can also feel the economy pressure and financial insecurity, (Chen, 1998). Thus, it is suggested that by providing job opportunities for children of the single parent family can on one hand, even as a token, help the economic problem, and on the other hand build their self-reliance to reduce the tension within the family.

### *3.13 Teach children of single parent family self-concept and provide social support network.*

Research suggests that the struggles of single parent family have impacts on children's development of self-concept and may cause their deviant behavior, (Hsieh, 1993). Therefore, it is important for the government and private social welfare sectors provide social support network for the children to develop adequate well being and to feel valued.

### *3.14 Urge the mass media report positive aspects of the single parent family.*

Part of the influences of the single parent family upon the children depends on the living conditions and socio-economic status of the pre-single parent family. Were the single parent family economic security and well adjusted relationships, environment, and the function after being single parent family would still work. Then the impact on the children may be little. On the other hand, the dysfunctional family of the single parent family is often labeled as "single parent family is deviant family" or "single parent family is minority family" by the mass media. Such labeling may cause psychological injury of the children as a stigma. Thus, it is important that the mass media, the educational system, and the government give the stereotypical perspective away and treat the single parent family as another "social fact".

## **4. Conclusion and suggestions**

In the process of modernization, Taiwan, like many nations, has undergone a dramatic social change--the improvement of female education, the raise of labor forces, and the recognition of sexual equality, that bring great impact on

traditional family structure and value of marriage, (Goode 1982, Hsu & Lin, 1984). The changed family has brought change on population structure, change in ideas and social values, and an increase of social pathological factors to the society in return.

Furthermore, limited by its structure, the fastest growth of single parent family has less resource, comparing to the nuclear family, to encounter difficulties and produces more problems, (Chang, 1995). Hence, the single parent family has been labeled as “broken family” or “deviant family”. However, there are no conclusive results from the research community on questions of how and what the single parent family influence its members (i.e., parent and children), or whether the impacts are positive or negative.

Nonetheless, a 2001, nationwide survey of Taiwanese 4,000 single parent families indicates that except the unwedded mother and low-income family, most of the single parent family receive little social welfare supports; most of the single parent family rely on personal or un-official supportive system (such as relatives, friends, NPO, and NGO’s); and most of the single parent family is financially imbalanced (i.e., expenditure exceeds income). In addition to the economic pressure, most of the parents of the single parent family have double roles (that is as the sole income provider and as housework and children rearing worker) in the family. Thus, more than 30% of the parents feel a worse relationship with the children and feel desperate about ways and time to teach children. In terms of the influences, the parent thinks that the single parent family influences children’s “mental health”, “study and career”, “interpersonal relation”, “behavioral norm”, “character building”, “living attitude”, and “marriage perspective”, etc.

In the past couple of decades, the economic growth and political democratization, in Taiwan, has inspired the demand of social welfare policies and needs. Under the steady social change, the single parent family has become the second largest family type in Taiwan. Facing the increasing demands, the Taiwanese government has changed its providing economic security family welfare policy to reconsider more comprehensive and specific welfare policies for single parent family. These include providing parent-children education, active and dense home services, establishing social support networks and making specific single parent family laws and policies to help single parent family overcome the crises, fulfill needs of members of the single parent family, and to improve their quality of life.

There are two reasons why the single parent family receives spotlight of social welfare policy: first, the traditional single parent family of deceased parent inherits a tragic characteristic and the newly formed single parent family of divorced, separated, or unwedded parent exhibits the vulnerability of modern marriage and the weakness of family. Both types of families may bring undesirable influences on the children. Thus, from the viewpoint of social welfare, the single parent family is a living unit composed by single parent (regardless of the cause of it) and depended children, (Hsueh, 2002).

In sum, we will propose five specific policy suggestions and their implementations in the following for Taiwanese policy makers making the social welfare policy of single parent family:

#### *4.1 Re-evaluate welfare needs of the single parent family and actively campaign social welfare and service.*

- A. Nationwide survey to determine the social needs of the single parent family and to establish single-parent family database.
- B. Adjust the implementation strategies and entrust private to execute in community social network.
- C. Retune current single parent family welfare, intensify psychological consulting and home service, and provide social welfare information, legal consultation, and social gathering activity.
- D. Actively provide information through educational systems, private institutes, social workers, and mass media.

#### *4.2 Rebuild self-perspective, reduce the burdens of self, and provide emotional supports to improve the mental well-being of parent of single parent family.*

- A. Provide free legal consulting for children custody right, alimony, marriage dispute, and inherit right to steady the life of single parent family.
- B. Encourage the private institutes from social welfare or educational systems to establish single parent family support groups to provide parenting education, healthy psychological management, crisis adjustment, counseling or mutual groups from peer groups or professionals.
- C. Encourage parent of the single parent family participating in working as job or volunteer to enhance social connections with children caring and rearing supporting measurements.
- D. Assist career planning and provide necessary job training.
- E. Provide social gathering or leisure activity in community to prevent self-isolation.
- F. Provide children of the single parent family after school caring and guidance service to improve achievement and the quality of parent-children interaction.

G. Organize grandparental supporting group to share experiences, study problem solving techniques, and to increase dialogues between parent(s) and grandparent(s).

*4.3 Provide job training to improve employment opportunity, set the minimal wage law to secure single parent family economic situation.*

- A. Reconsider the low-income standard from the perspective of single parent family.
- B. Provide a reasonable and fare social security system such as national retirement funds or pension system, so the single parent family can receive minimal life protection and economic security.
- C. Reallocate finance of central and local governments and redistribute social welfare resources to provide single parent family financial support from particular resources.
- D. Provide high production value job training such as computer operation and health care to advance the market experience of the parent of single parent family.
- E. Plan high quality child-care service to inspire working desire of the parent of single parent family.
- F. Provide child-care subsidy and education stipend (such as education voucher) to reduce economic burden of the single parent family.

*4.4 Construct supporting network for the single parent family to provide home service to reduce housework burdens and to create healthy and adequate living condition.*

- A. Provide temporary child-care service to provide temporary relief for the single parent family.
- B. Construct single parent family supporting network with the community or neighborhood as basic unit to build models of community workshop and problem consulting mechanism to provide immediate support.
- C. Establish community relay system to discover covert single parent family within the network or find out the isolated single parent family outside the support system to provide adequate service.
- D. Make “flexible working hours” and “pay-leave of caring sick children” policies to enforce working places and employers recognize single parent family needs.
- E. Provide “low price” home service for elders in the single parent family.

*4.5 Enlarge the numbers of benefit population, raise the aid condition from low income level to middle-low income level families, and modify laws to enrich well-being of single-parent family.*

- A. Promote pension system through insurance of social mutual assistance and survivor benefits for economic security of single-parent family.
- B. Provide the holistic social security system to prevent intergenerational circular poverty and avoid social exclusion or culture of victimization for single-parent family.
- C. Establish family-based policy, integrating working and caring needs for single-parent family.

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Table 1. The Estimation of Taiwanese Single Parent Family and Its Children

1990	Single Parent Family Ratio**	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	2000
3.9	A	5.1	5.6	5.9	5.4	5.7	5.8	6.2	6.6	4.7
	B	6.1	6.6	6.9	6.5	6.6	6.6	7.3	7.6	
	C	6.5	7.0	7.4	7.0	7.0	7.3	8.0	8.1	
*	A:include unwedded, divorced, separated and widowed B:A plus spouse outside household population and cohabited single parents families C:B plus the three-generation single parent family (either with single parent or not)									*
**:denominator is household families with children age under 18										

\*: Single parent family is defined as “unwedded, divorced and widowed”.

Source adapted from: Hsueh (1996, 2001); Population Affairs Administration, Ministry of Interior (2001)

Table 2. Estimated Children or Adolescents in Single-parent and Grand-parent Headed Households

Year	National households	Grand-parent headed households	Single-parent households	Estimated children or adolescents in grand-parent households	Estimated children or adolescents in single-parent households
2004*	7,083,445	81,799 (1.2%)	548,302 (7.74%)	87,607	315,822
2005**	7,206,883	92,979 (1.3%)	619,837 (8.6%)	98,558	334,712
2006***	7,307,999	80,518 (1.1%)	630,555 (8.63%)	86,235	334,825

\*Department of Auditing, Executive Yuan (2005) “Income survey report in Taiwan area in 2004” published in 2005, table 9. Department of Auditing, Executive Yuan

\*\*Department of Auditing, Executive Yuan (2006) “Income survey report in Taiwan area in 2005” published in 2006, table 9. Department of Auditing, Executive Yuan

\*\*\*Department of Auditing, Executive Yuan (2007) “Income survey report in Taiwan area in 2006” published in 2007, table 9. Department of Auditing, Executive Yuan

Table 3. Single Parent Family Welfare Needs

A	B	C	Economical Aids	Living Arrangement	Child rearing Service	Counseling and Guidance	Employment Services	Medical Hygiene	Juridical Services
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Daycare Allowance</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Childcare Service</li> <li>• After-school Guidance</li> <li>• In-home Services</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Parenting</li> <li>• Encounter Group</li> <li>• Psychological Guidance</li> <li>• School Guidance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Employment Guidance</li> <li>• Parental Leave</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• National Health Insurance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Crime Prevention</li> <li>• Law Services</li> <li>• Law Protection</li> </ul>
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Living Aid</li> <li>• Living Allowance</li> <li>• Educational Grant</li> <li>• Lawsuit Grant</li> <li>• Medical Grant</li> <li>• Low-interest Loan</li> <li>• Rent Allowance</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Public House Application</li> <li>• Housing Rental</li> </ul>			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vocational Training</li> <li>• Running Business Aid</li> </ul>		
				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Housing Services</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Child Adoption</li> <li>• Child Foster Care</li> <li>• Institute Placement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Back-to-school Guidance</li> <li>• Career Guidance</li> <li>• Sex Education</li> </ul>			

A: single parent family and its children age under 18

B: low income single parent family

C: single parent family

Table 4. Worldwide Single Parent Family Welfare Policy

Nations Items	France	German	Belgium	Holland	Switzerland	Denmark	Norway	Ireland	UK	Canada	USA	Spain	Portugal	Italy	Greek	Japan	Taiwan
Economical Support																	
I. Social Security Program																	
1. Survivors' Pensions	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	✓	?	?	✓	
2. Abandoned Benefit								✓									
3. Child Allowance												✓	✓	✓	✓		
4. Unemployment Benefit	✓	✓			✓		✓		✓	✓	✓						
5. Unemployment Assistance								✓									
6. Childrearing Payment		✓															

II. Universal Allowance Program																	
1.Family(child) Allowance	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						✓	
2.Education Payment						✓				✓							
III. Single Parent Program																	
1.Education Payment							✓										
2.Single Parent Family Allowance						✓											
3.Transitional Allowance							✓										
4.Child Allowance							✓										
5.Single Parent Allowance	✓								✓	✓							
IV. Means Test Program																	
1.Child Life Allowance																	✓
2.Low-income Life Allowance																	✓
3.Living Aid																	✓
4.Family Income Supplement								✓									
5.Family Credit									✓								
6.Income Maintenance	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓						✓	
7.Social Welfare Allowance								✓	✓								
8.Supplemental Welfare Allowance								✓	✓								
9.Aid to Families with Dependent Children											✓						
10.Subsistence Income	✓		✓									✓					
11.Abandoned Allowance								✓	✓								
12.Single Parent Allowance						✓		✓	✓								
13.Unwedded Mother Allowance								✓	✓								
14.Emergency Relief																	✓
15.Emergency Relief for the Misfortune Woman																✓	✓
Nations	France	German	Belgium	Holland	Switzerland	Denmark	Norway	Ireland	UK	Canada	USA	Spain	Portugal	Italy	Greek	Japan	Taiwan
Items																	
Child Care																	
I. Child Care	✓ +	✓ +	✓	?	✓ +	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	?		✓
II. Childrearing Grants	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	#	✓	#	?	?	#	?		
III. Childrearing Allowance	✓																
IV. Child Daycare Allowance																	✓

V. Student Aid Loan																		✓
Tax Reduction	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓			
Employment Support program																		
I. Running Business Loan																		✓
II. Vocational Train																		✓
III. Mothering Benefit	✓	✓			✓		✓		✓	✓	✓							
Iv. Parental Leave	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓		✓			✓					✓
In-kind Program																		
I. Housing Allowance	✓	✓			✓		✓	✓	✓		✓		✓					✓
II. Food Stamps											✓							
III. Free Nutrition Lunch								✓					✓					✓
IV. Fuel Allowance								✓										
V. Medicaid											✓							
VI. Woman, Infants, and Children (WIC).											✓							
VII. Adolescents and Children's Medicaid																		✓

Source: Adapted from Chang, J. F. (1998). The worldwide welfare policy analysis on single parent family. Social Welfare, 136, 56-57.

+: indicating good child care agencies and child care tax reduction

-: indicating poor child care agencies

#: indicating insufficient child care with parent(s) absent

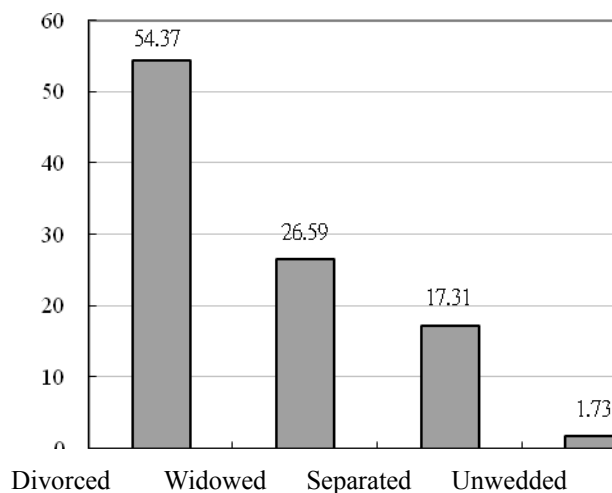


Figure1. The Ratio of Taiwan Single Parent Family Type, 1998

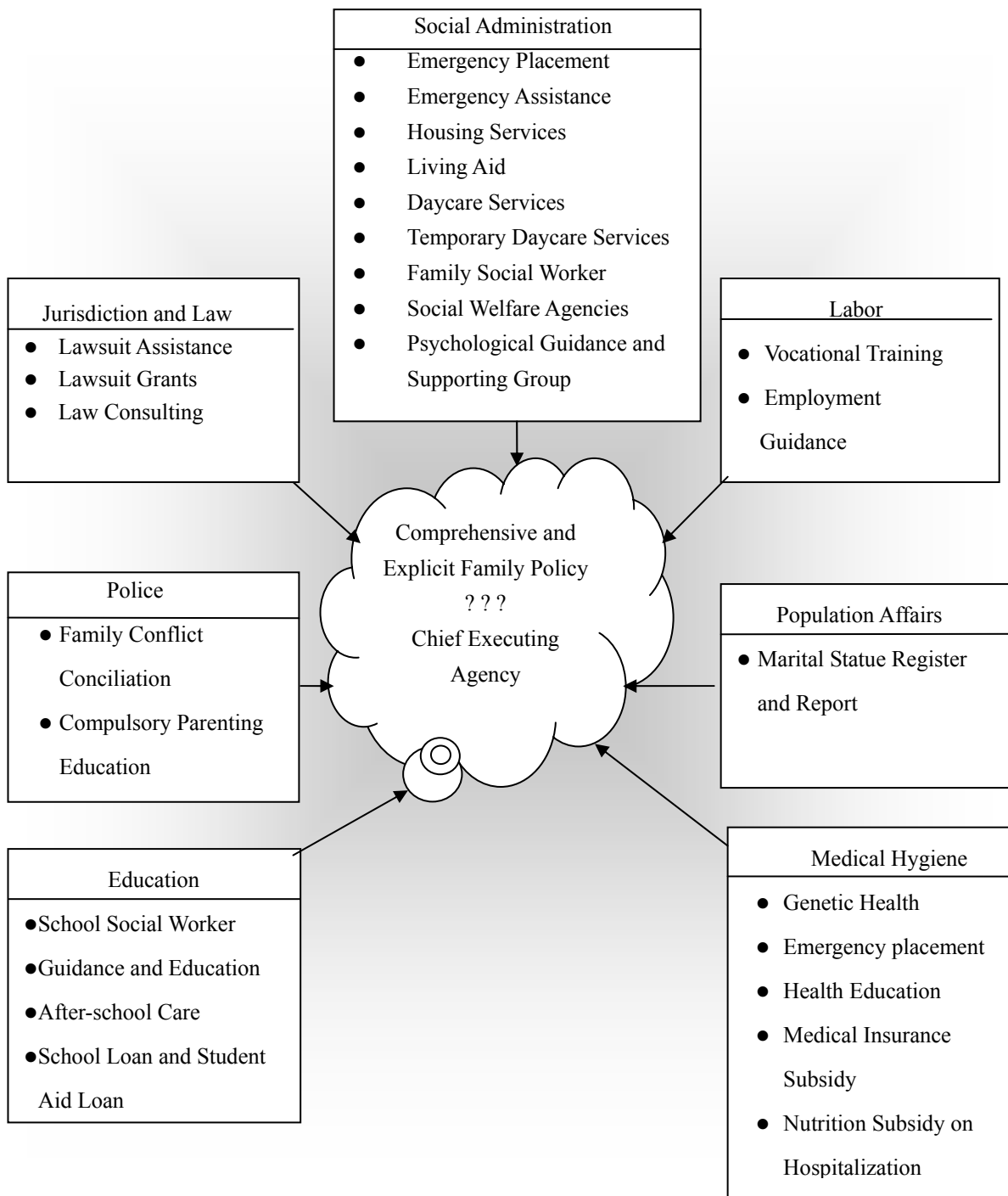


Figure 2. Single Parent Family's Supporting Protection



## The Plot Construction in Agatha Christie's Novels

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### Abstract

This paper views Agatha Christie's works on how they've been formed. Her early novels were created on the device called "the least likely person play", however, following the development literary narration, it turned into an innovated device, namely "the most likely suspect", which also makes an obvious classification in her whole-life writing period.

**Keywords:** Agatha Christie, Device development, Narrative strategy

### 1. Introduction

In *Poetics*, it is evident that Aristotle puts great emphasis on plot in his doctrine on tragedy. He warns: "one may string together a series of characteristic speeches of the uttermost finish as regards diction and thought, and yet fail to produce the true dramatic effect; but one will have much better success with a story which, however inferior in these respects, has a plot." Then he mentions, "so to speak, the first essential, the life and soul of the tragedy is the plot, and the characters come second". Aristotle defines a tragedy as an "action of a destructive or painful nature; such as murders, tutures, woundings and the like." As we know, these elements are the exact major matters in the detective novel today. In this sense, it is justified to say that tragedy is just the literary form which the detective novel chose in his day. Thus we can firmly argue that what Aristotle says about tragedy is also true to the detective novel today.

The disciplines of the detective novel are also the requirements for good storytelling. In a detective story, every difference, every character must contribute to the story, no digressing is permitted. It is a game between author and reader, its goal is to find the villain, and dirty play is not admitted. What the writer says must push the story forward, must have a bearing on the plot. So it is the plot that matters and counts. To work under such alimitation requires skills. The relationship between the detective novel and the novel paper can be compared to that of the sonnet and poetry.

Christie's success lies mostly in their puzzle plotting and her genuine structure. Compared with her contemporaries, we cannot find the atmospheric background of Margery Ellingham, or fine writing of Dorothy Sayers in Christie's stories. Most often, those elements would distract attention from the central business of the detective story—the puzzle. This genre's methods of writing leave the writer no room for showing off. And any enjoyment in the course of writing could only disturb the beautiful layout of the puzzle. In its most concentrated and purest form of the classical detective novel, atmosphere and character are deduced to the minimum, and function only as necessary embodiments of the structure of detection and misfication. Plots of Christie's novels are usually concentrated along the processes of finding the villain.

### 2. Development of the old device

Since "who did it" is the center of a detective story, after repeated practice, "the least-likely-person play" becomes the leading device of this genre since Poe's day. Poe used this method of building a plot in one of his rather minor story "Thou are the man". Most critics of this literary formula agree that this plot is the standard device in classical detective fiction. In the typical intellectual type of detective stories, after the murder takes place, the detective then follows up quietly from clue to clue. During the process of investigation, the figure of guilt moves from suspect till it falls on the real guilty party which seems the most impossible to do the murder. This rule is followed unquestionably until it comes to Christie.

At the beginning of her career, Christie also followed the doctrine. In the *Mysterious Affairs at Styles*, Miss Howard is the housekeeper of old Mrs. Inglethorp. And she seems to have most deep affection towards the old lady, but finally turns out to be the accomplice of the villain. Once lauches into the "least likely suspect" vein, Agatha will never look

back until she exhausts all its possibilities. As a matter of fact, she develops this device so extremely that this description became inaccurate for her new murders. The device she uses now might be described as “the never-suspected-person play”. The real culprits in such novels by one way or another can always persuade the reader not to consider them as suspects at all.

A typical example of this method is *The murder of Roger Ackroyd*, the novel which has established its author's reputation. In this novel, the killer is not only in the Dr. Watson role but also a first person narrator which the reader assumes could not turn out to be the criminal. Christie uses Hercule Poirot to perform the detective's task during the investigation. Poirot is the main character in the novel, while eleven other characters make up the list of suspects for the murder of Mr. Ackroyd. The appearance of each suspect is carefully arranged, all getting equal time and all having done something to be guilty of. Christie calls this fair play. The setting is in an English village called King's Overdose of Veronal. No more than 24 hours later, Roger Ackroyd, the man the widow is going to marry, is found murdered in his own study. The other characters include a butler, a housekeeper, a parlor maid, a kitchen maid, a cook, a secretary, an English lass and her mother, a major, a doctor and his sister, and a stranger. The story is told through the narrative voice of Dr. James Sheppard, “a discreet country doctor with the reticence of a father confessor”. Dr. Sheppard allies with Hercule Poirot throughout the entire investigation of looking for Ackroyd's murderer. During this process he writes an account of his own opinions and conclusions to the mystery. Not until the last five pages does the reader become shocked, amazed, and excited to find out that it is indeed the good doctor who turns out to be the killer.

In this novel, the reader follows through Dr. Sheppard's journey of collecting clues. However, trying to pick out who may be the correct murderer is still not easy. Critic Mary Wagner indicates that the reader has difficulty in selecting the true criminal because of the comic narrative voice of Dr. Sheppard. An example of Dr. Sheppard's humorous character is he describes his sister Caroline as “somebody like her must have invented the questions on passports”. When he judges his new neighbor Poirot, he says “there's no doubt at all about what the man's profession has been. He's a retired hairdresser. Look at that mustache of his”. Sheppard's narrative voice produces the comic nature of the novel, which makes selecting him as the murderer difficult. Here the murderer's intention in narrating the investigating story is to chronicle a failure on the part of the great detective. Instead, the course of the novel demonstrates that he is forced to record his own failure. Meanwhile, he chronicles another story of the great detective's triumphs.

With *The murder of Roger Ackroyd*, Christie brings about the greatest controversy in mystery history. This novel is greeted with an outcry of unfairness for its unprecedented and unexpected solution. The most special with its plot is that a fictional narrator is made to tell the truth, but here Dr. Sheppard conceals his guilt on the contrary. From the very beginning, the reader expects that Sheppard would be the detective's assistant, and would act as Hastings. In fact, he only replaces Hastings in narrative function. Christie disobeys the reader's such expectations, and has the disinterested narrator turn out to be the killer. However, everyone decided it was all right in the end of the debate about whether Christie played fair. They accepted that if Agatha Christie had played foul she had invented a new kind of foul the rulebook had not included.

If we thus allege Christie ignores conventions, it is unfair, too. For she has a wonderful understanding of the conventions of the detective-story genre. And most importantly she knows how to unexpectedly shock a reader who is cultivated under these conventions. Take the solution to *Murder on the Orient Express* for an example. In a detective story, it is most likely that one or two of the possible suspects will turn out to be the guilty party and much more closely connected to the dead person than she or he pretends. This conversation has grown up and been followed undoubtedly by writers and readers of detective fiction. But in *Murder on the Orient Express*, we are made aware that one after another of the passengers is connected with the Armstrong kidnapping case. We are about to cry “absurd” when Poirot says: “this cannot be coincidence, this can only be conspiracy, and all the suspects must have had a hand in the murder.” What is more, Christie's innovation even does further in this book. In the end the criminals are let off scot-free because they have rid the world of a monster the law cannot reach, and therefore they should not be punished. This shows Christie's respect for the people who take the law into their own hands.

### 3. New narrative strategies

Now Christie can go nowhere if she continues to follow this rule to create her plot. She has made the least likely person even the never suspected person her culprit. And she is never pleased to fight a second battle with the same strategy. So she invents another of her own fictional equivalent of the old device: the rule of “the most likely suspect”. In fact, as she acknowledges in her autobiography, she takes great efforts to exonerate the obvious candidate by means of a seemingly unshakable alibi, then reveals this person to be the criminal indeed.

One of Agatha's most famous novels, *Death on the Nile*, is a good example to illustrate the most-likely suspect plot. In this novel, the seemingly estranged couple—Jacqueline de Bellefort and Simon Doyle—are the most likely suspects, and also the ones with the most benefit to gain. Christie handles the situation in such a way as to assure the experienced reader of detective fiction that Jackie and Simon are not only the most likely suspects but also the actual killers. The reader is led to anticipate the final solution but still cannot figure out how the obvious murders have managed to achieve



their purpose. In fact, Christie uses 150 pages to describe the elaborate investigations. And also she has Poiriot repeatedly summarize the evidence in order to organize the relevant clues. But we are just unable to penetrate the obvious deception and guess the method they employ.

Indeed, Christie plays the hide and seek with us throughout the investigation. For example, she allows Colonel Race to offer a list of no less than fourteen suspects—none of which is Jackie or Simon. However, on the other hand, she permits her murders to indicate their conspiracy by letting the dull Simon employ Jackie's metaphor. Alert readers will remember, at an early stage, Jackie describes what Linnet has done to Jackie as the sun eclipsing the moon. Simon obviously borrows the figure of speech from Jackie, despite their supposed estrangement. The unusual ingenuity of the crime withstands 150 pages of scrutiny. This delicate structure enables Christie to work out her remarkably deceptive puzzle while continuing to focus on the most important characters of the novel. This attention to Jackie and Simon makes Christie's conclusion dramatically as well as intellectually satisfying. For the resolution still involves characters and dramatic situations we have followed throughout the book. This is one of Christie's most sophisticated and also successful narrative games.

As Christie writes in her autobiography, she is fond of the kind of plot in which somebody obvious is finally proved guilty. Many novels plotted under this rule show her best, but still this is not the method she sticks to till the end. Christie's another Poiriot novel, *Evil under the Sun*, which was written shortly after *Death on the Nile*, has a seemingly very similar plot with the latter. In each case, the murdered victim is a wealthy woman who appears to have taken a handsome young man from his fiancée or wife, but actually the apparently estranged couple is plotting this woman's death for financial interests. In each novel we first observe the couple's efforts to convince Poiriot that they are indeed estranged. After this elaborate introduction, each novel comes to describe a murder for which the estranged couple has perfect alibis. In each book, Poiriot begins to investigate the crime at this point. About a dozen suspects all seem to be possible solutions. In each case the interrogation encounters many twists. Of course, it is Poiriot's task to explain when and how each murder is committed, as well as by whom and why. We now come to know that the estranged couple is not estranged at all and the crime is most cruelly premeditated. In each book Poiriot smashes the couple's imperfect alibis and effectively exonerates the innocents.

Though these two novels seem extremely similar to each other, they employ completely different plotting patterns. *Death on the Nile* develops the dramatic situation Christie later on employs in *Evil under the Sun*, but her narrative game here is radically different from that played in the early novel. Not long after the beginning scene in *Death on the Nile*, we can guess from our reading experience that Jackie and Simon are the guilty party except that we only do not know how they manage the murder. However, in *Evil under the Sun* there are twelve equally suspected characters. It might be added here that Christie favors this murder of suspects. It is large enough for the desired complexity, yet not too large to be recalled by alert reader.

Based on the above analysis, we may name the narrative game just described in *Evil under the Sun* as "equal-opportunity-suspects play". This device has its advantages and disadvantages that are closely related to each other. Each character appeals to us, for each is an interesting and genuine suspect. The nature of the game requires that Christie spread her attention equally among her relatively large cast of suspects. As a result, no character can be fully developed. The ultimate solution is almost always surprising, but it also seems to arise from only a few of the details generated by the detective's investigation. Indeed, much of what we learn in the course of the investigation is deliberately arranged misleading information. The resulting sense of arbitrariness is almost unavoidable. The reason is that the murderer's ploy is not sufficiently clever to withstand too much narrative attention. If we are encouraged to review the actions of Patrick and Christine Redfern more closely than those of the other suspects, it might be likely for us to guess how Patrick might have killed his wealthy lover after he supposedly found her dead body. And once his idea occurs to us, the game is over. So Christie provides very few details about the Redferns even though they are two-thirds of the love triangle. She is also especially careful to give no hint about why the Redferns might profit from Arlena Marshall's death. Such tactics of concealment enables her narrative game to last till the novel's final pages.

#### 4. Conclusion

*The murder of Roger Ackroyd*, *Death on the Nile* and *Evil under the Sun* offer specific examples of Christie's ingenious craftsmanship as a puzzle maker. I believe another several dozen works can be cited as successful variations on the classical formula Agatha represents. These novels compose a narrative series according to the narrative strategy they employed. At one end of the series are those books like *The murder of Roger Ackroyd*, in which the murderer is indeed the least likely suspect. This least likeliness rises from the fact that the murderer appears to be one of the victims or is a member of the investigating team. It is not because she or he is an unnoticed servant or a distant relative of the victim. At the other end of this series is *Death on the Nile*, the most extreme instance of books structured on the most-likely-suspect device. At the midpoint of this series are books like *Evil under the Sun*, in which most of the characters are equally plausible solutions to the puzzle. To locate Christie's detective novels along this series enables us to identify the more crucial details of the plots and recognize the strategies which her interesting novels are based on.

Indeed, Sayers regarded “the least-likely-person ploy” as already old hat in 1928, and Christie herself also intended to see this tactics as notorious and almost never employed this device without some innovation. The killer is not unlikely in the traditional sense, but appears to be the intended victim, as in *Death on the Nile*, or figures among the investigators as in *The murder of Roger Ackroyd*.

In these cases, the murderer is really the least likely suspect, but it is misleading to say that in such books the guilty is finally projected onto someone on the edge or outside the magic circle. Such ideas imply that Christie typically settles on a marginal figure whose guilt conveniently makes the main characters and their comfortable society undisturbed. Gillian Gill rightly objects that Christie “never keeps her reader in suspense for 200 pages only to cop out at the end by pinning the crime on a person whose motivation has been wholly obscure”. It is true that such novels as *Peril at End House* do fight hard to keep the reader away from looking at real murderer as a suspect. But many novels like *The murder of Roger Ackroyd* are original more satisfying games played under this rule. So we have to admit that Christie has always been innovating this particular narrative game without breaking its basic rules.

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## Why Universities Are Adopting Market Oriented Management Practices?

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### Abstract

Universities all over the world have come under increasing pressures to respond to the rapidly changing market environment. The unprecedented growth, complicity and competitiveness of the global economy along with its consequential socio-political changes have been creating pressures on higher education institutions for adopting market-oriented initiatives. Further the expansion of university education without proportionate government budgetary support is creating acute financial pressure and universities are looking toward market for revenue generation.

This transformation of the university from a government funding to market-orientation is affecting various aspects of production and transmission of knowledge, which are bound to create a series of conflicts. The advantages, disadvantages and scope of conflicts arise due to market oriented management practices are discussed in the paper.

**Keywords:** Higher Education, Privatization, Market Orientation

### 1. Introduction

Traditionally, institutes of higher education were understood as experiences of a elite few but increasingly they have become a normal part of the educational experiences of larger and more diverse student population (NEA Update, 2004). The evolution of higher education from elite service to mass accessible product has made higher education comparable to public utility than experience reserved for select few elites. Demand for higher education is growing all over the world and growth rate is phenomenal in many countries including in India. In 1950-51, there were only 370 colleges and 27 universities spread all over India, but by 2004 the number of colleges has increased to over 10,000 and number of universities has grown to 364. (MHRD 2007). This exponential growth of higher education has primarily come from central and state governments. The total allocation for higher education has grown from Rs. 170 million in 1950 to over Rs. 90,000 million. However plan allocation for higher education, which was 28% in the Fifth-plan period is gradually reduced to only 6% in the Tenth-plan period.

The gradual reduction of state funding is now forcing higher education institutes to search for additional sources of income from the market, and concept of market orientation is being strengthened.

According to Dalgic (1998) market orientation express a marketing perception which put the customer's needs in the center of all firm's activities. Market orientation is therefore, implementation of the marketing concept in an organization. It requires the full support of the organization to be fully implemented in the long term and, indeed, may need a complete change in an organization's culture.

In India, as well as in other countries, universities are changing from a centralized to decentralized system and increasing their focus on market orientation to augment revenue.

Business and Industries are looking to university research to offer them a new source on scientific research and development. For the development and production of products required by the industry, university research laboratories can be used as additional resource centers. This is helping universities to deploy their facilities for generation of additional revenue and thereby reducing dependence on government support.

The process of having corporate collaborations is also encouraged by the government and other agencies. The merging of interests between private industry and university research is only way-out to survive against acute funding pressure.

## 2. Market Oriented Management

In today's higher educational scenario, the private universities are facing the escalating costs of higher education. Institutions with limited resources are particularly concerned with the rising costs and have started adopting various cost cutting measures. But cutting cost has a limit and often reduces the quality of services provided by the university. Therefore best option to get rid of funding pressure is to generate revenue from market sources by providing additional services to the interested clients.

By designing and delivering industry related training programs on selected topics for Company Executives, the University can serve the corporate clients to enhance their knowledge base. It can also offer the short and long term management development programs and also provide consultancy support to the clients. The university departments can also conduct the research activities as per the clients' requirements.

### 2.1 The Characteristics of Market Oriented Management

In market orientation mode, universities are required to generate additional revenues from market, and therefore, they must serve market needs. These services are mainly provided by academic staff and expose academicians to the real world challenges. To enable smoother transaction between academicians and market users, the academic staff require more independence without unnecessary administrative interference.

Both students and corporate clients require quality teaching and research output, which are produced by academic staff. Teachers generate revenue for the university and as such, their academic power attains respect and gives them a major role in decision-making. The role of administration should be to support teachers and not to control them.

Students are the major beneficiary of academic programs of the university. As they choose a university for achieving their career prospects, the teaching programs of the university must cater to the requirements of the students. Design of curriculum and other activities must be redrafted keeping in forefront the interest of the students. The students should also be given more opportunity to participate in the affairs of the university and support the faculty in knowledge creation. The students' requirements must be respected and satisfied.

Competition is an essential prerequisite in the free market economy. Universities that offer best higher education at lower cost will be more competitive and gain more reputation and acceptability to students and research clients. Universities must pay more attention to improve their efficiencies and reduce wasteful expenses. The Internal procedures must be simplified and greater emphasis be given to resource utilization. It has been again and again documented throughout the world, that, universities wholly funded by the government are usually the most ineffective and the entire market oriented ones are the most efficient. In India, most of the state-run universities with traditional arts and science courses are unable to attract good quality students whereas, the private universities and autonomous institutions are rapidly increasing their market share by offering courses in tune with changing market requirements.

Increasing public funding unnecessarily strengthens bureaucratic control, because the authorities that provide money must have some political agenda to be fulfilled. Higher educational institute that solely depend on government grant have to give up their independence to gain government support. In India, previous Union Minister (Mr. Murali Monohar Joshi) wanted to control the activities of Indian Institutes of Management. But staff members got united and refused to bow down. As these institutions are financially self sufficient (major part of their revenue comes from consultancy income and alumni donations), they could resist interference of the Union HRD Minister.

### 2.2 The Drawbacks of Market Oriented Management

There are also disadvantages associated with Market Oriented Management. Bureaucratic control is sometimes helpful in ensuring basic quality of education. The market-oriented mode may result in shortsighted decisions. Since the effectiveness of a teaching program cannot be tested immediately, some universities may "sell their education programs" by lowering the quality of education in order to generate more revenue.

Nowadays, all over the globe, private institutions are proliferating and have started courses with less academic rigor with the sole objective to exploit high market demand of higher education. These institutes are usually found to charge very high fee disproportionate to facilities offered to the students. There should be independently run agencies to appraise the quality of higher education in colleges and universities. In India, All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE) is created by Ministry of HRD as an autonomous body to monitor quality of all higher-level technical and management programs.

Complete market orientation may result decisions being taken without contemplation of long-term issues. Short term profitable motives usually predominates decision making process. This can weaken basic and fundamental research conventionally existing in universities. As profit motive is a breeding ground for adding new capacity, institutes start building additional capacities and compete with one another. Vicious competition among institutes lures students by giving colorful advertisements, hiding their shortcomings and the courses offered by them.

The admissions office, business office, and students' aid office have grown in importance on every campus, and business concepts and their expression-such as market share, efficient pricing, and the student as customer- have crept into the enrolment conversations. Loans have increased as an overall share of the student aid package, which can serve to make students acutely aware of the need for immediate employment upon graduation to pay them back (NEA Update, 2004).

### 3. Faculty Development and Student Fees

Educational activities consist of teaching and learning of knowledge delivered in proper and competent fashion. Formal education consists of teaching and training imparted by professional teachers. This requires appropriate development of curriculum and pedagogy and calls for competence building in academic staff.

To make the university education system more effective, the issues related to faculty development becomes more important. Highly qualified teachers are in short supply and to make teaching jobs attractive, the remunerations and benefits paid to university teachers should match with that paid in other industrial jobs. Moreover, teachers need to be highly qualified and must have put more time in university education forgoing opportunity cost of salary income in their early career. Unless remuneration to teachers is made competitive, fresh talents will not be attracted to academics.

Tuitions and fees charged to students of higher education contribute only a small percent to total recurring university expenditures. Considering the future benefits of higher education, the large financial subsidy given to students may be reviewed. There is a growing realization that basic education till secondary level need to be subsidized by government as requirement of providing basic education is a prime necessity for any nation. Higher education may not be subsidized as students after completion of higher education often get superior job opportunity and earn higher income. Instead of subsidizing higher education, suitable financial support may be given to deserving student in form of student loan or grant. There is always excess demand for higher education at least in some areas as number of applicants outnumbers the availability of seats. Rising fees in such cases will help institutions to generate more revenue which can be used for more facility creation.

Realizing high demand of higher education in certain subjects, institutions have already hiked fees (refer exhibit 1)

#### Exhibit-1

Tuition fees, even within the same institution vary depending on the program offered. Students enrolled in language and arts programs are charged the lowest. But at some universities, programs like commerce, education or computer science attract higher fees than arts programs, even though they may be offered by the faculty of arts. Engineering students usually pay more than the average student in a general science program.

Getting that MBA can also be an exceedingly costly exercise. MBA from UBC's Sauder School of Business costs \$36,000 and the 15-month executive MBA program at Queen's University costs \$75,000.

And finally, let's not forget what are called "ancillary fees." These are compulsory extra charges over and above tuition to cover things such as athletic programs, health services and student associations. The bundle of these extra fees will add \$619 to the average university bill for a full-time undergrad in 2006-07. Add in room and board, and you can see why it's not uncommon for students to graduate with \$40,000 of debt. The good news? The Association of Colleges and Universities of Canada says grads earn \$1 million more over their lifetime than those with no post-secondary education.

Source : Tuition fees: The higher cost of higher education, CBC News,

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/higher-education/>, accessed on 9/30/2008

In principle, tuition fees must be reasonable and commensurate to cost incurred per student. High demands of higher education should not be exploited as profit earning opportunity. In any case, suitable scholarship scheme must be implemented for the poor and qualified students, so that, no deserving talented student is denied admission for want of money.

### 4. Scope of Conflicts

The move towards market orientation of universities has raised several debatable issues. The conversion of the university from a government funding to market-orientation will affect various aspects of knowledge management within the university and across the society. These changes in turn are likely to affect academic autonomy and collegiality in the academic bodies. In addition, several other changes related to content and modes of transfer of knowledge will also generate a number of conflicts among academic staff and university management.

#### 4.1 Autonomy and Collegiality

The work environment inside the university is quite different from that of other business entities. The academic staff responsible for the generation and distribution of knowledge remains at the centre place in the university education system and the students who are the recipient of the said knowledge also at times help academic staff in knowledge

creation. Academic environment is not sustainable without active involvement of the academic staff. Hence the freedom and autonomy of academic staff is essential to maintain academic atmosphere of the universities.

The need of autonomy in the University is unquestionable on following grounds. First, the autonomy of agencies involved in research and teaching is very desirable and should be defended. Secondly, autonomous universities are an essential element democracy, as a way of institutionalizing freedom of research and teaching. Both these assumptions must be scrutinized in the light of recent experience and present trends in society (Kielmansegg 1983).

Collegiate decision-making has always been an integral process in operating structure of the University. The organization and ability of the collegiums to make decisions has varied over time and largely depended on the governance system of the university. Peer review and organizational expressions such as the academic council and the faculty associations within an academic institution are examples of collegial process and organization (Buchbinder, 1993).

#### *4.2 The Positioning of the University in the Marketplace*

The university operating policy is generally budget driven. The activities that can be carried out are always limited to availability of funds. Universities during the past few decades have suffered through a long period of under-funding accompanied by significant increases in student enrolment. According to (Buchbinder and Newson, 1988) from the early 1980s, there has been an intensive effort to link universities with private sector enterprises. As a result of market linkages the focus of research and the development of knowledge are being directed to the production of marketable products rather than development social knowledge. The development of a higher education sector is increasingly getting oriented towards to fulfill the needs of the private sector, converting knowledge to a marketable product.

The survival in the marketplace depends on competition and efficiency rather than meeting social needs. The university is generally being converted as service provider in market-place from its original role of creating social knowledge.

#### *4.3 Privatization*

Privatization of academic institutions essentially leads to adopting management practices associated with private business, which are basically profit driven. All actions aimed to generate higher revenue and cut costs. Supporters of privatization claim that it makes universities more amenable to the needs of students and make them more efficient. While such efforts can help an institution financially, they can also weaken collegial, knowledge-driven academic culture through the adoption of management practices more typical of business culture. Practices such as contracting out services and restructuring workforces represent market-driven attempts to control payroll, diversify and stabilize revenue, and shift costs to consumers (NEA Update, 2004).

Privatization invariably paves way to the following changes:

- More autonomy from the government
- Getting relief from the state budget
- Raising tuition fees that market can absorb
- Increased Marketing effort
- Selective admission in choosing students to a course
- Reduced concession in form of scholarships/grants/stipends
- Students are considered as clients
- Fund raising from private parties
- Outsourcing of some activities, etc.

Privatization is bound to affect social, economic and political environment of education system because of the above reasons. From an economic point of view, a major question of interest is whether the privatization of the education system is able to increase efficiency.

The focus on market orientation is gradually changing universities from “public sector” model to “private sector” model. The private sector can be described as operating on the basis of the profit maximizing principle with the simultaneous goal of increasing market share. This goal is basically achieved by competition and price mechanisms. The non-economic factors like, social responsibility, environment, government, etc. are not appropriately valued. The public sector model largely operates on a principle of service to its citizens. The university is an institution that emerges from the public sector but is now forced to operate according to the operating principles of the private sector.

#### 4.4 The Social Context of Knowledge

The expansion of market relationships between universities and private houses is bringing confidentiality of university research and proprietary rights. The research done for private business is to help private business to increase their profits. In this process, generation of social knowledge is abandoned for benefit of funding company.

The market orientation is changing the objectives of university towards cost reduction and revenue generation. Thus knowledge and information becomes a form of property and the ownership of these economically usable information slips from the hands of individual faculty members and researchers to its private sector funding agencies. It can be traded in the market like any other form of property.

When the production of knowledge is social, it is available for benefit to all. The social knowledge is transmitted via academic journals or through the teaching mechanisms. The creator and disseminator of the knowledge undoubtedly receive credit for the findings and publication but it does not become a tradable product. This means there is a qualitative difference between the two forms of knowledge. Social knowledge is an ongoing social process and is socially "owned" whereas commodified knowledge is reified as a "thing," privately owned, often secret and evaluated in terms of sale ability (Buchbinder, 1993).

#### 4.5 Should Government Abdicate its Social Responsibility?

Asking universities to generate revenue from market can also be viewed as a complete renunciation of duty of the government from its historical social responsibility. It is avoiding the areas in which it is facing difficulty in succeeding. The government can certainly be blamed for shifting the responsibility of providing quality education too its citizen. Further government has to sort out a large number of issues when it partially loses its control from the education arena (Levine, 2001)

- How should states control the quality of education provided by multiple providers?
- How can this multiple providers across geographical boundaries be coordinated?
- Will all higher education provides remain profitable or only selected few will make profit?
- How state can enforce accountability to the private institutes? How their activities can be coordinated?
- What will be investment policy on education? Who should get state support?
- How partnership between private and government institutions can be created and maintained?

### 5. Conclusion

Expansion of university education without proportionate government budgetary support is creating acute financial pressure and universities are looking toward market for revenue generation by providing various products and services to private clients.

However, the transformation of the university from a government funding to market-orientation is affecting the social structure of knowledge distribution as center of attention is shifted from social knowledge to market knowledge. Knowledge created within such an environment becomes a marketable commodity. It can be bought and sold like any commodity.

Considering all the factors discussed above, a public policy on functioning of universities must be made, which must take into account both the impact of competitive global economy and the social responsibility of the universities.

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## An Analysis of the North American Indian's Plight in *Borders*

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### Abstract

The novel *Borders* is a rather classic novel of Thomas King. It mainly describes the plight of the North American Indians through the experience of the Laetities, further more, it reveals the status quo of the racism in the North America. Because the North American Indians' social development is stagnant and cultural level is low, and there is a long existence of the racism in whites, so the North American Indians live in the plight for a long time. This thesis aims to analyze the plight of the North American Indians in two aspects: the objective reasons and the subjective reasons.

**Keywords:** Indians, Plight, Racism

### 1. Introduction

Thomas King is a contemporary Canadian writer, and he is famous for his description of the contemporary life of the Indians who live in the North America. And in his works, he could realistically reveal the plight of the North American Indians. And the novel *Borders* is picked out from his collection works-*One Good Story, That One*.

The novel *Borders* depicts the Indians living in the borders between the America and Canada based on the experience of the families of the Blackfoot which is also one of the ethnic of the Indian. Especially in the problem of the citizenship, Thomas King uses a long passage to tell us that although these Indians live in the North America, they can't really enter the white society of the North America. In this novel, Thomas King uses the ways of sarcasm not only to satirize the fruitless ethnic extinct policy that the North America ever carried out to the Indians, but also to reveal the essence of the cultural colonization of the white. All these make us learn clearly that in North America, the Indians are still oppressed by the racism now. And the whole passage tells that the North American Indians are in the plight, they live in the "border" of the human. And this paper mainly analyzes the two reasons causing the plight of North American Indians: one is the subjective one: stagnant social cultural development; the other is the objective one: long-existing racism in the whites.

### 2. The plight of the North American Indians in *Borders*

First, the Indians were forbidden to leave the reserve. Laetitie decides to leave the reserve to Salt Lake to find a job without getting her mother's allowance. It refers the word "reserve" just now, and at the beginning of the novel *Borders*, we also see the word "reserve" for many times, for example, "to visit my sister who had left the reserve, moved across the line"(King, 24) and "Our father was from Rocky Boy on the American side"(King, 24) and so on. What is reserve? What does the reserve stand for on earth? The so-called "reserve" is the residence that the white partition for the Indians. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the white society speed up the exploiting and developing on the North America, so the population increase rapidly and the economic also grows in a high speed. However, the Indians' original hunting or barbaric state requires a great of region to be maintained. So the North American white force almost all the indigenous tribes to move to the west of the Mississippi River region, and partition the living area for every tribe to establish the so-called reserve, and the remaining land will be open to the white residents to stay away from the tribal reserve that the regular army was hunting. Though now the limitation for the reserve has been dissolved, but from the word "reserve", we still could learn that the social status of the Indians in the North America is the rather low. They don't have the right to own the land that should ever belong to them at all. So leaving the reserve and moving across the border is like a struggle for the Indians. And this point can be clearly proved from the description of the Laetitie's mother driving toward the border. "My mother straightened the dress across her thighs, leaned against the wheel, and drove all the way to the border in first gear, slowly, as if she were trying to see through a bad storm or riding high on black ice." (King, 25) Through these

words, the complicated mood of Laetitie's mother at that time is thoroughly delineated.

Second, the Indians' identity is not recognized by the white. According to the novel, there is a duty-free shop lies between the two borders and the manager has a name tag with a tiny American flag on one side and a tiny Canadian flag on the other. This name tag shows that as an Indian, if you want to have a foothold in the North America, you must admit that you are American or Canadian. It means the Indians do not have their own citizenship. This point can also be fully proved from the experience of Laetitie's mother when she went across the line. At the time of Laetitie's mother going across the border, she was asked many question, one is the problem of citizenship. She said she was Blackfoot, but further more, the border guard then asked her which side did she belong to, Canadian or American. She insisted on saying she was Blackfoot, so there is such a dialogue, "'I know', said the woman, 'and I'd be proud of being Blackfoot if I were Blackfoot. But you have to be American or Canadian'." (King, 22) These short sentences show that in North American white's eyes, the Indians have no their own citizenship, they can exist only subject to the America or Canada, that is to say the white does not admit the Indian as an independent ethnic. This also reflects on the other hand that the North American white society enslave the Indian on their thought, they want to assimilate them from their mind and let them forget their own race which also is one important reflection of the essence of the white's culture. There is another detail worth us to think about, that is Laetitie's brother ever asking his mother before their setting out, "'But we can stop at one of these restaurants, too, right?'" (King, 23) The word "can" indicates that the Indians do not have the same right as the white, they can not act freely, for example, the Indians can not be mailman and they can not work in the governmental electoral office and so on. Clearly, it is not easy for the Indians to live in the white society.

Third, the Indians can not really enter the white society. When Laetitie and her boyfriend breaks up, Laetitie decided to go to Salt Lake, but, after her mother came to see her, Laetitie decided to go home, this also attests to the point we just analyzed that it is not easy for an Indian to live in the white society. At the same time, it also tells that the Indians are not treated equally in the North American white society and the Indians themselves can not adapt to the life of the white society, let alone enter into it. When Laetitie's mother went back and gave the manager of the duty-free shop-Mel a hat, he was very excited, he even cried, because he thought it was an inspiration for all of them. Obviously, the Indians are deeply and heavily oppressed by racism, and they yearned for freedom and acknowledgement very much. The last paragraph of the novel says "I watched the border through the rear window until all you could see were tops of the flagpoles and the blue water tower, and then they rolled over a hill and disappeared." (King, 32) The novel ends with this sentence which leaves us a worthy question. What does the disappearance of the flagpoles really mean? Maybe it is all the Indians' good wish, so do all of us. We all hope that there is a day in the future will be the day for the disappearance of the racism and the free day for the Indians who get the acknowledgement from the world at last.

### **3. The reasons contributing to the plight of the North American Indians**

#### *3.1 Subjective reasons*

First, the North American Indians' social development is stagnant. When the European whites came to the North American continent, the indigenous Indians who lived here for thousands years were still in the initial stages of human society, and their society was in stagnating state. This is the basic reason that the Indians suffered huge impact by the European whites and finally they were enslaved by the whites. When Columbus arrived in the America, from North to South, numerous Indian tribes were spread throughout the continent. However, in addition to the Maya and Aztec had created a relatively complete settlement agricultural culture, the vast majority of tribes were still in the fishing and hunting Acquisition times. At that time, the Indians did not domesticate horses and invent the wheel. Moreover, they did not have the technology of smelting iron and they had no metal tool, no effective development and utilization of resources, and means of livelihood is very limited. Meanwhile, because their tools for production were very original and the products were not surplus, so they can not develop the exchange of property and the private ownership. However, those who transplanted to North America were the more developed European social elements in Britain, France, and Nether lands and other countries. These countries were gradually moving toward to a business-led capitalist era, and the capacity and system of developing and utilizing the nature were stronger than the Indians. So the great gap between the North American white and the Indians in the social development decides that the contact of the two worlds can not be peace and equality.

Second, the North American Indians' cultural level is low. According to some western scholars who put the cultural superiority roles, the cultural system that can effectively develop the energy resources in the established environment will expand on the survival environment which the backward system depend. According to some scholars of the Canadian investigation, many business executives complained that the Indians employee were not reliable, they often returned to reservation at any time, and they lacked initiation and initiative and so on, so they vowed they would not employ Indians. And for the Indians, many of them saw the land as the highest revered god, farming as silting her mother's chest and mining as peeling the flesh from her mother's bone, so they were unwilling to engage in modern production. So in the 1960s, the numbers of the Indians who left reservations to enter the city were increasing. These people enjoyed the material life and educational opportunities of the city on the one hand, on the other hand, they can

not adapt to the tense pace of life, the indifferent relationship, the overcrowded transportation and the pouring paper, and so a lot of people went back to the reservations. In those early resettlement of people in cities, and the portion of returning to the tribes was as high as 35 percent. In the novel, Laetitia went back to the reservation at last. And it also referred in the novel that before Laetitia went to Salt Lake, there is such an episode. When Laetitia found out that her brother had told her mother her thought going to Salt Lake, she got very angry and said “‘You got a big mouth’ and ‘Well, I’m going for sure, now.’” (King, 23) Her words are full of unwillingness apart from the anger. These may confuse us a little. Since it is herself says she wants to go to Salt Lake, why does she get so angry when she knows the fact of her brother telling her mother? But if we think about it carefully, we may get something from the last sentence. In fact, Laetitia does not really want to go to Salt Lake, she says so just because she broke up with her boyfriend, so the Salt Lake hurts her deeply and she can not forget it forever. As her brother said “I think the idea of Salt Lake struck in her mind.” (King, 26) So when Laetitia sees the action of her mother sticking up for their own nation, she feels very proud for her mother and herself as Blackfoot. Thereby, she let her mother and brother tell her their experience over and over again. Clearly, the delay of the culture is a big stumbling block for the Indians to catch up with modern life.

At last, in contact with white culture, the Indians have a painful experience, particularly in their spirit. The physical environment they live has taken place tremendous changes, but their spiritual values still stay in the past era. For example, some Indians build a new shelter, have running water, light, radios, refrigerators, vehicles, and other modern equipments, but they do not give up their tribal way of life and religious ceremonies. Their material life and social organizations are in sharp contrast with their spiritual life.

### 3.2 Objective reasons

As we all know, the white society have the existence of strong racism tendencies for a long time, not only for the Indians but also for many other nationalities. So, for a long time, racism is the important factor that impedes the Indians to enter into the white society. So from the objective aspect, the Indians’ participation in modern life depends on the white community overcoming racial prejudice, implement the tolerance of ethnic and cultural pluralism policies.

For a considerable long historical period, the white society has been operating racism discrimination and oppression to the Indians, its outstanding performance is the implementing of the assimilation policy. The assimilation policies include many elements: One is the religious proselytism: they spread the Christian faith in the Indians. The second is the development of the education which aims at making the Indians learn the cultural acquisition and corresponding survival skills from the white society, so they can access to the opportunity of modern life. The third is the land reform, with the goal of privatization of property, through which the Indians had settled on the farming life to become a small farmer, thus entering the mainstream of society. The fourth is the granting of citizenship, which means the Indians enjoy the legal recognition of civil rights. However, all of these assimilation efforts are the reflection of the unilateral will of the white society, and are imposed on the Indians. They aim at the eradication of the Indian from the culture, which is a kind of racial oppression and the outstanding performance of the racism. Moreover, these assimilation policies have not fundamentally help the Indians out of the primitive and backward state of survival. In the novel, when Laetitia’s mother sends her away, there is such a dialogue, “‘You can still see the mountain from here’, my mother told Laetitia in Blackfoot. ‘Lots of mountains in Salt Lake’, Laetitia told her in English.” (King, 26) The using two different languages shows that the opinion about the problem of assimilation is different. Because, before Columbus arrived in the America numerous Indian tribes were scattered throughout the continent, but every tribes had their own languages and dialects, not in the larger context of common language, so the white had ever implemented the assimilation policy for a long term in order to eliminate the cultural identity of the Indians, and the first is in the language term. Laetitia’s speaking English shows that if she wants to enter the white society, she must give up her own ethnic notion, language, and ways of life and so on. This equals to lose herself completely and this is the price for the Indians to enter the white society. Also, it is what the whites hope.

Now, along with the social progress and cultural development, the tendency of the racism of the white society tends to show restrain, and the value of the Indians is gradually understood and recognized. But it does not mean that racism has disappeared from the scene of the white society, on the contrary, hidden and open racial prejudice and discrimination still exist in various forms, which hampers the Indians to access to the pace of modern life. For example, in the novel, after staying in the border for two days because of Laetitia’s mother refusing to admit she was American or Canadian, there came a group of journalists. So they were asked many questions, an important one of them is “how it felt to be an Indian without a country.” (King, 21) That means, the racial problem of the Indian is still the central point that the entire world are paying attention to. At the same time, it also proves that the Indians are still oppressed by the racism, particularly in the North America. There are also other examples, in the 1970s, many whites were opposed to the policy of the government’s assistance of Indians in the United States, because, they thought that ran counter to the equality principle; in 1969, the Canadian government published “Indian Policy White Paper”, and advocated the abolition of the ex-gratia of indigenous tribal policy. That is in fact a kind of equality under the banner of the new racial discrimination. And, in the novel, among the questions of the border guard, he also asked that if they take any tobacco, liquor, or

firearms. This question reflects the notion the whites have. The white society in general sees the Indians as barbarians and thinks they are bloodthirsty, bellicose, lazy and incompetent. Even more, some whites also say the Indians as “animals”, saying that “they have the appearance of human, perhaps a human, but we can confirm that the situation that they now closer to the devil in their characteristics. And, for the Indians themselves, the root of the race and the national consciousness are the obstacles for them to enter the white society. The Indians from generation to generation are living in the American continent, they have an unique ethnic characteristic and cultural traditions and the feature will not disappear forever. For the Indian health, you are always the Indians, so do their descendants. The proliferation of modern life as well as common interest ensures that the Indians have the growing ethnic identity in a larger context; they increasingly feel that they are all Indians. So the formation of the national consciousness and ethnic roots has reinforced the Indians to recognize and maintain their own cultural identities. So, in a word, the racism is the main factor to hold back the communication between the Indians and the whites.

#### 4. Conclusion

Since the maiden voyage of Columbus, centuries of the racial and cultural exchanges and contacts make the North American Indians enter into a profound historical predicament. As a primitive cultural group, the Indians’ social development and cultural level are lagging behind the capitalist white society of high modern civilization. Moreover, the racism existed in the white society brings the history and destiny of the North American Indians with a dark color in the past several hundred years and hampers the North American Indians to enter the white society. So the Indians are unable to extricate itself from the impact of the white society, and unable to enter it, thus they withstood the pain and paid a heavy price. Clearly, the problem of the Indians is different from the Blacks, it is not just a racial issue, but more of an issue of culture and history. And the history of the North American Indian is a record of suffering after the meeting of the Indians and the North American white. The acceleration of the process of human history failed to give the North American Indians full time and opportunity to find the road to go out the primitive state in accordance with their own social development. Also because of a potential powerful cultural encounter, the Indians dislocated on the stairs in the evolution of the society, so they had to face a profound changeable new world with traditional social organization, primitive values and backward technology tools. Overall, because of many factors, though the Indians have been close to a modern society in the material life, in psychological and cultural aspect, they still fall short of modern culture, which has made them still stay outside of the white society as a whole ethnic groups. They only live in the “borders” of the society and are oppressed by the racism.

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## Identifying Potential Factors of Childbearing in Bangladesh

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### Abstract

This paper aims to identify different potential factors associated with childbearing pattern among the ever-married women in Bangladesh. Childbearing pattern is directly related to fertility level and rapid population growth is the major consequence of more childbearing. Bearing more children affects adversely on social and economic opportunities and produces substantial risks to the health of mothers and children. Bangladesh Demographic Health Survey data 1999-2000 and 2004 have been used for this study. First bi-variate analysis method is carried out to identify different factors associated with childbearing. Then generalized linear modelling approach has been performed to quantify the simultaneous effect of key socio-economic and demographic factors. Our primary findings show that childbearing varied tremendously by education level and age at first marriage. From the generalized linear model analysis, mother's age group, types of place of residence, division, media exposure are found to be significantly associated with bearing more children among the ever-married women in Bangladesh. These findings suggest that government should continue its effort to ensure higher education for females and to promote to delay age at marriage.

**Keywords:** Childbearing, Socio-economic factor, Demographic factor, BDHS data

### 1. Introduction

Bearing more children is a common phenomenon among the women in the least developed countries like Bangladesh. The women in Bangladesh become mother at their very early ages with the large majority of women started bearing children before they reach at the age of twenty (Singh, 1998). For the lack of education and awareness, poverty, marriage at early ages they used to bear children year after year. Consequently their family size increases and population grows rapidly. Childbearing at the young ages consequences a greater risk to maternal mortality and child mortality to the mother and the child respectively (Manken et al., 2003). It also inclines to restrict the educational and economic opportunities for all. Another impact of more childbearing is the malnutrition to mother and children. The childbearing tendency reflects the extent of contraceptive practice in a country. In Bangladesh, the pill, IUD, female sterilization, injectables and condom are widely known methods of contraception. The use of these methods is increased over the last twenty-five years (Mitra et al., 2000; Mitra et al., 2004). Perhaps this is the main reason of declining fertility in Bangladesh.

Bangladesh is a tiny land and one of the most densely populated countries in the world. The government has taken all necessary steps to decrease the fertility level. Women in both rural and urban areas are becoming conscious and accepting small family norm. Although fertility has declined over past twenty years, it has been observed that most of the decrease happened to older age cohort, not the younger age group (Mitra et al., 2000; Mitra et al., 2004). During 1993-2004 there was a very little change in age specific fertility and childbearing pattern (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2).

Therefore, it still requires understanding the nature and trend of the determinants of fertility to keep the rate low. Concerning studies on overall childbearing pattern very few articles have been found in the literature. Islam (1999) and Nahar and Min (2008) studied the trends and determinants of adolescent childbearing in Bangladesh. The effects of childbearing on survival of adult women in Bangladesh was studied by Manken et al. (2003) while Schuler et al. (2006) tried to discover the potential effect of intervention programmes on the timing of marriage and childbearing among rural families in Bangladesh. In terms of determining the factors of fertility in Bangladesh a number of studies has been performed (Rob, 1990; Islam and Islam, 1993; Islam et al., 1998). Some studies have also been performed to examine the factors related to desire for more childbearing in Bangladesh (Asaduzzaman and Ullah, 2003). Most of these studies have been used only bi-variate analysis to identify the related factors of fertility and relatively very little is known about the trend and potential factors related to childbearing. Also very little sophisticated and statistically sound methods have been performed for analysis.

In this paper, we first use bi-variate analysis method to identify initial factors related to childbearing. Then a generalized linear modeling (GLM) approach has been used to quantify potential socio-economic and demographic factors related to more childbearing in Bangladesh. Bangladesh demographic and health survey data have been used for this study. A number of candidate factors have been considered initially. Among the infant factors mother's age group, educational level, types of place of residence, age at first marriage, division, media exposure have been identified the most significant factors of childbearing in Bangladesh. Using two consecutive survey data, we also compare the estimated coefficients of different factors.

## 2. Data and Methods

### 2.1 Data Source

Bangladesh Demographic and Health Survey (BDHS) 1999-2000 and 2004 data have been used for this study. In rural areas, thanas are divided into unions and then mauzas, a land administrative unit. Urban areas are divided into wards and then mahallas for both surveys. A nationally representative, two-stage sample was selected from the master sample maintained by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. In the rural areas, the primary sampling unit was the mauza, while in urban areas it was the mahalla. A total of 341 primary sampling units were selected for the BDHS 1999-2000 survey where 99 in urban areas and 242 in rural areas. In BDHS 2004 survey, a total of 361 PSUs, 122 in the urban area and 239 in the rural area has been selected. 10,544 of ever-married women are successfully interviewed in 1999-2000 survey and 11,440 were in 2004.

### 2.2 Methodology

To identify childbearing differential we first use bi-variate analysis (chi-square test) to discover the initial factors those are related to childbearing pattern. Our null hypothesis was there was no association between childbearing pattern and the specific factor, more specifically childbearing pattern in all categories is equal for each factor. Once we have identified the factors ( $p$ -value  $< 0.05$ ) from the bi-variate analysis, GLM with Poisson link function has been carried out to assess the factors. GLM with Poisson link is particularly useful for response variable that are counts or frequencies and for which it is reasonable to assume an underlying Poisson distribution (McCullagh and Nelder, 1983; Everitt, 2003); that is, the distribution

$$\Pr(y) = \frac{\exp(-\mu)\mu^y}{y!}.$$

For exploring the relationship between the mean of a Poisson variate and some explanatory variables of interest, the link function in a generalized linear model (GLM) is generally taken to be the logarithm, generating positive fitted values. Since the response variables here is a count, Poisson regression is used to investigate the relationship of number of children with the explanatory variables; explicitly, the model to be fitted to the mean number of children,  $\mu$  is

$$\log(\mu) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots + \beta_p X_p.$$

Significance test for the estimated parameters is also done in this analysis by using well-known Wald test statistics. The test statistic for the  $j$ th coefficient is

$$W_j = \frac{\beta_j}{S.E.(\beta_j)}.$$

Under the null hypothesis that,  $\beta_j$  follows standard normal distribution. The associated  $p$ -value is  $p = \Pr[|Z| > W_j]$ .

### 2.3 Variables

*Dependent variable:* The dependent variable for the analysis is the number of living children.

*Independent variables:* Two categories of independent variable have been included for the analysis, one is individual level response and the other is demographic units. For the purpose of analysis, we have used geographic units using two different variables: region and type of places of residence. Region represents six administrative divisions -- Barisal, Chittagong, Dhaka, Khulna, Rajshahi and Sylhet. Type of place of residence has two categories – rural and urban.

At individual level we have included seven independent variables: age-group in five years, educational level, age at first marriage, media exposure and religion.

- a. Age-group (in five years): Each woman's age was recorded in complete year as well as in five-year age group.
- b. Education level: Educational attainment was also recoded in years of schooling completed and also in levels. The categories are -- no education (which includes never been to school and no year of schooling completed), primary (either incomplete, 0-4 years of schooling completed or 5 years of schooling completed), secondary and higher (11 and more years of schooling completed).
- c. Age at first marriage: This variable is recorded as complete years.
- d. Media exposure: Media exposure was measured by asking respondents whether they listened radio or watched television.
- e. Religion: Woman's religion is coded as Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist and Christians.
- f. Current working status: Whether or not a woman currently working.
- g. Husband's educational level: The education attainment of the husband.
- h. Husband's occupation: Current occupation of husband.

### 3. Results

The frequency distribution of the number of ever-married women sampled in BDHS 1996-97 and 2004 is presented in Table 1. Among the women surveyed in 1999-2000, 12.6 percent have no child, 20.4 percent have one child and 22.4 percent have two children. In 2004, 12.2 percent have no child, 19.3 percent have one child and 23.5 percent have two children.

Table 2 shows that the mean number of children by selected background characteristics. Three variables: woman's current working status, husband's occupation and education have been dropped from Table 3 and also from further analysis since they appeared insignificant in bi-variate analysis ( $p$ -value  $> 0.05$ ). For all other variable  $p$ -value were  $< 0.05$ . The mean number of children to women in each five-year age group, which is considered as an indicator of the momentum of childbearing, shows that women in their late twenties have given birth to almost two children and in late thirties, they have about four children. The childbearing pattern also varied by types of place of residence. In rural areas, childbearing tendency is higher than urban areas. Mean number of living children is highest in Chittagong division 2.83 and 2.84 in both surveys, while it is smallest in Khulna division 2.32 and 2.28. Childbearing is remarkably varied by the educational level of the women. The women, who have no education, bear on an average more than three children, whereas it is 1.88 for the women who have secondary education and 2.55 who have primary education according to 1999-2000 survey. The same trend retained in 2004. The higher educated women have only 1.39 children on average and the figure decreased in 2004. Age at first marriage is highly evident between the categories  $<20$  and  $>20$ . The mean number of children is almost twice among the women who are first married at age  $<20$  than among  $>20$ . The tendency of childbearing also varies by the religion. The hindu women tend to have the smallest families than the women of other religion. The buddhist women have on average the highest number of children, closely followed by the muslim women. Although childbearing differentials by husband's education and occupation, respondent's occupation and current working status, having radio or television etc. are not notable; but their categories vary in some extent. Since the response variable in this study is a count data, a GLM with Poisson link is used to model for identifying the significant factors.

The graph in Fig. 3 also suggests a typical Poisson curve with mean  $\mu > 1$ . The results of the fitted model are presented in Table 3. The  $p$ -values in the above table show that all the explanatory variables are highly significant. The coefficients of 5-year age groups show a declining trend, indicates that childbearing decreases as age increases to the women in Bangladesh. The earlier age at first marriage causes more children bearing to the women. This study also demonstrates that division is significant in childbearing. The coefficient of Khulna division has the lowest value, followed by Dhaka. Chittagong and Sylhet division have the higher value in comparison to Barisal division. Both surveys show that Khulna has the lowest level of fertility and highest level of contraceptive use rate, whereas the lowest level of contraceptive use is found in Sylhet division.

These results might be the cause of childbearing differential by division. The place of residence is also found to be significant in childbearing. The coefficient of the category urban has a negative value. This implies that place of

residence in urban areas has a negative impact on childbearing rather than that of rural areas. Childbearing differentials by educational level of the mothers and age at first marriage are obtained to be notable as key indicators. It is found that the childbearing drastically varies by the educational levels of the mothers. The estimated coefficients show declining trend with the level of education to the women, which reveals those who become more educated, bearing fewer children. Another significant factor, which is considered as an important determinant of childbearing, is the age at first marriage. The coefficient estimated to be negative implies that rate of childbearing decreased with the age at first marriage. The results shown in the above table also indicate that religion, husband's occupation, having radio or television (media exposure) are also important determinants of childbearing among the ever-married women in Bangladesh.

#### 4. Discussion and policy implication

This study has tried to demonstrate the different key issues of childbearing in Bangladesh. The fitted model suggests that mother age group is a determinant of more childbearing. Childbearing at early ages is a common phenomenon in Bangladesh. It was found that adolescent childbearing is highest in Bangladesh among Asian countries, which also happens in sub-Saharan African countries (Singh, 1998). Among the divisions, women in Sylhet and Chittagong have the greater mean number of living children. In these divisions contraceptive use rate is comparatively low. The educational levels of the mothers are found to be the key factor of bearing more children in Bangladesh. The women who have no education are more likely to bear more children than higher educated of secondary completed mothers. Residence in rural areas is also causes for more childbearing. Early age at first marriage has an obliging effect on childbearing. The overall mean and median age at first marriage are 15 and 14 respectively. In rural areas, a significant number of females are married when they are only 10-12. This is one of the main reasons of more childbearing to the Bangladeshi women. The mean number of children among the women whose age at first marriage was <20 is 2.61 whereas the mean is 1.45 for the women who were married at age >20. So childbearing could be reduced by increasing the female age at first marriage to 20 years. However, in recent years, the mean age at first marriage in Bangladesh though a very slow rate but increasing in somewhat extent. Religion and media exposure are also appeared to be important as determinants of childbearing. This study confirms that there is not much change observed over past five years from 2000 to 2004 in term of reducing child bearing. The trend of the effects of typical demographic and socio-economic factors on childbearing pattern among the women in Bangladesh does not show a substantial change. Therefore, appropriate policy and programs should be driven immediately to reduce the level of childbearing in consideration to the existing higher rate of childbearing among the women in Bangladesh. The women and their husbands should be made more aware of the adverse effect on health, social and economic consequences of early marriage and early childbearing. The educated women have taken the small family norm in recent years. So government should give emphasis on female education. Since there is a moderate gender gap in enrolment, female education has to be encouraged particularly in the rural areas. Also urbanization should be progressed and the facilities of communication, electricity and the scope of employment are to be increased. More childbearing tendency could be brought to a decline by delaying early marriage. To discourage early marriage and to explain the perilous consequences of bearing more children among the mothers, variety of programs in this regard should be broadcasted through the electronic and print media. In fact government should take all necessary steps to reduce the level of more childbearing. However, this study considers only 1999-2000 and 2004 BDHS data. It will be more interesting to incorporate the same analysis for 2006 data and derive the trends and substantial changes of the relevant factors if any exists when the data will be available.

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Table 1. Total number of ever-married women sampled (unweighted) by age groups

Age group	1999-00	2004
10-14	186	140
15-19	1,514	1,563
20-24	1,935	2,202
25-29	1,975	2,012
30-34	1,621	1,783
35-39	1,335	1,480
40-44	1,126	1,185
45-49	853	1,075
Total	10,540	11,440

Table 2. Mean number of children by selected background characteristics in survey period 1999-2000 and 2004

Characteristics	Mean Number of Children in 1999-2000	Mean Number of Children in 2004
Age 5-year groups		
10-14	0.10	0.04
15-19	0.69	0.67
20-24	1.54	1.54
25-29	2.36	2.38
30-34	3.11	3.06
35-39	3.54	3.50
40-44	4.12	3.85
40-49	4.87	4.48
Types of place of residence		
Urban	2.33	2.32
Rural	2.65	2.61
Region		
Barisal	2.71	2.73
Chittagong	2.83	2.84
Dhaka	2.53	2.50
Khulna	2.32	2.28
Rajshahi	2.52	2.40
Sylhet	2.82	2.81

Highest educational level		
No education	3.04	3.17
Primary	2.55	2.60
Secondary	1.88	1.67
Higher	1.39	1.27
Age at First Marriage		
<20	2.66	2.61
>=20	1.61	1.45
Media exposure		
No	2.66	2.64
Yes	2.45	2.36
Religion		
Buddhism	2.61	2.56
Christianity	2.41	2.35
Hinduism	2.33	1.92
Islam	2.82	2.71

Table 3. Results of the fitted regression model

Characteristics	BDHS 1999-2000		BDHS 2004	
Age 5-year groups	Coefficients	p-values	Coefficients	p-values
10-14	2.02	0.000	2.49	0.000
15-19	2.84	0.000	3.39	0.000
20-24	3.28	0.000	3.81	0.000
25-29	3.55	0.000	4.06	0.000
30-34	3.65	0.000	4.17	0.000
35-39	3.78	0.000	4.25	0.000
40-44	3.93	0.000	4.36	0.000
40-49	*	*	*	*
Region				
Barisal	0.12	0.000	0.10	0.000
Chittagong	-0.01	0.604	-0.06	0.001
Dhaka	-0.07	0.004	-0.15	0.000
Khulna	-0.02	0.357	-0.12	0.000
Rajshahi	0.07	0.006	0.09	0.000
Sylhet	*	*	*	*
Types of place of residence				

Urban	0.06	0.000	5.653	0.000
Rural	*	*	*	*
Highest educational level				
No education	0.02	0.067	1.391	0.164
Primary	-0.08	0.000	-5.184	0.000
Secondary	-0.32	0.000	-7.483	0.000
Higher	*	*	*	*
Age at First Marriage				
<20	-0.04	0.000	-22.11	0.000
>=20	*	*	*	*
Media exposure				
No	-0.01	0.25	-2.90	0.003
Yes	*	*	*	*
Religion				
Buddhism	-0.13	0.000	-5.49	0.000
Christianity	-0.18	0.011	-1.82	0.067
Hinduism	-0.15	0.184	-0.17	0.861
Islam	*	*	*	*

\* Reference category

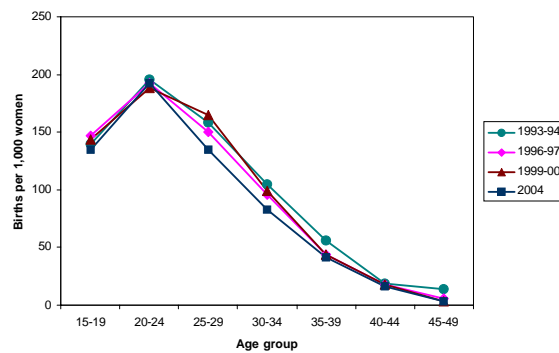


Figure 1. Age-specific fertility rates in Bangladesh during 1993-2004

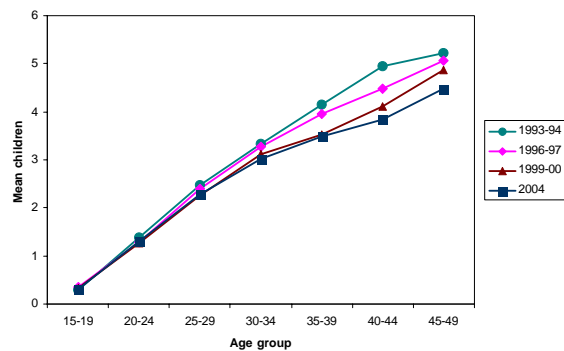


Figure 2. Age-specific mean number of children in Bangladesh during 1993-2004

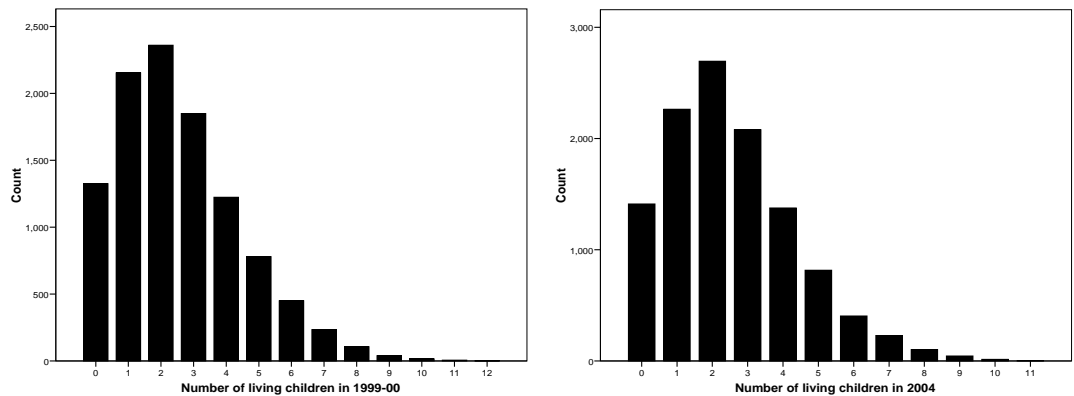


Figure 3. Distribution of number of living children in 1999-00 and 2004



## The Influence of Population Migration and Mobility on Culture Changes in Xijiang since the Foundation of PRC

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### Abstract

Based on a research on the population migration in Xinjiang, this article analyzes the influence that the floating population has on culture changes. This influence is manifold, including that of Han culture on minorities as well as minority cultures on Han culture. In the present situation in which China's ethnic groups live together over vast areas while some live in individual concentrated communities in small areas, Han culture's influence on minorities is of dominance. When analyzing these culture changes against the background of "globalization", the difference between "assimilation by Han" and "modernization" should be distinguished clearly.

**Keywords:** Floating population, Culture changes, Race, Modernization

Situated in West China, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region is a big family with 55 races (in which 13 races have lived here for generations). Since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, Xinjiang has witnessed unprecedented population migration peaks that it has become one of the regions with the largest number of immigrants and has undergone several peaks in population migration and mobility. Especially after the reform and opening up, with the involvement of market and the driving force of economy, the population migration and mobility in Xinjiang tended to be in large numbers. As a result, this large-scale population migration and mobility will definitely lead to increasing communications among races and changes in residence patterns as well as have influences on culture changes.

According to general demographic theory, the floating population is composed of the migratory population and floating population. Here population migration refers to the movement from one place to another, which can involve only a short distance and period or be a stable one covering a long distance and lasting for a long time. The latter is manifested mainly by the change of the party's permanent residence. However, population mobility emphasizes a dynamic and unstable process, which refers to a temporary or repeated floating population without any change of the party's permanent residence. (Guo, 2003)

Culture changes refer to the changes taking place in a race's culture caused by its internal development or the communications among different races. It is obvious that these changes are caused by two factors, one from its internal development, the other from its external communications with other races in which it has its culture changed to some degree by borrowing and innovating other cultures. Culture, especially excellent culture, is the common spiritual wealth shared by all human beings. Therefore, any race or region's cultural development can not be done in an isolated state but in the communications and crashes with its surrounding races and regions.

### 1. An analysis on the population migration and mobility in Xinjiang

#### 1.1 An analysis on the ingoing population

Since the foundation of PRC, the whole process of Xinjiang's population mobility can be divided into 4 periods. Due to some similarities shared by all of them, it is impossible to split them separately. Therefore, such a division only gives a rough idea.

##### 1.1.1 From the liberation of Xinjiang to the late 1950s

It is in this period that Xinjiang witnessed the first migration peak after the foundation of PRC, which covered cadres transferred to civilian jobs, young people devoted to the frontier's development, voluntary migratory population and organized people coming to Xinjiang. Some CPLA armies and uprising armies were transferred to civilian jobs on the

spot in 1954 to form Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps. The migration in this period was mainly caused by policies issued by the Chinese government. First come the transferred cadres. Second come those young people coming from inland China to Xinjiang to build and develop this region in 1958 to 1961 and 1964 to 1966, which added 1,763,700 people to the total migratory population. For example, in 1959, 820,500 people came to Xinjiang, which resulted in an increase of 511,200 people to its total migratory population (1994). Third are some experienced technicians and college graduates called for to come to Xinjiang in the process of economic construction, such as those permanent residents who once came here to be devoted to the construction of Lanzhou-Xinjiang Railroad, Karamay Oilfield, July 1<sup>st</sup> Textile Factory, August 1<sup>st</sup> Steel and Iron Company. (Li, 2005)

#### 1.1.2 From the early 1960s to the end of 1970s

In spite of the constant growth in Xinjiang's population, some left Xinjiang for other regions in early 1960s because of some natural and historical reasons. The most prominent negative increase in Xinjiang's population migration history happened in 1962 caused by USSR's breaking of promise. The record of -194,600 people sets the lowest gross migratory population in Xinjiang since the foundation of PRC. (<http://www.xjbt.cei.gov.cn>)

#### 1.1.3 From the early 1980s to the middle and late 1990s

During this period, with the sound development of China's economic system reform as well as the opening up policy, people in Xinjiang began to flow to different parts of China. On one hand, the gap in the per capita income between the coastal regions and the middle and west part of China has been wider due to the rapid economic development in East China. It is this wider gap that resulted in the flow from the middle and west part of China to the east as well as from the country to cities. Against such a national background, the population migration and mobility in Xinjiang followed the general rule towards the southeast coastal area. On the other hand, due to the changes in the age structure of Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, an increasing number of people came to the northwest frontier of China as new workforce.

#### 1.1.4 From the end of 1990s to now

This period has witnessed another rapid growth of ingoing population in Xinjiang. With the convening of the Sixteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, our nation has entered the period to construct a well-off society in an all-round way, especially in West China. People coming to Xinjiang during this time have been mostly occupied in agricultural production, petrol exploitation, mining, trade, architecture, arts and crafts, peddlery and so on. A considerable number among the ingoing population in Xinjiang are rural workers coming here to contract for lands and a special kind of floating population who are mainly occupied in picking cotton. In addition, with deeper economic and cultural communications between Xinjiang and inland, more people have come to Xinjiang for study or travelling.

### 1.2 An analysis on the outgoing population

After the reform and opening up, influenced by the ingoing people's culture and values, some minority races began to leave Xinjiang to pursue a new lifestyle. They usually form business groups with their relatives or friends to flow to urban areas which are often chosen randomly in certain seasons to sell some specialties from their native place. Gradually, the forms of population mobility to urban areas have got diversified, covering working, dealing with business, studying, travelling, marriage and so on.

## 2. The influence of population migration and mobility on culture changes in Xinjiang

Generally speaking, population migration and mobility promote the constant cultural exchanges among different races, hence the diversification of their interior cultures, which makes it likely for each race to inherit their traditions as well as to learn from others. Taking the irreversible trend of different racial cultures getting mixed into account, any race who wants to be among the top on the cultural development list has to develop and innovate its culture besides inheriting those traditional things. Only by absorbing foreign culture and inputting new things into its own one can it achieve the integration of its own racial culture.

### 2.1 The influence of Han culture on minority cultures

#### 2.1.1 Language

As the most important communication tool of our human society, language is closely linked with the development of society as well as that of individual races. In a city mostly occupied by Han people, it is easier for a person from minorities to communicate with members from other races as well as to find a job if he can speak Chinese. As a result, learning Chinese becomes quite popular. Most minority college students choose bilingual teaching. It is essential for minorities to conduct bilingual education in order to strengthen their own quality-oriented education, to promote their prosperous development, to improve their education level and to develop their whole races. Actually, a lot has been achieved in the bilingual education in Xinjiang. In 1999, only 27 middle schools had bilingual test classes with 2629 students. After the issuance of *On Promoting Bilingual Teaching in Xinjiang* in March 2004, 946 bilingual classes with 35948 students had been established in 52 schools by the end of 2004. (<http://www.njrc365.com/>)

### 2.1.2 Lifestyle

Here, lifestyle can be divided into material life and spiritual life, the former referring to diet, dress, residence and transportation, work, entertainment, social communication, dealing with people and so on while the latter referring to values, morality, aesthetics as well as the behaviors and habits related to these ideas. Population migration has been changing the material life in Xinjiang. For example, their former traditional characteristics in residence, diet, dress and transportation have been changed a lot due to the influences from those ingoing people, from yurts or adobe houses to brick or wood houses, from milk tea and rice to western dishes and fried dishes, from their traditional costumes to western-style suits and ties, from carts drawn by donkeys or horses to modern means of transport, from a life mainly occupied in social work, housework and religious rituals to one engaged in entertainment, social communication and dealing with others. If you walk in a street in Shihezi, you can hardly come across any Uigur or Kazak in his traditional costumes. At most, you will find a waiter or a waitress in modern dress while with a traditional Uigur hat in a traditional restaurant.

### 2.1.3 Ideology

Minority people in Xinjiang tend to have laggard ideas due to their former isolated life. Population migration and mobility have definitely integrated cultures from different areas and therefore have offered a drive for the renewal of these minority people's ideas. On one hand, those ingoing Han people have brought here some advanced ideas and opinions; on the other hand, those who had their out-of-date ideas changed when they stayed in the developed areas have brought back a strong desire to change their poor current condition, hence helping to liberate other native people's ideas. These ideological changes are mainly related to the concepts of communist market economy, such as the ideas of profit, competition, cooperation, socialized production and so on.

### 2.2 The influence of minority cultures on Han culture

The most obvious fact of diversified urban cultures caused by minority migration is the developed snack industry, which is mainly reflected in the increasing number of racial villages, delicious food streets, a variety of Muslim restaurants, Uigur lamb shashlik. These minority snacks have been in coexistence with Han diet such as Beijing Cuisine, Guangzhou Cuisine, Sichuan Cuisine and Shandong Cuisine as well as McDonald's and KFC. These snacks have been accepted and popular with Han people and some have even been taken in by Han cuisine culture. These minority restaurants, with their traditional architecture style, traditional dishes, performances with traditional songs and dances, have played a significant role in promoting the urban culture diversification.

## 3. Xinjiang's culture changes in globalization

No nation or race can become a developed one by isolating itself. Therefore, it is a task that cannot be ignored in Development of the West Regions to modernize the minorities' migration and mobility on a larger scale.

Put against the background of globalization, culture changes are not only manifested in the influence of Han culture on that of minorities but minority cultures on that of Han in some parts in Xinjiang which have more minority people than Han people (such as in south Xinjiang). Those coming to Xinjiang from inland have been greatly influenced by the local culture when living together with the people there. Therefore, when conducting some researches in this aspect, some concepts should be distinguished. For example, "assimilation by Han" is more like modernization now. For Uigur, their daily costumes just refer to modern clothes. Han people's modern clothes today are quite different from their traditional costumes, too. In the current social and economic environment, the culture changes in Xinjiang tend to be more rapid and more modernization-oriented.

To sum up, during the process of modernization, the development of economy and the emphasis of policies have resulted in frequent population mobility in Xinjiang, which consequently has caused increasing communications and culture changes. In spite of some changes influenced by Han and others influenced by minorities, more are modernization-oriented.

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## The Art of Biology Teaching

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### Abstract

With biology being a rapidly developed branch of natural science closely related to human beings, a systematic application of a variety of teaching arts in its teaching course seems particularly significant in students' mastery of this subject. Therefore, this article aims at putting forward some techniques in applying some important teaching arts as well as teachers' basic qualities.

**Keywords:** Biology, Teaching, Art

Art includes teaching as well as music, dancing, drama and painting. Actually, the art of teaching is a harmonious unity between the reproduction of science and artistic manifestation, a comprehensive artistic creative activity in which both teachers and students are to be developed (Yang, 1997). With biology an experiment-based branch of natural science studying the classification, structure, function, behavior and evolution of different levels in creatures, it seems particularly important to employ a variety of teaching arts to put across different life phenomena and their basic laws in its teaching.

### 1. Arousing students' interest

Here "interest" refers to a tendency to explore things actively. Teachers' methods and techniques of teaching play an important role in students' interest in studying certain subject. First of all, students should be helped to get a general understanding of the subject of biology. Although they began to learn this biology in high school, those basic knowledge didn't give them a whole picture or the fundamental knowledge about the basic frame of biological theory system. If they are still lacking in such knowledge during their college study, they will feel it quite hard to understand those areas related to biology. Meanwhile, students' interest in biology learning will be stimulated with a general mastery of its objects, methods and theory system. Second, more practical projects should be provided to emphasize interdisciplinary practice. These projects, mentioning the core of biology though they display the development in different aspects, will arouse keen enthusiasm for biology among students. Third, basic knowledge should be integrated with latest development. The former is relatively stable while the latter is in constant development. Therefore, the latter should be introduced in a flexible and brief way to explain the extension of basic concepts, the application of basic principles as well as the development of basic technologies. However, due to the limited class hour, relevant content should be explained naturally but not in every detail. Due to their interest in extending their knowledge and exploring the interdisciplinary nature at an academic level, students are more willing to approach as well as learn about biology.

### 2. Stimulating students' emotions

Emotion refers to the experience in attitudes which is said "to dominate anything else". Therefore, it seems more important to arouse people's emotions than thinking. According to Lenin, there wouldn't be people's pursuit for truth without emotions. First of all, every class should be prepared delicately, during which key and difficult points are expected to be thought over several times and different explanation ways should be compared in terms of advantages and disadvantages to choose the one easier to understand and better to arouse students' interest in exploration and discovery, to help them to experience the fun of learning as well as to be creative. Second, teaching methods should be emphasized to stimulate students' learning interest. There is no place for the process of knowledge birth and the methods for knowledge application in students' textbooks, just in which rich humanity gets embodied in the breakthroughs, failures or sufferings of science. It is suggested to select some stories about the history of scientific development related to the teaching content in order to enable students to experience some significant spirits in science, such as seeking the truth from facts, daring to explore new fields and overcoming one after another difficulty, hence



calling for their responsibilities to promote the development of civilization and benefit mankind.

In addition, teachers can link the teaching content with the achievements of our nation or mother school to arouse students' patriotism, pride and affection. Third, the beauty of biology should be displayed in teaching. According to the remarks of Yang Zhenning, a winner of a Nobel Prize, on "beauty and physics" and "my admiration for the beauty and power of math", it is revealed that there is "beauty in precise laws deeper than that in natural phenomena" and "beauty in profound theory framework". Inspired by the wisdom of Yang Zhenning, students can be guided to experience and appreciate the beauty embodied in the biological field, to realize the value of "Number One Propel" and to achieve their passion for further exploration into science.

Class teaching is a visual and audio art, in which teachers' emotions are called for to encourage students. In most cases, certain artistic effects can be achieved by coordinating class atmosphere, creating teaching situations, exerting emotions when giving lectures. In this way, students will be so absorbed in class that the whole classroom is silent. While at some critical points, students' emotions will be stimulated, even responding to the teacher with laughter or applause.

### 3. Employing a variety of teaching means flexibly

During the teaching process, all kinds of teaching means should be employed to visualize the teaching content, to improve teaching effects and therefore to encourage students' learning enthusiasm. Currently, with the development of multimedia teaching, CAI courseware is put into extensive practice, with which the structure at the level of organisms, tissues and organs, cells as well as molecules can be displayed in a visualized way. Especially as for molecular structure and its action principle, the abstract and complicated content can be simplified with multimedia tools, making it easier to be understood by students. However, some problems should be improved during the application of multimedia in biology teaching, for example, well-designed charts and animation, instead of a large amount of words, should be relied on. In addition, it will also help to achieve the best teaching effect to systematize what is taught with precise board writing. (Zhu, 2002)

### 4. Improving teachers' teaching and control abilities

Teachers' all-round abilities are expected to be improved in the conversion from scientific teaching to artistic teaching. As for biology teachers, the following abilities are significant: first, their abilities in scientific research should be improved. Teaching quality is the comprehensive reflection of teachers' abilities. Although a teacher's research abilities cannot tell all about his teaching quality, his teaching cannot be satisfactory if he is poor in scientific research. Due to the present rapid development giving birth to new knowledge and findings in biological science, only by improving their scientific research abilities will biology teachers be able to master the subject system, systematize knowledge points and therefore to improve their teaching quality. Second, their verbal abilities should be enhanced. The mastery of some necessary verbal techniques will make the language in teaching more expressive and attractive. Generally speaking, it is expected to be precise, fluent, clear, easy to understand as well as vivid. With the language in teaching as the tool for not only explaining knowledge but also cultivating potentials, wisdom and personality, verbal abilities play a critical role in teaching effects (Xi, 2004). Third, they should have rich imagination, with which teachers will be able to convert those complicated things into some concrete and easy ones by employing illustration or metaphor. In addition, teachers are supposed to have excellent organization abilities, which are a basic teaching capacity as well as a teaching art due to the nature of teaching activities. Only with a well-designed and carefully-arranged teaching content will teachers achieve the unity among some different factors in the teaching process.

To sum up, teaching is a branch of science as well as art. In order to unite the two, teachers should make it clear why to teach, what to teach and how to teach. Only a teaching process with the above three ideas can be called teaching art. No fixed pattern as it has, teaching art should conform to the laws and characteristics of this subject.

Biology is characterized by its rapid development, interdisciplinary width, multi-level depth, network-based knowledge system, dynamics of the life process and its descriptive teaching method. According to the above, when exploring the teaching art in biology, teachers should explore effective teaching patterns and methods, make reasonable use of teaching means, fully exerting teachers' individual potentials based on their efforts to enrich their knowledge structure and content, hence converting scientific teaching to artistic one.

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## Research of Foreign Exchange Management Legal System

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### Abstract

As the foreign exchange management mode undergoes the conversion from direct-management to indirect-management, foreign exchange and financial supervision system have being perfected by relative department. Especially in recent years, financial laws and regulations have got further regulation adjustment. However, in the whole financial law system, foreign exchange control in the whole system. So, consummating the currency law in force has become the most significance in building laws of foreign exchange.

**Keywords:** Foreign exchange management, Supervision limit, Legislation adjustment

### 1. The outline of exchange management and legislation condition

#### 1.1 The outline of exchange management

Exchange management is also called exchange control, it is management system which takes some restrictions on transaction, lending and borrowing assignment, revenue and expenditure international balance in one country. The others goals are accumulate and contribute exchange capital according to the policy so then capital outflows can be limited and exchange speculation can be avoided, which can accelerate and promote the country economy. Exchange management, as a very important tool of macro coordination and financial activity specification, the most fundamental concept is to maintain a secure and steady financial setup from the angle of foreign exchange, promote more equitable finance and protect the interest of investor and depositor. (Peng, 2003, pp. 142-145).

#### 1.2 Legislation condition of exchange management

Our country always institute strict exchange management regulations, under the policy of reformation and opening, laws about currency management were published in succession, which was the initial exchange management rules system in our country. The provisional regulation of exchange management is the first relatively systematic administration laws and regulations in China.

Office procedure on exchange of non-bank financial institution, specification on exchange management of bank and specification on exchange management of non-bank financial institution were published in succession from 1984, which establishes the law frame on how financial institution engage in the exchange. As exchange management enters into a deep reformation, exchange management regulation of PRC was issued by the state council in 1996. Be as currency management institutions, the people's bank of China and exchange management bureau also publish a great quantity of administrative regulations and canonical documents, which were the important part in exchange management system in country. In the end of 1996, the system got a further promotion-convertibility of current account was realized, on the basis of which exchange management regulations make it clear that the goals of currency management are keep international balance and develop the steady economy.

### 2. Limitations of foreign exchange management legal system

#### 2.1 Limitations of exchange rate system

At present, the implementation of a single, managed floating exchange rate system is a reflection of the economic and financial market, with the RMB current account convertibility of the requirements. However, accession to the WTO balance of payments faced by the impact of foreign currency has been China's RMB exchange rate system is not well suited. China still maintains capital controls exchange rate of RMB exchange rate to a large extent depend on the current foreign exchange income and expenditure over the past practice of trade liberalization, trade reform would lead

to the domestic economy and balance of payments situation facing the major Impact of inappropriate exchange rate policies will eventually lead to balance of payments crisis, a fixed exchange rate system and the rigid exchange rate peg prices are unreasonable, together with the accession to the WTO chief to cut tariffs on non-tariff barriers and the elimination of China's domestic economy And the huge balance of payments impact, We can see that both the efficient allocation of resources from the point of view or from the balance of payments situation, take a fixed exchange rate system is inappropriate, after China's accession to the WTO will face increasing capital flows, and the capital account deregulation of the trend to adapt The need for a more flexible exchange rate system, if still rigid exchange rate policy is bound to result in nominal exchange rate appreciation pressure on domestic monetary policy with the objective of the conflict between.

## *2.2 Limitations of current foreign exchange control*

Review the way trade in goods, foreign exchange constraints. China's agreement to accept IMF, to trade under the exchange rate does not limit the use of foreign exchange, but the WTO has the right to operate import and export business increased to gradually open up the right to operate import and export controls, improve the current review in order to increase efficiency, improve Management means and methods, Create remittance advices from the audit into the overall review. At the same time, along with the expansion of trade in services, the purchase and payment mate, to the current foreign exchange management has posed a serious challenge, as our country's current account convertibility, trade in services under the purchase payment is not the approval of Foreign Exchange, Canada Great review of the difficulty of trade in services back to the territory of foreign exchange earnings in a timely manner a lack of effective means of supervision. In addition, with the increase in foreign relations, movement of natural persons are also growing rapidly and a large number of the foreign exchange needs of individual residents and non-resident individuals and foreign exchange management to be sound.

## *2.3 Constraints of capital account foreign exchange*

### *2.3.1 Imperfect rules*

Some of the business capital of the lack of appropriate supervision and regulations on the basis that no legal basis; although some of the provisions are not perfect, violations of the penal provisions are too general and simple. Either for or appointed agent, or is there is no legal basis for the "vacuum", or failure to abide by the emergence of "supervision of tolerance." The existence of a large number of our country through executive orders, regulations and inform the implementation of the regulation, supervision appears to be impetuous and blind, to implement at a loss, did not achieve the purpose and effect of the regulation.

### *2.3.2 False information*

Capital account data on the basis of distortion, the main reason is that some of the foreign exchange banks operating strictly guard the pass, even false, false table, fraud, making a number of enterprises run away kit illegal trading of foreign exchange and foreign exchange violations occur from time to time. These "man-made" abnormal factors often induce foreign exchange management supervision into the "information distortion of the trap." If the foreign exchange regulatory authorities of relevant information and have not foreseen, the family property unclear, it is easy in the event of a crisis, not to take countermeasures.

### *2.3.3 Backward means of monitoring, the cost is too high*

In the foreign exchange abroad, the central bank is monitoring the project set up a special authority, and then down again through the indirect management of commercial banks. However, in our country, it seems there is a foreign exchange bank worried about the psychological, foreign exchange management departments under the direct supervision can not resist the temptation to have the item, the results are often counterproductive, resulting in increasing the cost of management, supervision and access to information and efficiency do not have geometric enhance. At the same time, over supervision procedures and links, making banks and enterprises to reduce operational efficiency, not to achieve a "win-win."

### *2.3.4 Encourage and participation in soft constraints*

Regulatory capital is the main objective of the regulation and control capital outflow and maintain balance of international payments, but the goals and interests of the banks do not have good coordination in the bank at the same time the interests of the pursuit of subjective and objective and not entirely outside the control objectives Line. Compared to the existing capital project management to comply with the provisions of the costs, some banks and companies more willing to obtain illegal gains, a number of individuals through deception to obtain additional income and feather one's nest. Corresponding to these violations and the punishment of individuals are generally or a symbolic point penalty shall get away. Punishment is smaller than the cost of illegal proceeds, so that the irregularities have been virtually conniving form of a check-off non-recurrence of the vicious circle of reduced incentive effects of foreign exchange regulation.

### 3. The demand of foreign exchange supervision and legislation

#### 3.1 *The management demand of foreign exchange administration in different period*

At first, convertible period of frequently account. In this period, the main job for exchange management are as follows: putting forth efforts to the exchange administration and transferring the work examined by Bureau of Exchange Management which within the current account in forth to the authorized bank, loosing the exchange administration to long-term capital item, and avoiding international floating capital speculating into our finance market, monitoring the finance business which interrelated to exchange, establishing check system for exchange funds circulation .The second ,the period that capital item convertible but RMB not international .On the limit of economic strength and risk precaution ability.(yang,2002,p.252). We must realize the capital item convertible. Exchange management bureau transfers to market regulation, but not related to enterprise .If the currency in one country realizes the internationalization ,the degree of regulation .If the currency in one country realizes the internationalization ,the degree of regulation difficulty will be higher .In order to establish a steady finance environment anti-speculation system of currency has been set up .

And an open capital market of RMB should be formulated to control quantity of property reserved abroad .At last, period that the internationalization and regional of RMB. This period formatted naturally as long as the economic strengthens ,economic cooperation scope extends and market portion enlarges .Central Bank always cares the exchange situation in china and abroad ,regulates and intervene the exchange rate ,raise investment interests of foreign exchange reserve and prevents international Money-laundering .

#### 3.2 *Legislation need of exchange management*

First, rule-draw up procedure should be standard .In China, most drawer of exchange management rules are government functional departments-Central Bank and Exchange Management Bureau, but in front of which are obvious administrative destinations, so the rational and fair will must be influenced .In fact, administrative destination and obligation of exchange market are more but rights and interests are not enough emphasized in rules and regulations of exchange management in force. In most of times ,law-drawer and law-executor are one person ,which has hampered the system formation to standard the supervisor and executor .Because of strict operating rules lacked during the period of the planning ,drafting and modifying as result that some regulations can not be guaranteed, and then regulation system should be arranged. Exchange management rules in force are still void of strict executive and monitoring standard. (luo, miu,2001,p.272).

For now channels to investigate the management rule have not been affirmed by the law definitely especially for some special articles are only canonical documents in practice. The documents should be implemented of exchange legal norm.

### 4. The adjustment of current legal norm

#### 4.1 *adjustment of current account*

Further relax the standard of opening an account .It not only enlarges the open scope of native enterprise ,but also unifies the open condition of native enterprise and foreign-capital enterprise .Merging the account type-exchange settle account and special account are merged into foreign exchange account, reduces the prime cost of management and convenience the operation of enterprise .United ration management and in-used information system of exchange account management ,can make the efficiency of management.

#### 4.2 *Adjustment of capital account*

Perfect "Management Rule" is the basis of supervision and encouragement regulation. (shi,2006,p.36).

At present, supervision is carried out by plenty of administrative regulations, some mature contents among which should be up to be law at the right moment, and be steady infixed time. At the same time, legislation should be perfected. The Standardization and prevision should be promise. And, information of exchange management should be shared aiming to makeup an effective, speedy and exact information system of management.

#### 4.3 *Adjustment of RMB exchange rate and store*

Remittance is the keynote of the management. During the initial stage of socialism, stabilizing the RMB exchange rate and exchange store should be regarded as central work. At present, cash flow will be exerted only after the exchange of RMB and foreign currency. So the stabilization of RMB exchange and scale of exchange store will be influenced by exchange directly.

We had not open convertible RMB within the scope of current account. Until the end of 1996, but maintain the control of foreign exchange to the capital account. Therefore, developing foreign finance market and then developing native finance market will make the latter not lashed by the former.

#### 4.4 Adjustment of foreign exchange management

At first, the subject position of management institution should be definite. For one thing, maintenance of the market body interest ought to be strengthened. For another, bring the administrative institution of exchange management into finance supervision system. We make the jurisdiction of the exchange management institution clear. We divide the work of Central Bank from it of exchange management setup. And then we make the exchange management and finance management a unity, standard the measures of exchange management. The feature of management contents should be divided definitely and different measures should be adopted. At the same time, enforcing the law must take the principle of according to the law. All measures and procedures taken must be within the law-scope. At last, strengthen the cooperation of management departments, joining the international system of finance structure, approving the standards of finance innovation, strengthening the supervision to the market participator and reaction system against to the infection, reducing the possibility of high-rate risk accompanying the exchange business innovation and small cash becoming crisis, broadening management cooperation scope and strengthening the international harmonization, and then a fine economy environment which benefit for finance development can be established.

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## Construction of PBL Problem Base Pattern Based on System of “Two Types, Six Aspects and Three Levels” at Medical College

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### Abstract

PBL is a studying process that emphasizes how to enquire, understand and solve problems. Problem Base is a form of resource for PBL's implementation and is indispensable to the overall practice of the latter. This article first sets about the two types of problems: disciplinary and conditional to collect problems from 6 aspects-- teacher's reflection, students, colleagues, teaching supervision and reference literature; then manages the problems from 3 levels – junior, middle and senior--according to the above mentioned two types, and finally constructs a problem Base of “two types, six aspects and three levels”.

**Keywords:** PBL, Problem base, Medical College

Problem-based learning (PBL in brief) is a learning strategy characterized by self-directed active learning starting with “problems” or “inquiries” that learners themselves identify. In problem-based learning students meet an “ill-structured problem” before they receive any instruction. In the place of covering the curriculum, learner probe deeply into issues searching for connections, grappling with complexity and using knowledge to fashion solutions. Nowadays PBL is considered as an excellent instructional method that can cultivate students' critical thinking, develop their abilities to analyze and solve problem.

### 1. Parameters for PBL

While there are many possible formats for presenting problem-based learning units, the following principles remain consistent: In a PBL unit, the ill-structured problem is presented first and serves as the organizing center and context for learning; The problem on which learning centers: is ill-structured in nature; is met as a messy situation; often changes with the addition of new information; is not solved easily or formulaically; does not always result in a right answer; PBL classrooms: students assume the role of problem-solvers; teachers assume the role of tutors and coaches; In the teaching and learning process, information is shared but knowledge is a personal construction of the learner. Thinking is fully articulated and held to strict bench marks.

### 2. Necessity of building PBL problem base

#### 2.1 Characteristic of the problem

There are three basic elements in PBL: the problem situation, students and teachers. Among them, the problem situation is the core of curriculum organization and generally bears the following characteristics summarized: (1). the problem which is extracted from the relative concepts and theories is the starting point and guidance for study; (2). appropriate for learners. A good problem should be based on an analysis of students' current content knowledge. If a problem is to serve as a stimulus for higher-order and critical thinking, students must find the problem to be challenging (Dutch, 2001). Therefore, professors should assess students' current knowledge of the content inherent to a problem and design that problem slightly beyond what students currently know. As a result, students will not be able to solve the problem without slightly extending their knowledge base and their skills. This extension will move students beyond simply regurgitating what they already know; they will have to develop a deeper (or broader) understanding of the content to solve the problem at hand (Duch, 2001). (3). Ill Structured. Closely allied to this issue of appropriateness for students is the issue of problem structure. Jonassen (2000) notes that problems generally can be characterized as either well

structured or ill structured. Well-structured problems can guide students toward salient processes in a course and can be effective for demonstrating simple rules, concepts, and procedures. The solutions to well-structured problems are ones the learners can find from limited sources. Ill-structured problems, on the other hand, are messy like the problems that are faced in everyday life and in professional practice (Delisle, 1997; Duch, 2001; Jonassen, 2000). Not all the elements of the problem are known, and ill-structured problems possess several solutions or perhaps no solution. Ill-structured problems also are not confined by discipline boundaries (Stinson and Milter, 1996), so students may need to draw from a number of different fields to solve the problem. (4). Authentic. As professors consider authentic slants to problems that serve as the basis of PBL, they should be aware of two aspects of authenticity. First, in some respects, the problem is authentic only if it is grounded in students' experiences. That is, if a problem is too theoretical and out of touch with students' experiences and daily lives, they will not be engaged by the problem (Delisle, 1997; Mayer, 1998). Second, even if a problem is not based in students' current experiences, it may be authentic if it relates to students' future plans and expected careers (Delisle, 1997; Stinson and Milter, 1996). PBL problems should be more than theoretical exercises. Professors should design problems that require students to apply content in ways indicative of emerging professionals. Promote Life-long and Self-Directed Learning. To some extent, a problem that meets the other criteria offered in this section will likely motivate students to become life-long and self-directed learners. That is, if a problem is appropriate for learners, authentic, and requires collaboration, then students will feel empowered and understand the ways that problem-solving skills can benefit them throughout life. (5). requires collaboration. If the professor's goal in designing the problem is to foster higher-order activity among students, then the problem should be relatively ill structured. (6). it should come from real life, increases with the growing material and can stimulate learners' motive for study therefore prompts learners' increasing improvement.

Problem that meets the other criteria offered in this section will likely motivate students to become life-long and self-directed learners. That is, if a problem is appropriate for learners, authentic, and requires collaboration, then students will feel empowered and understand the ways that problem-solving skills can benefit them throughout life.

### *2.2 Importance of the problem*

An intense sense of problem is a prerequisite for creative thinking; however, it is not inborn and needs cultivating and stimulating. Einstein emphasized, "It is more important to discover and describe the problem than to answer it. To think over the problem from a different angle, which requires creative imagination, marks a real progress in science". PBL instructional methods permeate problems throughout the whole study process, instruct students to "arouse doubts, to learn to question, to be good at solving problems and to be skeptical constantly"; besides, the problem Base just collects valuable problems. Consequently building the problem Base is of significance to PBL instructional methods both theoretically and practically.

### *2.3 Building problem base provides important guarantee for PBL's effects*

PBL emphasizes understanding and problem-solving in the study process while traditional medical teaching stress students' command of the subjects systematically, which makes it difficult for medical PBL teaching to design sequence and degree of difficulty of problems. So, in order to ensure PBL's effects, it is especially important to build a PBL problem Base. The so-called "problem Base" mainly refers to a provision of problem material for PBL's implementation; it decides the value of teaching substance and its design determines the effectiveness. The problem Base frequently functions as an important yardstick to measure the result and level of medical teaching.

## **3. Construction of problem base model ("two types, six aspects and three levels")**

The problem Base under the model of "Two Types, Six Aspects and Three Levels" is founded actual, practical, creative, related with students. It can be divided into two types-- disciplinary and conditional, within each of which 6 aspects are considered. In other words, problem material is collected according to the following factors: teacher's reflection, students, colleagues, teaching supervision and reference literature, and finally an operable Base model is constructed.

### *3.1 Content of problem base under "two types"*

3.1.1 Subject-based problem Base: Based on features of different courses, it is established from an ill-structured problem Base to design courses, to choose concepts and eventually to prompt students' ability to adapt to different situation by applying what they have learnt. Its traits are as follows: First the problems' degree of difficulty corresponds with students' cognition with not only offering raw material for their thinking but also directing their analysis; Second with the up-to-date substance, it can effectively stimulate students thinking; Moreover, the problem Base should be appealing with rich and colorful contents.

3.1.2 Condition-based problem Base: It mainly includes two kinds of problems in PBL practice. The first type is problems for teachers to solve, such as how to warm up, how to teach as "guides and prompters" and what kind of pattern should be employed to motivate students to resolve problems; The second type of problems is for students: how to manage a small group, how to conduct literature search to utilize information, how to introspect the motive for study, how to team work and how to carry out lifetime study.

### 3.2 Six aspects for problem collection and construction of problem base

Through 6 aspects-- teacher's reflection, students, colleagues, teaching supervision and reference literature, problems collected are divided into two types: disciplinary and conditional, thus a problem Base is constructed.

3.2.1 Perspective provided by teaching monitoring system: By a monitor system a teacher's classroom teaching with PBL application is thoroughly videotaped for academic leaders, trainers of PBL, his peers, the teacher himself to analyze and discover problems.

3.2.2 Perspective provided by teachers' reflection. Teachers recall their own feelings when they were students and summarize their experience and lessons as teachers to find out problems.

3.2.3 Perspective provided by students. Students are asked to share their feelings during the PBL teaching process for their teachers to discover problems.

3.2.4 Perspective provided by colleagues. Colleagues are asked to give their opinions on the mark about PBL's implementation in the case videotaped.

3.2.5 Perspective provided by supervisors. Supervisors are asked to comment to the point on PBL's implementation in the case videotaped to find out problems.

3.2.6 Perspective provided by educational documents. Resources of problems are achieved by reading educational documents and acquiring some beneficial enlightenment.

### 3.3 Management of three levels for problem base

Based on the two types and six aspects for problems-collection, the problem Base is divided into three levels—junior, middle and senior for management. The junior problem consists of original problems without being sieved or proved. The middle level of problem Base includes the problems analyzed, compared and picked or even abstracted, summarized and defined after their general characteristics and essence recognized by experts from the junior. The senior problem Base is a higher resource comprised of problems in the middle level which have validated in practice, re-examined and re-arranged from a new angel and with a new standpoint.

## 4. Reflection

With the construction of the problem Base, teachers and students have a definite direction for thinking and a strong desire to solve problems. It provides not only a motive for internalization of objective knowledge but also a prerequisite for externalization of subjective knowledge. It is one of happily accepted research forms for teachers from grassroots level to instruct teachers to establish a problem Base systematically. The course of teachers' drifting, extracting and accumulating problems is one process for them to constantly summarize their own experience and learn from others' strong points. During the whole process of accumulation and integration, teachers would gradually intensify their zest into PBL teaching theories and their improvement steps into a good circle when they can voluntarily construct a problem Base with the support of educational theories. But how to further explore the implementation of PBL problem Base, there is still a long way for us to go.

## 5. Future research of problem-based approaches

Further research in four areas would deepen present understandings of problem-based approaches to professional development.

First, further research of the role of independent learning activities in facilitating learning should be conducted. The case study approach is often the favorite choice of trainers because it requires the least amount of training time. In large part, this time saving is realized in the case study approach because trainees are not required to engage in independent learning activities. More needs to be known about the trade-off between engagement in independent learning activities and the development of problem-solving skills. Second, further study of the facilitator role in problem-based approaches is warranted. Areas for future research should include the influence of technical expertise in facilitating problem-solving groups, the role of cognitive, metacognitive, and procedural guidance during group problem solving, and the impact of facilitator training on trainers with varying levels of technical expertise. Third, additional research focusing on the influence of computer technology on group problem-solving activities needs to be conducted. Some professional development programs deliver problem-based approaches through communication and multimedia technology, even though a substantial body of literature suggests that the effective performance of problem-solving and decision-making tasks requires information-rich media. Studies addressing the strengths and limitations of communication and multimedia technology for facilitating problem-solving activities would help clarify this disconnect between theory and practice. Finally, previous theory and research indicates that problem-based approaches to professional development show much potential for promoting the problem-solving skills of professionals in today's organizations. However, relatively few empirical studies have examined ways of assessing higher-level cognitive outcomes in problem-based approaches. Most reports of problem solving skills development have been based on subjective self-reports of trainees and assessments of trainers (Albanese and Mitchell, 1993). Finding objective ways to assess problem-solving skill is



necessary to gain a more complete picture of the role of problem-based approaches in promoting the development of professional expertise.

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**Notes**

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## On Barriers and Countermeasures for China Implementing Reverse Home Mortgage Loans

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### Abstract

Along with the development of an aging society in China, pressures on social security are unavoidable. At this moment, China begins to execute reverse home mortgage loans, what is meaningful for the construction of harmonious society. This paper points out the barriers for China implementing reverse home mortgage loans and advances relevant countermeasures.

**Keywords:** Reverse home mortgage loans, Barriers, Countermeasures

China has already entered an aging society. Compared with developed countries, China's aging society develops fast and the population aging development can not keep up with economic development. Lots of "four-two-one" families will appear in China. Present social security system and traditional family endowment can not manage the coming aging crisis well. Since developed countries have already entered an aging society for a long period, they have accumulated rich and practical experiences for endowment. We can learn from developed countries' mature experiences and build up a reverse home mortgage loan system.

A reverse mortgage is a loan available to seniors, and is used to release the home equity in the property as one lump sum or multiple payments. The homeowner's obligation to repay the loan is deferred until the owner dies, the home is sold, or the owner leaves. Homeowners can get the loan by one-off payment or monthly payment during certain period or freely under certain credit quota. No restrictions for the uses of loans. It can be used for daily expenditure, home repairs, or medical cares. By making best use of the difference between human life and house life cycle, reverse home mortgage loans can help seniors to allocate their life-long wealthy reasonably and sustain a normal life. Therefore, this loan is also named as "reverse mortgage" or "endowment by home".

### 1. The significance of foreign countries' reverse home mortgage loans in reference for China

The reverse home mortgage loan originates from Holland. America has the most matured and representative reverse home mortgage loan. Since America has developed the reverse home mortgage loans in 80s last century, it has already been introduced by Canada, British, France, and Singapore. In America, there are mainly three types of reverse mortgage loans according to the different agencies that approved the loan. The first type is the reverse mortgage loan insured by the federal government. This loan is approved by American Federal Housing Administration. The second type is the reverse mortgage loan insured by the government. This loan is approved by American Federal National Mortgage Association. The third type is the special reverse mortgage loan. This loan is offered by different companies and is different due to the diversity of customers. It is a kind of personal financial product.

The aging population will inevitably bring about unexpected difficulties for China's economic and social development, especially for the imperfect social endowment insurance system. Therefore, to take references from foreign countries' experiences in reverse mortgage loans and develop the reverse home mortgage loans properly in China are significant to relieve China's pressures on endowment insurance. Meanwhile, it will trigger the rise of the real estate market for seniors, stimulating the growth of national economy, benefiting the innovation of financial insurance products, realizing the integration of endowment resources and real estate resources, improving seniors' life quality, and relieving children's burdens. In one word, the promotion of reverse mortgage loan will exert profound influences on China's social development.

## **2. The barriers for China implementing reverse mortgage loans and the countermeasures**

### *2.1 The restraints of traditional ideas*

On one hand, the reverse mortgage loan is anti-traditional. On the other hand, children oppose to it. Affected by traditional ideas, children think that they possess potential controls over seniors' properties as long as they fulfill their obligations in endowment. We should change the traditional ideas gradually and encourage seniors to realize self-independence and children to start new ventures.

### *2.2 The imperfect policies and regulations*

In China, policies and regulations about the reverse mortgage loans are imperfect. In western countries, policies and regulations concerning real estates and endowment security are mutually supportive. For example, in America the regulations about land management and financial taxes offer preferential terms for the reverse mortgage loan. Seniors who apply reverse mortgage loans can enjoy preferential taxes and pay no property taxes.

The solution is to constitute policy and law insurance. On one hand, it is necessary to adjust relevant laws. On the other hand, improve the attractiveness of reverse home mortgage loans by imposing legacy taxes. In fact, most of borrowers are seniors who have lower incomes. The state should offer sorts of policy supports for the reverse mortgage loans, such as reducing or exempting taxes, financial discounts, and tax exemption of fees.

### *2.3 The conflicts with present laws*

The reverse home mortgage loan is a kind of endowment method that directly takes the ownerships of houses as mortgages. In essence, it is a kind of transfer guarantee. The so-called transfer guarantee is a system that the debtor takes the ownership of properties as the mortgage guarantee the debts and the creditor can get the ownership of the mortgage as the debtor fails to pay debts off. However, in China and many other countries, the transfer guarantee is not accepted or confirmed completely. Somebody thinks that the transfer guarantee is analogous to fluidity contract and is a kind of evasion of law. Somebody else thinks that the transfer guarantee, as a kind of security interest, is invalid because it goes against the principle of real right legality. On one hand, the Guaranty Law of PRC forbids the fluidity contract definitely in order to avoid creditors pricing guaranties at will since debtors are in a disadvantage situation and in capable of negotiation. In a financial emergence, debtors could not make wise judgments. In order to get rid of present difficulties, debtors may accept creditors' rigorous conditions and get into another bad situation. On the other hand, transfer guarantee emphasizes on the real right. It creates a new type of the real right in fact. If we acknowledge its validity, it will go against the principle of real right legality. Because the transfer guarantee is illegal, the reverse home mortgage loans will be illegal either.

To manage the conflicts between transfer guarantee and present laws is also an important issue for promoting the reverse mortgage loans. The transfer guarantee means to value the guaranties before the transfer of ownerships. After paying off all debts, the surplus values of guaranties should return to debtors. By this way, both parties' interests are insured, what is in accordance with the purpose of guaranty law. Along with the continuous social development, the types and contents of real rights regulated by Chinese laws initially could not satisfy the practical needs of society. The transfer guarantee is a product of economic and social development. Its registration, notification, and the liquidating procedures can protect the interests of owners. Therefore, in essence the transfer guarantee is lawful. In China, the mortgage loans based on transfer guarantee have already widely recognized in practice. And its development becomes more mature. The solution is to further perfect China's guaranty law and amend it with new terms related with transfer guarantee.

## **3. Several suggestions for developing the reverse home mortgage loans**

Firstly, set up special operational agencies. Insurance companies, especially life insurance companies, as operational agencies for reverse home mortgage loans, can start the business of charges and compensations for endowment insurances. Commercial banks can also develop the reverse mortgage loans. The cooperation between commercial banks and insurance companies can drive the stable and healthy development of the reverse mortgage loan, as a new financial product. Social security institutions can also serve as active cooperators. To build up a powerful social security system can increase new financing channels for endowment. In addition, the promotion of reverse home mortgage loans needs the participation of legal medium agencies, such as accounting firms, and law offices.

Secondly, implement a loan management method in favor of civilians. Borrowers should be at an age of 60 above and possess private houses and join in relevant insurances. The quantity of loans is determined by the age of the borrower, the position of the house, and the changes of rates. Loans can be issued periodically, at one-time, or by credit. As for the payment of loans, the borrower can mortgage the house, or the borrower or his or her inheritor pays off loans in cash, or the borrower sells the house to pay off loans.

Thirdly, suggest China constitute the Law of Supervising the Reverse Home Mortgage Loans. The government should enhance its supervision over market subjects, restrain the activities of loan-supply agencies, and regulate principles for

offering reverse mortgage loans. For example, commercial banks should release the information concerning the operation of reverse mortgage loans exactly, and carefully check the ownership of houses as mortgages. It is the responsibility of government to approve and supervise the certificates of medium agencies and ensure their services. Strengthen the execution of regulations and implement effective supervision and control over operations.

Finally, set up an exit mechanism for loan-supply agencies. As an important component of financial market, the reverse home mortgage loans should have a relevant mechanism for market entrance and exit. The exit of loan-supply agencies is either positive or negative. The negative exit means loan-supply agencies retreat from the reverse mortgage market due to the punishment of administrative orders or bankruptcy. In the legislation of reverse mortgage loans, by taking references from foreign countries' laws and regulations concerning the exit of financial agencies, and considering China's situations, we should make definite regulations on the standards, procedures, principles, and results of exit of loan-supply agencies in law.

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## On the Translation of English Movie Titles

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### Abstract

The film, a popular art with both artistic and commercial values, is one of the most influential mass media. Film looks like a piece of mirror, which reflects all the respects of human society, including the material world and the spiritual world as well. With large quantities of English movies being introduced into China, more and more movie titles are translated into Chinese, some well done while some poorly done. Exploring the present situation of film titles, within the framework of audience-oriented approach, this paper tries to generalize some principles, such as faithfulness, cultural awareness, and combination of commercial and aesthetic effects, of film titles with abundant examples. Based on the foregoing analysis, some concrete techniques of film title translation are discussed, such as transliteration, literal translation and explication.

**Keywords:** Movie titles, Present situation, Principles, Techniques

### 1. Introduction

“Movie is so important that it has become the first arts of the human world,” pointed out by French artist and novelist Mona (Baker, 2004, p.40). With the increase in cultural exchanges between China and the rest of the world, especially with the Western countries, the movie has gradually stood out as one of the important medium of communication in its own right.

Movie titles are always the first thing that the audiences come to know about new movies. Thus a right choice of movie title translation is of great importance to the successful release of a movie. A properly-translated English movie title should fulfill the following functions:

First: Providing information about the story for the audience by summarizing the main plot, revealing the theme, or offering some clue.

Second: Adding attraction to the movie and stimulating the audience's interest in and desire for viewing the film.

Third: Saving trouble for the cinema, the audience, film reviewers and other research workers in their publicity, choice of viewing, comments and studies.

Like many other forms of non-literary translation, the translation of English movie titles has not yet received due attention despite their importance. Peter Newmark has called on the translators to bring their attention to “two underplayed aspects of translation”, one of which is “the approach to non-literary translation.” (2001, p.135). Nida also called for “more attention to exploring new fields in translation” (2004, p.17). This paper, based on the analysis of the present situation, will introduce some principles and techniques of English movie title translation.

### 2. Techniques of English movie title translation

Techniques of English movie title translation mainly fall into two categories: showing respect for the original title (transliteration, literal translation, explication) and discarding the original one (adaptation, providing a new title). “No matter what technique is employed, one fundamental and vital principle that should never be forgotten is that the translation must be related to the story in one way or another.” (Eugene A, 2001, p.214).

#### 2.1 Transliteration

As English movies often have their settings, heroes' or heroines' names as titles, transliteration, i.e. borrowing the sound of the SL, can be employed when titles are place or personal names, especially when these names are familiar to the target audience---Chicago (<<zhi jia ge>>), Casablanca (<<ka sa bu lan ka>>) or of historic or cultural importance---Gandhi (<<gan di zhuan>>), Aladdin (<<a la ding>>). Through transliteration, the sound effects, i.e. the

rhythm of the SL, can be preserved, which will entertain the audience with a strong exotic flavor, such as Titanic (<<tai tan ni ke>>), Oliver (<<ao li fu>>) and Nodding Hill (<<nuo ding shan>>).

## 2.2 Literal translation

By converting the SL grammatical constructions to their nearest TL equivalents, literal translation can preserve both the content and the form of the original to a maximum. On occasions when a title matches the story of a movie perfectly---Driving Miss Daisy, Saving Private Ryan, Around the World in 80 Days, and if the TL equivalents---<<wei dai xi xiao jie kai che>>, <<zheng jiu da bing rui en>>, <<huan you shi jie 80 tian>>, not sounding awkward or unnatural, are capable of describing the story, literal translation can be adopted. As most English movie titles consist of nouns or noun phrases, literal translation is the simplest and most effective technique used in movie title translation. Most descriptive titles, such as Roman Holiday (<<luo ma jia ri>>), Gladiator (<<jiao dou shi>>), Man in Black (<<hei yi ren>>) and Dances with Wolves (<<yu lang gong wu>>), may find this technique applicable. And so are a small part of allusive ones like Scent of a Woman (<<nv ren xiang>>), Brave Heart (<<yong gan de xin>>).

## 2.3 Explication

To some titles, especially some allusive ones, whose literal translation cannot describe the story neatly and thus fails to provide information and attract the audience, more details have to be added to make them more explicit. Instead of being chosen randomly, these details should be based on the story and able to help polish the titles.

### Example 4-1

Bambi (<<xiao lu ban bi>>) and Shrek (<<guai wu shi lai ke>>) are more lovable than <<ban bi>> and <<shi lai ke>>. xiao lu and guai wu bring out the loveliness of the characters.

### Example 4-2

In High Ice (<<bing feng qiang xian dui>>) and Speed (<<sheng si shi su>>), both qiang xian dui and sheng si highlight the tension of the story.

### Example 4-3

If Seven is rendered simply into qi1, the audience will surely be bewildered. But if specified as qi zong zui (lust yin yu, vanity jiao ao, wrath fen nu, sloth lan duo, envy ji du, gluttony bao shi and avarice tan luan), the movie will be easily classified as a detective one.

### Example 4-4

Nikita (<<nv qiu ni ji ta>>) and Scarface (<<ba lian da dao>>) reveal the identities of our heroine and hero through the added information nv3qiu2 and da4dao4. Then the audience will wonder what has happened or will happen to her or him?

### Example 4-5

JFK (<<ci sha ken ni di>>) and Ghost (<<ren gui qing wei liao>>) further specify the main plot of the story by explicating the two titles through ci sha and ren gui qing wei liao

### Example 4-6

In the translation of Water World (<<wei lai shui shi jie>>), wei lai tells the audience that it is a sci-fi movie, so it is no wonder that the world is full of water.

### Example 4-7

The title, Piano, offers a clue to the story. And either gang qin bie lan or gang qing ke is more vivid and appealing than its literal translation gang qin. The Taiwan version goes even further---gang qin shi he ta de qing ren.

## 2.4 Adaptation

Adaptation is to change the cultural references. Bearing in mind the principle of cultural awareness, the translator must first understand the cultural information within movie titles, and then exert himself to find proper Chinese equivalents, which can be understood, accepted and appreciated by the Chinese audience easily.

### Example 4-8 Salt of the Earth

The original is an allusion in the Gospel According to Matthew, referring to any person or persons regarded as the finest, noblest. This metaphor could not be well received by the Chinese audience if the title is literally rendered into <<di qiu de yan>>. Instead, <<she hui zhong jian>> can be better understood by the Chinese audience.

### Example 4-9 Chickpeas

A group of Beirut immigrants strive to start an undertaking in America. However, under the cultural impact, they are caught in a dilemma, just like the peas squeezed in the pods, not knowing whether to accept the American way of life or not. But this could not be effectively expressed by Chickpeas' literal translation <<ying zui dou>>. The translator has done a good job in discarding the original, and choosing a concept more familiar to the Chinese audience---<<mei guo meng>>, through which the audience can easily understand the theme of the movie.

### Example 4-10 One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest

The Taiwan rendering of this title is <<fei yue du juan wo>>, the literal translation of the Cuckoo's Nest. In fact, in English "cuckoo" is also a slang word, meaning a foolish or crazy person, for cuckoos always lay their eggs in the nests

of other birds. And the Cuckoo's Nest refers to the madhouse. So it is proper to render it into <<fei yue feng ren yuan>>.

### 2.5 Providing a new title

Language in movie titles is creatively used. Certainly there are titles to which the four techniques above are not applicable. Thus the translator sometimes has to provide a new title for the movie and rely on his own intuition and taste to choose one good translation among all the possible translations. The new title should factually and accurately describe the story.

#### Example 4-11 We Were Soldiers

The movie is adapted from the memoir of a veteran who once served in the Vietnam War and suffered much from it. The rendering <<zheng zhan sui yue>> exactly expresses the past tense in the original--- "Were" reveals the identity of the heroes, and "Soldiers" more importantly and appropriately conveys a mixed feeling for that war.

#### Example 4-12 Forrest Gump

If it were simply transliterated into <<fu rui si te-gang pu>>, surely, a good many audience would not have liked the movie when they first come to know the title. But <<a gan zheng zhuan>>, a parody inspired by Lu Xun's <<a Q zheng zhuan>>, which is rather well-known in China, sounds more appealing and will immediately arouse the audience's desire to watch the movie.

#### Example 4-13 The Professional

The title refers to the hero of the movie, Leon, a killer, very skillful and cool. One of its rendering is <<sha shou lai ang>>. Appropriate to the identity of our hero as it is, it does not reveal another important side of Leon, which the rendering <<zhe ge sha shou bu tai leng>> vividly carries---his tenderness and affection towards our heroine, a little orphan girl.

#### Example 4-14 Rain Man

The mainland rendering is <<yu ren>>, which makes no sense to the Chinese audience, for in Chinese there is no such thing as yu ren. The movie is named so because one of our heroes in the movie, the older brother Raymond Babbitt, an autistic, always fails to pronounce his own name Raymond right, but makes a sound of Rain Man. The HK rendering <<shou zu qing wei liao>> is more suitable to the story.

## 3. Conclusion

In short, the translation of film titles involves many complicated factors. It depends on the content of films, the psychology of the audience, and some other cultural factors. Anyway, it must be a good version if it is concise, striking, attracting and meaningful. As we have analyzed above, a good rendering of film titles should obey such principles: faithfulness, cultural awareness, combination of commercial and aesthetic effects. Transliteration, literal translation and explication are the usual methods we use when we translate film titles. Only by bearing in mind the principles of faithfulness, cultural awareness, and combination of commercial and aesthetic effects, and employing techniques appropriate to different titles, can we translators do a better job when translating film titles.

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## Leading of Public Facilities from Non-Barrier Design to Universal Design

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### Abstract

The universal design is the best way for today's design of public facilities. It develops from the non-barrier design and turns to be perfect. Starting from concluding the differences of non-barrier design and universal design in practice, this paper analyzes and describes the process of from non-barrier design to universal design, aiming at form a complete, systematic, and correct recognition toward the universal design.

**Keywords:** Universal design, Non-barrier design, Public facilities

Along with the constant progresses of economy and culture in China, the construction of barrier-free facilities has been greatly improved. Meanwhile, the non-barrier design thought has won a wider research among the field of facility design in China, which serves as sound material and theoretical bases for the communication and development of universal design thought. However, this design thought displays its essential and original defects gradually. The universal design thought reflects the social progresses and human harmonization process to a great degree.

### 1. The present conditions of barrier-free facilities construction in China

Thanks for the host of Special Olympic Games and Olympic Games in 2008 and World Expo Shanghai 2010, the construction of barrier-free facilities has been greatly improved in China. What it embodies is not only the municipal construction level in one country, but also the country's concerns about "people".

However, in China, at present the barrier-free facilities do not realize efficient utilization, high inclusiveness or successiveness.

The main reasons for the low utilization rate of barrier-free facilities in China are:

#### 1.1 The lower popularization rate of barrier-free facilities knowledge

Because of the lower popularization rate of barrier-free facilities knowledge, plus present barrier-free facilities have not been accepted by more people, the mass do not know the barrier-free facilities clearly.

#### 1.2 Disabled people do not go out frequently

Barrier-free facilities are a closely associated integration. However, in China the lower popularization of urban barrier-free facilities can not guarantee the successiveness of barrier-free facilities, what causes a decreasing effect of using these facilities. Due to the barriers in environment, disabled people seldom go out. Secondly, barrier-free facilities need relevant environment for utilization. For example, the crowded bus makes the barrier-free facilities useless.

### 2. The universal design is the trend of future public facilities in future development

#### 2.1 The universal design concept and its characteristics

The universal design was advanced by Professor Ron Mace in 1985. He defined universal design as: The "universal design" is, by certain design, to make facilities or environment to be used by all users without special designs or improvements (Lianxin Liu, 2004).

For same facilities, universal design can make them more competitive compared with similar facilities. They can satisfy people's needs, not only common people's but also the disabled and seniors'. That is the ultimate spirit of "universal



design". In a sense, universal design is more active. It is the improvement of non-barrier design.

The high adaptability is the most important characteristic of universal design (Wolfgang F. E. Preiser, 2001). It is also a main signal that distinguishes universal design from non-barrier design. The "unchangeable nature responses to all changes" spirit makes facilities based on universal design more suitable for special groups. These facilities have higher inclusiveness than facilities based on barrier-free design. Besides, they are more special in appearance.

## 2.2 The significance of universal design

### (1) The economic significance

First of all, the universal design is an important way to explore facilities' more added values in the serving-the-disabled industry. In practice, the universal design initially appears in fields where there are greater economic and social effects, what is also the main development trend. Japan has already entered an aging society. The rise of senior population causes the expansion of senior market. As a result, Panasonic and Toyota have already introduced universal design into their facilities, and have achieved better economic effects.

Secondly, as the economic growth slows today, consumers begin to pay attentions to endurable facilities instead of throwaway products. The facilities based on universal design can provide with more convenience for people since they can satisfy people's needs better. Therefore, the facilities based on universal design have greater potentials in the field. Undoubtedly, these facilities will also generate significant economic effects.

### (2) The social significance

Firstly, one region or country's concerns about the vulnerable group indicate whether the country thinks much of human right or not. The vulnerable group endures more discommodities and unhappiness than the "strong group". In perspective the use right of public facilities, the vulnerable group should share equal right of using public facilities with other groups. The vulnerable group can take a part in social activities equally. To go out as will is the primary issue deserved to be solved.

Secondly, considering the characteristics of the vulnerable group, if without economic guaranty and the social life quality could not be improved, it will affect the social harmony process inevitably. Due to some physical and psychological reasons, certain implicit conflicts may happen among vulnerable groups, what will influence the whole social feelings. The "design saves society" idea of modernism is an extreme. However, design is a physical thought, which is responsible for the idea conveyed by facilities. To integrate human care into designs will exert positive effects on the society. The universal design can realize this aim.

### (3) The environmental significance

The universal design is for all people, which gives facilities a wide inclusiveness. To reduce the quantity of special facilities means a decrease of resource waste. Facilities possess higher use values and have longer life cycles. In perspective of users, the wider the facilities' inclusiveness, the smaller the hurt on people is.

Another significance of universal design to the environment is to promote the harmonious coexistence of people. Non-barrier design offers special facilities for vulnerable groups, what will affect common people's normal use. On the other hand, popular design may neglect the needs of the disabled. Contradictions are always there more or less. If certain design can satisfy all people's needs, everyone can use the facilities equally. Furthermore, it will offer a communication chance for all people, what may promote the mutual respect and communication between different groups.

Social development drives the population move and environment changes. It is an unchangeable fact. However, changes bring about more and more uncertainties for residents. People are lack of a sense of acceptance and affiliation toward their residential environment. They have not sufficient confidence in the future. Both communities and cities ask for equipments and facilities that satisfy more people's needs for a long time. Universal design helps to solve this issue, which makes our living environment more constant.

## 3. From non-barrier design to universal design

### 3.1 The differences between universal design and non-barrier design in practice

The barrier-free is for the environment, while the universal design concerns facilities, environment, and facilities. The barrier-free emphasizes on environmental and spatial plan, while the universal design must take users' psychological feelings into consideration at the same time, hoping to reduce the differences between groups.

The non-barrier design adopts a repairing design to help the disabled (Fengzheng Tang & Dongyang Liu, 2006), while the universal design is to make out general programs by a preventing design. These programs take all people's needs into consideration but not only for certain special group. For example, the road slopes can be designed by special colors and materials that can help people with poor eyesight. Meanwhile, use special technologies to mark the road for walk or not walk. Then, the crossroads will be safer for everyone.

The universal design, in the first place, is a design that “pursues for the maximum universality among particularities”. As the universal design takes the “particularities” of the vulnerable groups into consideration, it pursues for the maximum “universality”. Differing from the non-barrier design, the universal design is to make the environment and facilities to be used by all people, including the special groups. In other words, the universal design contains a non-barrier design thought. Meanwhile, it covers a wider scope and indicates a more humanism meaning.

### *3.2 The different applicable environment for the universal design*

To develop the universal design based on present barrier-free facilities can shorten the construction term, accelerate people's acceptance, and save costs.

The meanings of universal design change along with the applicable environment. It is the environment that determines the scope of users. In the public environment, public facilities aim at serving all people, which should consider the needs of different vulnerable groups. The program must take the convenient use of all groups into consideration. Surely, here the program can be an independent facility or a series of facilities.

According to the figure 2, among individual facilities, family facilities, and social public facilities, it is the social facility that satisfies more groups' needs. In perspective of universal design, the barrier-free facilities need to be improved in public places, because they are special facilities only for the disabled. In order to turn these barrier-free facilities into universal facilities in public places, we must extend the use scope of facilities and make them to satisfy more groups' needs.

### *3.3 Make best use of barrier-free facilities' material base*

Many ways can help to realize the universal use of facilities. Latest science and technologies, and general programming can effectively help to achieve the universality of facilities. However, how to generate a universal design effect based on present facilities and realize the aim of universal design is a practical issue.

Universal design means a set of scheme to solve problems. Therefore, it includes non-barrier designs and focuses on all kinds of groups, satisfying the needs of more groups. However, the universal design is not a simple integration of non-barrier designs.

Surely, present facilities based on non-barrier designs are just for vulnerable groups. It is necessary to develop the universal design in order to satisfy other groups' needs, which can effectively make up the shortcomings of present barrier-free facilities.

### *3.4 Make best use of barrier-free facilities' non-material base*

The development of barrier-free facilities offers a relatively complete and mature legal environment and perfect data bases. The universal design can directly make best use of or absorb these non-material bases.

#### *(1) The research on the vulnerable groups*

The development of barrier-free facilities directs people to make systematic and scientific researches on vulnerable groups' behavioral features and find out a series of solutions for relevant problems, what supply amounts of references for the universal design in solving problems. The development of barrier-free facilities makes the measurement data of human body perfect, which serves as useful references for the universal design.

#### *(2) Build up the public's recognitions to barrier-free facilities*

First of all, the development of barrier-free facilities makes the public recognize barrier-free facilities directly, such as the use of barrier-free facilities, and the identification of barrier-free marks. Secondly, the development of non-barrier design causes more investments in vulnerable groups. The society pays more attentions on the livings of vulnerable groups. All these facts serve as preconditions for the prevalence of universal design.

## **4. Conclusion**

The universality of public facilities is a large-scale and lasting process. There are no widely-accepted standards for estimating and evaluating the universal design, and no specific solution schemes either. Therefore, along with the social progress, the solutions for problems will be various. And the universal design solutions will develop further.

The practices of universal design can promote the disabled to join in the society better, what will make the social participation more effective. The universal design aims at offering wider supports, satisfying more needs, benefiting everyone, and making our life more harmonious and happier.

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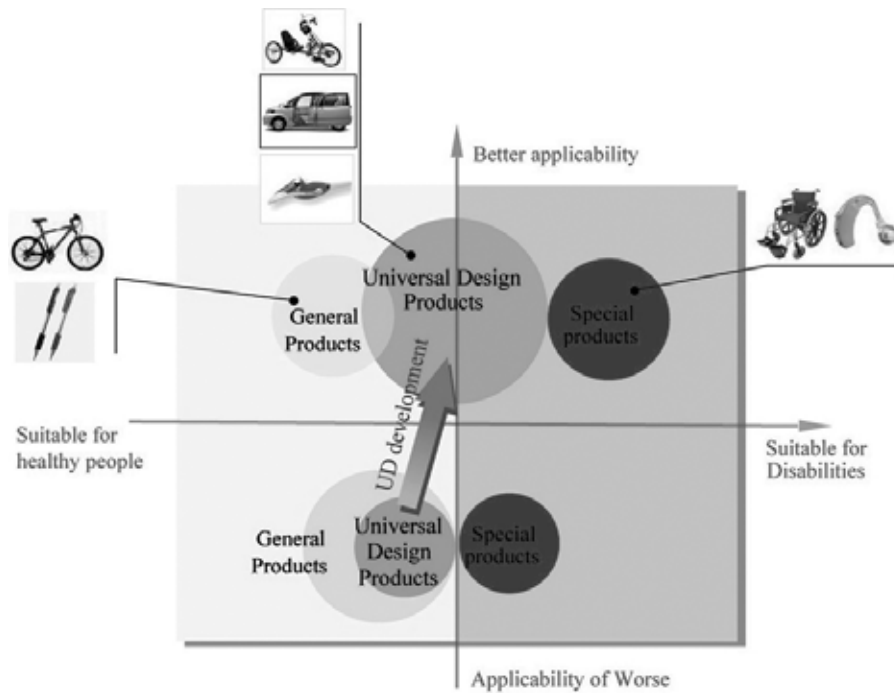


Figure 1. The Relationship of Universal Facility, Common Facility, and Special Facility.

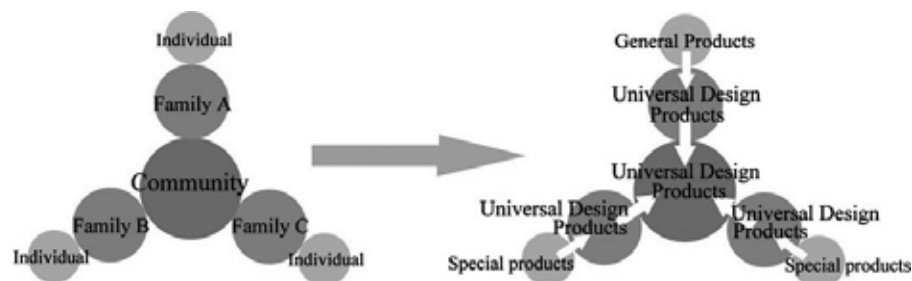


Figure 2. The Relationship of Universal Public Facility, Individual Facility, and Family Facility.



## An Analysis on the Diversified Extension Strategy for China's Animation Industry

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### Abstract

Based on the current development of China's animation industry, this article explores the prospect of the diversified extension strategy for it and its industry chain. In addition, some successful cases in the relevant fields home or abroad are taken into consideration to analyze how to facilitate the further development of China's animation industry in conformity with the reality.

**Keywords:** Animation industry, Derivative product, Commercial value

Animation industry is a core industry displaying great potential for development in 21<sup>st</sup> century. By the 1990s, the export of animations and their derivative products had exceeded that of traditional industries and the values created by animation products and services had ranked 6<sup>th</sup> in GNP. In Japan and Korea, animations and their derivative products have replaced the traditional industries to become the new pillar products of foreign exchange earning. According to statistics, the whole world has created animations and derivative products worth about \$500,000,000,000. Actually, children can be taught by some classical American cartoons about some risks they are expected to cope with during their growing-up course. And it is even mentioned by CCTV that American animations can provide guidelines for education on their kids. It is American people's self-independence, focus on individual ability, courage, adventurous spirits, openness as well as originality that create today's American education. Their teachers will see every kid's talent and encourage them to foster their strengths. As a result, a lot of successful talents have been cultivated, such as over 300 billionaires since 1980 and numerous Nobel Prize winners. This is really the best reflection of what Washington, the founder of this great nation, once said "giving American people the best education".

In recent years, with the great emphasis paid by Chinese government on the development of cultural industries including animation industry, a series of policies and measures favorable for the sound development of this industry have been issued, giving great opportunities for its rapid development. According to some experienced members in this industry, the spring of China's animation industry has arrived. Due to its long investment recovery cycles and the current fundamental stage of China's animation industry, it will take at least 3 to 5 years to develop it into a mature one. With the arrival of the digital age, a new pattern with flashes, cartoons and games has come into being. Therefore, animation will be interwoven with films, TV programmes, publications, audio-visual products and other derivative products to form the animation industry chain.

Here, we will employ the case of Hello Kitty for its development course and successful experience in market operation.

There is a little cat, with a round face, a bow on her left ear, a short tail but without mouth, which is called Hello Kitty. This cartoon cat is printed on over 22,000 kinds of commodities to be sold in more than 40 countries. She earns \$500,000,000 for her owner, Sanrio Company, as well as billions of dollars for those companies authorized to use her image. In addition, some other unauthorized companies put it on a variety of things, creating a profit of \$1,000,000,000 every year. Such an unknown cat once printed on cheap plastic wallets has become a cat with the greatest market value in history.

Kitty was born in 1974 when Sanrio Company planned to design a new image on their newly designed wallets. Thinking kids are mostly fond of some little animals such as bears, dogs or cats, the first designer of Kitty decided to use the third one because the first two had been produced before. That is the very beginning of Kitty. In spite of the

president's lack of interest in her, her popularity soared in a short time. In addition, it is the grass-rooted marketing strategy for Kitty that has impressed people a lot. When putting Kitty to the market at first, Sanrio Company hardly did any market survey or advertisements. What's more, it authorized nearly every product (with the exception of tobacco, alcohol and guns) as long as it would not spoil the lovely image of Kitty.

With Kitty's rising fame, Sanrio Company spent little on advertisements. Instead, it adopted an all-round marketing strategy and printed Hello Kitty on everything you could imagine, from sticker, pens, notebooks, clothes, toys, wallets, cups, plates, chopsticks, mobile phones, roasters, dustbins to computers, treadmills and automobiles, even adventurous theme parks. Besides, it issued some limited editions to stimulate consumers' enthusiasm for collection and repeated purchasing.

Nowadays, Hello Kitty has been put on about 22,000 commodities to be sold in over 40 countries. When the mini Hello Kitty hanging decorations appeared at McDonald's in 2004, they appealed to a crowd of consumers with its variety of colors and lovable images. In Taiwan, due to the great popularity of McDonald's mini Kitty, it was even regarded as a standard to assess one's love for the other whether they would buy a set of Hello Kitty for each other. What's more, a struggle broke out in Singapore when some customers queued up for kids' set meal with Kitty and Dear Daniel.

A series of effective marketing strategies have fully exerted Kitty's commercial value. It is said that Microsoft Company planned to purchase the copyright for Kitty at \$5,600,000,000. Moreover, Kitty has stepped beyond business field as shown in the political war of words in Taiwan, Kitty Murder in Hong Kong as well as a global cultural movement and even someone has taken it as the subject of a thesis. Just as what Scalette Johnson once said--- "she is like my mascot."--- this lovable cat with a round face has established her own cartoon business kingdom while fulfilling numerous people's fancy dreams.

Thus, such a previously unknown cat has changed into an idol who can earn a lot for her owners and dealers. What makes Kitty different from Doraemon and Garfield is that she is a commodity not supported by films or cartoons. Just like the most famous dog---Snoopy as well as the most popular bear---Winnie Pooh, Kitty maintains her prosperity by creating products attractive to kids and ladies.

For over 3 decades, this smiling cat without mouth has been reliable friends for kids especially girls. After they grow up and become mothers, they are still fond of this lovely cat together with their daughters.

Then, what makes her so attractive? Actually, her fans just have their free imagination about her blank face. This is just what Sanrio has kept in mind. In other words, Kitty is happy today if you think so and she is sad if you are depressed. Therefore, people tend to regard her as their intimate partners.

With highly-developed urbanization, urbanities are faced with isolated personal relationships and more young men don't know how to communicate with others. Instead, machines and toys become their friends to whom they can express their feelings, which has resulted in the success stories of cartoon products.

As a result, Kitty has appealed to adults even old people as well as children. For children, she is a lovely toy; for grown ladies, Kitty reminds them of their pure childhood; for fathers, they can show their love for their kids. In this way, a product will attract people at different ages, with different tastes, styles and wishes, hence having more customers.

Although none of the factors attributed to Disney cartoon successes can be found in her, Kitty has become one of the most profitable cartoon figures. Satisfying people's desire for children's trueness, Kitty has become a cultural sign from 20<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Besides, the success story of Hello Kitty should be attributed to its diversified extension strategy. Now, Kitty is on the wrong side of 30, which is old enough for a cat. It's really hard for a 32-year-old cartoon image to keep young and fresh at the fashion-going-quickly Japanese market. It is the key to Kitty's success that Sanrio has kept pace with fashion. Every month, 500 new products appear at market and 500 old ones are dismissed. Besides, the product line has been regulated in order to make the products conforming to different fashions. In early 1980s, when Teddy Bear overwhelmed Japan, Kitty held it as her friend. In middle 1980s, when it was popular for middle-class girls enjoyed playing the piano, a Kitty playing the grand piano appeared.

In addition, Sanrio puts forward different commodities according to the growing-up progress of its main customers. For example, in 2004, in honor of Kitty's 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary, some new products were intended for the adult market, such as roasters, coffee makers, microwave ovens in order to keep her adult fans who had accompanied her since her birth.

Actually, another reason for Kitty's popularity is her success in entering the adult market and being accepted. Faced with strengthened pressure from life and work, complicated interpersonal relationships, careers killing their creativity and anxiety about the future and reality, many young people, especially women, miss their childhood purity. Harry Port's popularity with thousands of adults is a case in point.

Now, Kitty provides a fashionable way for customers to go back to their childhood. Such a popular "lovely" culture has covered our real life with an emotional and idealistic dress. Emotion-oriented Kitty helps to express young customers'

thoughts.

It is just due to the grasp of culture that Kitty has grabbed so many young people's heart and has been extended to so various kinds of commodities. That is what its customers wish. Unlike other brands for public consumption, which pay more attention to the agreement between their extended products and their core brand value, Kitty provides her customers with their individual ways to define her and give them space for enjoyment and relaxation. This extension is not brand-oriented but customer-oriented, which is reflected in the wide variety of products likely to be used by her customers developed by Sanrio.

It is safe to say that Sanrio has provided not only a lovely cat but an opportunity for those people fond of it to create their own lifestyle. This has endowed Hello Kitty an incomparable width and depth compared with other common cartoon figures or fast moving consumer goods, which is also the profound reason for Kitty's success.

In order to expand china's animation industry, channels for investment should be extended. *Dinosaur* produced by Disney Corporation cost \$200,000,000 and *Monsters Inc.* cost \$115,000,000. What's more, every cartoon undergoes a long production period. *Mulan*, for example, took nearly ten years. Therefore, animation industry cannot do without sufficient investment. Currently in China, CCTV invests about 40,000,000 yuan each year; Shanghai Wenguang Corporation invests about 30,000,000 yuan and other corporations including Sanchen Cartoon Corporation as well as Beijing TV Station have invested some capital. However, the total annual investment in animation in China doesn't exceed 1.2 billion yuan. In spite of the great number of animation production companies, most of them deal with processing instead of investing in this industry. Based on the reality of China's animation industry, only the state's investment is not enough. Instead, over 80% is expected to come from the society, which includes state-owned capital, private capital and foreign capital. It is pointed out clearly in the Tenth Five-Year Plan for China's Animation Industry issued by the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television that all the society is encouraged to play a role in the production of domestic animation products and the development of derivative products in the form of capital, technology as well as facility. Domestic organizations and individuals are permitted to establish professional animation production units. In addition to more state capital, market-based operation, private or joint stock animation enterprises, we should open more widely to attract more foreign capital, technology as well as administration experience. On one hand, we should take advantage of their capital and learn their production technologies and administration experience; on the other hand, their fully-developed channels for issuance should be made full use of.

Therefore, the present animation industry should be interwoven with the modern media to develop video animation into computer animation, net animation, mobile phone animation, animated advertising, animated songs, animated games and so on. This future focus will definitely reposition China's animation industry.

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