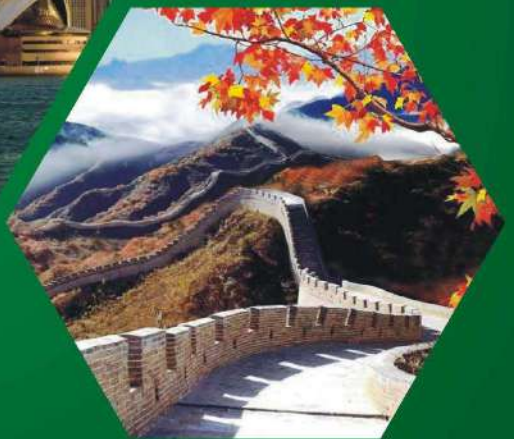


Aussie -Sino Studies

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A Profile of Allan Ornstein

Allan Ornstein is professor of education at St. John's University. He is a former Fulbright-Hayes Scholar and has been a consultant for more than 60 different government and education agencies, including the American Federation of Teachers, National Association of Secondary School Principals and Educational Testing Service. Dr. Ornstein has published more than 400 articles and 60 books. Since coming to St. John's University in 1999, he has published 29 books. They are:



1. Foundations of Education. (1999, 7th Ed). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
2. Contemporary Issues in Curriculum. (1999, 2nd Ed). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
3. Curriculum: Foundations, Principles and Issues. (1999, 3rd Ed) Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
4. Educational Administrations: Concepts and Practices. (2000, 3rd Ed). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
5. Strategies for Effective Teaching. (2000, 3rd Ed). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
6. Foundations of Education. (2002, 8th Ed). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
7. Contemporary Issues in Curriculum. (2003, 3rd Ed). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
8. Pushing the Envelope (Columbus: Merrill, 2003).
9. Teaching and Schooling in America (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2003).
10. Educational Administration: Concepts and Practices. (2004, 4th Ed). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
11. Curriculum: Foundations, Principles and Issues. (2004, 4th Ed). Boston: Allyn & Bacon).
12. Strategies for Effective Teaching. (2004, 4th Ed). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
13. Secondary and Middle School Methods. (2005). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
14. Foundations of Education. (2005, 9th Ed). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
15. Instructional Methods K-8. (2005). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
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Welcome to Aussie-Sino Studies

Introduction by Dr Dacheng Zhao, Editor-in-Chief

Welcome to the Journal of Aussie-Sino Studies (JASS) May 2015 issue. JASS is an Academic/scholastic journal, peer-reviewed, with open-access, and published by the Sino-Aussie Unique Collaborative Centre for Educational Studies and Services (SUCCESS), which is an international community comprising Researchers and Educators in a multitude of areas. From Economists, and people in the know in Finance, field workers in the broad field of Education and Psychology, to Journalists and Communication specialists, to those devoted to Linguistics as well as those in Applied Linguistics; the list of Collaborators goes on: they include Management and Business Specialists, Educators in Nursing and Medical Science's field; experts working in more traditional areas such as Philosophy, older Humanities such as Political Science and Religion, and other more contemporary ones, such as Ethics, Sociology as well as interdisciplinary - for ever advancing at such giant steps, at such a rapid pace. To take on some of the challenges and keep up with an increasingly changing world, SUCCESS through its mouthpiece JASS, aims at building a Bridge of Understanding and Respect (based on sharing knowledge) between North and South. Echoing Beijing's Olympic Theme 'One world, one people' - as local issues and global challenges melt into one, JASS aims to contribute, through interdisciplinary communication and collaboration to humanity knowledge in understanding these global challenges, as well as some of local issues; the key as they are to world progress and peace realization and happiness for the whole of Humanity.

In this Issue, 17 papers were chosen from among hundreds of articles written by researchers from across the Globe.

The first paper: 'Determinants of Social/Educational Stratification' addresses a global problem of inequality. Written by St. John's University's Allan C. Ornstein, where he chairs Professorship of Education and Social Policy and hailing from the U.S.A., he is the author of more than 60 books and 400 articles. His latest works are framed around the themes of excellence, equality and education. On reading Ornstein's paper, the readers might gain new insights into the effects of poverty and deprivation on education.

In the same vein, the second paper 'A Comparison of Mathematics Assessment in Australian and Chinese primary schools' focuses again on inequality. It is described here, in terms of inequality in mathematics achievement between Eastern and Western countries in general, between Australia and China in particular. Unlike Ornstein who attributes excellence in education to finance and economy capitals held by families, Zhao's empirical study investigated assessment factors, which account for observed mathematics achievement gap. Zhao hopes to impress on readers, the impression of social-cultural capital to students' achievement in education (Zhao, 2013).

The third paper: 'Towards Seeding a Sino-Australian education cluster' discusses the importance of successes based on cooperation, in order to achieve excellence, emphasizing Sino-Australian cooperation in the field of education. Written by an Australian scientist and Science Pedagogue, Dr Peter Collin Hill, who

recommends the development of the SUCCESS and JASS, in a cooperation partnership as a sound investment in the region's future competitiveness, in its educators and ultimately in its students.

In contrast, the fourth paper: 'Multilingualism, Global Competency and Communicative Performance for Business' concentrates on the theme of sustainable development, which is written by R. K. Singh, who is a Professor and the Dean of Department of Humanities and Social Science at Indian School of Mines, India. He argues that in today's globalized business context, there is a need to use English as the common language.

Echoed with Singh's advocating of using English as the common language, the rest 13 papers are written in English by authors whose first language is not English. The fifth and sixth papers are written by the two junior scholars, who reported their research on the teaching of Chinese at Australia schools. Taken as a whole, the rest of papers highlight some important issues and problems in the areas of housing market segmentation (Zhang's paper entitled case study on changes in housing submarkets in Shanghai), new urbanization (Fu's paper entitled a study of new urban cultural development mode), population problems (Liu and Yang's paper entitled the ethical problems and remedies for population aging in China), college English teaching (Chen's paper entitled on the current graded teaching mode of college English), government credibility (Jiang's paper entitled theoretical basic research of the building of the government credibility of ecological turning), modern music moral spirit (B. Zhang's paper entitled ethical implications of Adorno's alterity ideas on music), Chinese culture (J. Jiang's paper entitled the effects of Taoist Ethics on the perception of traditional Chinese apparels), city apathy (Yi's paper entitled city apathy and its ethical guidance), etc. With a strong grounding in research, I believe that anyone interested in understanding global challenges and local issues will find these pages very insightful reading.

The issues and problems discussed by the researchers here are common challenges shared by our academic/scholastics community, regardless of region or nation, and the challenges demand our focused attention to ensure there is a body of research and knowledge available to inform practice and foster research. The JASS welcomes intellectuals to become members of SUCCESS, and to ensure JASS remains Engage (engaged) or Committed (Sartre, 2007).

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all editors, authors and reviewers, for your assistance in ensuring this issue emerged into the light of day.

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Determinants of Social/Educational Stratification

Allan C. Ornstein

(St. John's University, U.S.A.)

Abstract: The mid-1960s and early 1970s produced a series of large-scale studies which basically showed that teachers and schools have minimal effect on student achievement. Over the years, the data have been ignored or buried by the liberal/minority community, because it lets teachers and schools off the hook, and implies that there is little educators (and society) can do to overcome the effects of poverty and deprivation on education. In startling contrast to conventional wisdom, the studies by James Coleman, Christopher Jencks and Otis Duncan concluded that schools have little influence on children's academic achievement. The results of the studies are difficult to present concisely, since the analyses include a host of variables and a large number of sub-groups. The article continues into the 1990s and post-2000 period with a discussion on achievement vs. aptitude, an analysis of family capital and an overview of public schooling and social institutions involved in the education of children and youth.

Key words: student achievement, inequality, school influence, social stratification, family capital

Introduction

Every modern society must deal with the relationship between excellence, equality, and education. When society considers excellence, it must deal with the division of labor and what it will pay for certain jobs. When 95 percent of the jobs in the U.S. pay less than \$100,000 per year, we need to ask why certain other jobs pay a million dollars or more – and are the benefits and importance (or responsibilities) of the high-paying jobs worth the cost. If merit is defined in terms of performance, we need to distinguish between performance and credentials. (Having the appropriate education credentials does not necessarily guarantee good performance.) We must also work out definitions or criteria for performance (good, average, poor etc.), test and evaluation procedures in school and in the work place for determining merit and rewards – and the notion of excellence and occasional genius.

Society must consider equality in terms of power and wealth – which people or groups have more or less political muscle and earn more or less (and how much more or less) than the average income – and why. The more egalitarian or progressive is society, the more safety nets it will provide to help ordinary, slow, unqualified and disabled workers to obtain and pay for essential human goods (such as food and shelter) and services (such as health, education and transportation). The exact benefits and standards for obtaining the benefits must be worked out politically. Hence, it depends on what political group (liberal or conservative)

controls the process. The more benefits available – unemployment insurance, health insurance, pensions and social security for the poor, disabled and aged – the more egalitarian the society.

From its birth in 1776 to the turn of the twentieth century, the United States moved from an agrarian to an industrial society. Education and training were important but not crucial factors for increasing opportunity. Farm and industrial societies are primarily based on muscle power and not brain power, so that a good deal of mobility could be achieved without a high school or college diploma. Apprenticeships, training, and learning on the job were more important than a formal education for the masses to live a decent life. At the turn of the twentieth century, for example, only 11.5 percent of 14- to 17- year olds were enrolled in high school and only 6.5 percent graduated high school.

As society became more complex and bureaucratic, education became more important. With the coming of the information age and technology-based society at the mid-twentieth century, formal education took on even greater importance for opportunity and mobility. Brain power now substituted muscle power as the crucial factor for productivity and economic advancement. The female liberation movement which started in the 1950s, with its demand for more equality, coincides with the coming information/technological revolution, and provided a much easier vehicle for women to obtain middle-class jobs, economic independence, and greater equality in just a few decades.

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Author: Dr Allan Ornstein is a Professor of Education and Social Policy at St. John's University. He is the author of more than 60 books and 400 articles. Ornstein's latest books from a trilogy framed around the themes of globalization, technology and inequality: Three major trends shaping society in the 21st century.

Education, today, is the link between excellence and equality. In a democracy, it is considered essential for promoting a person's opportunity and mobility and for improving the productivity of society. In a society dedicated to the pursuit of social justice, intensive efforts should be devoted to providing the best education for all its citizens and to close the education gaps that exist between the "haves" and "have nots," rich and poor students. It must not write off its disadvantaged populations as "uneducable" or slot them into poorly funded schools and second-rate programs. Our Founding Fathers understood the notion of social justice, although they called it by different names such as "freedom," "liberty" and "natural rights" of man. They wanted the children of the common people to have a fair chance to grow up as equal as possible. Equal opportunity, regardless of parentage, combined with the need for civic responsibility, were the driving forces for schooling in America.

The Role of the Family

Prior to the civil rights movement, the influence of the school and family were considered roughly the same for determining educational outcomes. It was the same education period, spear headed by J. McHunt at the University of Illinois and Ben Bloom at the University of Chicago, which challenged the hereditary argument in explaining intelligence differences and counter-argued the importance of environmental factors. Differences in family patterns and child-rearing practices, as well as social-class, all seemed to conform to educational differences.

In 1964, the black Harvard psychologist Thomas Pettigrew wrote *A Profile of the Negro American*, a comprehensive interpretation of the available research at that time describing the crippling social and family costs to blacks of the inequality imposed upon them from slavery to the early 1960s. The first of his sobering statistics is that the longer a black child remains in school, even in integrated classrooms, the farther behind he falls in relation to his age and grade. Moreover, the discrepancies between black and white children are not limited to poverty-stricken families; they cut across social class and actually increase at each higher socioeconomic level. Pettigrew concluded the problems of self-concept, motivation and educational achievement were inter-linked and a direct result of family structure which in turn was the result of racial discrimination and the caste system in the United States.

A quarter century earlier than the Pettigrew study, Franklin Frazier, a black sociologist at the University of Chicago was writing what became a classic text, *The Negro Family in the United States*, about family disorganization among blacks—rooted in slavery. The female came to play

the dominant role; inordinate significance was attached to the variations in skin color; and a high incidence of desertion and illegitimacy prevailed. Commenting on his thesis a decade later (1950) in the *Journal of Negro Education*, Franklin indicated:

As a result of family disorganization, a large proportion of Negro children and youth have not undergone the socialization which only the family can provide. The disorganized families have failed to provide for their emotional needs and have not provided the discipline and habits which are necessary for personality development. Because the disorganized family has failed in its function as a socializing agency, it has handicapped the children in their relation to the institutions in the community.

...Since the widespread family disorganization among Negroes has resulted from the failure of the father to play the role in family life required by American society, the mitigation of this problem must await those changes in the Negro and American society which will enable the Negro father to play the role required of him.

Frazier pointed out that when the black child who comes from a disorganized home reaches the school cultural shock occurs; the child finds his or her classroom experiences uninteresting, frustrating, and anxiety producing. The child feels at odds with the school and has difficulty functioning. Because of general lack of discipline and training in self-restraint, the child lacks the inner-controls necessary for effective learning and "conformity" in school. The child may exhibit aggressive behavior, withdrawn psychological growth, and physically absent himself from school.

When Daniel Moynihan addressed himself to the same point—black family disorganization—in the mid-1960s, his conclusions were bitterly denounced by many black and liberal spokesmen. Indeed, the times had changed and Moynihan, a white sociologist, was considered incapable of interpreting the black experience in America. In *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, Moynihan postulated that family structure is not only a product of social behavior and attitudes, but is itself a primary socializing agent—a major element in the creation of culture, social character, and social class. In other words, the black family structure is major variable in limiting school achievement and keeping blacks in a lower class. The study focused on the increasing black illegitimacy ratio (from 16.8 percent in 1940 to 23.6 percent in 1963, compared to the white ratio of 2 percent and 3.1 percent, respectively, during the same period), the rise of

female-headed families (from 18 percent in 1949 to 24 percent in 1962, compared to the white rate of about 8 percent during this period), and other breakdown factors (a dramatic increase in welfare dependency, unemployment, and juvenile delinquency and arrest rates among youth) which correlated with female-headed households. In describing the less stable black families, Moynihan referred to “the tangle of pathology,” and was roundly criticized for it.

The family structure of blacks worsened in the 1970s. In a follow-up study Moynihan pointed out that the percentage of black female-headed families rose to 30.6 percent in 1971. Although the number of families below the poverty level declined 50 percent between 1959 and 1968 for black families with male heads, it increased 24 percent for female-headed homes. By 1968 the majority of poor black children were in female-headed families, and by 1971 the percentage reached three-fifths. These family statistics had serious educational implications: lower-class blacks from broken homes were far more likely to score below grade level on achievement test than lower-class blacks from intact homes; they were more likely to drop out of school, and they accounted for a large portion of the achievement differences in school between blacks and white samples.

Today, in 2015, there are almost no liberal/university social scientists willing to advocate for the nuclear family, that is a two-headed household, and traditional values such as hard work, honesty, industry, delayed gratification, and respect for adult authority—what David Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd*, published more than 50 years ago, called inner-directed society. The politically correct thing today is to question the value of the two-headed family which devotes its resources to preparing children for success in school and a better life in adulthood than that of the parents. Given the popularity of diversity, pluralism, and gender irregularity, the nuclear family has become an anomaly; it now compromises fewer than 25 percent of the U.S. households. Overall, about half of youth (black, brown and white) under 18 years have lived in a single-parent family for some part of their childhood. Pro-family and church groups view this trend as evidence of moral and social decline. The breakdown of the family, according to Charles Murray in *Coming Apart*, contributes to the erosion of social capital in the U.S., which reflects white and black families alike, and if I may add is keenly reflected in the international test scores of U.S. students compared to their industrialized counterparts in Europe and Asia.

Now, opposition to one-headed households, lack of family structure, welfare dependency and illegitimate children are considered a form of bigotry and akin to racism. In fact, the claim is that the traditional family is far from ideal, often loveless and dysfunctional, whereas the

“modern” family provides love and support for children. Similarly, the trend among social scientists is to gloss over the importance of the family in determining educational outcomes and, emphasize the effects of schools, teachers, principals’ leadership, classroom size, increased student spending and additional resources. Various research methods—from quaint ethnographic experiments, qualitative studies, and antidotal stories—to more sophisticated meta analysis studies—are employed to show the effects of nonfamily variables upon school outcomes. Few liberal/minority advocates want to hear or say in public that the gap between “haves” and “have nots” is linked to family structure and family values; nonetheless the most successful adults intermarry and ensure their children achieve in school and comprise the application pool for elite universities and high-paying professional jobs.

Do Schools Make A Difference?

The modern view of educational equality, which emerged also in the 1950s and 1960s, goes much further than the old view that was concerned with equal opportunity. In light of this, James Coleman, when he was professor of education at John Hopkins University, outlined in the *Harvard Educational Review* five views of inequality of educational opportunity, paralleling liberal philosophy: (1) inequality defined by the same curriculum for all children, with the intent that school facilities be equal; (2) inequality defined in terms of social or racial composition of the schools; (3) inequality defined in terms of such intangible characteristics as teacher morale and teacher expectation of students; (4) inequality based on school consequences or outcomes for students with equal backgrounds and abilities; and (5) inequality based on school consequences for students with unequal backgrounds and abilities.

The first two definitions deal with race and social class; the next definition deals with concepts that are hard to define and hard to change. The fourth and fifth definitions are the most difficult to fix. In today’s world, no one wants to hear in public about inequality based on students’ intelligence. Given a revisionist (or highly liberal analysis), equality is reached only when the outcomes of schooling are similar for all students—those who are lower class and minority as well as middle class and majority; those who lack basic skills when they start school eventually catch up to those who start with basic skills already acquired. Of course, that is not an easy goal to reach, given the fact that the education gap at the first grade usually widens by 200 to 300 percent by the twelfth grade.

The mid-1960s and early 1970s produced a series of large-scale studies, the biggest in education history, which basically showed that teachers and schools have minimal

effect on student achievement. Over the years the data have been ignored or buried by the liberal/minority community, because it lets teachers and schools off the hook, and implies there is little that educators (or society) can do to overcome the effects of poverty on education. In startling contrast to conventional wisdom, the studies by James Coleman and Christopher Jencks concluded that schools have little influence on children's intellectual achievements. The results of these studies are difficult to present concisely, since the analysis includes a host of variables and a large number of subgroups.

The Coleman Report

The Coleman Survey Equality of Educational Opportunity, deals with 625,000 children and 4,000 schools, and the report is about 1,300 pages long, including 548 pages of statistics. It is the largest educational research enterprise conducted in the United States, and almost everyone of whatever political persuasion can find something in it to quote. Coleman found that the effects of home environment far outweighed any effects the school program or the teacher had on achievement. The report analyzed the results of testing at the beginning of grades 1,3,6,9, and 12. Achievement of the average Mexican American, Puerto Rican, American Indian, and black was much lower than the average Asian American and white student at all grade levels. Moreover, the differences widened at higher grades. The characteristics of teachers and schools had the least impact on black students among all other minority groups; teachers and school characteristics could not account for all the reasons why blacks, who started only 6 months behind in reading at the first grade, ended up 3 ½ years behind whites in reading at the twelfth grade.

The general approach used by Coleman sorts 45 school characteristics or variables into correlates and noncorrelates of student achievement. For this purpose, a correlate was loosely defined as any school characteristic that correlates 0.2 or better with any one of three achievement measures—reading, mathematics and general information. Of the 45 variables, 19 showed some relationship with at least one of three achievement tests, and 26 failed to do so.

The 19 correlates that tend to be associated with student achievement cluster around student and teacher characteristics, and especially around students; those are hard-to-change variables. Those that are unassociated with student achievement are by and large school characteristics and easy-to-change variables. In effect, the Coleman Report says that schools in general have little effect on learning. Changes effected by spending extra money—such as teacher experience, teacher turnover and student-teacher ratios, books and materials, reading and tutorial programs, and

length of school day—are easier to bring about but have little relation to achievement. Thus, the correlation between expenditures per student and learning was essentially zero at each grade level examined.

Coleman's findings raise difficult policy questions for the nation's educators. If increases in student expenditures, higher teacher salaries, reduced classroom sizes, and other conventional remedies for low achievement have virtually no effect, what grounds are there to seek increased funds for education? Compensatory education advocates were being told that extra spending basically makes no difference in outcomes because it does not correlate with student achievement. Reform advocates generally are being told that they need to come up with a better idea than increased spending, special programs or special schools.

Even worse, the data led to the conclusion that schools and teachers can do very little to effect changes in student achievement; rather, home characteristics and peer group influences are, in that order, the two major variables associated with achievement. In a subsequent interview by the Saturday Review, Coleman put it this way: "All factors considered, the most important variable—in or out of school—in a child's performance remains his family background. The second most important factor is the social-class background of the families of the children in school. Those two elements are much more important than any physical attributes of the school. And, it might be argued that ranking family background better than others is a basic statement or rationale for inequality; hence, a very sensitive issue can stifle frank discussion.

The major criticism leveled against the Coleman Report is that the criterion of academic achievement is almost exclusively a measure of verbal abilities, which are more likely to be the product of the child's home than his or her school experience. Another criticism is that it is difficult to find circumstances where one can measure and account for all the factors that result in student achievement. However, most other studies rely on the same test measurements (reading and math tests) and use similar subgroups (based on class or ethnicity); when the results appear more positive, these so-called bias factors are not mentioned. If Coleman can be criticized for this bias, it follows that almost all other studies on school achievement are also misleading.

Most important, the reanalysis of the Coleman data by other investigators, as well as other large-scale statistical studies of the determinants of student achievement show similar results. A large fraction of the variation in student achievement is accounted for by out-of-school variables, such as the students' community and home characteristics. Another large fraction is attributable to the so-called peer group effect—that is, the characteristics of the students'

classmates. The blunt fact is that most student output is directly related to student input: High ability yields high achievement; low ability yields low achievement. If this is the case, if abilities are unequal, then achievement results will be unequal—at least in large samples. A Newsweek report on the “best high schools” in the nation puts the ditties in a slightly different way: “Best in, best out, best school.” Later, the report concludes: “Best schools would do best not to get bogged down serving students considered ‘unbest.’”

In a related report, *How Effective is Schooling*, the Rand Corporation concludes: Of the variation that is explained by school factors (usually no more than 17 to 20 percent), only part of this percent can be attributed to teachers (no more than 10 percent). For those who push the notion of equality in lieu of excellence, the 2010 reanalysis of the Coleman report, by Wisconsin professors Berman and Dowling, suggests that as much as 40 percent of the difference in student achievement can be attributed to differences in teacher and school characteristics. The differences in academic outcomes are explained by the teachers’ biases favoring middle-class students and the schools’ programs, curriculum content and tracking policies. Of course, critics can make the counter argument that teacher attitudes and behaviors are influenced by student attitudes and behaviors, and schools modify their programs and policies to fit the abilities of their students.

The Jencks Study

Whereas Coleman showed that there was not much schools could do to improve the achievement levels of students, Christopher Jencks went one step further and indicated the differences in school achievement as well as economic attainment are related more to socioeconomic origin than to schooling. In his four-year study of the reanalysis of the U.S. Census, the Coleman Report, Project Talent (a study of more than 100 high schools), and several smaller studies, Jencks concluded, in his book entitled, *Inequality: Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling*:

1. The schools do almost nothing to close the gap between the rich and poor, the disadvantaged or advantaged learner.

2. The quality of education has little effect on what happens to the students (with regard to future income) after they graduate.

3. School achievement depends largely on a single input—that is, the family characteristics of the students—and all other variables are either secondary or irrelevant.

4. About 45 percent of IQ is determined by heredity, 35 percent by environment, and 20 percent by a covariance or interaction factor.

5. There is no evidence that school reform (such as compensatory spending or integration) can substantially reduce the cognitive inequality that exists among students.

Whether we are inclined to accept the data of Coleman, Rand, or Berman and Dowling, the really important variables in education are not found in classrooms or schools. The important dependent variables are located outside the schools—within (and among) families, peers, communities and SES in general. Our testing and education processes tend to ignore these factors.

These are hard-to-swallow conclusions, and a number of social scientists and reformers would rather discard them; the inference is that equality of outcomes is not possible. But committed to total egalitarianism, Jencks concluded that it would require actual redistribution of income to achieve complete economic equality regardless of ability. Since we cannot equalize hereditary or family, we are inclined to put the emphasis on economic equality. Given this rationale, most people might object to income equality, and argue that economic inequality reflects genetic, family and cultural differences among groups. Most people rather not discuss these differences in public. But considering his period, it was a major shift in thinking—from equal opportunity to equal results. Given the world we live in, it is hard to talk about increased or progressive taxation, or any other “Robin Hood” theory that takes from the rich and gives to the poor. Conservative pundits would argue: Stop talking about redistribution and taxing the rich and put your emphasis on increasing productivity and expanding the economic pie for everyone.

The main policy implications of these findings are that schools cannot contribute significantly to equality. Jencks maintains that educators at all levels of instruction are not improving the lives of students, but this is not really their fault; rather, the problem lies with the children’s social class and other home characteristics. Economic equality in U.S. society will have to be achieved by changing not the schools but the economic institutions. School reform failed because policymakers tried to effect changes that were not feasible.

Jenck’s positions on heredity and environment, his support of standardized tests for predicting school success and measuring academic skills, his belief that schooling is without significant value, and his espousal of income redistribution, regardless of differences between those who are smart and ambitious or dumb and lazy, aroused criticism from the political Left and Right alike. The Harvard Education Review devoted a feature issue to the study. In trying to answer his critics, Jencks strongly responded that those who are politically oriented or are advocating a specific position will “deplore anything that undercuts [their] arguments.” He said that sufficient criticism had been leveled

at the book so that educators, laypeople, and policymakers “feel free to accept or reject its conclusions according to their prejudices.” The critics’ arguments were unconvincing: “Most of the ideas they raise [were originally] covered in the text...or appendices.” This does not necessarily mean that the study’s conclusions were correct, but “the assumptions are plausible” and those who reject the data “are under obligation to offer an alternative view of how the world works, along with some empirical evidence that their view is more accurate than ours.”

Coleman and Jencks challenge both traditional and revisionist theorists who put more stock on the influence of education. Whereas the traditionalists today argue that education is the main avenue of opportunity, and teacher effectiveness and school reform are crucial, the revisionists criticize it as a vehicle by which inequality is perpetuated by a “dominant” group that discriminates against and imposes tracking and testing barriers against the “subordinate” group. Both theorist groups probably overstate their cases as to the influence of education, but the latter argument dominates college course work in philosophy, sociology, and education.

For those who have trouble accepting Coleman and Jencks, and seek another explanation why disadvantages groups have difficulty in school, or why there is such inequality of academic outcomes, another explanation is needed. To say, for example, that there are correctible inequalities suggests that we haven’t worked hard enough to increase educational opportunity for all students. It might also mean that schools and society do not reward certain qualities or characteristics that they should, or that they favor certain abilities and gifts that some groups do not take steps to enhance within the family or community.

The general idea is that children should not fail in school, but the attempt to diminish competition and differential achievement among groups often results in the dilution of standards or the scramble to put the blame on everyone except students. All of us do not have equal levels of ability. The idea is for teachers and schools, as well as society in general, to accept (and not reject) differences and then reduce tensions, bind students and offer appropriate opportunities for those who are not going to college.

The Duncan Model

It’s important to note that the correlations among occupation, income, and education are based on averages. The spread around the mean is considerable, which reduces the real predictability for each occupational and income group. That said, in a classic study on The American Occupational Structure, involving economic mobility of over 20,000 male Americans, Peter Blau and Otis Duncan show that the direct correlation between schooling and

occupational status is a modest 0.32, but that when all variables are considered, education accounts for only 10 percent of the variation in occupational status. Obviously, no one in education wants to hear this kind of news, especially dedicated teachers who expect to make a difference; likewise, most textbook publishers put pressure on authors to screen out this kind of research because it is too negative and may even affect textbook sales. It is considered prudent to kill off this kind of messenger, although Coleman and Jencks can be gingerly tolerated because of their stature and influence.

Blau and Duncan further explain the relationship. A high school graduate, on average, has a lower occupational status than a man who has attended college. However, a considerable number of high school graduates have better jobs than do those who leave college before graduating as well as those who finish, and one-third do as well as those who do graduate work. At the other end of the scale, half the men who did not complete high school are doing as well as those who completed high school, although as an entire group the high school graduate earns more than the high school dropout.

In a related research project entitled Socioeconomic Background and Achievement, Duncan found that education is only one of several variables influencing a person’s occupational status and income later in life. What accounts for the assumed relationship between education and occupation and income are a number of underlying variables related to education such as family origin, family education, inherited IQ, and socioeconomic class. For example, parents with high incomes are able to provide more education for their children, just as they spend more on food and housing, and therefore the children of the affluent attend better schools and obtain more education and go on to higher-paying jobs. Parents with high educational levels themselves are more likely to expect and to motivate their children to continue further in schooling. There is also a relationship between social class and intelligence of parents and, in turn, the inherited IQ and education of children; thus, those with higher measured IQ scores are more likely to attain higher levels of education.

Duncan synthesizes the relationships between intelligence, socioeconomic position, education, occupation, and income in what is called a path-analysis diagram –indicated below in words:

1. Family origin or socioeconomic class is correlated with IQ, but the correlation is low, indicating that IQ is a result of other non-measured environmental or heredity variables.

2. A person’s IQ has a direct influence on how much education he or she gets. Independent of education, IQ also has some direct influence on the status of occupation and

income.

3. The socioeconomic status of a family has its main influence on education; it has some direct influence on occupational status and it has virtually no direct influence and income.

4. Education is highly correlated with occupational status (or type of job) and therefore has an indirect influence on income.

5. The main determinant of how much money a person earns is the status of his or her occupation. Education and IQ have less important direct effects on income; family origin has a greater impact.

The Unaccounted Factors: Luck

In the previously mentioned and highly controversial research project on education and social mobility, entitled *Inequality*, Christopher Jencks also studied the effect on income for the following variables: (1) father's occupational status, (2) father's years of schooling, (3) father's IQ, (4) respondent's IQ at age 11, (5) respondent's Armed Forces aptitude test, (6) respondent's years of schooling, (7) respondent's occupational status, and (8) respondent's income. Jencks found that the number of years of school does not significantly predict income. For white males with the same family background and initial ability, an additional year of elementary or secondary education increases future income about 4 percent; an additional year of college, about 7 percent; and an additional year of graduate school, 4 percent. Controlling for IQ, the top fifth of the population earns seven times as much as the bottom fifth, whereas it should only account for 1.4 times as much; this suggests that other factors are related to inequality of income.

All the eight variables (including education and IQ) combined explain only 25 percent of the existing differences in income. This means that if everyone had the same family origin, if everyone had the same IQ and education, and if everyone had the same occupational status, most of the existing differences would remain. Jencks calls this luck. If, by "luck," one means all those variables not included in the Duncan model and not accounted for by Jencks (or for any research study), then Jencks is correct.

To call all these variables luck, however, is not a very good choice of words, because it implies that people have little control over their economic fates. Moreover, most of us in the business of education find it hard to accept that luck, or factors unrelated to schooling, has much influence (actually more influence than schooling) in the outcomes of life. To believe such a thought would mean that our intelligence and efforts are somewhat meaningless. More important, all our reform efforts have limited value. Jencks argues that two brothers who are brought up in the same

family and who have approximately the same IQ and years of schooling may earn considerably different incomes. One becomes a surgeon who earns \$500,000 a year; the other becomes a college professor who earns \$100,000 a year (my example, my figures). There is considerable difference in their incomes, but this difference could be the result of other personal decisions or psychological/emotional factors over which both brothers had full control.

Rather than conclude that individual success is largely based on luck, it might make more sense to say that economic success is only partly related to family origin, ability, or education, and there are many other intangible factors—such as motivation, disposition, drive, and overall personality and people skills—influencing income differences among individuals. Of course, education cannot neutralize the wealth or political connections of the Rockefeller, Kennedy, or Bush families, nor can it neutralize the possibility that someone might inherit Daddy's franchise business consisting of 15 McDonalds restaurants or 5 Wal-Mart-anchored retail centers. The list of factors is not endless, but it goes way beyond teaching and schooling. It is important for educators to understand and accept that there are limitations of what schools can do to bring about equality, despite the philosophy of Horace Mann and John Dewey, despite the faith all of us have in schools as the instrument of equality, and despite the additional billions we spend annually on compensatory programs for low-income/minority students.

Although many may disagree with Jencks's reference to the unexplained variance of income as luck, he may be right in concluding that equalizing opportunity or equalizing education will not reduce inequality. Jencks, who is a revisionist, argues for the redistribution of income—taxing the upper-middle and upper classes and distributing revenues to the poor. Now, if that sounds un-American, or like some "Commie plot," then we have two other options to further the goals of equality: (1) quicken the pace of affirmative action and related requirements of quotas and (2) turn back the repeal of estate tax and increase taxes for the superrich which is even more difficult since the accumulation of wealth is sanctioned by religious scripture, folklore, a host of conservative economists and pundits, and those in political power who write the laws. Of course, we can always take the position that if the poor get poorer, so what, they can eat cake. If they keep their noses clean, live good lives (meaning don't cause trouble or challenge the system), and believe in Christ, Muhammad or Buddha (or hope, faith and charity), they will be rewarded in the hereafter. I guess that is one way of sedating the poor. It has worked in the past, at least for the last 2,000 years.

Suppose luck could be broken down and analyzed,

although I would argue it is fuzzy and nuanced. Part of luck is being in the right place at the right time: Then understanding the potential, seizing the opportunity, and making the most of the moment, etc. How do people get in the right place at the right time—and know this is the time to act? Perhaps it is the personality factor. Some people act—others do not.

Why is it that some people do great things: Constantly outperform their competitors, build a major company from the bottom up, earn not 2x or 3x more than colleagues in the same field but 10x or 25x more. Jim Collins and Morten Hansen, in their 2012 best seller book *Great by Choice: Uncertainty, Chaos, and Luck*, refer to “luck events”—in terms of good or bad luck, the timing of luck and size or impact of the luck. The key point is not “are you lucky”—we all have the potential for good and bad luck—but the “returns on luck” or making the most of our luck.

Bill Gates was more than lucky. Yes, he was born at the right time and place. Had he been born ten years earlier or later, or in another country, he would have missed the PC electronic age. But he wasn't the only whiz kid in math that attended Harvard. Thousands of other smart people could have done the same thing at the same time but did not. The difference was his personality—and his ability to produce a huge return on his luck.

We all have our share of good and bad luck. Some people give up or get knocked out of the box for good. Others learn from mistakes, deepen their commitment, increase discipline and persist. They just keep going, pushing, marching, working and making the most of their chances. Collins and Hansen would call in “return on luck.” I would just say a tiny percentage of us are super lucky, and fall into the third deviation of the bell-shaped curve. But most of us fall somewhere in the middle of the curve. It's a matter of simple statistics. There is little room in space available at the third deviation of the curve.

Aptitude vs. Achievement

By the turn of the twenty-first century, the debate continued about the influence of schooling and improved cognitive test scores and whether academic outcomes affect economic earnings. Schooling explained only a modest amount of the variation related to academic achievement, highlighted by James Coleman; and academic achievement explained a modest amount of the variation related to income, highlighted by Christopher Jencks and Otis Duncan. Although employers value what students learn in school and are willing to pay for it, they also value other skills.

Most of the variation in economic outcomes can be attributed to noncognitive factors such as special talent, physical characteristics, personality, motivation, reliability,

social and group skills, decision-making skills, honesty, and creativity. Since social scientists have spent little effort analyzing these characteristics, the cognitive factors remain masked (by noncognitive factors) and for the time being appear to have less impact on jobs, productivity, and wages (or income) than what educators would like to hear.

The best analyses of education and earnings since Coleman, Jencks and Duncan is by Susan Mayer (formerly part of the Jencks's team) and Paul Peterson (a Harvard professor); those by David Grissmer and his colleagues at the Rand Corporation; and the publications of the Brookings Institution, and the Urban Institute. In general, these reports do not repudiate Coleman and Jencks, or the Duncan model, or the unaccounted variances related to economic outcomes (what Jencks calls luck). We are told that schools help promote intergenerational mobility, although they do not themselves provide sufficient opportunity to break the general socio-economic class structure. Given our information age, in which knowledge is crucial, formal education should increase mobility; however, we cannot dismiss growing economic inequality when students are completing more school years. Students at the bottom of the social order tend to be “frozen” in their parents' status; but for the small percentage who can rise above low status, the schools are the chief route to success.

Statistical reality tends to mask the effects of school reform (smaller classes, better teachers, early child education, etc.). Common sense tells us that the amount and quality of education has a greater impact on low-income students and low-achieving students than their middle class counterparts because of regression factors to the mean. Since low-income and low-achieving students usually start school far below the mean, they have the greatest potential for improvement. Statistically, if someone starts at the 20th percentile on standardized tests or family income, they have a greater chance to show upward movement or gains, that is to score closer to the mean (50th percentile), on future tests and income rankings than someone who started at the 80th percentile. Statistically the middle-class group has a greater chance to regress to the mean than they do to improve and score above the 80th percentile on future tests and future rankings of family income. It's a side note worth considering, given the volume of the school reform literature.

Now Mayer and Peterson in *Earning and Learning* argue that both aptitude and achievement result in adult success but aptitude is more important because people who learn more quickly are more useful to their employers than people who learn slowly or with difficulty. Their model also assumes that “the entire school curriculum is a prolonged aptitude test, and that the specific skills and knowledge taught in school have no economic value” because people who easily learn

Latin also easily learn algebra, computer skills, or financial banking skills.

Most educators and policymakers prefer the achievement model, arguing that academic outcomes and schooling count, and what you know counts more than how hard you need to study to learn it – or what potential you have for quickly learning new knowledge or solving problems. For this group, outcomes count more than the learning process. Math or verbal scores count because employers seek someone with math or verbal skills, not because the scores indicate the worker's ability to learn other skills. Mayer and Peterson ask us to imagine two groups of adults with similar math (or verbal) scores: one with less math training but high aptitude and the other with better math training but low aptitude. According to the achievement model, the two groups have an equal earning potential. But the aptitude model assumes that the high aptitude group with less math training can learn more than the low aptitude group with better math training. Most people have no problem with this analysis until they realize that aptitude is a form of *g* and suggests heredity.

Mayer and Peterson further maintain that schools can exert considerable influence on the child's experiences, and these experiences affect achievement. In general, each additional year of schooling beyond high school increases wages 2 to 4 percent, not considering the effect of aptitude or intelligence. However, in *Class Counts*, Author argues that "most of the variation in occupational status and salaries has little to do with education and is not measured by conventional tests. Employers seek reliable, creative, honest, and socially skilled persons." Pedigree, nepotism, parental social contacts, and how someone talks and dresses also affect economic outcomes. "But social scientists have devoted little time and effort to measuring the effects of these characteristics." That said, before we alter the classroom and students' instructional experiences, we need to know how much achievement would vary if we treated all children alike and how assigning children with different aptitudes to different environments would alter the variance of achievement. In this way we could determine (in theory) which changes have the most influence and how our resources can be earmarked to improve achievement.

A slight variation to the aptitude-achievement model is the idea presented by Tiger Tyagarajan, the CEO of Genpact, a technology management company. The most important characteristic he looks for in hiring personnel is the desire to learn (as opposed to the ability to learn). Are you curious? If so, then you learn. If not, then you won't learn. Curiosity leads to questioning more and the likelihood that you will work hard to learn. "In today's world, if you're not curious, you're dead, because every day is so different from

yesterday." Hence, curiosity and the willingness to learn is the key, not just aptitude or ability.

Grissmer, in *Improving Student Achievement*, takes us to the final step in the debate about family and school characteristics, and their effect on achievement. He speaks in terms of family capital and social capital. Family capital refers to characteristics within the family passed from parent to child, the family's quality and quantity of resources, and the allocation of these resources toward the child's education and socialization. Social capital refers to long-term capacities within the community and school district that affect achievement –for example, peer group, parents' involvement in the community, the community's safety and support structure, and the community's ability to support and pay for schools and social institutions (community centers, theaters, libraries, athletic clubs, children agencies and events, etc.)

Grissmer infers that family capital is more important than social capital, and this author agrees because family characteristics are relatively static (or slow to change) while the school and community can easily change (simply by the family's moving)); moreover, the child's earliest experiences (which are essential for growth and development) are rooted in the family. However, Grissmer points out that family and social capital are not independent, or randomly distributed, but are grouped together because of economics. "More social capital arises in communities and states having higher income and more educated families. Thus achievement scores across schools, communities and states differ partly because their families differ in their internal capacity to produce achievement and partially because families with similar characteristics are grouped in communities and states creating different levels of social capital." In other words, high-income families tend to cluster in high-income communities that spend more on schooling and have smaller classes and better paid, and more experienced teachers.

Do school characteristics by themselves shape academic outcomes? No. Family and social capital differences lead to academic differences. For instance a review of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) results, which now test students in 44 states and are considered the best indicators of national achievement, shows that achievement levels are directly related to family and social characteristics across states and only a tiny portion of test results is related to what schools do. Moreover, it is difficult to discern which school policies succeed because so many of the measures concerning school spending, classroom size, teacher education levels, and so on are related to family and social capital. There is some indication that changes in school spending and classroom size count, but these results are "inconsistent and unstable...to guide policy" and sometimes even based on "noncredible estimates."

James Heckman's 2011 article in *American Educator* points out the value of equalizing educational opportunity and achievement in order to improve the workforce and increase economic productivity. His emphasis is on the quality of early childhood programs yielding the best results for individuals and society, and economic productivity in general. Undeveloped human potential detrimentally impacts our economy, maintains the Chicago economics professor. Although equity (fairness) and efficiency are often constructed as competing goals, there are times when they are compatible – stimulating investment (which benefits rich and poor alike) or early childhood programs (in an attempt to equalize the disadvantaged child's potential for economic success which benefits society as a whole).

He agrees that cognitive and psychological factors influence education and life success, and these factors stem from family differences in income, mental health, emotional support and child-rearing practices – and whether the family unit is a one-headed or two-headed household, broken or intact. Good parenting (providing security, love, support, proper stimuli and modeling, etc.) is more important than socioeconomic status. While higher income correlates with good parenting, it does not guarantee it. All things being equal single parents are at a disadvantage because of added stress and the high cost of living. That makes quality parenting difficult. We are never going to have all children raised in two-headed households; in fact, the trend towards a single mother has rapidly increased in the last 20 years. To that extent, according to the 2010 census, only 25 percent of the U.S. households consist of a nuclear family – a mom and dad. Society is not going to dwell on whether families are socially or psychologically equal or unequal. That is too controversial. But it is in this day and age, American society needs to recognize this problem and make proper social and economic investments to fill this household gap by focusing on nurse-family and school-family programs.

The net result of Heckman's data is he affirms the Coleman/Jencks research that family characteristics are more important than teacher or school factors. Again, this may be a hard pill for single parents, teachers and reformers to digest, but it's a trend that cannot be ignored if society wishes to deal with the problem of educating all of its students – and providing equal educational opportunities. The need is to play closer attention to the role of the family and the relationship it has toward nurturing the child and working in conjunction with the school and community. To ignore the family factor is to dilute the chances for educational opportunity among disadvantaged groups.

In their best-selling book, *The Triple Package*, Amy Chua and her husband Jed Rubenfeld have entered the cultural and racial minefield by examining family values and

behaviors among eight “superior groups” or minority groups of people in the U.S. As measured by test scores, college admissions, occupational status and income, these ethnic and religious groups do much better than others in the U.S. economic and social pyramid. Chinese mothers make the best mothers, we are told, and have more successful children than other groups. They are “tiger moms”—pushing their children in school to outperform and get higher grades than their classmates, and pushing their children on the job to be better than their colleagues. The two Yale law professors, branded as “racists,” claim successful family groups share three characteristics: a superiority complex, that is, thinking they are better than others; a sense of insecurity, that what you do is never good enough; and the need for impulse control, meaning to curb instant gratification. This “triple package” yields an excessive drive to achieve. America used to represent this “triple package culture,” but it has lost its way (some 50 years ago) and succumbed to instant gratification.

Most Americans are not ready for a world in which all behavior, worthy or unworthy, superior or unsuperior, is conceived to be culturally or genetically based. The more one believes in equality of outcomes, the more one must consider the role of government intervention. The more one believes that hard work, delayed gratification, and honor for the family affect the outcomes, the more one is inclined to accept the inequality of outcomes. The more one accepts Chua's notion of “Chinese Tiger Mothers,” the likelihood is that the Coleman-Jencks family variable is the acceptable sorting-out model. Family is crucial. The more one is reluctant to put emphasis on personal responsibility, hard work and individual differences of achievement or ignore family life as a factor in determining school and occupational success, the more one is likely to degrade excellence and high standards, and emphasize an anti-intellectual, anti-subject, anti-testing, anti-teacher argument.

Overview and Outlook

All these reports and policy implications may be hard for the reader to follow, so let me sum up. The easiest and most explicit way is to rely on the *New York Times* Op writer David Brooks' ditty: “Liberals emphasize inequality... Conservatives believe inequality is acceptable so long as there is opportunity.” Now let me advance on step further. Most communities in the U.S. are stratified by income, and public schooling cannot compensate for tremendous variations in wealth and status. But within the community, the people spend about the same amount of money on each student and are inclined to let the best student go to Harvard or Yale and the best person to win in economic matters.

When great economic divides exist, the solutions are

unclear and open to more debate. New York City, for example, with 8 million people has roughly 700,000 residents worth a million dollars or more and another 1.5 million residents living in poverty. How can education, or that matter any policy short of redistribution of wealth, rectify this gap, the inequality between the rich and poor. The public generally accepts wide discrepancies in achievement and reward, partially because of the notion of the "self-made man" and American dream. Nonetheless, it should be opposed to excess or extremes at both ends of the scales –and without critics stifling debate by using labels such as "socialist" or "redistribution" in a derogatory and divisive way.

When inequality is defined in terms of unequal outcomes (both cognitive and economic), we start comparing racial, ethnic, and religious groups. In a heterogeneous society like ours, this results in some hotly debated issues, including how much to invest in human capital and schools, how to determine the cost effectiveness of social and educational programs, who should be taxed and how much, to what extent we are to handicap our brightest and most talented minds (the swift runners) to enable those who are slow to catch up, and whether affirmative action policies should be continued or whether they lead to reverse discrimination. Indeed, we cannot treat these issues lightly, because they affect most of us in one way or another and lead to questions over which wars have been fought in the past.

In a more homogeneous society, such as Japan, South Korea, Norway, or Germany, the discussion of race, ethnicity, or religion would not deserve special attention nor require judicial measures. Although it is doubtful if increased spending in big-city schools (where poor and minority students are concentrated) would dramatically effect educational outcomes, poor and minority students still deserve equal education spending-better-paid teachers, small class sizes, high-tech resources, new textbooks, and clean bathrooms-as in affluent suburbs where expenditures often are twice or more the amount in adjacent cities.

Students deserve equality of expenditures simply on the basis that schools are public institutions, not private. In a democracy, citizens and their children are entitled to similar treatment, especially because intellectual capital is a national concern, not designed for the benefit of one class or group of students nor the exclusion of another group. It can also be argued that the poor are entitled to special treatment because in the long run the health and vitality of the nation are at stake. Sadly, in comparison to other industrialized nations, the U.S. enrolls the largest percentage of poor students, approximately 24 to 25 percent. Since school performance reflects the social and economic system, this high percentage of poverty explains why, among other factors, the U.S.

students on international tests score consistently behind their industrialized counterparts.

The Hazards of Merit

There is no question that other factors arise that prevent equal school spending that are not simply symptoms of racism or class prejudice. They deal with notion of social and moral values and the rights of people: the preservation of neighborhood schools, concern about big government and state- imposed policies directed at the local level, fear of increased taxation and why someone should have to pay for someone else's child's education, and the inability of politicians to curtail well- to-do parents from supporting their own neighborhood schools and property values. The question is how much education equality should we strive for? We can have greater equality by lowering standards or tracking bright students into heterogeneous classes. We can have more equality by handicapping bright students (as in affirmative action) or by providing an enormous amount of additional resources for low-performing students (as in compensatory funding and early school and family programs). But eventually we come to a slippery slope and ask: How much money? Who is to pay for it? Who is to be handicapped or overlooked? How can society improve family structure – or should it be ignored as too controversial?

If we stop and meditate a little, how both sides of the political aisle embrace the vision of America and how the "meritocrats" and "egalitarians" of society phrase their words in the public arena, we can get a better feel how divided the American people are on the issue of opportunity and mobility. The Republicans during the Bush administration cut the tax rates of the rich at the same time when they were amassing huge fortunes and while the gap between wealth and working people were widening. The Democrats during the Obama administration tried to protect safety nets and entitlements, despite the fact there were insufficient revenues to meet these obligations. In addition, the Democrats seem married to a system of affirmative action that judges people on the basis of race –not merit –and are less inclined to embrace standardized tests for schools and colleges or jobs that result in making decisions based on performance.

The assumption is, however, more people would be willing to accept some kind of affirmative action program based on income and thus widen the idea of equality for more Americans. Of course, self-help and personal responsibility are crucial. The goal is not to bury test scores, nor provide a free ride for slow runners or less deserving candidates. But the goal should not be "survival of the fittest." Some kind of balancing act is needed, one which provides additional help for those who need it while rewarding various forms of excellence for those who exhibit

it.

While consideration for efficiency and objectivity are good reasons for relying on standardized tests, they should not be allowed to distort or limit our notion of talent. There are many different forms of talent –creative, artistic, athletic, etc.— that don't correlate with or rely on academic emphasis, nor are measured by standardized tests. The demand for talent is crucial in a bureaucratic and complex society, but the importance of formal education is not always paramount for nurturing special skills and special kinds of talent. Special skills and talent can be developed outside of schooling, often requiring specialized or one-to-one training, apprenticeships, or the willingness to take unusual risk –pursue an idea or product in the midst of people criticizing or making fun.

There are not only talented physicians and engineers to nurture, but we need also to recognize talented plumbers and talented chefs. While we need to reward different forms or types of talents, society needs to be realistic and discourage negative talents like the ability to pick pockets or deemphasize esoteric talents such as the ability to read lips or stand on your head. A democratic society must recognize multiple talents, and not only talents based on academic or cognitive intelligence. That is the genius of a progressive and democratic society.

Conclusion

Essential good services –housing, education, health, etc., (as well as leisure activities such as watching a baseball game)—have increased far more than the median wages of workers (\$36,000 annually) or household incomes (\$50,000) as of 2012 (both about the same they were in 1980, after considering inflation). It now takes two spouses to work in order to live a "middle class" life style, when 50 years ago, it took one working spouse to live a similar life style – portrayed in *Ozzie and Harriet*, *Father Knows Best*, and *I Love Lucy*. For the time being this middle-class lifestyle seems to work for a married couple, both who are college-educated and working. The model breaks down in one-head family households or when one of the two spouses lose their job or stay home to raise children.

If you want to feel even less optimistic, consider that most U.S. politicians seem committed to protecting the rights of the rich and superrich via a tax code that favors wealth over work and wages. The dominance of capital and investments over income and salaries not only reduces the

importance of education, but it also favors those children who start from a position of hereditary privilege that schooling cannot easily, if at all, overcome – and in turn reduces social and economic opportunities and mobility.

Given this scenario, the notion of intelligence, and the policy reports discussed in the paper, it's possible that both Michael Young and John Gardner (who were introduced in the beginning pages of this paper), along with multiple reformers, have overstated the effects of education (more so for working and middle-class children than from the lower-class or from households of the bottom 20 percentile of income.) The major concern is that education cannot fully neutralize the effects of privileged birth status. The American Dream still exists but not in the same manner or frequency we would like to think. We would rather not have to admit to these new "realities," but that's the way of the world.

We must also recognize that plenty of dull, dim-witted, slow, and uneducated people will somehow rise to the upper class, and plenty of bright, capable, creative, and educated people will somehow fall to the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. There are sufficient numbers of unaccounted for and unpredictable factors such as motivation, drive, character, personality, social skills and dumb luck that undermine the sorting out process based solely on merit and talent. Nonetheless, those involved in education – our parents, teachers and principals – must ask themselves how to promote *equal* educational opportunities for less privileged children and youth as well as for individuals of varied degrees of ability, as well as *excellence* in education. Both goals are essential for a fair and just society as well as an efficient and productive society.

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A Comparison of Mathematics Assessment in Australian and Chinese Primary Schools : Different or Similar?

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Abstract: According to international comparative studies, it appears that there are recognised differences in mathematics achievement between Australian and Chinese students. This achievement gap is generally explained in terms of differences in teaching practice and cultural attitudes to education. This paper reports a comparative study of mathematics assessment between Australian and Chinese primary schools to investigate assessment factors accounting for this gap. Using qualitative case study approach, classroom assessment practices were observed. How teachers and parents viewed assessment were obtained through semi-structured interviews. Documents related to government policies, samples of the students' work sheets as well as past examination papers were analyzed. The findings of the investigation showed clearly that despite considerable differences in assessment including the standards of assessment and the place mathematics assessment results have in the education structure of the country, however many similarities were found. A gap existed between the intended and implemented assessment both in Australian and Chinese primary schools. In order to bridge the gap between intended and implemented assessment, it is argued that explicit professional training in mathematics assessment is essential for both pre-service and in-service teachers in both countries.

Key words: Australia, China, comparative study, mathematics achievement, assessment

International comparison of mathematics achievement has become one of the 'hot topics' for mathematics educators around the world (Leung, Graf & Lopez-Real, 2006; Mullis, Martin & Foy, 2008; OECD, 2000; 2013). This paper reports the results of a comparative study of mathematics assessment in Australian and Chinese primary schools and discuss what we can learn from this comparative study. The paper formulates a plan to bridge the gaps in every school, where it was discovered that there were gaps between intended and implemented assessment in schools. Background to the study, including the relationship between achievement and assessment is introduced in Part one. This is followed by the brief description of research framework underpinning the whole project, and research methods utilized. Main findings of the study are then presented and discussed.

Introduction: mathematics achievement and assessment

In order to keep up with developments in 'the knowledge economy', students all over the world have to deepen their understanding of mathematics and uplift their level of competency. Linking students' achievement in mathematics to a nation's economic competitiveness and projecting this to the future, is widely acknowledged (OECD, 2001; United Nations Children's Fund,

2000). Mathematics educators around the world are interested in knowing about the status of their mathematics education and how that education compares with those in other countries. The focus of international education has therefore been placed on international comparisons of mathematics achievement and exploring any factors which may account for differences in those achievements (Mullis, Martin & Foy, 2008; OECD, 2000; Zhao & Singh, 2011).

International comparison of mathematics achievement

A considerable number of studies comparing mathematics achievement among students from many countries, and on a large scale, conducted over more than four decades have persistently observed that students from China including from Mainland China, from Hong Kong, and from Taiwan, consistently outperformed those from their Western counterparts including those hailing from Australia (Lapointe, Mead & Askew, 1992; Lokan Ford & Greenwood, 1997; Mullis et al., 2008). For example, in 1990-91, the Centre for the Assessment of Educational Progress surveyed mathematics and science performance of 13-year-old students (Second International Assessment of Educational Progress) from twenty education systems. Mainland China outperformed all other education systems in the study in terms of mathematics achievement (Lapointe et al., 1992). TIMSS 2007 (Mullis et al., 2008) provides a

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most recent and compelling achievement data. At the fourth grade, Hong Kong students had the highest average mathematics achievement comparing all other 36 countries. At the eighth grade, the students from Chinese Taipei had the highest average mathematics achievement among students from 49 countries.

To explain the mathematics achievement gap, researchers have described considerable differences that might contribute to the gap between China and their Western counterparts. These include differences in cultural attitudes to education (Leung, et al., 2006), mathematics teaching practices (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992), teachers' mathematics pedagogy knowledge (Ma, 1999), content and standards of mathematics curricula (Lindquist, 2001) and out-of-school curricula (Lin, 2001).

The relationship between mathematics achievement and assessment

Recognizing the limitation in mathematics assessment, some researchers believed that the superior performance of Chinese students might be limited to specific form and content of tests used by large-scale comparative studies. For example, by using both process-constrained and process-opened problems to test Chinese and American students, Cai (2000) indicated that in comparison with American students, Chinese students' superiority was limited to certain aspects of mathematics achievement, including basic skills of computation and solving routine problems. American students performed better than their Chinese counterparts in aspects such as using visual and graphical representations and solving open-ended problems.

However, considerable differences existed in Cai's study and other comparative studies. For example, according to Stevenson and Stigler (1992) in their Michigan Studies, they used both typical mathematics problems (routine questions) and novel problems (open-ended questions) to assess students. They found that for nearly every item the mean score of the American students was lower than that of Chinese students. They claimed that Chinese students' superiority was not restricted to a narrow range of well-rehearsed, automatic computational skills, but was manifest across all the tasks including open-ended tasks (Stevenson & Stigler, 1992, pp. 39-41).

These contradictory findings related to assessment raise an interesting question about the assessment used in assessing students' achievement in comparative studies. As Eckstein and Noah (1992) noted, the study of assessment practices seems to have been a largely neglected aspect of comparative education. Clearly, there is a lack of in-depth research that investigates assessment factors contributing to apparent differences in student achievement. Especially there is lack of comparative studies incorporating descriptive knowledge of assessment practices and examining similarities and differences in 'authentic' settings (Zhao, Mulligan & Mitchelmore, 2006).

In order to raise education standards, assessment practices have played an increasingly important role in education both in China and Australia (Zhao, 2000; 1999; Zhao et al, 2006). It is widely acknowledged that student's mathematics achievement is affected not only by officially prescribed mathematics standards, but also by

the mathematics teaching and assessment (Black & Wiliam, 1998; Clarke, 2000).

Clarke (1996) claims that contemporary mathematics assessment reflects an international consensus regarding to the nature of mathematics learning. He argues that assessment should be recognized, not as a neutral element in the mathematics curriculum, but as a powerful mechanism for the social construction of mathematics competence.

In contrast, Leung et al., (2006) suggests that 'there have been different views and approaches to assessment of students' achievement in Mathematics' (p. 17). They argue that the East Asian education systems including Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan are characterized by highly competitive examinations. Teachers and parents attach great importance to education, and there is high expectation for their students and children to succeed. Academic achievement has been considered a means of bringing honor to one's family. This high expectation on students to succeed as provides another important source of motivation for students to learn. In addition, the differences in social and economic status between the academically high qualified and low qualified is much greater in East Asia than that in the West. This sends a message to students about the importance of academic achievement, and constitutes another source of extrinsic motivation for students' learning. Similarly, it is argued that influence by the traditional 'examination culture', assessment has been regarded as the 'baton' directing teaching and learning in China (Zhao, 1999).

Assessment has been assumed an increasingly important role in mathematics education across nations, which educators need to realize and exploit the significant role of assessment plays on mathematics teaching and learning (Clarke & Stephens, 1996; Zhao, 2000). Leder and Forgasz (1992) indicate that the link between student learning of mathematics, the teaching methods adopted in the mathematics classroom, and the assessment procedures used to determine and measure student knowledge are addressed by the research community and closely related to the nature of assessment. They argue that by limiting the domain of mathematics sampled, assessment has often been a restrictive influence. Broadening the areas and skills evaluated, and reinterpreting assessment as a way of communicating students' current understandings to teachers, can lead to positive rather than destructive reinterpretations of mathematics learning.

A number of researchers (e.g. Black & Wiliam, 1998; Bright & Joyner, 1998) report that developing pedagogical knowledge through assessment of students' mathematical learning has a substantial impact on teachers' instruction and hence on students' learning. Black and Wiliam (1998) argue that the standards of learning can be elevated by improving the formative assessment process in the classroom. They argue that formative assessment can be an essential component of classroom work and that its development can raise standards of achievement. Little and Wolf (1996) address the relationship between assessment and teaching and learning. They

argue that the emphasis on assessment is now evident worldwide, both in developing and developed countries. It has been commonly accepted that reform in assessment is a necessary condition for any reform of the mathematics curriculum.

In summary, the current literature reviewed indicates that mathematics assessment has a strong influence on mathematics teaching, learning and students' mathematics achievement. A focus of this investigation was to explore Therefore, to understand the mathematics achievement gap between China and Australia, the influence of assessment on achievement should be a focus of investigation (Zhao, et al., 2006).

Research framework and methodology notes

The major purpose of this comparative study is to investigate similarities and differences in mathematics assessment practices both in China and Australia at primary school level, and identify factors that may account for these similarities and differences.

Research framework

A conceptual framework of this comparative study is the theory of three levels of curriculum, adopted from the International Association for the Evaluation of Education Achievement (IEA) for their international comparative studies (Robitaille, 1980; Robitaille & Garden, 1989):

- the intended curriculum and assessment: the requirements of curriculum and assessment as specified at national or system level in terms of standards and syllabus
- the implemented curriculum and assessment: the practices of curriculum and assessment as interpreted and delivered by classroom teachers
- the attained curriculum: the curriculum which is learned by students, as demonstrated by their attitudes and achievements

By using the above framework, the IEA studies (Husen, 1967a, b; Mullis et al., 1997, 2000; Robitaille & Garden, 1989) have explored some intended and implemented curriculum factors that contribute to students' achievement in mathematics. Unlike IEA studies, this study intended to investigate factors of intended and implemented assessment that contributed to mathematics achievement. The major research questions guiding this comparative study are: what are the key differences and similarities in mathematics assessment policies and practices between Australian and Chinese primary schools, and what factors can account for these?

Methodology notes

To answer the research questions, case study is regarded as the most appropriate research approach (Merriam, 1998; Yin, 1994). As Stevenson and Nerison-Low (2002) indicated, interpretation of data in a large-scale quantitative study is difficult, because it is difficult to measure precisely by using questionnaires, especially since much of the information is retrospective. They recommend the use of case study as a supplement to large-scale studies in international comparison of mathematics achievement, so as to interact with the

respondents, to probe details, and to elaborate answers.

In this comparative study, three primary schools (two from Australia and one from China) were selected for this case study. Two Australian schools were chosen from the Sydney metropolitan region and the Chinese school was chosen from the Guangzhou metropolitan region. The selection of these schools involved purposive sampling (Bogden & Biklen, 1998), and the three schools were chosen to illuminate particular differences and similarities between educational settings relevant for investigation of mathematics assessment policies and practices in Australian and Chinese schools (Maxwell, 1998; Merriam, 1998).

In order to collect authentic, valid data of the mathematics assessment policies and practices in the three schools, observation of classroom practices, analysis of policy documents, student work samples and examination papers, and interviews with teachers and parents were employed. In accordance with Ball (1993), classroom observation can offer a firsthand account of teaching and assessment practices in the mathematics classroom and, when combined with interviews and document analyses, allows for a holistic interpretation of the phenomenon being investigated.

The purpose of classroom observation in this study was to investigate the pattern of mathematics assessment at the three schools, and to describe the general approach to assessment adopted in the schools. The majority of observation indicators on the Classroom Observation Record were adopted from mathematics classroom observation protocols used by Stigler and Hiebert (1999) for their TIMSS video studies, but the items relevant to assessment practice were designed by the researcher. The mathematics classroom observation focused on teacher and student behavior and their interactions through the process of teaching and learning in sequence from the beginning to the end of the lesson. The key information sought from observation was focused on activities related to assessment, such as teacher's analysis of students' responses and adjustment of the lesson according to students' responses. In each school, five mathematics lessons of each teacher were observed.

After the observation of classes, a post-observation interview was progressed, teachers were asked to explain the rationale underlying their classroom assessment practices. Six mathematics teachers (one teacher per grade) were recommended from each school by the principal to be interviewees. The teacher interviews consisted of twelve open-ended questions including interviewees' teaching experience, knowledge related to mathematics assessment, and perspectives on mathematics assessment. The key information sought from teachers was related to 'what', 'how' and 'why' mathematics was assessed.

The analysis of government educational policy documents enabled the researcher to gain more insights into the intended assessment at system level (Merriam, 1998). Other documents including the school websites and newsletters, policy statements, mathematics programs and resources, students' mathematics work

samples, examination papers, homework and students' portfolios or school reports were also analysed. The analysis of work samples or examination papers was based on the intended assessment standards drawn from government policy documents. During the study, the processes of data collection and analysis were simultaneous. Content analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003) started from the first transcript of the interview, first classroom observation sheet and the review of the first document. Emerging insights, categories and themes were formed over the data collection period for each case. When all the tapes were transcribed and the classroom observation sheets and documents were collected together, a more holistic approach to data analysis based on the three levels of curriculum and the assessment was used to uncover emerging themes. In the last stage, cross-case analysis was used to analyse the key differences and similarities of assessment policies and practices between the two countries.

Main findings of the study: Differences and similarities in mathematics assessment

Based on the data analysis, the findings are summarized in terms of differences and similarities in mathematics assessment. The differences are presented in the first part of this section in terms of classroom assessment practices, formal assessment and purpose of assessment. This is followed by the presentation of similarities in terms of the intended assessment and implemented assessment.

Differences in mathematics assessment

First, from classroom observations, it was found that Australian teachers preferred using individual assessment. Teachers usually checked students' classroom assignments individually during classroom time. Since portfolios were used as the major approach to assessment and reporting mathematics achievement at two Australian schools, teachers paid close attention to collecting students' work samples regularly. In contrast, teachers at the Chinese school preferred group assessment. They checked students' classroom assignments collectively at the end of the class. They used written examinations distributed by the local pedagogical office more often than their Australian counterparts. It appeared that due to the large size of the classes (around 50 students) at the Chinese School, students had few opportunities to answer questions, to demonstrate their work, and receive immediate teacher feedback during their mathematics classes compared to the students at the two Australian schools, where the average class size was less than 30 students. However, it seemed that Chinese students were better prepared for their classes (most of them were able to follow teacher's instructions and did their seat-work very well) than the Australian students.

Second, from the analysis of formal assessment documents, it was found that there were considerable differences in the representation of the problems and content standards of assessment between Australian and Chinese schools. Most test items from Australian schools were presented as pictures or drawings, while

most test items included in the examination papers of the Chinese school were presented in words or mathematical symbols, even in Years 1 and 2. Test items included in the Chinese school's examination papers contained more items testing students' memory of basic mathematics facts and computing skills. Its content was more advanced and contained more abstract items testing students' understanding of advance mathematics concepts and relationships between different mathematics concepts.

Third, the interviews with the teachers indicated that considerable differences existed in teachers' views on the purpose of assessment. Most teachers at the two Australian schools indicated that the major purpose of their assessment was to gather information about students' learning and use it for improving their teaching. Although most teachers interviewed at the Chinese school recognised the importance of assessment for their teaching, they believed that major purpose of assessment was to inspect students' mathematics learning to stimulate students' motivation to improve achievement levels. Two teachers explained that according to Chinese tradition, teachers attributed students' achievement (or lack thereof), to their motivation, and parents deeply respected and supported the teachers. Therefore, the focus of assessment was on improving teaching practices in two Australian schools, but it was more focused on 'pushing students' to achieve at the Chinese schools.

Last but not the least, the interviews with parents showed the large differences between Chinese parents (whether living in China or in Australia) and Australian parents (native English speakers) in terms of parents' beliefs on mathematics assessment and attitudes towards mathematics achievement. Chinese parents attached high value to their children's mathematics achievement, since it is one of the key subjects tested by the National College Entrance Examination. All the Chinese parents had high expectations of their children's mathematics achievement and they all encouraged their children to work hard in mathematics learning to enable entry to key schools (selective schools). They also paid great attention to their children's mathematics learning and had contacted with mathematics teacher regularly to check their children's mathematics test results. They adopted a similar approach to their children's after-school time, either sending children to coaching schools or coaching their children by themselves through checking their children's mathematics homework daily. They reported the average after-school time their children spent on mathematics learning was about four hours per week. In contrast, the Australian parents interviewed attached higher value to English than mathematics and indicated that they did not push their children to study hard to get better mathematics achievement. They had similar views on after-schools' tutoring and thought children's after-school time should be play time. Australian parents reported that they did not send their children to coaching schools and their children only spent half an hour per week on after-school mathematics learning, which is strikingly different from the Chinese parents' views.

Similarities in mathematics assessment

Despite considerable differences in mathematics assessment between Australian and Chinese schools, many similarities were found from policy documents, classroom practices, students' examination papers and teachers' interviews.

First, from curriculum policy documents indicated that the intended mathematics curriculum and assessment in both systems shared the similar views on the nature and purpose of assessment. Both systems recommended that the major purpose of assessment should be the improvement of students' learning by integrating assessment with teaching and learning, and supporting curriculum rather than driving curriculum (Chinese Ministry of Education, 2000; DETYA, 2000). Mathematics curricula in both systems also suggested similar strategies for assessing students' mathematics. Both systems recommended a variety of strategies for mathematics assessment. For example, Australian Education Council (1990) recommended strategies for mathematics assessment including teacher-observation and questioning; structured interviews with students; paper-and-pencil tests; oral tests; practical skills tests; work- or project-based assessment; collected samples of students' independent work; individual homework assignment; group reports; anecdotal records; self-assessment and peer assessment (p. 22). Similarly Chinese Ministry of Education (2000) addressed that the methods of assessment need to have varied approaches such as paper-and-pencil examination, thematic activities, writing essays, group activities, self assessment and daily observations by the teachers which can be synthesized to form a scientific and reasoned method of assessment (pp. 5-6).

Second, from classroom observation, similarities were found in that few teachers in the three schools assessed their students' mathematics learning by using authentic assessment, in which mathematics was presented to students through real-life problems, including open-ended investigation or projects or integrated activities to explore within or after school. Teachers in three schools emphasised routine test tasks, which were drawn from textbooks. It was suggested that the intended assessment policy (e.g. using alternative assessment) recommended by Chinese and Australian policy-makers were not broadly implemented into the classrooms at the three schools, which indicated there was a mismatch between intended and implemented assessment both in Australian and Chinese primary schools.

Third, from the analysis of examination papers or students' work-samples, it was found that formal approach to assessment and reporting at the three schools were still dominated by paper-and-pen tests. Although portfolios were used at two Australian schools, they were really used as a collection of examination papers.

Last but not the least, teachers in the three schools shared some similar views on the mismatch between intended and implemented assessment. All teachers interviewed at two Australian schools indicated that to make portfolios representative of all aspects of students' learning, there was a need to use a variety of assessment

strategies. However, they indicated that lack of time and resources, inadequate professional training and lack of parental supports were the major factors hindering them from effective teaching and assessing in mathematics. Similarly, all the teachers interviewed at the Chinese school suggested that the mathematics achievement could not only be assessed by written examinations, they thought paper-and-pen examination was highly valued by parents and Chinese culture. They indicated that most information related to students' mathematics learning was gleaned from their classroom observation, checking students' seat work and homework. They also reported that large class sizes, constraints of the current examination system, traditional cultural views, and lack of resources and professional training were the major factors leading to the mismatch between intended and implemented assessment.

In summary, from the study reported here it is found that there existed a gap between the intended and implemented mathematics assessment both in Australian and Chinese primary schools. The interview data suggested that teachers in both countries did not have sufficient professional training in mathematics assessment, despite attending in-service training courses. It was also apparent that pedagogical knowledge alone did not ensure the teachers implemented intended assessment practices into their classroom routine.

Discussion the implication of the study

This study has extended our understanding of mathematics assessment practices in Australian and Chinese primary schools, and provided valuable insights into assessment factors contributing to Chinese students' higher achievement in mathematics. It has provided an explanation for the gap between intended and implemented mathematics assessment in both countries. Several implications can be derived from the study that are relevant for future research, assessment practices in schools, professional development for teachers and educational policy-makers, which are discussed as follows.

In terms of implications for mathematics assessment and teaching, this study has made an attempt at linking assessment with teaching and learning, which is drawn from the literature on the integrating of assessment with teaching and learning. Classroom observation found that generally there was a mismatch between intended and implemented assessment both in Australian and Chinese primary schools. Case studies found that paper-and-pencil tests still dominated assessment practices across Australian and Chinese primary schools, although alternative assessment were advocated by the intended curriculum and assessment in both systems. Therefore, it is recommended that teachers should use assessment as a tool to diagnose students' learning and include authentic items in their assessment, which mathematics is presented to students through real-life problems and assessment is focusing on the process of students' thinking and the strategies students used and to guide their teaching activities.

In terms of implications for professional development of

teachers, this study found that lack of professional training in assessment practices was one of the key reasons hindering teachers from using intended assessment strategies recommended at system level. The classroom observation and interview data suggested that both pre-service and in-service professional developments are needed. For pre-service training, it is recommended that a course related to assessment should be included in teacher education programs. This assessment course should contain specific content related to mathematics assessment for primary schools. For in-service training, it is recommended that teachers need more time and resources to improve their assessment practices and skills. They need time to communicate with their colleagues and reflect on their own mathematics teaching.

In terms of implications for future research, the findings of this study suggested that the assessment factors may contribute to a mathematics achievement gap between Chinese and Australian students. However, the findings from this study are based on a small sample of participants linked to just three particular schools and may not be generalizable to other assessment items or other settings. To test the findings of this study, there is more research needed to ascertain how cultural factors such as parents' values and beliefs influence students' mathematics achievement across East Asian and Western countries. Such studies might need to combine a large-scale quantitative study in conjunction with small-scale case studies, which may provide rich and thick background information for understanding achievement differences.

In conclusion, this paper has focused on comparing mathematics assessment in Australian and Chinese primary schools. Findings drawn from this comparative research provide insight into bridging the gap between intended and implemented assessment, and also contribute to the assessment factors accounting for the mathematics achievement gap between Chinese and Australian students.

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Towards Seeding a Sino-Australian Education Cluster

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Abstract: Concepts relating to cooperation-based successes in the USA are used to explore Sino-Australian education cooperation. This paper poses a Porterian (Harvard Business School) style question: “If Sino-Australian regional cooperation addresses how it operates and consciously fosters cluster development then are key elements in place for global competitiveness?” Clusters network businesses and their business units in a more productive and dynamic fashion and as such can create new opportunities to pick “low hanging fruit”. One such project is the mothballed Virtual Indigenous Australia called Digital Songlines. Engaging in clusters can have a secondary benefits of expanding the conceptual repertoire of members: this paper uses “Executive Summaries” (from business), “Agents” (from complexity theory) and “Virtual Scenarios” (from digital learning). The development of projects and methodologies in a cooperation environment is argued to be a sound investment in the future competitiveness of the region, educators and ultimately students.

Key words: Sino-Australian cooperation, education cluster, global competitiveness, executive summaries

Introduction

As problems are encountered in Australian education, a select network of Australian academics research and develop models and hypotheses that will ultimately inform novel solutions. Many models relate to developments that occur between the frontiers of scholarship (peer reviewed articles) and practice (subset of ideas used in the school environment). The ability to operate between frontiers has long been recognized as the cornerstone of fertile commercial research that goes on to bring new concepts to market.

In this context Sino-Australian dialogue brings a new dimension that could progress inter-frontier ideas that would otherwise remain locked up. A Sino-Australian journal means that the framework of ideas can be established with stakeholders able to adjust the framework and detail through further publication without upfront commitment to the idea. Publication allows plans for “best-effort with available resources” to be communicated practitioner-to-practitioner. Sun Tzu can be quoted in this context:” The general who wins the battle makes many calculations in his temple before the battle is fought.” (Sun & Giles, n.d.) A cluster can have multiple objectives, adapt, have multiple paths, fluid membership, and innovate to control the tempo of development. The productive 2014 Ningbo-Sydney meetings, the emergence of this journal are encouraging and signs that a Sino-Australian dialogue is ready to develop as a cluster and tackle projects.

Progress from a Sino-Australian meeting

An example of progress with from a fresh interaction is the recent discussion between Australian teachers and a delegation from Ningbo. It was established that the Chinese visitors were conversant with the historical origins of modern scientist. Surprisingly the word “Scientist” is the 1835 invention of Rev. Whe well (Snyder, 2000). This insight is relatively rare with Australian Science teachers and is completely absent from Australian textbooks. The Ningbo teachers were aware of this by this approaching from a different cultural perspective and in this had key connection in common with Australian education academics in sharing common knowledge.

The Ningbo teachers were further distinguished by understanding the “Four Generations of Education” which is currently unpublished but in development between education researchers. This arises naturally in the context of those studying complexity theory (of interest to Australian Education Academics) and Cybernetics (Bale, 1995) (Cyber = Greek for steering i.e.: How systems steer themselves - studied by US industries). The Four Generations are as follows

- 1) Content
- 2) Methods of accessing and manipulating content (Current Syllabus - literacy)
- 3) The mind system of those accessing content (‘Science by doing’ (Science.org.au 2015) - Working Scientifically - New national curriculum)

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4) Roll of Science in Social Networking and Intent

This generation model has been developed as a knowledge mapping exercise in the “Discovery Phase” methodology of routine scholarly research in Ph.D degrees. Here publications, reports, communications and such are not excluded but classified. In such an environment Generations 1 and 2 are clearly defined and articulated. While the “Science by Doing” spearheaded by the Australian Academy of Science, while not self-identified as a new generation is clearly a method of giving context to the former generations. There are other areas of knowledge that do not fit into the three generations. The training of Australian MBA’s involves strategy and marketing studies. Notably Ohme’s (1982) “Mind of the Strategist” and Hamel and Prahalad’s (2010) “Strategic Intent” all map into the fourth generation.

Local factors that limit the use of new models within the Australian schools, did not impact the thinking of the Ningbo teachers. These limiting factors include the normative influence of 50 hours over 5 years of sanctioned training hours for all Australian teachers. This teacher accreditation focuses on improving second generation delivery but may inadvertently narrow the philosophical foundations in operation in Australian schools.

The network “Agent” model

One further model to add to the “generation” model, to aid Sino-Australian Dialogue is the model of the network “agent”. This is similar to agent as defined in artificial intelligence (Poole, Mackworth, 2010)but has specific qualities defined in this context.

Networks are interconnections that shape how systems respond to external stimulus (Easley & Kleinberg, 2010). Agents connect parallel systems together by having agents as members of multiple systems, pinning them together. A model that describes agent behaviour can explain network behaviour. In this model agents (students, educators, and organizational groups) respond based on factors that are broken down into three internal systems:

1) Reference System

Relates to system maps developed by the agent and the placement arrangements of artifacts on the map. A student may be distinguished from a teacher, a service provider distinguished from a user, a dichotomy of humanities and Sciences (CP Snow’s two cultures (Snow, 1993)). A key dichotomy used in discussing science education is “Intent based systems” and “Scholarly systems”. An agent usually can describe a situation in terms of one or more reference systems and may be aware of limitations placed by using a particular reference system. An intermediary agent will understand the reference system of other agents. A good example of this is Einstein’s early executive summary for

President Roosevelt (Dannen.com, 2015)

2) Transaction system

Various stimuli will cause an agent to act and cause flows towards and away from the agent described by a transaction. Such transactions as a rule tend to maintain both the system and the agent. Transactions can be simple or complex (gaining information with which to more optimally transact or influencing the system more favourably). Transactions describe system response but can operate at several levels delivering strategic value. Sitting an exam and gaining a qualification is an example of transaction.

3) Metacognition

How does an agent understand their own operation? If an agent is aware of their own learning they can adapt and productively accommodate complexity and uncertainty. A critical threshold is reached when confidence that new skills can be acquired means reflection transforms to projection.

First steps to early project phases

While the initial interaction of meetings, formation of organizations, and publications are good foundations of the Sino-Australian cluster there is no clear boundary where this stops and signature projects come online. Structures need to be developed to subscribe groups and collect classify and selectively process projects. Cluster agents need to be developed.

A number of factors come together that recommend Digital Songlines (Wyeld et al., 2008):

- a. Easy to implement - install software in a computer lab
- b. Standalone operation - teacher can run resource without direct support from Australia
- c. Currently in hibernation - not in use in Australia. Its use in China will allow continued development and possible return to Australia
- d. Authenticity

It is proposed that Chinese educators become acquainted with this indigenous project mothballed from 2008. The process of examination, investigating background information, using different communication styles are needed for working within clusters.

The context of Digital Songlines

European Australia has been undergoing major transformations every 30 - 50 years since 1788. The first major transformation was around 1810 after the Rum rebellion where Australia transformed from a sole purpose penal colony to an agrarian economy. Digital Songlines removes the distorting lens of these transformation. Of interest to the Chinese reader is 1791 22 convicts, and the 1792 53 convicts that escaped believing they could walk to China. Having seen icebergs in the Southern Ocean the Irish convicts concluded that they were being transported a place a few days walk from China. In 1798 the government

authorized a small exploration expedition (Adb.anu.edu.au 2015) out of Sydney to educate the Irish population that the inhospitable and impassable as a new belief arose that there was a white civilization 322 km to the south. Themes of social containment, shaping access to information, and world models are key angles to keep in mind when analysing the state of play.

The current education transformation in Australia is the adoption of corporate methodologies in schools, including mission statements, vision statements, target and planning. This experiment is more advanced in the United States and lends itself to concentration on the more tangible first and second generation education and has problems with measurement (Aljazeera.com 2015). As was the case with earlier times, the Australian scene has different sectors interacting or operating in parallel. In the field of Sino-Australian cooperation besides this journal and SUCCESS (Zhao, 2015) are many other groups including:

1) Chinese - Australian friendship Society (founded 1952)

2) Australia - China Research Institute (founded 2013) (Acfnsnw.org.au 2015)

This is typical of the capitalist system with the emergence of different solution providers, and the efficient recycling of resources as the solution providers evolve. The

project base education cluster may compliment the other initiatives but it has a direct goal of developing participants and delivering education outcomes. Also importance is to understand corporate structures have processes to deal with customer, clients and other corporations. This explains the creation of SUCCESS (Zhao, 2015) as a strategic move. It does create a problem that invitations to help improve communications, such as this one encounter disruptive timeframes. Requests are currently with ACRI, various indigenous groups, and the Department of Education Aboriginal liaison unit. The practical resolution of this is to seek published comment in this journal so that the articles and comments can be read as a whole.

A subtlety here is that while Australian education is embracing corporate tools the engagement is with a smaller subset tools so performance can be evaluated and modern management systems can be operated. A different set of tools and concepts suit cluster development, but the general idea of engaging and assessing tools is common to both endeavours.

The style used here is the Executive Summary (for reading by company boards) and typically contain the following headings: Subject Matter; Methods of Analysis; Findings; Conclusions; Recommendations; Limitations of the report.

Executive Summary

Subject Matter	Primer on European - Indigenous relations
Methods of Analysis	Brief history is given with statistics on population and ethnic conflicts linking periods in political development. The essential elements of Indigenous culture are noted. These are validated by consultation with the Indigenous community.
Findings	The earlier political environment had been detrimental to the continuity of Aboriginal culture. Digital Songlines addresses this deficit.
Conclusions	The mechanism at play in earlier political environments have not been reset and affect the progress of new enterprises such as Digital Songlines and likely also limit Sino-Australian cooperation. Understanding the dynamics of Digital Songlines will help steer the dynamics of a Sino-Australian cluster.
Recommendations	Chinese educators examine Digital Songlines to <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. better understand Indigenous culture 2. act a benchmark for Sino-Australian cooperation.
Limitations of the Report	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Base figures are the credible upper limits of deaths or forced adoptions. 2. Summary of Aboriginal Culture is from the education perspective 3. Figures are aggregated from a range of sources for the purpose of summary but the reliability is not sufficient for further citation.

40,000 years ago lower sea levels exposed land bridges that allowed the first humans to walk into Australia and indeed to Tasmania (the southern island now separated by Bass Strait: twice as wide as the English Channel and on average 50 m deep)

1788 saw the establishment of a penal colony. The Indigenous population estimated to be 314,000 (4500 in Tasmania) comprising of 400 nations. This had reduced to 79,000 or approximately 23% by 1933 but has increased to 670,000 or 3% of the current Australian population. This compares to 4.4% who identify themselves as Chinese or have Chinese ancestry.

Disease, disruption to the hunter gather lifestyle, inter racial conflict all played a part in the decline of Aboriginal population and establishing the current relative economic disadvantage of this section of population. Australian political history can be divided into broad

segments

Time Period	Description
1788 - 1810	Penal Colony / Prison European pop <10,000
1810 - 1850	British rule transition to farm based regional trade
1850 - 1900	Semi-autonomous rule after gold rush population influx and uprisings
1900 - 1950	Client nation-state of the British Empire
1950 - 2000	Hybrid Capitalist Socialist Pacific middle power - US cold war allies.
2000 - 2050	?

The following are aggregated upper range of known massacres

Time Period	Number of Aborigines Killed
1825-1850	1500
1850-1875	170
1875-1900	200
1900-1925	400
1925-1950	180

These numbers do not reflect the true impact of being displaced from the access to land and being commercially exploited.

In context the significant political and racial uprising/conflicts are sited with credible upper limits noted

Date	Event	Deaths
1804	Strawberry Hill Irish Rebellion	150
1808	Rum Rebellion	0
1854	Sovereign Hill - a merchant/miners rebellion	60
1861	Lambing Flat anti-Chinese riot	0

1880 - 1970 Government removed children 25,000 to put in institutions or foster care. Estimated to be 10 -30% having a deep impact on the culture. Practices in the general population have changed where children are no longer removed from unwed mothers, this practice along with orphanages, and other institutions were discontinued by 1985. The general practice has estimates of 250,000 in the Australian population as a whole where involved in "Forced Adoption"

Key aspects to traditional Aboriginal Culture

- land areas defined by waterways
- sense of space by landmarks rather than NSEW maps
- oral culture
- dreamtime animal legends
- complex cultural system of Skins inside Clans (mobs) to manage inbreeding
- different sense of number
- reading and interpreting animal and environmental cues
- defined male and female roles and information
- tribal law of 'Payback'

Digital Songlines

This software runs in a school computer lab and creates a second-life like virtual pre contact world templated on the real topographical Australian Landform and populated with flora, fauna and indigenous occupancy. The project was develop 2004 - 2007 and is now "self funded" ie shelved

Aside: Executive Summaries field of use

The executive Summary is a standard structure for executives (decision makers). It is not seen in academic literature, because of a number of reasons including

1) academic papers already have some of the structures in abstracts, and conclusion.

2) papers conform to a structure to give a chain of citation

3) concise qualitative statement to paint a general picture would be placed in internal reports rather than external publication.

Schools are not receptive to executive summaries that propose a course of action. The reason for this can be subtle. Essentially consistent and ultimately supportable decisions need to be made that meet policy guidelines. There is a need for moment to moment continuity of management so such documents couched in terms of decisions are actually a distraction from operation.

Obstacles and “the Fourth Generation” Paradigm

In this section we tie together the proposed project and some of the concepts of “Generations of Education” and Agency. The critical shift is that explanations still have important qualities of authority and consensus but have a further parameter of efficacy over a pattern of circumstances. Pattern perception and network communication of intent are key skills in this next generation.

The pattern observed here relates to consistent poor outcomes for non-mainstream groups. The following incidents are tied together:

1) Circa 1930 the role of the Education Department’s in removing Aboriginal children was questioned (Hill, 1976). Here there was intense interplay between agency organizations (AO) of the Masons and Catholic (Saunders, 2015) which attenuated interactions the Education AO that operated as one of the four coordinating authorities to implement the Aboriginal Protection Act 1909 Article 6 and 7(c) (Findandconnect.gov.au, 2015)

2) 2007-2008 Digital Songlines presented by the developers to many levels of government departments and authorities and universally declined. Here, as I was inside the Department of Education I was able to begin to map a bewildering interconnection of agents and agent organizations that included the Aboriginal Liaison Office, Macquarie ICT Innovations Centre (2015) and finally the Department Media Unit. Some of the problems were the unfolding of ad hoc protocols, communication, and agent incentive leading to confusion and distraction. The reader will be interested in the Australian Army Journal (2015) which models overcoming Agency Organization gridlock through scholarly dissertation.

3) 2015 Sino-Australian Cooperation may have more success as an adaptive cluster. In a complex environment it necessary to feed limited information into an AO model make predictions and plan accordingly. The Australia China Relations Institute was established in 2013 through a donation by the Yuhu Investment Group (Newsroom. uts.edu.au, 2015) which has been investing in real estate and shopping centres. The Institute has political dimensions as

the government hopes to sell assets to Chinese investors. Professor Milbourne states the aim of the institute is “... [to] enable UTS research insights and discoveries help inform national and international policy and contribute to progress and prosperity in both our countries,” (Newsroom.uts.edu.au, 2015). One notable contribution is lending institutional imprimatur to opinion articles on the effect of Chinese investment (Uts.edu.au, 2015). This is substantially different from the education cluster objectives of raising the capabilities of participants and reducing the impact of Agent Organizations. Unlike the 2008 experience AO is factored into controlling the tempo of progress of this cluster development. Future projects entailing commercial development and real estate may be a more natural match.

Understanding Agent Organizations has as broader value than applications in clusters:

1) Agent Organization are invisible historical movers that influenced the decisions of the time, if only by directing thought away from more constructive solutions or by channeling communication around agents. Organization may fade but live on in the behavior of future agents. This is probably due to organizational inertia where the practices retreat into key areas rather than the individual to individual transfer that has limited scientific support (Galef, 1976). Thus studying earlier periods develops a more nuanced view of current times.

2) Framing education in terms of Agent Organizations overlaps with the ideas of Activity Theory and leads long term resilience in learners. Here projects are the “activities”

3) Agents in organization have intent. In artificial intelligence terms, agents can be described by “Belief, Desire, and Intent.” Fourth Generation education relates to building and transmitting high quality intent to achieve ethical goals. Cloaking or hiding intent, use of persuasive writing, limiting scholarly debate as a style would be useful to holding information poor systems together. There is a critical threshold for students and educators to decide between hindering or promoting a scholarly approach.

Educating Cluster Participants

Having linked agents, agent organization and generations of education together it is the role of the educators to communicate ideas to a wider audience.

Historical evidence suggests Greek theatre, with the requirements that character fly communicated technological ideas across Greek culture (Chondros, 2004). This suggests advantage of having widely deployable projects. The 1874 “Art and Revolution” contemplation of this Greek culture in contrast to the European culture by Richard Wagner (Wagner, 2015) shows key thinking that went into the next 26 years of opera writing that was to become social currency 85 years

later. This indicated relative potency of projects compared to announcing programs.

Given the fertile tradition of the arts to communicate to a broad audience it would be appropriate for students and our Chinese audience to examine the satire “Get Smart”. Here you have ‘cloaking of intent’ and a simple dichotomy. It does make the sobering point however of how ineffective a partisan simplistic outlook can be.

Conclusion

Journals, clusters and projects stimulate activity and learning and create intangible benefits that can unlock potential not contemplated through direct trade and cultural exchanges alone. The benefits in operating in complex and networked environments are aligned to the emerging needs of students. A better use of resources and education of network savvy students will contribute to the competitiveness of both Australia and China.

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Multilingualism, Global Competency and Communicative Performance for Business

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Abstract: The paper was based on the presentation to the National Conference on Sustainability and Development: Implications of ELT for Individual Society and Ecology at Indian Institute of Technology, Patna, 3-4 April, 2015. It focused on the theme of Sustainable Development, though basically concerned with saving Earth's resources, environmental protection, green management, and social impact of development, and seeks to meet "the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generation to meet their own needs." It argues that the idea of sustainable development encourages us to make better decisions on the issues that affect all our lives. Therefore, make us think how to balance different, and often competing, needs vis-à-vis our socioeconomic limitations, lack of infrastructure, and manpower.

Key words: Sustainable development, multilingualism, global competency, communicative performance for business

Introduction

I must admit at the outset I have reservations about what is sustainable in the environment of English Language Teaching in India, and specially in a privileged technical institution like the IIT or ISM where, like it or not, studying English is viewed as unnecessary obligation both by a larger section of engineering students and subject teachers, irrespective of their support for English in public. There is hardly any pressure on students from technical subject teachers for writing well. As I have observed, the subject teachers' attitude towards students' shortcomings or difficulties in English varies from tolerance to indifference to helplessness. According to a recent study conducted in a Swedish university, where the entire program is in English, with pressure from the central government to internationalize, as in our situation, Computer Science teachers take it for granted that their students already have the mastery of English. Similarly, teachers of Earth Sciences, which is an international subject, teach with the presumption that their students have no difficulty in following the textbooks written in English, while students of Natural Sciences and Medical Sciences consider competency in English essential for a career. As English teachers, most of you must have noticed science and Engineering subject teachers acknowledging that English is important for international publication and job, but they hardly care about the

students' performance in their subjects, using English.

Digital Culture

We all understand that most of the students' productive skills— speaking and writing—are not good or satisfactory. Nor is there much formal feedback regarding the standard of their English for publication in scholarly or professional journals. Their 'reading' the printed page is now reduced to 'viewing' on the computer screen, and finding 'key words' have changed the nature of the 'old' skimming, scanning, and skipping. Easily available artificially intelligent software check the spelling and grammar errors and facilitate academic discourse, in howsoever a limited way. It is reshaping the traditional teaching materials, but it's not clear what the new technology will take away from the learning experience, even if a UN document on sustainable development promises, "Information Technology based chiefly on advances in micro-electronics and computer science is of particular importance. Coupled with rapidly advancing means of communication, it can help improve the productivity, energy and resource efficiency, and organizational structure of industry."

Against such a background, and relegated to the margin, the English teachers are now obliged to seek, perhaps in their own professional interests, to maximize the students' potential as English learners and as human beings, and understand and teach with technology

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integration, discourse sense, and locally relevant and culturally appropriate ways.

The changes over the last two decades have been so rapid that “it makes a completely different linguistic world to live in,” as David Crystal says. The internet has already altered all our previous concepts to do with language. For the generation born after 1985, the internet and mobile phones, for example, are not just media; they have become a social environment in which one settles and lets out one’s energies. It is a parallel world, with a lot of virtual alternatives.

We, in India, have yet to understand how technologies such as smart phones, social media, video conferencing, wikis, open online courses, etc are changing the relationship between teacher and student, and how the old concepts of ‘reading’ and ‘writing’ are now challenged. The vernacular of technology is shaping our language at an incredible rate. To speak and understand English today, students may need to know what ‘Google’ or ‘twitter’ is, and how these are used as verbs, just as we have to be sensitive to the needs of the average rural students most of whom do not have a computer or internet access at home. Even if they may not be fluent speakers, they do use English words in the course of Hindi, Tamil, or Bengali etc. They may also use English swear words where one would least expect them. One is able to use the odd word frequently, perhaps to sound confident, modern, educated, or impress the neighbor. One can hear words like “miss call”, “tension”, “time pass”, “backing”, “adjust”, “VIP”, “shit”, “mobile” and scores of others.

In fact they use English without any interference from those whose native language it has been. Knowingly or unknowingly, they nurture the Indian variety of English just as we notice the world varieties of English diversified with a variety of political, economic, and cultural consequences. The patterns of the past linguistic history, as John Algeo noted twenty years ago, may not be repeated. “New factors of electronic communication and air travel are likely to prevent the fracturing of English into mutually incomprehensible languages. Locally divergent forms of English may drift off into separate languages, but the core of English is likely to remain a varied, diversified, but recognizably ‘same’ language.”

For teaching English in such a situation, we would need to know more about, and understand well, the various connections between language use and successful communication, about lexical tools of communication, about the potential of various Englishes in the present age, and the selective information needs in today’s society. We also need to think, individually and collectively, the

strengths and weaknesses of the digital learning material and its prospective impact on how humans learn. Many digital learning materials completely overhaul how classes are conducted, how students are tested on knowledge, and how teachers fit into the picture.

Cultural Fluency

There is also a distinct cultural aspect to the use of English today. Cultural fluency is important in effective English learning. Students need to become active and culturally aware communicators. Which means they must be good not only in their mother tongue but also intangible aspects of communication, including body language, cultural fluency, and diplomacy. Social scientists estimate that over 90 percent of what we communicate is non-verbal, so if the body language is giving wrong message, it won’t matter how well you speak a language, people may still not get a positive impression of you. They might even feel uncomfortable talking to you. By becoming aware of and working on your body language, you will experience an immediate impact on how you feel about yourself, how others perceive you, and your overall communication. So how you hold not only yourself, but also your posture, your openness, and your self-awareness matters a lot.

The teacher’s success, thus, lies in managing the learning strategies and promoting practice and use, or what the linguists have mentioned as pragmatic function (language as doing) and mathetic function (language as learning).

Even as we talk about globalization, tertiary education in every discipline needs scholars and researchers who have good international perspective and ability to work in diverse settings. The common concern facing us is: cultivating globally-minded graduates, with abilities across cultures and boundaries.

Needless to say, language competence is basic to acquiring global perspective via the graduation courses. It helps to learn a couple of regional or foreign languages for expanding professional networks and gaining cultural experiences which are vital for global learning. As far as English is concerned, teaching the pragmatic, interactional and creative uses of English in our academic and professional context is important.

Multiple Englishes

In his stimulating exposition of the spread of English, Braj B. Kachru emphasizes that English has not only acquired multiple identities but also “a broad spectrum of cross-cultural contexts of use.” During the last twenty five years or so, scholars have progressively acknowledged the

reality of multicultural aspects of English a la linguistic interactions of three types of participants: native speaker and native speaker; native speaker and non-native speaker; and non-native speaker and non-native speaker. Resultantly, as Kachru points out, there has been “a multiplicity of semiotic systems, several non-shared linguistic conventions, and numerous underlying cultural traditions,” paving way for English as an International Language (EIL), which provides access across cultures and boundaries. The focus has shifted to the diverse *users* and language *activities* within a sociolinguistic context which is often *localized* rather than native-speaker oriented as far as aspects such as communicative teaching or communicative competence are concerned.

Taking cue from international diffusion of English, we should recognize the institutionalized non-native varieties of English such as Indian English, and concentrate on English used in South Asian and South East Asian countries for reviewing the pedagogic developments in language teaching with an ESP bias as also for trying to integrate language and culture teaching. This is significant in that despite decades of activities in the name of communicative teaching or communicative competence, not much has been achieved in terms of *methods* and *materials* for international competence in English. The European parochialism continues to dominate the academics’ reasoning even as discourse organization, both literary and spoken, reflects a certain regionalism.

Negotiating Differences

With sensitivity for the language, I would like to assert that the yardsticks of the British or American native speakers, or their standards as reflected in GRE, TOEFL or IELTS etc, or their kind of tongue twisting, are simply damaging to the interests of non-native speakers. We have to develop our own standards, instead of teaching to sound like Londoners or North Americans. Pronunciation must be intelligible and not detract from the understanding of a message. But for this nobody needs to speak the so called standardized English (that makes *inter-* and *intranational* communication difficult). David Crystal too appreciates this reality and favors ‘local taste’ of English in India and elsewhere. The problems of teaching, say spoken English, relate to lack of intercultural communicative competence.

Many of the misunderstandings that occur in multicultural or multinational workplace are traceable to intergroup differences in how language is used in interpersonal communication rather than to lack of fluency in English. In fact native speakers need as much

help as non-natives when using English to interact internationally and intercultural. It is understanding the how of negotiation, mediation, or interaction. We need to teach with positive attitude to intercultural communication, negotiating linguistic and cultural differences. The focus has to be on developing cultural and intercultural competence, tolerance (the spread and development of various Englishes is an instance of grammatical and lexical tolerance), and mutual understanding. Rules of language use are culturally determined. I doubt all those who talk about spoken English, or communication skills, care to teach or develop intercultural communicative abilities. This presupposes a good grasp of one’s own culture or way of communication, or the language etiquettes, gestures and postures, space, silence, cultural influences, verbal style etc.

Understanding and awareness of non-verbal behavior, cues and information is an integral part of interpersonal communication in many real-life situations, including business and commerce. Though research is needed to understand the role of visual support in our situations, it does seem relevant in making students aware of the *context, discourse, paralinguistic features and culture*. This can be advantageous in teaching soft skills which are basically life skills, or abilities for adaptive and positive behavior, so necessary for successful living.

If one has to work abroad and use English with others there, one has to be sensitive to the culturally governed ways of speaking or talking to each other. The speech community’s (the language culture of the group of people) ways of communication cannot be taken for granted, when one seeks to learn or teach spoken English. People fail or suffer discomfort or embarrassment in negotiations in business or political affairs, or achievement of personal goals due to incompetence in persuasion, negotiation, mediation, or interaction. It is their performance, their intercultural interactional competence which matters; it lies in managing social interaction, and not just communication, in the narrow sense of the word, or use of right grammatical form, syntax, vocabulary, or even certain polite phrases. The goal is to enable one to express what one wishes to convey and make the impression that one wishes to make, *using language with a sense of interaction and mutuality*.

Business Communication

In the context of Business Communication, it is not without a sense of social business for creating value and better business outcome. One needs to demonstrate social insights, too, in the use of, say, (social) networking sites, smart phones, mobile, tablet PCs, voice mail, electronic

mail, and other e-business instruments such as computer network, teleconferencing and video conferencing that are being integrated to enterprise design. This means one needs to be able to share information, discover expertise, capitalize on relationship, and be collaborative in creatively solving business challenges. One needs to demonstrate leadership and management traits, innovation, and decision-making; one needs to be able to identify oneself with the shared values and beliefs of the organization one is associated with; and more importantly, one needs to demonstrate intercultural and interactive abilities with sensitivity for change and adaptation, if one is working in a foreign country or in a multinational company.

In short, one's personal communication, both oral or written, needs to be in tune with the communication philosophy -- goals and values, aspirations and pledges, beliefs and policies-- of the organization one is working for, just as one should be able to blend with the host culture.

When I mention intercultural interaction, I point to the need for adapting to differences in life style, language, business philosophy as well as problems with finances, government, cultural shock, housing, food, gender, family etc. Although many of the people sent on foreign assignment know their (foreign) market, they are often unable to accept another culture on that culture's terms even for short periods. Sensitivity for intercultural business environment, or being aware of each culture's symbols, how they are the same, and how they are different, is important.

Communicative Performance

Let's revisit some of the issues related to 'communicative' teaching, in general, and business communication, in particular. If communication is the aim of English (or any other language) teaching and 'communicative' syllabuses fail to develop what Dell Hymes called 'communicative *competence*' and Noam Chomsky mentioned as *communicative performance*, we need to reflect on our classroom practices, research and materials production from time to time. Chomsky's focus was on the sentence-level grammatical competence of an ideal speaker-listener of a language, and Hymes, as a sociolinguist, was concerned with *real* speaker-listeners who interpret, express, and negotiate meaning in many different social settings; he brought into focus the view of language as a social phenomenon and reflected on its use as units of discourse. Socializing competence and performance, Dell Hymes also mentioned 'appropriateness', that is, "when to speak, when not, and as to what to talk about and with whom, when, where, in what

manner." This concept of "appropriate use" as 'communicative competence' was accepted by Chomsky and called "pragmatic competence" (i.e. rules of use). Thus, Dell Hymes 'communicative' is Chomsky's 'pragmatic' and includes knowledge of sociolinguistic rules, or the appropriateness of an utterance, in addition to knowledge of grammar rules. The term has come to negotiate meaning, to successfully combine a knowledge of linguistic and sociolinguistic rules in communicative interaction, both oral and written.

Michael Canale and Merrill Swain in various papers on communicative competence have referred to "appropriacy" in terms of 'sociolinguistic competence'. In fact, they offer another term "strategic competence", that is, the ability to use communication strategies like approximation (or paraphrase strategy, using, for example, 'pipe' for *waterpipe* or 'flower' for *leaf* to come close to the intended meanings), word-coinage, circumlocution (i.e. describing objects or ideas using "It looks like...", "It's made of..." etc when one temporarily forgets an exact word), borrowing including literal translation and language mix, appeal for assistance, i.e. asking for information appropriately using "Excuse me," "Could you...?" "What's the word for...?" "I didn't know how to say it," etc). mime and all that. Their strategic competence (Canale and Swain) refers to the ability to enhance or repair conversations and means the same as Chomsky's 'pragmatic competence' or *Fluency*. Brumfit and others too have used the term 'pragmatic' in the sense of fluency.

Thus, communicative competence consists of LINGUISTIC competence (ACCURACY), PRAGMATIC competence (FLUENCY), and SOCIOLINGUISTIC competence (APPROPRIACY).

The Linguistic competence or *Accuracy* in communication is much broader than mere grammatical competence; it includes the linguistic domains of grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation as well as the linguistic skills of speaking, listening, reading, and writing, spelling, discourse (particularly interconnections and interdependence of the sentences and paragraphs), and the ability to contrast with the mother tongue.

The pragmatic competence or *Fluency* in communication relates to ease and speed of expression, i.e. how to keep talking, how not to remain silent because one doesn't know the word (the skill of paraphrasing), and other strategies of learning, including how to listen to oneself and so be able to self-correct and self-edit at once; that is, the ability to monitor immediately.

The sociolinguistic competence or *Appropriacy* includes varieties of text types (stories, dialogues,

non-fiction passages etc) and *functions* of the language, different levels/degrees of formality or informality, or appropriacy and use of language in authentic situations.

I doubt if we follow such a communicative curriculum with understanding of communicative competence in terms of linguistic ability, pragmatic ability and sociolinguistic ability. But its adoption should help students become independent learners; it should equip them with linguistic forms, means, and strategies that would help them overcome communication difficulties both inside and outside the classroom. From this perspective, communicative competence should be thought of as *communicative performance* just as a communicative syllabus should be essentially performance-based, that is, increasing the learner's proficiency.

To quote Brendan Carroll: "The use of a language is the *objective*, and the mastery of the formal patterns, or *usage*, of the language is a *means* to achieve this objective. The ultimate criterion of language mastery is therefore the learner's effectiveness in communication for the settings he finds himself in."

Poor Communicative Performance

Work-related skills such as team work, cultural awareness, leadership, communication and I.T. skills are as vital as academic achievement for Business/Management students. It would be poor communicative performance if, for example, someone makes a multimedia presentation without knowing how to use the equipment and experiences technical difficulties, or "tries to liven up a dull topic merely by adding flashy graphics rather than by improving the content of the presentation. People who attend meetings unprepared waste others' time. People with poor listening skills frustrate those who have to repeat information for them. Those who make inappropriate grammatical or vocabulary choices embarrass themselves and those around them. Incompetent communicators hurt the organization they represent. This has especially been the case with hastily sent emails composed in a moment of anger."

Positive Attitude Needed

Academic or professional communication skills, both written and oral, have to be imparted in such a way that students in their contexts are able to identify their own language learning needs and to set their own language learning goals. At college and university level, teachers may act as facilitators, just as they would need to teach with positive attitude for inter- and intracultural communication, the skills of negotiating linguistic and

cultural differences.

It is with this sensibility for English language and its teaching in various contexts that I speak to you. Yet, as I say all this, I keep in mind the ground reality: that is, poor literacy skills, fluency, and even comprehension; poor communicative ability, with limited experiences in writing, speaking and listening unless, of course, teaching of English as a Second, or additional language, improves from school level and need for a supportive classroom climate and positive student attitudes towards learning at postsecondary level is recognized. Also, both teachers and students need to be aware of what to do, how to do it, and when and why to do it, as part of practicing self-regulation strategies.

The ELT community as also the other stake holders in the country should, therefore, revise and reformulate appropriate strategies and policies, with tolerance and multilingualism at the core, to remain relevant in the coming decades. The objective of looking back is to move forward with a reasoned perspective for taking measures to develop communication abilities and higher discourse competence, with a broadened inter- and cross-disciplinary bases, for learning to understand (rather than memorize) and apply in one's own contexts.

Communication in Business

The digression apart, let me now come back to teaching communication in business. In terms of ESP, we should be aware of the 'specific purposes' of what we do in the classroom, just as we should do it in terms of students' specific needs. For example, if we teach written communication, we teach it in the specific context of Business, maybe, where applicable, in terms of 'rhetorical functions', with a sense of logical organization of knowledge or information, as noticed in actual use. Students need to be exposed to a range of authentic report material from business, commerce, finance, administration, marketing, production, personnel etc. They need to understand the logical steps in writing a report, from 'collecting the information' through to 'summarizing' and 'appendix'. In short, they need to be presented with task-oriented activities that are both challenging and authentic in the field of business: they need to be forced to read and think about the content of the report; they need to be made to think about the structure and organization of the report; they need to think about the language used to express the content; and they have to be made to apply this knowledge to the skill of writing a report. The variety of writing exercises may include paragraph writing, expansion of notes, completion of paragraphs, sequencing of sentences into paragraph,

and using the right punctuation marks, connectives, sub-headings, presentation of non-verbal information or transfer of information from text to diagram (graph, chart, table, outline etc); linking findings, conclusions and recommendations, extracting main points for making descriptive and evaluative summaries etc. We teach all this in terms of what the students already know and what they need to know. They unlearn, learn, and re-learn, both formal and informal expressions, within the conventions of the discipline they belong to.

As already pointed out, their career success depends on good writing and speaking skills, along with proper etiquettes and listening skills and understanding skills. Skills that need particular attention are informational and analytical report writing, proposal writing, memo writing, letter writing, oral presentation, and a sense of grammar, punctuation, word, sentence and paragraph.

The methodology should encourage students to learn from each other via activities both of a productive kind and of a receptive nature. We may exploit developments in the case study approach, use role plays and simulations that place the students in realistic and stimulating situations to create spontaneous personal interaction and creative use of the language in a business context.

A mix of the *task based approach*, *group work*, and *simulations* should help the future business people develop the skills for meeting and negotiating as also for the necessary mastery of English for functioning autonomously in the field. The challenge is not to teach a descriptive course on discourse, but to provide for a pragmatic and custom-tailored input, ready for processing by the learners in an authentic learning environment.

In other words, in stead of mere ‘business communication’, the emphasis has to be on, what I already mentioned, ‘interaction in business context’. It is not merely the language of business, but also the cultural conventions of meetings and negotiations in an intercultural setting that one has to be aware of, and learn. As far as teaching is concerned, it is rather helping students with learning how to learn, how to create the learning opportunities for themselves, and understanding the ways in which language and business strategies interact. If we follow a learner-centred approach, a three-step procedure could be: first, to illustrate (=a good model), then, to induce (=induction for effective learning by the learner), and finally, to interact (=the outcome).

I would like to quote Christopher Brumfit from his opening speech to SPEAQ Convention in Quebec City (in June 1982): “...Being communicative is as much or more a matter of methodology as of syllabus or materials, and methodology is something that teachers are uniquely

qualified to contribute to. We should, therefore, be willing to use our expertise, to innovate, to improve, to inform each other, and to criticize.” What we are doing here, friends, is just to make a beginning, the beginning of a process of communicating, of understanding, that we can start but cannot finish.

Eclectic Approach

I am aware that there is no universal teaching method or ideal teaching material suited to many contexts of language teaching. Whatever didactic techniques one knows without excluding the behavioristic drills, and practice and use of mother tongue, where appropriate, are all valid at different points in the teaching process. I stand for an eclectic approach as different methods for different students have always worked and there has not been one best method any time. With our freedom to choose and adopt any notion that serves our teaching ends, with a reasonable degree of historical sense, flexibility and adaptability that allows us to select among a variety of approaches, methods and techniques, we can meet the challenges of today and tomorrow. I see teaching communicatively essentially consisting of an eclectic methodology which incorporates what is valuable in any system or method of teaching and refuses to recognize bad teaching or defective learning. In any educational setting, sensitive and sensible application and continuing evaluation of the chosen practices should be inbuilt.

English has been practised in a social, economic, political, educational and philosophical “hot-house”, to use Peter Strevens’ expression, and the hot-house in India differs in quality from state to state. It is necessary to create an enabling environment – managerial, administrative, institutional, academic, and curricular—to promote not only quality education and effective learning with exposure to lots of natural, meaningful and understandable language, but also genuine communication. This means learners should read and listen to live language; they should speak and write it in ways that can be understood by educated speakers everywhere. Moreover, they should eventually be able to produce and comprehend culturally appropriate natural discourse.

Summing Up

To sum up, we as teachers need to recognize the changes that have shaken all human conditions with new technology, new social structures, new values, new human relations, new functions. As Young Yun Kim notes: “The complexity, diversity, and rapid pace of change makes us ‘strangers’ in our own society.” The

challenge is, to understand the “sameness in differences” for international/intercultural exchanges, or learning business negotiations and written communication. Language teaching alone may not develop communicative abilities in business English unless we realize that learning the language implies learning the culture also—one’s own culture and other’s culture. It is language and culture teaching together and sharing the “us” and “them” differences to reflect on one’s own culture from the viewpoint of an outsider, and thus, become less ethnocentric and more tolerant of the values of the foreign people and their ways.

The ESP of business communication seems highly culturally biased and value based, even as Western ethno-centricism, including the North American, may not be the answer to our communicative difficulties. But we have to be OPEN to all local peculiarities to communication and interaction. If we view English as the *lingua franca* for business negotiations, we should also not forget that it is NOT the mother tongue of any or most of the negotiators. To that extent, the English used is commonly a variety in which the mother tongue interferes not only phonetically and phonologically, but also in the cultural norms and attitudes expressed by the speakers. To quote Susanne Neimeir, “Their non-verbal behavior, for example, does not automatically switch to an ‘Englishized’ non-verbal behavior but normally stays rooted in their home culture. Thus, even when they think the negotiation partner should have understood (verbal and non-verbal) signs they are using, misunderstandings still occur because signs may be differently encoded—and decoded—on the other’s cultures or may not be noticed to be signs at all.”

Therefore, we need to sensitize students to cultural richness and cultural diversity for developing mutual understanding and using individual and group knowledge constructively, and not stereotypically, in learning skills of business communication, both oral and written. It also seems imperative to integrate discourse analysis, decision-making and generic patterns of meetings and effective conversation and the role of cultural influences for success in actual business situations. In fact, it is significant to provide professional students with

opportunities to experience what it means to communicate and to do business with *different* people who obviously are *alike* in several basic ways.

In today’s globalized business context, while teachers of business English have to be aware of various analytical and practical approaches to business communication, especially as intercultural understanding and strategies of flexibility, adaptability and tolerance are some of the keys to make the best of economic opportunities, students of Business communication have to learn to find their own strategies, or use of structural and stylistic devices for successful business interaction. Their verbal communication in the ‘ESL’ context, to my mind, would be largely ‘EIL’ to be able to work together, using English as the common language.

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Self-reflection on the Teaching of Chinese at Australian Schools: from a Teacher-researcher's Perspective

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Abstract: The rise of China has changed and is still changing the Australian economy, society and strategic environment. In order to face the challenge and shape the Australian future in the 21st Asian Century, one of the strategic plans Australian Government made is encouraging all Australian school children to be able to learn Chinese (Mandarin). However, the lack of qualified teachers constrains the development of Chinese language teaching and learning programs in many parts of Australia. This paper begins with the necessity of promoting language teaching and learning in Australia. Then, it focuses on three reflective stories from a teacher-researcher's initial teaching practice. These stories reveal three main challenges that Chinese language teachers face. Following this, other obstacles related to Chinese teaching are presented. It argues that the number of appropriately qualified and experienced teachers of Chinese to work with beginning non-Chinese background Australian learners is highly demanded.

Key words: Chinese teaching, reflective stories, Australian schools, Chinese teachers

Background

Living in a multilingual knowledge society with intense globalization and human immigration, it is crucial to present "an appreciation of multiple languages and cultures and to develop an ability to communicate effectively with people across languages, cultures and communities" (Duff, 2008, p. 5). Chinese has attracted much international interest and has become the second most important language in the world at present, after English. It is widely used for communication among people from different ethnicities and language backgrounds (Duff, 2008; Orton, 2008).

Australia, as a proactive country in the world's multilingual knowledge economy, has made Asian languages education as a top priority in order to remain competitive globally (Orton, 2008). This initiative was first proposed in the early 1990s by Kevin Rudd who later became Australian Prime Minister from 2007 to 2009. Rudd (1994) claims that Asian languages and cultures are of great significance to the development of Australia's economy in the Asian-Pacific region, especially given China's role in Australia's export market.

Asian Language and Australia's Economic Future (Rudd, 1994) emphasizes that a national Asian languages and cultures strategy should be developed in the context of second language education. To this end, four priority Asian languages were selected based on their economic significance to Australia for study in schools. The nominated

languages were Chinese (Mandarin), Japanese, Indonesian and Korean.

Following Rudd's report (1994), a number of educators have expressed their deep concern about the need to develop Asian languages in Australia in the last few decades. For example, Henderson (2008) provides the following statement in conclusion to her review of Rudd's report on Asia literacy:

For Australia to remain competitive regionally and globally depends not on capital, resources and technology as before, but on whether future generations are educated and sufficiently skilled for Asian engagement (p. 190).

Even recently, the Australian Government released a White Paper entitled "Australia in the Asian Century" on 28th of October, 2012, drawing even more extensive and intensive interest and attention to Asian language teaching and learning for the educators and teachers. The then Australian Prime Minister, Ms Julia Gillard said, "The transformation of the Asian region into the economic powerhouse of the world is not only unstoppable, it is gathering pace (Australian Government's White Paper, 2012, p. ii)". The rise of the Asian countries is changing the whole world, and of course, it has changed and is still changing the "Australian's economy, society and strategic environment" (Australian Government's White Paper, 2012, p. 1). Therefore, how to face the challenge and shape the Australian future in the 21st Asian Century? One of the

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strategic plans Ms Gillard mentioned in the White Paper is encouraging all Australian school children to be able to learn an Asian language. In order to prepare the nation for the “Asian Century”, the four priority Asian languages are Chinese, Hindi, Japanese, and Indonesian.

Among these four languages, Chinese, in particular, obtains urgent and high-level attention at the national level and has been selected as part of an Australian national language curriculum (ACARA, 2011). This is because “Australia’s fate is likely to remain solidly bound up with its relationship with China” (Orton, 2008, p. 8). In Orton’s report “Chinese language education in Australian schools”, she outlines a dense and wide-ranging linkage between Australia and China. She claims that in Australia, there is one country which is:

- 1) a regional neighbor
- 2) its largest trading partner
- 3) a rising world economic power
- 4) a major source of immigrant workforce
- 5) a major source of international students
- 6) a major source of tourists to Australia
- 7) a major destination for Australian tourists
- 8) the source of its largest number of immigrant settlers
- 9) a country with a long and prestigious culture
- 10) home to 1 in 5 human beings on the earth (Orton, 2008, p. 8)

This country was China in 2008, and it is of even greater importance now. This situation has become much more obvious, witnessing China’s growing status all over the world. To achieve mutual benefits for both Australia and China economically and socially, it is important to further develop present positive Australia-China relationships by engaging with China at a greater linguistic and intellectual depth. Therefore, to understand China and to speak the Chinese language well is identified as vital to future Australian prosperity. However, there is a need for the “urgent development in the breadth and quality of Chinese teaching and learning in Australian schools” (Orton, 2008, p. 9), which is regarded as a matter of national strategic priority.

ROSETE-An innovative teacher education partnership in NSW

It is well recognized that the lack of supply of qualified teachers constrains the development of Chinese language teaching and learning programs in many parts of Australia (Orton, 2008). In order to meet the demand for qualified teachers at all levels, many States and Territories fund various in-service and pre-service Chinese teacher education programs in universities for those already approved teachers from a Chinese background but lack formal language

teaching qualifications and also for novice Chinese teachers (Orton, 2008).

According to Orton (2008), in NSW, there is a successful program, which supplies Chinese First Language (L1) speakers as volunteers to teach Chinese language in the local schools, so that the shortage of Chinese teachers can be solved to a certain extent. This program is called ROSETE, which is an abbreviation of “Research-Oriented School-Engaged Teacher Education” (Zhao & Singh, 2008). It is the result of a partnership among the Ningbo Municipal Education Bureau (NMEB), the Western Sydney Region (WSR) of the NSW DEC, and the University of Western Sydney (UWS). From 2008, there have been fifty-four Volunteer Teacher-Researchers (VTRs) from Ningbo, China, who have been studying for a Master of Education (Honors) at UWS and teaching Chinese voluntarily at local schools every week. This international collaboration Program aims to prepare future teacher-researchers through a combination of research and teaching practice or as Singh (2013) indicates as a “university/industry” (p. 6) collaboration aiming to improve school students’ learning outcomes. The ROSETE Partnership is an innovative model for language teacher education, which provides a new approach to combining teaching, theory and practices so that novice language teachers can steadily improve their teaching efficiency based on day-to-day reflection of their lessons. As one of the VTRs in the third cohort in this Partnership, the author of the paper provides the following reflective stories to explore the teaching of Chinese at an Australian school.

Three reflective stories

When I was a child, I dreamt of going abroad. When I was a child, I also dreamt of being a teacher. This dream, fortunately, came true in 2010 when I came to Australia as a volunteer Chinese teacher involved in ROSETE program. My main responsibility was to encourage and inspire primary and secondary students in Western Sydney public schools to learn Mandarin and Chinese culture.

However, this dream shortly became a nightmare because I encountered many challenges in teaching my mother tongue (Chinese) to Australian students. In this paper, I will present three stories to demonstrate some of these initial challenges. It starts with a narration of each story, followed by my reflection.

Story one.

Today’s lesson was about animals. When I taught my students that ‘老鼠 (LǎoShǔ)’ is mouse, and ‘老虎 (LǎoHǔ)’ is tiger (see Table 1), at that moment, one student put his hand up and asked, “Miss, mouse and tiger belong to different families of animals, why do they have the same character ‘老 (Lǎo)’”? What a brilliant question that was!

To be honest, I had never thought of this question before.

Table 1: Teaching episode of mouse vs. tiger

Episode	
Pinyin	LǎoShǔ LǎoHǔ
Hanzi (Characters)	老鼠 老虎
English meanings	Mouse Tiger

The next day, when I taught the same topic to another group of students, I purposefully mentioned this question. I explained the problem to the students in this way, "Year 7, you might find it interesting as to why '老鼠 (Lǎo Shǔ)' and '老虎 (Lǎo Hǔ)' share the same character even though they are not from the same family of animals. '老(Lǎo)' literally means 'old'. Its usage is very similar to a prefix that is used in an English word. For example, you can find some English words that share the same beginning part (prefix), such as unhappy and unlucky. The prefix 'un' means 'not'. So in Chinese '老 (Lǎo)' is a prefix which means 'old'. I thought that this time there would be no more strange and bizarre questions coming from the students. However, as a matter of fact, my students always went against my expectations. A sweet girl asked, "Miss, so little tiger is also called '老虎(LǎoHǔ)'? How can a young tiger be called 'Lǎo (old)'?"

My reflection.

There are so many lively episodes such as these that have occurred in my teaching at local schools in Western Sydney Region. These critical teaching moments illustrate the first challenge: How to respond unexpected students' questions, to which I have no ideas about how to respond. "Is Chinese really my mother tongue?" I ask myself, questioning whether I am really a native speaker of Chinese. Being a native speaker of a language does not mean one can answer non-native speakers' intellectual questions about the language.

Having said that, however, this challenge is very common among First Language (L1) speakers of Chinese. This is because, to the best of my knowledge, that when a Second Language (L2) learner starts to experiment a new language, they consider it from a totally different angle, and tend to compare with their L1. As a result, this leads to a tremendous challenge for native speakers of Chinese teachers in three different ways:

- 1) Something that teachers who are L1 speakers of Mandarin take for granted might greatly inspire L2 learners' interest and curiosity.
- 2) Something that L1 speaking teachers know about Chinese, but they do not know how to explain to L2 learners.
- 3) Something that L1 speaking teachers might explain about Chinese, but their explanations might result in

students' further confusion or more perplexing questions.

Story two:

We were discussing about food and food preferences in different cultures. Suddenly, a year 7 student asked me, "Miss, do Chinese people eat dogs?" "Yes, we do." I responded without any hesitation. This student continued to ask me, "What kinds of dog do you eat?" I was just thinking how to respond to students, when my mentor interrupted, "Let's focus on the task." She redirected students' attention from an open-ended conversation for which I was unprepared to the task at hand.

My reflection.

This is one of the impressive lessons which presents the second challenge: How to involve cultural discussion, especially controversially culture issues such as 'one child' policy and the Chinese Communist Party. On one hand, I appreciate that my mentor saves me from an embarrassing situation; but on the other hand, I am curious about why she do that. After the lesson, she tell me very seriously, "Never tell students that you eat dogs. You know what? Dogs are their pets. So how could you eat their pets-their best friends? They think that Chinese are so cruel. If you tell them that you eat dogs, they will suddenly treat you differently, and they will also see Chinese and China from a different perspective. So do not lose your status in students' hearts."

Due to the fact that L2 learners, as a rule, hold different ideas and beliefs about the same cultural phenomena, it is vital for teachers to control the way in which cultural information can be presented in a positive way. If no appropriate and careful consideration was taken into account, then a negative impression about the teacher like me and Chinese people would be the result. This would further affect a teacher's authority in students' heart. In the above example, year 7 students would probably think I am cruel because of eating their pets. Therefore, a language teacher needs to know the local (Australian) culture as much as possible.

Story three:

This was the first lesson that I observed my mentor to teach Chinese characters. Table 2 illustrated one example, the character 好 (hǎo). She explained that the left part "女" is a picture of a woman. You could remember this because to me it looks like a woman curtsying. Then she used her body language to help her students visualize the characters. She also gave a curtsy with an explanation about a king and queen to give the students a mnemonic tip to help remember the left part "女". In addition, she explained that the right part "子" is a picture of a child. A small baby wrapped in a blanket with his/her head and arms sticking out. In order to connect the meaning of this character (good) with the two images (a woman and a child), she further explained that Chinese people think that the 'good' (the meaning of '好')

thing in the whole world is the relationship between a mother (the left part ‘女’) and her baby (the right part ‘子’). So in coming up a symbol for ‘good’, they put the picture of a mother and a baby together.

Table 2: Character 好 (hǎo)

Hanzi (Character)

Visual notes English

好

Good

My reflection:

This is an amazing example, which demonstrates an innovative way to teach Chinese characters. However, this also presents the third challenge: How to effectively teach characters and help students memorize them in the long term. Traditionally, native speakers of Chinese teachers rely on countless times of reading and copying to force children to memorize the difficult characters. Some teachers, if they are more knowledgeable, talk about the system of composing characters like radicals; but this is too difficult for beginners to understand, let alone to grasp and remember all the theories and characters.

However, the strategy that my mentor has used built on students’ prior cultural knowledge. In terms of the left part “女”, she connects it to Australian culture as a woman curtsying. This contrasts to the Chinese culture, where this can be explained as a girl dancing. While speaking of the right part “子”, the explanation of a baby is common in both Chinese and Australian culture. This pedagogical strategy applied a variety of social and cultural knowledge to establish the connection between the character and the students’ prior knowledge. Thus, learning Chinese, undoubtedly, became easier and even more interesting.

Discussion on obstacles in developing the teaching in Australian Schools

Three stories indicate three challenges that Chinese language teachers face: How to respond unexpected students’ questions, how to involve cultural discussion, as well as how to effectively teach characters. These issues are not only essential for all teachers, native speakers of teachers in particular to improve teaching quality, but also beneficial to inspire and maintain students’ interests and learning efficiency. Looking back, the history of Chinese language development in Australia was dated back to decades ago. Since then, other challenges regarding teaching and learning of Chinese has appeared for both native and non-native speakers of teachers at school and national levels.

The first main obstacle comes from the supposedly “difficult” nature of the language itself. About 20 years ago, in order to better serve Australia’s economic development,

the government initiated a drive to produce “Asia literate” (Orton, 2008, p. 25) graduates from Australia’s schools. Under that driving force, there were numerous programs established to promote and assist Chinese teaching and learning at every level of schooling. However, it did not last long. This was primarily because that “Chinese, in particular, had proven too hard” (Orton, 2008, p. 25). As a result, some school principals were unwilling to provide and participate in Chinese programs anymore, despite of strong support and encouragement from the government.

The second and key problem is the availability of qualified teachers, as this has largely constrained Chinese language education (Orton, 2008). In Zhang and Li’s (2010) report on Chinese language teaching in the UK, the same problem has been pointed out. They further state that “the lack of qualified and experienced teachers has become a bottleneck that constrains further development of Chinese teaching in UK” (Zhang & Li, 2010, p. 94).

Regarding teacher supply, “some 90% of teachers of Chinese in Australia are native Chinese speakers, with most by far coming from the Mainland; but there are also some from Taiwan and Southeast Asia” (Orton, 2008, p. 21). Interestingly, these teachers come from all walks of life. Many are not fully employed Chinese teachers. Some are qualified teachers in their own countries but in subjects other than Chinese, such as English. Some have transferred from other industries and begun to teach Chinese with no or little training. Therefore, being L1 teachers of Chinese who speak Chinese as a first language, they lack experience and knowledge of how to make Chinese learnable for English-speaking Australian school students. They often find difficulties in adapting into Australian school culture; relating well to Australian school students, colleagues and parents; applying contemporary Australian pedagogical approaches to teaching; employing the communication strategies and modes of intercultural expression that are suitable for Australian students, and focusing on oral practice at the expense of character teaching (Orton, 2008). Most of them, therefore, are rejected as unsuitable, due to doubts about their capability to relate effectively to Australian students and successfully manage an Australian classroom. In addition, research shows that due to their various backgrounds, teachers for whom Chinese is their first language also face other major challenges which are summarized below.

1) Acculturation: this applies particularly to the educational environment where behavioral patterns and attitudes of students as well as interpersonal relationships among teaching staff differ greatly from those which a native

teacher would have experienced in a Chinese learning environment.

2) Pronunciation: it seems to be a common phenomenon that native speakers whose mother tongue is other than the Mandarin dialect speak Mandarin with a pronounced accent, and some have great difficulty in mastering particular Mandarin sounds. In general, native speakers from Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, and to a lesser degree, Taiwan, fall into this category.

3) Romanization: Taiwanese, even those whose native tongue is Mandarin, would have no exposure to the Pinyin Romanization system (Wang, 2009).

4) Language: the most important thing for the Chinese teachers when they are teaching in an Australian classroom is that they should use English fluently so that they can have a good communicative relationship with their students. However, most Chinese teachers complain that they find difficulties when explaining language features and giving instructions to Australian students. Therefore, communicative ability in language as the medium of instruction is as important as, if not more important than, proficiency in the target language (Scrimgeour, 2010).

A report on the future of Chinese language education in Australia schools (National Forum Report, 2008) highlights the same major deterrent to retention of classroom L2 learners of Chinese, that is, teachers are not trained to teach the Chinese language specifically to English-speaking students. In UK, some schools decide to give up shortly after starting to teaching Chinese, because the students have not had a good learning experience due to the teachers' lack of experience and skills (Zhang & Li, 2010).

Therefore, L2 teachers of Chinese, whose first language is not Chinese, are keenly sought after by schools. However, their language proficiency level in almost all areas, such as phonology, grammar, vocabulary, is often not at the desired level, which is not encouraging for L2 learners. In addition, it can sometime be a source of embarrassment for L2 teachers, when the class includes L1 speakers whose language proficiency is superior to them (Orton, 2008).

The third problem is the lack of an adequate syllabus and examination system for Chinese teaching and learning (Zhang & Li, 2010, p. 92). This has been identified as a key issue in UK, while in Australia such a curriculum is now being developed. In terms of syllabus, not many states in Australia have their own Chinese language syllabus, except NSW and Victoria. What they do is borrowing from other languages, especially European languages' syllabus. However, it is found that they are all too difficult for beginning learners of Chinese. In terms of examination system, there is no systematic and localized system for

different levels of learners, such as beginners, continuous, heritage and background speakers. There are a number of reasons for this, among which, the major reason is that Chinese entered the curriculum much later than other languages. Therefore, it is the right time to set up an adequate syllabus which meets the needs and objectives of overall curriculum requirements as well as reflecting on English speakers' approaches in learning Chinese (Zhang & Li, 2010).

The fourth problem is the lack of adequate teaching/learning materials specifically designed for making Chinese learnable for English-speaking students (Zhang & Li, 2010). This is an increasingly acute issue as Chinese language teaching/learning has grown rapidly in the last few years in UK. It is also a key problem in Australia. While there are many textbooks and teaching materials available in the market, yet few of them are designed with regard to how English-speaking students learn Chinese in the local contexts. Zhang and Li (2010) argue that "most of the available teaching materials are designed from the point of view of the Chinese language itself rather than the needs of the learners and users" (p. 93). Therefore, L2 learners, especially beginners, find that Chinese is "inaccessible and impossible to learn" (Zhang & Li, 2010, p. 93), which damages the enthusiasm students have for learning the language. It also adversely affects the efficiency and results of learning and teaching of Chinese from teachers' perspective. Therefore, in order to make Chinese as a main language in Modern Foreign Language family, it is urgent to develop locally relevant teaching/learning materials in Chinese. However, the learning needs to be relevant to students' everyday lives, and needs to incorporate CIO-linguistic features known to beginning learners who speak English.

Apart from the above main problems, Orton (2008) also summarizes other important issues existing in Chinese language education in Australian schools, such as (1) time on task; (2) background and non-background learners in the same class; (3) 94% attrition rate of L2 learners before the senior years. With 94% of non-background learners dropping of Chinese classes, it is an urgent issue for teachers and researchers to think about and find appropriate solutions for Chinese to remain one of the most important Asian languages for Australian school students to learn.

Conclusion

Chinese is believed to be a difficult language for English-speaking learners, and it is less rewarding to learn (Zhang & Li, 2010). However, due to the increasingly powerful status of China socially, cultural and economically, learning Chinese has become a popular and an urgent task for school students, businessmen, and others in all walks of life

in English-speaking countries, such as Australia. Thus, the question arises how to make Chinese learnable for language learners who speak English as their first language?

This question can be firstly answered by increasing the number of appropriately qualified and experienced teachers of Chinese to work with beginning non-Chinese background learners. This is a major challenge. To a large extent, teachers are a decisive factor in the whole process of learning and teaching. Even with no adequate syllabus or suitable teaching materials, teachers who are appropriately educated can adapt existing materials or create their own suitable materials to meet the needs of students and the curriculum so as to engage students.

Secondly, even though an increasingly large number of student-teachers, traditional Chinese teachers, and Chinese who are from other walk of life have become or try to be Chinese teachers in a foreign language country, like Australia, teaching our mother tongue is not an easy task. I very much doubt the commonsense claim that “you are a native speaker of Chinese, of course, you can teach your mother tongue to non-Chinese students”. Three stories from real classroom practice have clearly identified the high demand for qualified teachers, including knowing both cultures thoroughly, knowing students’ prior knowledge and knowing locally recognized instructional language and pedagogical strategies. If teachers are capable of investigating and developing sound and innovative pedagogies for L2 language learners, they can, as a rule, reduce the cognitive load needed to enable students to be successful in learning Chinese.

Fortunately, ROSETE program has provided all VTRs, including me a platform and an opportunity to explore an urgent task: How to make Chinese learnable for English-speaking learners. More specific, based on continuous reflection, challenges and obstacles that we face in the classroom inform us the knowledge, as well as develops the capabilities to make informed decisions about technology, curriculum and pedagogy. I believe teaching is a long journey, and I am now better prepared to learn more. I value what I have learned through ROSETE program. Carrying all of these valuable assets with me, I can now be more confident in the Chinese teaching career.

I would like to end this paper with this very encouraging quotation:

When you improve a little each day, eventually big things occur. Not tomorrow, not the next day, but eventually a big gain is made. Don’t look for the big, quick improvement. Seek the small improvement one day at a time. That’s the only way it happens-and when it happens, it lasts (Wooden, 1997, cited in Hiebert, Gallimore, & Stigler, 2002, p. 13).

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The Implementation of Culture Tasks in Teaching Chinese to Australian High School Beginners: An Action Research

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Abstract: This paper reports a research study which focused on the combination of Task-Based Language Teaching (TBLT) and Intercultural Language Teaching (ILT) in the teaching of Mandarin as a second language to non-Chinese background beginner at an Australian high school. Based on the model of TBLT, the researcher found that there is a lack of culture task in the earlier studies on TBLT. To fix this gap in research, the researcher who worked as a volunteer Mandarin teacher at an Australian high school, used an action research to combine ILT with TBLT through implementation of culture tasks to promote Australian students' learning of Chinese culture and language, as well as enhance their interests in Chinese.

Key words: Culture task; task-based language teaching; teaching Chinese as a second language; Australian beginners

Introduction

The research question of this study is 'how to use culture task to teach Chinese to Australian non-background beginners and benefit their interests in learning Chinese?' This paper reports the teaching process of Chinese classes at an Australian high school. Action research was used as a methodology in the research. The data of research was collected from observation and reflection of the researcher who worked as a volunteer Mandarin teacher at an Australian high school, the feedback from students, and an interview from an experience teacher. The data was gathered and analyzed to evaluate the culture task in terms of benefits to the student's learning and the teacher's Mandarin teaching.

Background of the Study

The Task-based teaching approach began at the early of 1980's. Prabhu (1982) published his report in Bangalore experiment in 1982 and coined the 'task-based approach' in 1983 formally. As a new teaching approach, it addresses 'let students finish a group of actual language using task which designed by teacher' (Wang, 2005, p. 3). After that, some educator began to write the syllabus of task-based teaching approach. For example, Yalden design a syllabus for Canada government abroad affair department and gave a particular introduction in Principles of Course Design for Language Teaching (Wang, 2005, p.3). Then, in 1989, Nunan (1989) publish his Designing Tasks for the Communicative Classroom. It introduced the basic theory of task-based language teaching.

Compared with the old language teaching approach like 'PPP'

(Presentation, Practice, and Production) and Grammar translation, TBLT can be regarded as a new-born approach. Especially in Chinese teaching, the history of TBLT implementation is only probably ten years. During the literature review, the researcher found two gaps in TCSL. One is the selection of teaching content, and another is the implementation of culture element.

To fill the gap of TCSL, the main research question of this research is on the teaching Chinese as a second language in Australia:

How to implement culture task in TCSL for high school beginner?

Culture, as a core of Intercultural Language Teaching (ILT) approach, has already been set as the object of language teaching. 'It (learning language) involves fundamentally learning to communicate with others in that language and such communication involves an engagement with culture' (Liddicoat, 2005, p. 1). In TCSL, researchers and teachers have also realized the important of culture teaching. They encourage TCSL teachers to teach more appropriate culture to the international students in China. A Chinese researcher provides his point of view to language and culture as follows:

Language is the carrier of culture. The learning and using of language, usually has a very close relationship with the culture of this country. The culture input of TCSL teaching, aim to improve the intercultural communication competence of students. More culture knowledge has been understood, more close to the Chinese thinking model, to some extent it can help to accelerate the process of learning knowledge and implement the knowledge which they learned better. (LIU, 2001, p. 34)

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One of the most important principles of ILT is to develop intercultural competence, 'In order to teach culture as a dynamic set of practices ILT has established four main activities for learning about culture: learning about cultures, comparing cultures, exploring cultures and find one's own 'third place' between cultures' (Liddicoat, 2001, p. 9). These are also can be regarded as the process of ILT to some extent. Learning the target culture is not enough, but compare it with students' own culture, it provided a process of understanding culture which is the main object for this study.

Research design and methodology

The study used a task-based approach to teach Chinese in a high school in Western Sydney. The researcher intended to design a teaching plan for a whole term and a big task at the end of term which is introduced at the beginning. Each lesson was also a small task, which will follow the task circle. The aim of the task is to teach students something useful during the practice of task like communicative skills, Chinese culture and Chinese habit. Each class linked to the big task of the term and includes something related to the last topic or performance. At the end of the term, students were required to demonstrate their language using focusing on what they had learned. For each class, according to the teaching content, 'culture task' will be integrate into the class and including communication, vocabulary, handwork, calligraphy and so on.

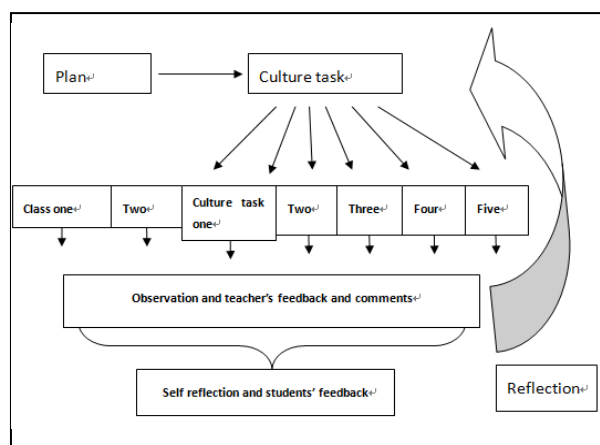


Figure 1: Class design for 'culture task'

After each class, I (the researcher) ask the comments and questions of class teacher and write my reflection dairy to record the class process and my own reflection and further planning. It is a very important evidence for my action research. At the end of term, some feedback from students is collected for research data and reflection. The whole plan has four major phases: planning, teaching, observation and reflection, which fit the circle of ACTION RESEARCH well.

To achieve the outcome of research, the methodology which used in this research is an action research. The methodology fits my research objectives well. First, the researcher want to be a better teacher in TSCL. Through action research, the researcher can review

my teaching process with reflection on the shortcoming of it, and then get a revised plan to improve my teaching. Second, the action cycle can be used to weigh the function and impact of every element in task-based approach and intercultural language teaching approach. The can contrast each cycle to investigate the important elements for stimulating students' interests in Mandarin learning.

Action research, which mainly aimed to develop my own teaching and research skills during the research process, is defined by Kemmis and McTaggart (2002) as:

Action research is a form of collective, self-reflective that participants in social situations undertake to improve: (1) the rationality and justice of their own social or educational practices; (2) the participants' understanding of these practices and the situations in which they carry out these practices. Groups of participants can be teachers, students, parents, workplace colleagues, social activists or any other community members – that is, and group with a shared concern and the motivation and will to address their shared concern. The approach is action research only when it is collaborative and achieved through the critically examined action of individual group members. (Altruchter et al, 2002, p. 125 – 126)

After the instruction of supervisors, I found my research objective and plan fit the working definition of action research quite well. Due to the limitation of space, researcher could only provide one example to show the process of culture task teaching class. A task topic of kite is designed by researcher as follows.

Kite, as a traditional Chinese art, is invented two thousand years ago in China. Kite is colorful and beautiful. It is a suitable tool for students to learn language and culture. Students could learn the colors from the kites when they make it and also other tools. On the other hand, kite is full of the culture background of Chinese. It could reflect the characteristic and the way of life of Chinese. It is also a good chance for students to compare the culture of Chinese and Australian in kite. This topic follows the structure of TBLT which makes the arrangement of language and culture input and practice more reasonable. Kite design and making is provided to students as a task to finish, during this task, students practice their language on the specified environment and condition.

Topic: Kite making	Class amount: 4
Language input	Culture input
Authentic text: The picture of Chinese kite The picture of colour	Static culture: The history of kite in China The function of kite
Structures, vocabulary and skills: 我要...(I want...) 给我...(Give me...) 这是...(This is...) 那是...(That is...) 帮我...(help me) 没关系 (my pleasure) 颜色 (colours), 笔 (pen), 纸 (paper), 橡皮 (eraser), 剪刀	Dynamic culture: The connotation of kite The art of kite

(scissors), 钳子 (pliers), 线
(line)...

Task:	Assessment:
Design a kite	Ask for tools and help during the making
Make a kite	
Fly a kite	revision: Greetings.

This topic has taken in the second term of year 7. It takes three lessons to finish the topic which includes designing, making and flying. Each lesson is seventy-five minutes and divided into three parts: language and culture input as pre-task in fifteen minutes, kite designing, making and flying in forty-five minutes as task, revision and further knowledge expending in fifteen minutes as post-task. Before this topic, students have learned greetings and some useful sentence for communication, for example, 谢谢 xièxiè (thanks), 对不起 duìbùqǐ (I'm sorry), 晚安 wǎnān (good night) and so on.

The main task of this topic is kite making, an authentic taste of Chinese art. The language has been inserted in the making process and also as an assessment of language input. This topic introduces several sentences including '帮助我 bāngzhùwǒ (help me)', '给我这个 gěiwǒzhègè (give me this)', '我要 wǒyào (I want)...'. The vocabulary in this topic is all related to the kite making including colours and tools. These sentences and vocabularies are all required to be used in the class during the kite making. Students are encouraged to use Chinese as much as possible as they could. For example, if a student wants to have a paper from teachers, he has to ask it in Chinese, or the paper will not be given.

The kite designing and making is all finished by students. Five students have attended the classes and make three kites. During the classes of kite making, students learned the culture of Chinese art and the speaking Chinese within the guide of teachers. It is a good experience of learning language and culture.

Teaching process and an action research

Teaching process is following the planning of the topic. Teacher implements the planning as the main line and also meet the requirement of students in language and culture. It is flexible for teacher to adjust the teaching content in the frame of the topic.

Lesson one: design a kite

Pre-task:

The post task begins with the authentic text which is the picture of Chinese kites. Teachers show several pictures of Chinese kites. Students have been told the arrangement of the topic and also been attracted by the beautiful color and modeling of the kite. After arouse their interests of kite, teacher introduces the history of kite in China and the function of kite. Then, teacher provides a question for them: what's the difference between Chinese and Australian kites. This question is required to finish as a homework which students could do a little research on it.

For the language input, teacher asks students what we could learn from the kites as a guide. After conducting them how the beautiful and colorful kites are, students answer: color. Then teacher asks students what are the popular colors in their life. After students answered, teacher begins to teach them these colors. Teacher use PowerPoint to demonstrate the colors with Chinese characters and Pinyin and teach them one by one.

The sentence of this lesson is '我要...wǒyào... (I want...)'. After teaching the sentence, students are encouraged to use this structure to make sentence in the vocabularies of learned. The number and measure words are required to put in to the sentence. Then, teacher tells students they have to use this sentence in the kite making.

Task:

The task of this lesson is design a kite. At the beginning of the task stage, teacher ask the question of which is the most important for a kite. After get the answer of 'balance', teacher introduces the 'balance' of Chinese culture, including Chinese character and characteristic.

Then, the designing of kite has been taught briefly. Teacher explain step by step of how to design the kite, how to draw the blueprint. First is design the frame of kite, the scale of kite, and then is the picture and logo.

In the designing process, students are all very active and begin to express their own idea of making the kite. The teacher is helping students to polish their plan. Students are talking what they have learned in Chinese while designing. One student even express his idea in Chinese: '我要做一只鸟 wǒyào zuò yì zhī niǎo. (I want to make a bird kite)'.

Post-task:

The kite frame design is almost finished. Teacher asks students to finish the kite as a homework including the picture and logo. Teacher also reviews the sentence and vocabularies of today's learning to help students remember them.

Not only revision in language, culture input should be review too. A little research homework has been required students to finish during the topic of three weeks. The research topic is the history of kite in western countries and the comparison between Chinese kite and western kite. Students have to write a little report of it to present their research. They could search it on the internet and also in library.

Reflection:

Students like this class very much and could remember all the words they have learned. Although in the sentence teaching, it is seems too hard for them, after practicing and repeating, students could use this sentence for a lot of item they want. Students are interested in the kite design and full of creativity.

In the designing of kite, students are all very actively during the class. They try to express their own idea of design...students tell me 'it looks like a Chinese character' and one student even speak in Chinese of '我要做一只鸟 wǒ

yàozuòyìzhīniǎo (I want to make a bird)'. They are very happy in the lesson. (Observation and reflection, 29th April, 2010)

The language using of teacher is a problem, especially in English. It has a high requirement for teacher in English speaking. For example teacher don't know how to say scale when explain the structure of kite. And it is too hard for year 7 students to understand the scale.

When I begin to explain about the design of the kite, in designing blueprint and make scale, I don't know how to say 'scale'. My class teacher help me of this words but after class, she tell me that year 7 students haven't learn scale yet, so they don't know how to deal with it. (Observation and reflection, 29th April, 2010)

Time consuming is another issue. Teacher plan to have twenty minutes in kite designing, but it has cost fifty minutes and students still cannot finish it. As a result, teacher has to change the plan and ask students to finish the design as homework.

I plan to give twenty minutes to design the kite but I obviously made a wrong estimate. It cost fifty minutes to design the kite and even not be finished. So I left the homework for them to finish the designing of structure and logo. Next lesson is making the kite. (Observation and reflection, 29th April, 2010)

Lesson two: making a kite

Pre-task:

The language input of this class is the sentence of '给我... gěi wǒ...(give me...)'. As same as the sentence learned last class, this sentence is required to use in the kite making, for example '给我一张黄色的纸。Gěi wǒ yì zhāng huáng sè de zhǐ. (Give me a piece of yellow paper)'. Another sentence '帮助我 bāng zhù wǒ (help me)' is also required to use when students want help from teacher. Except the vocabularies students learned last class, more words are introduced to them for application, '剪刀 jiǎn dāo (scissors)', '线 xiàn (line)' and so on. The vocabularies are taught in the help of materials. Students are all going to making the kite with these materials, so they are very concentrated on it. After the revision and teaching the new words, teacher also introduces the culture of kite in the class including art, Chinese characteristics, and harmony mind.

Task:

The task of this class is mainly about making the kite. Students are expected to use Chinese as much as they can. After check the design of student as the homework last class, teacher gives some suggestions of their design. Students estimate all sorts of resources they need and ask teacher for it in Chinese. Teacher provides all the materials of kite making if students ask it in Chinese or the material will not be given to students.

After review and fix the design of kite. Students come to the teacher to get the material in the way of '我要一张黄色的纸(I want a piece of yellow paper)' or '我要剪刀 (I want scissors)'. All the students could get the material in this way, some of them are not fluency but they still complete the conversation in the help of teacher.

Most of students choose to build the framework first. The first sentence they familiar to is '我要五根木棍 (I want five sticks)'. After making the framework, students begin to cut and draw the paper as the body of kite. The sentence which learned from last class of '给我一张黄色的纸 (Give me a piece of yellow paper)' has been used by them. Although the reflection believes this sentence is too hard for them, they could speak it clearly in the help of teacher.

Post-task:

Whole lesson has been used for the kite making. Teacher checks students' homework and their research by asking some questions. The arrangement of next class is provided to the students.

Reflection:

Students could use the sentence which taught last class and this class very good. Some of they are wish to express their idea in Chinese, and be proud of it.

I am very appreciate that students can use the sentence '我要 wǒ yào (I want)' very well. Although they haven't learnt Chinese for a long time, some sentence they could not speak fluently, but they wish to and try their best to express in Chinese... One student says '我要五根木棍 wǒ yào wǔ gēn mù gùn (I want five sticks)' . Another students quickly correct him '四根 sì gēn (four)'. (Observation and reflection, 11th May, 2010)

Students are very interested in the kite making. They are very happy to do the hand working, and enjoy the process of ask for help and tools from teacher.

They are happy and exciting. They keeping ask the question about the kite and Chinese culture. Teacher asks them whether they like this lesson, the answers are absolutely 'yes'. (Observation and reflection, 11th May, 2010)

The language application of this class is not satisfied enough. Due to the kite making, a part of their attention has put in the making process, although teacher arranges the application chance for them.

The language using is not as good as I thought. Maybe they spend lot attention in making the kite. But in the requirement of teacher, they are applying the sentence and the new words. (Observation and reflection, 11th May, 2010)

Lesson three: Fly a kite

Pre-task:

As an outdoor lesson, students love this lesson very much. Teacher believes give a taste lesson for them to fly the kite of their

own making is quite important for student's learning initiative and their interests towards Chinese. At the first class, the sentence and vocabularies which taught of last two classes have been reviewed to the students. It is very satisfied that they remember almost all the words. Teacher checks the kite they made and fixes the problem of it. Three kites have been made by them, a bird, a panda, and a warrior mask.

The language input is about action. '跑 (run)' and '停 (stop)' was taught to students as a order. They are required to use these words for their kite flying. As all the lessons have been taught, students are encouraged to use as much Chinese as they could during the outdoor lesson.

Task:

Different from a formal language lesson, culture task is emphasis on the experience of students in Chinese culture activities. The main task today is flying the kite and teacher becomes a captain. Teacher introduces several important perspectives in kite flying, including wind, flying skills and controlling. Students even cannot wait to fly their own works. Teacher demonstrates how to fly the kite and then give every group the chance to fly the kite.

Students are very happy to fly the kite. Although in most of the time, they are running and laughing because they cannot fly the kites into the sky. But no one is frustrated by that. They are keeping running and flying the kite. When they tired, they ask teacher a lot question about the kite. Due to their research on internet, kite is invented for the war. They want to know why and whether it is real. Teacher explains the origin of kite in Chinese, and have communicate and comparison with them. In the flying of the kites, '跑 (run)' and '停 (stop)' is used by students, they are very happy to use these two orders. One student flying the kite, another is crying in Chinese: '跑跑跑' when kite drop on the land, students are all shout: '停停停' cheerfully.

When the happy comes, time flies. Although the kites didn't actually fly into the sky, students are quite happy with this lesson. They all say they are looking forward of the next class.

Post-task

Back to the classroom, teacher checks their homework of research. Students all finish their research as a small thesis. It will become one part of their assessments of Chinese.

At the last ten minutes of lesson, teacher reviews all the sentence and vocabularies of this topic to students. Teacher provides the plan of next topic. They are all very exciting when they heard of the plan, which is the excursion to China town.

Reflection:

Students enjoy this lesson very much as same as the last two classes, especially this class. And the language application is satisfied according to the observation of teacher.

They are quite happy to have an outdoor lesson. Students could use the language as required from teacher and their memories of vocabularies are very good. Teacher believes their interesting in learning reduce their nervous of language

application and improve the result of their acquisition. (Observation and reflection, 21th May, 2010)

The observation shows students learning result are quite good in language application, culture taste and also in culture comparison. The lesson provided the chance for students to practice language in the culture task. The homework research provides the culture comparison in students' own perspective.

Different from the normal lesson, this culture task, especially the little research, intends to provide the chance to students and let them to discover the culture. And by the communication with teacher, their discovery could have a comparison with teacher's opinion. Through this process, students are more interested in the Chinese and their works. (Observation and reflection, 21th May, 2010)

Except the time consuming, culture task has a high requirement to teachers. The outdoor lessons are interesting and relax, but teacher has to guide students to apply the language in their activities.

Students could forget the language when they fly the kites. Teacher has to join the activities with them; offers enough help and remind them to use the language. Once teacher release the students too much, their language using and learning will be reduced. (Observation and reflection, 21th May, 2010)

Kite making task is a successful plan for students. In the task, students learned several sentences which could be widely using in their life. Meanwhile, this task provides a cultural experience for student in hand making, art, and personality of Chinese.

In the task process, students are quite happy in learning language and finish the task. Observation and later feedback from students all show that students love this task and also the way of teaching. They feel relax and wish to follow the guide of teacher. The result of applying language and culture acquisition is satisfied according to the observation of teacher.

Except the positive perspective, some issues should be pay attention and reflected. Previously, the language implementation is not good enough. How to deal with student's attention, balanced in using language and doing task, should be consider in culture task. Secondly, how to test the students acquisition on culture? It could be a long time work to do; researcher hopes students could benefit from the culture task for their further life. In this perspective, their interest in the lesson is more important than assessment.

Finds and discussion

After approve the feasibility of research and teaching theory of culture task, the definition of culture task has been reviewed and refined to provide the updated understanding of culture task. The culture task if defined in the operational aspect, which is implementing in a specific school and volunteer program. It is the combination of TBLT and ILT, and be applied in a small class with

five students and with the objectives of enhance the interests of students.

The definition of culture task leads to the specialty of culture task. Six aspects are mentioned in this paper according to the researching and teaching experience. Firstly, culture experience and interest is the most important aim in culture task. Researcher use the metaphor of 'open the door' to describe the objective of culture task according to the designing of culture task. Secondly, the situation of culture task implementation is specifically and specially. It combines the role of VTR (volunteer teacher as researcher) with small class teaching, few lessons and beginner students together. As the specific implementation of culture task, it effects on the objectives of plan, lesson application and its spreading and proving. Thirdly, as researcher described, language and culture are dynamic combining in the culture task. The framework of culture task is the TBLT, while the soul inside is ILT. In the culture task teaching, researcher paid attention on the combining of culture and language and try to implement the lesson in a balance way from the plan to assessment. Fourthly, teachers and students are all the center of teaching. As the dual core in computer, researcher also balances the role of teacher and student in the teaching, which try to provide students more initiative in language learning, especially in task process. The fifth is about the class atmosphere, which is flexible and relaxing in class. It has been demonstrated in the class that students all love that relaxing and flexible lesson. The last aspect is about authentic, that means culture task is based on the real life. The culture knowledge and language are taught according the real Chinese life. Researcher believes all these aspects form the culture task. It could be view as the specialty of culture task, and also the identity of culture task teaching.

After the definition and identification of culture task, some findings and discussions in culture task teaching have been proved according to the literature, data, and experience of researcher. At first, the language of teacher in Chinese class could be English and more Chinese as the process carry on. It could be debate in the teaching, but actually some Chinese researcher including interviewed teacher, they agree that teacher could use English in Chinese according to the situation. Some researcher even regards it as a competency of teacher. From the teaching of researcher, the language researcher uses is mostly English, and more and more Chinese which taught by students is using in after teaching.

The second discussion is about the role of teachers. Some researcher believes that the TBLT belong to the students centered approach, which is advocating to make learning more meaningful to individual. But some experience teachers believe that in the Chinese teaching, teacher centered is still the effective approach of teaching. Researcher combines these two attitudes towards the role of teacher. According to the culture task, in language input stage, teacher should in charge of the whole class to deliver the knowledge of language and culture. In the task stage, students could be center of class, and teacher could provide more freedom for them in learning and

implementation.

As same as the role of teacher, some teachers figure out the different idea in judgment of success to students. Because the exam system is not suitable for the culture task, the judgment of success could be taken in another way. The 'sensitive point' has been figured out from the TCSL researcher and teacher that when the students meet something related to Chinese, and they have learned before, they will recall the learning content and interest in it. If they could remember something or could speak some due the teaching, that could be view as a success to students and teacher. Not only the recalling of knowledge, but also the communication of students. It could be both language communication and culture communication, which could be viewed as the reducing of culture conflict in their life. As the conclusion, the assessment and judgment of success could be check from three parts, which are interest, recalling of knowledge, and communication.

From the success judgment, it is clearly that culture is significant in the research. Researcher and teachers are all believe that culture is everywhere. It contains two parts, firstly, every aspect of life could reflect the culture, for example, music, sports, and food; secondly, the language could also deliver the culture in pronunciation, vocabulary, and sentence. It also provide an idea to researcher that the language teaching and culture teaching could affect and help each other, as a result, the balance of culture teaching and language teaching is important for researcher in further research and teaching.

The advantages and disadvantages of culture task: During the implementation and reflection, the researcher finds both advantages and disadvantages of culture task. The advantage of culture task could be three parts. It actually benefits the students, teacher, and TCSL.

The advantages of culture task for students have been mentioned a lot. The culture task is benefit for their interest towards Chinese learning, which is one of the objectives of researcher. It teaches students both language and culture, and provides them more chance for understanding and communication. On the other hand, culture task also benefit for the researcher, which is the teacher of TCSL implementer. The culture task class is relax and harmony, which release the burden of teacher from simple language teaching. In teaching, researcher found that the mood of teacher is quite happy as the students in teaching. The culture task design and teaching makes teacher looking forward to the Chinese teaching, he loves to teach in this way and loves to see students are learning and happy. On the aspect of TCSL teaching, the culture task affects not only the students in class, but also to other students. It has been comments by other students as a very interesting class, some students express that they are willing to attend the Chinese class and the culture task. The Chinese class was only five students in this term but the number of students will grows to thirty next term. Hopefully, culture task has some contribution in it.

The disadvantages of culture task in quite important, it is a

reflection of researcher in teaching. As it has been triangulated by the research's reflection, teachers' comments and literature, the disadvantages of culture can be summarized in five points. First of all, the time consuming is a weakness of culture task. Secondly, the content of teaching is not so easy to fit in the task. Thirdly, the class management and control is a problem. Fourthly, it is not only time consuming, but also costly of material. Finally, the culture has a high requirement to teacher.

All in all, the culture task is benefit the students in interest, learning, initiative, communication, and understanding in culture, also helps teacher has a better teaching condition while doing well in disseminate the Chinese lesson and culture. It still have some problems or disadvantages in costly of time and material, balance of teaching is class, class management and control as the limitation of culture task. Hopefully, in the further research and teaching, culture task could be more fit in to the teaching and reference other Chinese teachers.

Conclusion

Reviewing this research, the approach of culture task has carried a lot of hope and idea of Chinese teaching. It is mainly about the combination of culture and language in language teaching. As a try of teaching culture and language, the research has demonstrated that culture could also be the center of teaching, while teach language as well. The culture task could be improved to be used in the Chinese teaching. It is suitable for teaching with the objectives of interests and understanding of culture rather than exam. It best be taken in a small class, with enough supportive of time and recourses. It is better to have a long term planning rather than a short topic. Teacher should be patient, because it affects slow but sustainably.

As a teacher, I improve my skill and competence during the

culture task teaching, and get more familiar with the Chinese teaching. To students, it is glad to see they were interested in the Chinese learning and learned some important knowledge and skills about the culture and language. Hopefully, it has some effect in the program of West Sydney region, and possibly provides some ideas for the Chinese teacher in TCSL or TCFL.

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Case Study on Changes in Housing Submarkets in Shanghai, 1994-2005

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Abstract: This paper presents a study of housing submarkets in Shanghai. Given the experience of housing reform in China, the paper argues that traditional ways of defining housing submarkets need to be replaced by an alternative which involves a systematic analysis of submarket dimensions specific to the Chinese context. A nested hierarchical housing submarket structure has been developed with appropriate spatial and tenure dimensions to take account of local housing submarket operation. The empirical results from two case study neighbourhoods in Shanghai affirm that submarket analyses will be subject to aggregation bias if they fail to accommodate the existence of submarket structure, and that multi-level equilibria and disequilibria coexist in the submarket complex. The findings are useful in gaining a better understanding of housing market segmentation in urban China.

Key words:

Introduction

It is widely accepted that the existence of housing submarkets is of analytical significance (Jones, et al., 2003, Rothenberg, et al., 1991). However, the role of housing submarkets has not yet begun to permeate practical applications partly due to difficulties in defining submarkets. In existing literature, there is a lack of consensus about key empirical dimensions and how to determine housing submarket formation. Most submarket analyses simplify tenure dimensions by focusing on owner-occupation, and treat spatial dimensions in a reductionism way. Furthermore, there are currently many submarket studies which do not recognize the importance of submarket structure.

This paper aims to address some of these problems by proposing an addition to the existing approaches. Specifically, given the experience of housing reform in urban China, an analysis of dimensions specific to the Chinese case is conducted, with a clear distinction between housing supply segmentation and demand differentiation. A nested hierarchical urban housing submarket structure is then developed, with spatial and tenure dimensions necessary to ensure a fuller comprehension of local housing submarket operational processes.

There are many reasons to expect that the housing markets in urban China might be different from the widely studied North American and European market. Experience from Western Cultures is likely to be irrelevant in the case of

China. This paper contributes to the ongoing debate in relation to what is a housing submarket, what dimensions determine submarket formation and how it operates, and reduces the information gap by adding to the knowledge of housing market segmentation in urban China by introducing new evidence from the Shanghai market.

The next section proceeds with a brief review of the treatment of housing submarkets in the literature. After a systematic analysis of dimensions contributing to housing submarket formation in Section 3, Section 4 proposes an analytical framework to examine submarket changes in Shanghai based on the development of a nested housing submarket structure. This is followed by section on the data sources and methods. The empirical results are presented in the subsequent sections. The paper concludes with a summary of key findings and policy implications.

The Treatment of Housing Submarket in the Literature: Approaches and Limitations

The concept of the housing submarket was adopted as a working framework in a number of studies of the local housing markets in the 1950s and 1960s (see Fisher and Winnick, 1953, Grigsby, 1963). Subsequently, the term has been widely adopted in the housing literature. Since the 1970s around twenty studies have sought to test their existence, and identify submarkets by using hedonic house-price analysis (for a comprehensive review, see Watkins, 2001).

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However, there is considerable imprecision and inconsistency surrounding the conceptualization of housing submarkets (Watkins, 2001). There seems to be a lack of consensus as to what empirical dimensions should be used and how they determine housing submarket formation. Quite often, spatial dimensions have been treated in a reductionist way and tenure dimensions abstracted away. There has also been a lack of clear distinction of dimensions between supply segmentation and demand differentiation. Different sets of dimensions taken from supply and/or demand sides have been used in various attempts to identify housing submarkets. As such, a range of submarket definitions have unsurprisingly emerged. Correspondingly, a number of means and techniques have been employed in various attempts to identify housing submarkets with different conclusions reached (Watkins, 2001).

Furthermore, there appears to be little distinction between homogeneous housing stock segments and submarkets, since in most of the submarket analyses based on either a priori expectation or statistical procedure, housing submarkets include products that are interchangeable from the supply side, with little attention and reference to the possibility of substitution on the demand side. As such, the resulting submarkets may be homogeneous housing stock segments rather than submarkets; while the least-used scheme focuses on the identification of homogeneous demander-groups and ignores the numerous dimensions of housing stock segmentation (see for example, Feitelson, 1993).

Consequently, the role of submarkets has not been embraced in applied research and the concept of housing submarket seems under-theorized (Maclennan and Tu, 1996). There is a strong case to redefine and re-identify the housing submarket, to demonstrate its structure and reveal its boundary. To achieve these aims, it is necessary to conduct an analysis of all possible dimensions contributing to housing submarket formation.

Housing Market Segmentation in Shanghai

There are numerous influences on housing supply segmentation and on demand stratification. The factors leading to supply segmentation may be conveniently summarized into three categories: hierarchical spatial dimensions related to externalities embedded in complicated urban spatial structure, tenure dimensions, and structural dimensions; whereas the dimensions of demand differentiation vary across societies and over time depending on welfare and institutional arrangements. These are discussed in turn below.

Spatial Dimensions

Location is usually considered the most important of

housing characteristics. However, the locational context of housing stock has been treated in a rather reductionist way, and has often been simply and inadequately modelled by using the distance to CBD as a basis for the spatial stratification of housing stock, but this is often of limited value as a locational dimension.

Brueckner et al (1999) classify urban amenities into three categories: exogenous natural amenities, historical amenities, and endogenous modern amenities. For simplification, the hierarchical locational externalities affecting housing value, positive or negative, may be conveniently divided into two parts: externalities above neighbourhood level and ones at neighbourhood level, which are neighbourhood components. The former includes proximity to CBD and to subcenters, transportation networks, recreational areas, and pollution etc. Even though location is fixed, numerous man-made external economies at above neighbourhood level may be dynamic, affecting not only the level of unit costs but also the rate at which they fall/rise over time (Anas et al., 1998). Consequently, the differential effects of externalities, often strongly correlated with location, may dynamically influence housing submarket formation. Therefore, there is a limited basis for pooling housing stock with the same or similar structural characteristics but in different neighbourhoods together to form a submarket, even though these neighbourhoods are the same in terms of all their intrinsic characteristics and at the same distance from the CBD. Additionally, of course, neighbourhoods can differ greatly in their physical, social and economic characteristics.

In addition to the inclusion of accessibility aspects of location, technical progress has been made to add separable amenity terms to the hedonic model to derive rich specifications for econometric modeling of neighbourhood amenities (see, for example, Cheshire and Sheppard, 1995). However, due to the complex and idiosyncratic nature of locational amenities in an urban area, information about a property's locational characteristics is substantially more difficult to observe and quantify (Dubin et al., 1999). Moreover, numerous potential influences on property value create problems in specifying a parsimonious model. Consequently, multiple regression models designed to estimate property value typically include a limited number of influential locational characteristics. The capitalization of a full range of amenity characteristics may be still incomplete by including a number of observed and measured indicator of externalities.

Tenure Dimensions

Generally, housing market is dominated by three very distinct tenure types, conferring differing degrees of security, opportunities for mobility, direct and indirect subsidization

and potential for capital gain, although the proportion of the public and private rental sector differs in each country according to different welfare arrangement (Smith et al., 1988). Moreover, there are significant regional variations.

Usually, access to homeownership is expensive, and is contingent on an ability to secure a mortgage. Very few households can choose freely without constraints, and the vast majority have their choices limited by local housing market conditions and their position in the labour market. Many cannot access ownership, and have to resort to government aid for social housing. Access to public rental housing is strongly regulated because of the heavy subsidies they entail so private renting is the most accessible form of tenure.

For urban households it is not easy to cross the tenure lines between private rental, public rental, and private ownership; tenure-matching decisions have to be made between owner-occupancy, social rental and private renting that depend not only on the resources at households' disposal, household needs and preferences, consumption and portfolio investment considerations, but also on welfare institutions. For example, households without local urban identity permits (Hukou registration) in urban China cannot access public rental housing. Moreover, similar to the privatizing policy under the conservative government in the UK, tenants of previously social housing have had the Right to Buy (RTB) at discounted prices much lower than market prices under the policy of 'selling of former public housing to its sitting tenants' since the early 1990s.

Tenures constitute the means by which households consume housing and the vehicle by which the state influences that consumption (Ball, 1986). Each tenure, therefore, constitutes a particular way in which housing is provided as a commodity. Tenures thus produce differentiations between households in terms of the physical quantity and quality of the housing in which they live, and its cost. Of the various attributes that characterize the structure of housing provision, tenure is another important axis along which housing stock is stratified, especially in countries where the state's involvement in housing provision has produced a complex mix of tenure forms.

However, tenure has received relatively little treatment in submarket identification to date. Some studies ignored the tenure difference and treated both owner-occupation and rental sectors together; others have focused on owner-occupation and have excluded rental sectors (see, for example, Bourassa et al., 1999, Goodman and Thibodeau, 1998, 2003, Jones et al., 2003). To fully understand housing market operational processes, it is therefore necessary to include tenure dimensions in the analysis of housing submarkets.

Structural Dimensions

Housing units differ from each other with respect to lot size, number of bedroom(s) and bathroom(s), floor space, storey on which the unit is located, dwelling type, and age of structure, balcony, hardwood floors, as well as various qualitative characteristics. There is little disagreement in the literature about housing supply being segmented along these structural dimensions.

Dimensions of Demand Differentiation

On the demand side, there are different groups of consumers stratified along a number of dimensions. Feitelston (1993) proposed a hierarchical approach to residential demand segmentation, in which at least three types of dimensions can be identified according to the stability of the strata from the household's perspective. These include variables describing the membership of households in an ethnic, religious, racial, or some institutional group, the socioeconomic situation which determines the resources at households' disposal, thus their opportunities in the housing market, household life-style choice, and needs.

The sets of dimensions contributing to supply segmentation and demand differentiation may vary across societies and change over time. For example, in the previously socialist welfare housing system in urban China, housing supply was determined by the socialist hierarchical administrative ranks¹, characteristics² and property³ of numerous employers (work-units), in line with their importance to the national development strategy (Zhang, 1997). Residential compounds were generally developed close to work units, and were equipped with appropriate education, medical, and commercial facilities. Since all housing was publicly-owned, there was no tenure difference. As such, housing stock was segmented by spatial and structural dimensions conforming to the socialist hierarchy. Housing demand was stratified by household heads' Hukou registration, administrative ranks, or its equivalent professional qualifications, and seniority. Household needs and resources were not important in housing consumption. The welfare match was implemented through employers at differing levels.

As a key part of the national economic reform, the market-oriented housing reform in urban China starting in the early 1980s gradually transformed the formula of supply segmentation and demand stratification towards a market-oriented mechanism. Spatial, tenure and structural dimensions interacted together to segment housing supply and household resources and needs became key stratifiers of housing demand. The matching process between segmented supply and stratified demand became increasingly implemented through market mechanism.

Housing Submarket Structure, Formation and Operation

Most of the recent work does not recognize the importance of urban housing submarket structure, although a number of previous empirical studies have shown its existence (see, for example, Tu, 1997). To facilitate the identification of submarket and a fuller understanding of housing market operation, a nested hierarchical housing submarket structure is developed for Shanghai (Figure 1). On the supply side, the dimensions are divided into three levels. The first level is the neighbourhood, distinguished by spatial dimensions. It is the unique site, situated in a locality that tends to produce homes with the same or similar structural characteristics and at prices that attend to attract similar household types. The second level of housing submarket structure relates to tenure types, such as private ownership, RTB private ownership, social housing, and free-market rental. The third level is housing structural dimensions, such as number of bedroom(s) and bathroom(s), floor space, dwelling type, balcony etc.

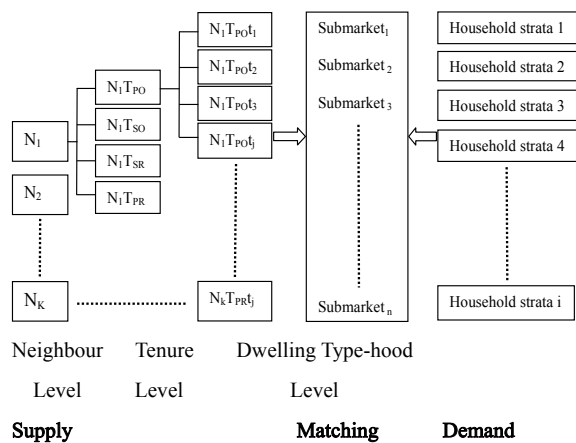


Figure 1. A Nested Hierarchical Local Housing Submarket Structure

Note: N1, 2 ...K refers to neighbourhoods; TPO to Private Owner-occupation sector, TSO to Ownership via RTB, TSR to Social Rental sector, TPR to Private Rental sector; t1, 2... j represents hierarchical housing stock segments differentiated by housing values and structural characteristics in a given neighbourhood. Household strata1, 2 ...i refer to homogeneous household groups differentiated by their socio-economic and institutional variables. Similarly, TPOt1, TPOt2 ...TPOtj represent housing stock sub-hierarchy in private owner-occupation sector, TSOt1, TSOt2 ...TSOtj indicate housing stock sub-hierarchy in RTB owner-occupation sector, and so on.

Key dimensions on the demand side include socio-economic status, institutional dimensions, and household income, stage in life cycle, and preferences which stratify urban households which (tend to) live in a

neighbourhood into strata. The contribution of each demand dimension to household stratification varies across societies and over time, depending on the ethnic composition, institutional and welfare arrangements, housing policy, and income distribution etc.

The housing submarket structure emphasizes the importance of segmentation of both supply and demand in determining submarket formation, definition, and identification. Spatial, tenure and structural dimensions interact together to segment housing supply; and socio-economic, institutional dimensions, and household income, preference, stages in life cycle come together to differentiate demand. For submarkets to exist it is not sufficient to simply identify homogeneous housing stock segments without making reference to corresponding household groups. It is necessary to stress that different household groups are matched to different classes of housing depending on institutional and welfare arrangements, household resources, needs, and preferences etc. In other words, there must be a clear identification of the differential linkages between different classes of property on the supply side and differentiated groups of households on the demand side (Jones et al., 2004). It is the way in which segmented demand is matched to the differentiated housing stock which is likely to give rise to housing submarkets (Watkins, 2001).

Thus, a housing submarket may be defined as a collectivity of all dwelling units in a neighbourhood with the same potential tenure and similar structural attributes, together with relatively homogeneous potential household demanders for which these housing units are evaluated as a whole as close equivalent.

Housing stock in a given neighbourhood can be arrayed in a hierarchically graded cluster of housing stock according to its structural characteristics. Correspondingly, all the households which actually or potentially reside in this neighbourhood are stratified into hierarchically graded household strata by relevant institutional dimensions, resources at households' disposal, household size and preferences etc. Different grades of housing stock in the hierarchy house different socio-economic groups of households. It may be a destination for a certain group of households, and in the meantime it may be a starting point for another group of households which intend to move up a housing 'ladder'.

The housing market in a given neighbourhood typically consists of hierarchical submarkets, and its operation may be viewed as a dynamic match process (rather than choice) between different grades of property on the supply side and different classes of consumer groups on the demand side. The match process arises from both the normal operation of the housing market with respect to both housing supply and

demand, and the extent to which governments intervene in the housing market. Therefore, to a certain extent the match mechanism varies across different societies from administrative or welfare match to market match, leading to differing degrees of distortion.

A full understanding of the operation of the housing market will require a grasp of the extent of the match and of changes in the match between household groups and housing product clusters over time. The hierarchical housing submarkets may be in the process of adjustment in which multi-disequilibria and multi-equilibria coexist as a result of frequent disruptions from both the supply and the demand sides.

Data and Methods

This paper applies the above analytical framework to two case study neighbourhoods in Shanghai in order to empirically examine submarket changes during the period from 1994 to 2005, using a multiple case study approach. Each neighbourhood has housing developed by both public and commercial investments, thus, all possible tenure submarkets were included in this study. Prior to 1993 both neighbourhoods were dominated by social rental submarkets. The period is chosen because it saw the post-socialist transition to a market-oriented housing market.

The empirical section of this paper is based on the analysis of the multifaceted data set of 231 households obtained in March 2006 from the field survey of the two case study neighbourhoods, Gushan and Nancheng, in the east and south of Shanghai respectively. Both are located at the same distance from the CBD, the sub-centre in Pudong New Area, the inner-ring road and the main natural amenity—Huangpu River. On the basis of house price analyses aimed at examining whether price structure is different in different neighbourhoods, the research design would provide empirical evidence to support the argument that housing units with the same or similar structural characteristics and at the same distance to the CBD but in different neighbourhoods cannot be simply pooled together to form a submarket. It also draws analytical conclusions from two independent cases to allow a degree of comparison checking.

The population were about 900 and 350 in Gushan and Nancheng respectively in 1994. Both increased to about 1,100 in 2005, as a result of different availability of land for commercial housing development. Each dwelling was individually coded and entered into a database for stratified sampling. In the Shanghai market, housing stock developed in different periods had different structural characteristics. The population in each neighbourhood was divided into non-overlapping structural groups or strata according to information on built time and the structural types. Subsequently, the established technique of proportionate

stratified random sampling was used to select households for interview, to ensure that the sampling fraction was representative of each stratum and that sampled homes were in proportion to the structural compositions of the housing stocks, representing the development processes of each neighbourhood. 118 respondent households were from Gushan and 113 from Nancheng. The survey included information about when and what types of dwellings were built and transacted, when and what types of households moved in, their composition, heads' age profile, current income, education attainment, occupation, Hukou registration and employment status related to the institutional legacy in China.

Following the nested submarket structure (see Figure 1), a multiple step procedure was employed to identify housing submarkets optimally in Shanghai.

Firstly, key housing structural variables, dwelling size, number of room(s) and number of bathroom(s), age (in 2005), were used as independent variables in hierarchical cluster analysis (Hastie et al., 2001) to construct the hierarchy of housing stock segments ($t_1, 2, \dots, j$) in each neighbourhood separately. These variables represent key factors of housing supply at the third—dwelling type level (see Figure 1) in a given neighbourhood which affect household housing consumption.

Secondly, by tabulating the housing stock hierarchy across tenure types, the sub-hierarchies (TPO t_1 , TPO t_2 ... TPO t_j in private owner-occupation sector; TSO t_1 , TSO t_2 ... TSO t_j in RTB owner-occupation sector; TSR t_1 , TSR t_2 ... TSR t_j in social rental sector and TPR t_1 , TPR t_2 ... TPR t_j in private rental sector) can be derived, representing housing supply at differing submarket levels in different tenure sectors in each neighbourhood separately.

Thirdly, using lifecycle as an organizing concept, simple statistical techniques were used to identify homogeneous household groups related to the segmented housing stock clusters. Housing submarkets were identified by matching differentiated household groups to their corresponding housing stock clusters, which together constitute housing submarkets at differing levels in different tenure sectors in each neighbourhood separately.

Given the low possibility of, and restrictions on, the modifiability of housing units in the form of flats in multiple-storey and high-rise residential buildings, it is reasonable to assume that housing units in each neighbourhood would stay in their relative housing submarket positions over time, since housing units in the same neighbourhood would be expected to, if possible, appreciate or depreciate at similar rates. As such, cross-sectional information dating back to 1994 on part of households' housing consumption and their characteristics

can be traced and used in cross-sectional analysis to examine the growth and decline of submarkets in different sectors during the study period.

It is important to note that due to its modest sample size, the dataset may not be sufficient to estimate a convincing hedonic regression. However, instead of a direct basis for submarket identification, as in the traditional submarket analyses by testing price differentials, the hedonic models are used only to ascertain whether the price structure is different across neighbourhoods. The observations captured are sufficient to conduct cluster and other statistical analyses at neighbourhood level, allowing the model to be operationalised in a meaningful way.

Hedonic House Price Estimation

The formulation of regression models requires the construction of a database of appropriate variables which should comprise all significant macro and micro influences on house prices (Adair et al., 1996). Despite the lack of consensus in the literature regarding the variables to be included into the hedonic price function, characteristics in three categories are generally considered appropriate (Bowen et al., 2001): housing structural characteristics (S), social and environmental attributes of the neighbourhoods in which dwelling is located (N), and other locational characteristics such as accessibility to CBD, employment and services etc (L). Given appropriately measured variables in these three categories, it is generally agreed that proper specification of the hedonic price function accordingly expresses the market (cross-sectional) prices of housing units as

$$P = f(S, N, L)$$

However, the housing submarket structure model makes it possible to only include variables of housing structural characteristics in the hedonic price analyses, since all housing units in each case study neighbourhood are nested in the same hierarchy of externalities. Externalities contributing to the housing value at neighbourhood level and above, positive or negative, are not unique to any individual property but are common to the group of properties sampled from the same

neighbourhood. As such, the variables indicating complicated amenities related to residential locations, which are found to be important in the other hedonic studies, are constant for all the properties sampled from the same neighbourhood, thus were omitted in this analysis. This omission would not bias the results. Instead, the analysis prevents the measurement problems with regard to neighbourhood quality and numerous externalities at differing levels from affecting the accuracy of regression results.

Gloude-mans (1990) pointed out that it was important to appreciate that failure to allow for temporal stability can produce unstable regression coefficients. Housing prices in Shanghai were not constant in either nominal or real terms over the period from 1994 to 2005. As the observations of market transactions were 40 and 71 in Gushan and Nancheng respectively, aggregate yearly time variables are utilized to measure changes associated with sales in different time periods, thus capturing the influence of time on housing price, and produce stable regression coefficients.

Many regression forms were carried out to test different models. Table 1 and Table 2 report the regression results for best models in Gushan and Nancheng respectively. They use linear and log-linear forms for cross-validity. It can be seen that house age (Hsage) carried an expected negative coefficient on transaction price. Non-linear forms of explanatory variable Hsage were tried but did not improve the explanatory power of the models as indicated by reduced goodness-of-fit compared to the reported models.

The only housing structural attribute affecting housing prices is one-room flat (FR1BKM) in Gushan, which carries a negative coefficient, indicating the undesirability of this type of out-of-date dwellings for households' housing consumption. The remaining housing structural variables in the hedonic models for both neighbourhoods are not found significant. One of the reasons might be that housing depreciation or appreciation over the study period overrides the effects of housing types on house prices. Furthermore, as the number of observations is modest, the structural effects are likely swamped by the aggregate time effects. Moreover,

Table 1. Regression Results for House Price Estimation in Gushan

<i>Dependent Variable</i>		<i>PRICE</i>		<i>LN(PRICE)</i>	
<i>Independent Variable</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>t-value</i>
FR1BKM	one-room flat with kitchen and bathroom	-1109.644	-2.975**	-.413	-4.033***
Hsage	Flat age	-24.675	-2.137*	-.008	-2.377*
Tt94/01	Dummy variable for sale between 1994 and 2001 (1=yes, 0=no)	-671.021	-2.198*	-.170	-2.024*
Tt03	Dummy variable for sale in 2003 (1=yes, 0=no)	1097.686	3.032***	.258	2.596*
Tt04	Dummy variable for sale in 2004 (1=yes, 0=no)	2458.581	6.028***	.509	4.543***
Tt05	Dummy variable for sale in 2005 (1=yes, 0=no)	4104.450	5.427***	.759	3.654**

Constant	4191.649	15.318***	8.318	110.629***
R^2	0.830		.797	
Adjusted R^2	0.800		.760	
F-Statistic	26.941		21.635	
df	32		32	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; *PRICE* refers to market transaction price.

Table 2. Regression Results for House Price Estimation in Nancheng

<i>Dependent Variable</i>		<i>PRICE</i>		<i>LN(PRICE)</i>	
<i>Independent Variables</i>	<i>Definition</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>t-value</i>	<i>Coefficient</i>	<i>t-value</i>
HSAG	Flat age	-133.036	-8.131***	-.030	-8.107***
Ttn97/8	Dummy variable for sale in 1997/98 (1=yes, 0=no)	-.745.055	-2.631*	-.157	-2.467*
Ttn99	Dummy variable for sale in 1999 (1=yes, 0=no)	-1352.582	-3.793***	-.329	-4.103***
Ttn00	Dummy variable for sale in 2000 (1=yes, 0=no)	-1459.631	-3.559**	-.450	-4.882***
Ttn01	Dummy variable for sale in 2001 (1=yes, 0=no)	-.655.969	-3.025**	-.147	-3.012**
Ttn03	Dummy variable for sale in 2003 (1=yes, 0=no)	1704.201	6.633***	.310	5.372***
Ttn04	Dummy variable for sale in 2004 (1=yes, 0=no)	4275.816	13.284***	.716	9.894***
Ttn05	Dummy variable for sale in 2005 (1=yes, 0=no)	3904.895	5.722***	.673	4.384***
Constant		5455.695	39.132***	8.603	274.520***
R^2		0.847		.805	
Adjusted R^2		0.827		.780	
F-Statistic		42.878		32.018	
df		61		61	

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$; *PRICE* refers to market transaction price.

instead of package prices, housing has been transacted in practice on the basis of per-square-meter prices which are usually unrelated to housing types in the Shanghai market.

Though both neighbourhoods are at the same distance from the CBD and the other key amenities, the standard house price in Nancheng (CNY ¥ 4,972.774) is nearly 25 percent higher than that in Gushan (CNY ¥ 4,002.145 transacted in 2002). Also, there were six regressors in the Gushan price equations while eight in the Nancheng price equation, for which the coefficients were different. The reasons for these discrepancies might be that the number of transacting properties in Gushan (40) during the study period was smaller than that in Nancheng (71), and transacting time in Gushan was so widespread that some dummy variables indicating transacting time were found significant in the Nancheng but not in the Gushan equation. The differences between coefficients of transaction time dummy variable of the same year reflect that the rates of price appreciation/depreciation varied spatially in the Shanghai market.

The empirical evidence emphasizes the need for caution

in using the distance of housing to CBD as the proxy of spatial dimensions in submarket identification. Since housing units with the same or similar structural characteristics and at the same distance to CBD but located in different neighbourhoods command quite different market values, therefore, they are a substitute for different household groups and may not be pooled together to form a submarket. Because of the different price structures in different neighbourhoods, hedonic models traditionally used to detect submarket existence by analyzing house price differentials may not be sufficient to detect or identify housing submarkets in the case of the Shanghai market.

The general price model has significant goodness-of-fit measures across the functional forms. The adjusted R^2 in both linear and log-linear price model for Gushan and Nancheng are very close to the value of their corresponding R^2 , with the lowest of either of them .76, implying levels of explanatory power in excess of the 76% of variation in prices. It is worth noting that the estimations are used only to examine whether the price structure is different in different

neighbourhoods. The choices of one of the two functional regression forms per se proved to have no effect on the accuracy of the results of housing segment identification, therefore, either one is deemed appropriate for this analysis.

The Identification of Housing Submarkets in Shanghai

The Identification of Homogeneous Housing Stock Segments

There are six different types of single family flats funded by either public or commercial sources in different periods in both Gushan and Nancheng in terms of number of room(s), ranging from one to six. Six distinct hierarchical levels of housing stock strata emerge in both Gushan and Nancheng (see the 'Total' column in Table 3 and Table 4)

when the set of independent variables, including dwelling size, number of room(s), number of bathroom(s), and age (in 2005) are entered into group average (GA) method and centroid linkage for hierarchical clustering analysis (Everitt et al., 2001)5.

Housing units in each stratum are sufficiently similar to each other compared to those assigned to different strata, and can potentially be transferred across different tenure sectors on the market. However, the housing unit stratum level labeled at the same grade in different neighbourhoods should not be regarded as equivalent or treated as the same level in the Shanghai market.

Table 3. Homogeneous Housing Stock Segments in Gushan in 2005

Submarket Level	Flat Size (m ²)	Number of room	Value in 2005	Tenure				Total
				PO	RTBO	SR	PR	
i	138*	6	875	2				2
ii	(108-116)	4-5	719-775	8				8
iii	(76-97)	4	590-672	11		1		12
iv	(56-68)	3	327-505	3	23	1	1	28
v	(42-50)	2	214-351	7	17	4		28
vi	(21-33)	1	77-193	7	5	17	11	40
Total				38	45	23	12	118

Note: * indicates flats with double floor space (fushi Zhuzhai); PO refers to private ownership, RTBO to RTB ownership, SR to social rent, and PR to private rent; Value is in thousand CNY.

By tabulating the total hierarchy of housing stock segments across the four different types of tenure in the Shanghai market, the sub-hierarchies of housing stock segments in different tenure

sectors are constructed, representing housing supply at differing submarket levels in different tenure sectors in each neighbourhood separately (see the tenure sub-columns in Table 3 and Table 4).

Table 4. Homogeneous Housing Stock Segments in Nancheng in 2005

Submarket Level	Flat size (m ²)	Number of room	Value in 2005	Tenure				Total
				PO	RTBO	SR	PR	
I	186*	6	2154	8				8
II	150-162*	5-6	1605-1876	9			2	11
III	118-129	5	1366-1473	14	1			15
IV	97-112	4	1049-1216	27	4	1	2	34
V	62-65	3	628-696	10	15	1	2	28
VI	43	2	416-460	2	5	1	9	17
Total				70	25	3	15	113

Note: * indicates flats with double floor space (fushi Zhuzhai); Value is in thousand CNY.

It can be seen that the housing stock compositions in each of the two case study neighbourhoods reveal different patterns. In total, there are more housing units at the lower level of the hierarchy in Gushan, whilst in Nancheng, there is more housing stock clustering at the middle level in the hierarchy. The reasons for the differences may be attributed to: (1) Gushan stock is relatively older, with the development

of its oldest properties dating back to the 1950s in comparison with 1986 in Nancheng; (2) as a result of different availability of land for new housing development, commercial housing built after 1996 is only 17.8 percent of the total in Gushan compared to over 60 percent in Nancheng during the same period. Consequently, there are more housing units in RTB owner-occupation sector in Gushan

than in Nancheng, which were transferred from previous social rental housing.

Housing in the social rental sector in Nancheng is underrepresented as social housing there is in relatively good condition, and has been privatized to a greater extent under the RTB policy than in Gushan. The difference in the private rental sector is that all private rental flats in Gushan are previously social housing and 91.7 percent are at the lowest submarket level; whilst in Nancheng, 26.7 percent of housing units are from commercial housing stimulated by buy-to-let as an investment option, which are at submarket level II and IV.

Match between Segmented Housing Supply and Stratified Housing Demand

Although there is considerable debate regarding the role of the life cycle in terms of both its impact as an organizing principle for housing consumption and its value in understanding residential mobility, it is an enduring organizing concept for understanding household behaviour and mobility (Clark et al., 1984). The matching analysis is conducted to examine cross-sectional household distribution over the hierarchical submarket levels and household life cycle in Gushan and Nancheng at the beginning and the end

of the study period.

The difficulty in establishing more than general relationships between the life cycle and housing consumption is in part related to the varying ways in which life cycle stages have been defined (Quigley and Weinberg, 1977). There appears to be no study attempting to distinguish among alternative definitions. In this study, life-cycle types are defined in terms of household size and age of household head. As suggested by the data, in both neighbourhoods, there were over 75 percent households comprising up to 3 persons, partly because of the 'one family one child' policy in China since the 1980s. As such, the households were divided into four categories in terms of household size: single person households, 2-person, 3-person and 4-plus-person households, with head younger than 30, 30 to 50, and 50 plus years old.

Table 5 shows the match in Gushan and Nancheng respectively in 1994. Both were dominated by larger (three- to four plus person in size) and older households in social rental submarkets at middle to low levels, and single and two-person families were underrepresented in existing tenure submarkets in 1994.

Table 5. Match in Gushan and Nancheng in 1994: Percent of Each Life Cycle Category in Hierarchical Submarkets

<i>Households Life Cycle</i>	Gushan								Nancheng		
	<i>PO</i>	<i>RTBO</i>		<i>SR</i>				<i>N</i>	<i>SR</i>		<i>N</i>
	<i>v</i>	<i>iv</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>iii</i>	<i>iv</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>vi</i>		<i>V</i>	<i>VI</i>	
<i>1 Person Households</i>											
30-50 yrs							100	1			
<i>2 Person Households</i>											
18-29 yrs	50						50	2			
30-50 yrs							100	1			
<i>3 Person Households</i>											
30-50 yrs				3.8	26.9	26.9	42.3	26	60	40	5
50 + yrs		9.1	9.1		18.2	54.5	9.1	11	60	40	5
<i>4+ Person Households</i>											
50 + yrs		21.7			30.4	17.4	30.4	23	75	25	4
<i>Total</i>	1	6	1	1	16	18	21	64	9	5	14

Note: Percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

Source: Field Survey, Shanghai.

Overall, there was little variation in terms of housing supply and household housing consumption in 1994. This was mainly determined by the housing provision and allocation mechanism in the socialist welfare housing system. Social housing provision was of generally low standard as a result of strict control enforced through the entire process of housing construction, covering housing finance, land administrative allocation, housing standards and design, urban planning control and housing construction (Zhang,

1997). On the other hand, local urban Hukou registration, marital status, seniority and household's size (indicating crowding condition) were important criteria for urban households to be eligible for welfare housing (Zhao and Bourassa, 2003). Single-person households were underrepresented since such people usually lived in employer provided dormitories, or had to live with their parents regardless of their age. Moreover, in 1994, private ownership and private rental submarkets were underdeveloped, as there

was no supply of commercial housing on the market in both household had a second home for rent on the market. Gushan and Nancheng until 1996. Correspondingly, no

Table 6. Match in Gushan in 2005: Percent of Each Life Cycle Category in Hierarchical Submarkets

Household Life Cycle	PO						RTBO			SR				PR		N
	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	iv	v	vi	iii	iv	v	vi	iv	vi	
<i>1 Person Households</i>																
18-29 yrs						50									50	4
30-50 yrs			33.3												66.7	3
50+ yrs			16.7		16.7			16.7					50			6
<i>2 Person Households</i>																
18-29 yrs			50		50											2
30-50 yrs			16.7	16.7			16.7					16.7		16.7	16.7	6
50+ yrs			5.6	16.7			11.1	38.9	11.1		5.6	5.6			5.6	18
<i>3 Person Households</i>																
30-50 yrs	3.4	10.3	17.2		6.9	3.4	13.8	10.3	3.4			3.4	20.7		6.9	29
50+ yrs		9.5	4.8			4.8	23.8	19	4.8			4.8	28.6			21
<i>4+ Person Households</i>																
30-50 yrs	7.7	7.7	7.7	7.7		7.7	30.8	7.7							23.1	13
50+ yrs		12.5		6.3		6.3	43.8	12.5			6.3	6.3	6.3			16
N	2	8	11	3	7	7	23	17	5	1	1	4	17	1	11	118
% of Total	1.7	6.8	9.3	2.5	5.9	5.9	19.5	14.4	4.2	0.8	0.8	3.4	14.4	0.8	9.3	100

Note: percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

Table 7. Match in Nancheng in 2005: Percent of Each Life Cycle Category in Hierarchical Submarkets

Household Life Cycle	PO						RTBO				SR			PR				N
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	III	IV	V	VI	IV	V	VI	II	IV	V	VI	
<i>1 Person Households</i>																		
18-29 yrs														20	20	20	40	5
30-50 yrs				25	25				25						25			4
50+ yrs				100														1
<i>2 Person Households</i>																		
18-29 yrs						50											50	2
30-50 yrs			12.5	12.5	25	12.5				12.5							25	8
50+ yrs				11.1	33.3	11.1			11.1	11.1				11.1			11.1	9
<i>3 Person Households</i>																		
18-29 yrs				100														2
30-50 yrs	11.4	2.9	20	37.1	5.7		2.9	2.9	5.7	2.9					2.9	5.7		35
50+ yrs		5	5	25	5		15	30	10		5							20
<i>4+ Person Households</i>																		
18-29 yrs			50		50													2
30-50 yrs	10	35	20	10					20								5	20
50+ yrs	20				20				20		20	20						5
N	8	9	14	27	10	2	1	4	15	5	1	1	1	2	2	2	9	113
% of Total	7.1	8	12.4	23.9	8.8	1.8	0.9	3.5	13.3	4.4	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	8	100

Note: percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

Table 6 and Table 7 report cross-sectional housing consumption in Gushan and Nancheng at the end of 2005 by life-cycle by hierarchical submarket levels respectively. It tells us the match in Gushan and Nancheng respectively in 2005 which is in stark contrast with that in 1994.

It can be seen that there is considerable variability over the life-cycle stage in the proportion of families in single family units as a result of both the legacy of welfare housing mechanisms and market-oriented reform in Shanghai since the 1980s. Two observations can be derived from the tables. First is the expected reversal of owner-occupation and private rental tenancy over the life cycle categorization. There is a higher proportion of private rental tenancy in the younger age category and for single person households, and higher proportions of owner-occupation and social rental tenancy for larger households. Second, there are more large households at an older stage of life cycle than small households at a younger stage of life-cycle, which is underrepresented in subsidized sectors (RTB and social rental sector). This was in part because of the ending of welfare housing allocation in the later 1990s which was based on seniority and crowding conditions.

In both neighbourhoods on average, households' permanent income estimated by using earning functions based on human capital theory (Wang, 1995), floor space per person and household heads' schooling years at all level submarkets in private owner-occupation are higher than those at the same level submarket in RTB owner-occupier, private rental and social housing tenure sectors, with households in social rental sector at the lowest level. Access to RTB and social rental housing at all submarket levels has been strictly regulated by Hukou registration, as all households in these subsidized sectors must have a local urban Hukou registration permit. The above evidence supports the argument that tenure is an important dimension along which housing supply is segmented in the Shanghai market.

Changes in Housing Submarkets in Shanghai

The compositions of housing submarkets in Gushan and Nancheng have undergone significant changes during the period from 1994 to 2005 in both absolute quantity and relative terms, as shown in Table 8. Overall, both neighbourhoods have shifted from the dominance of social rental submarkets at middle to low level in the early 1990s to that of owner-occupier submarkets in 2005 at differing levels.

Despite some new input of social rental housing before it was forcefully stopped in December 1999 (State Council Paper No. 23, 1998), the share of social rental submarkets decreased dramatically. In Nancheng, each level declined to less than one percent of the total in 2005, with the social housing privatized under the RTB programme to a greater extent there than in Gushan. Social rental submarkets at the bottom level in Gushan still accounts for 14.4% of the total in 2005. This can probably be explained by the fact that these housing units were mainly built in the 1950s and the 1960s with shared kitchen and toilet facilities and cannot easily be divided into individual units to be privatised.

Ownership submarkets in Nancheng in 2005 accounted for over 84 percent of the total, which is higher than that in Gushan (around 60 percent). Apart from increasing commercial housing supply over the period, the main reason for this growth was that social housing units in relatively good condition were either transferred to the RTB ownership sector under the RTB program, or resold on the market and transferred to private owner-occupier submarkets. In the meantime, new types of housing submarket—private rental submarkets, mainly at lower levels, began to emerge, accounting for 10 and 13.3 percent of the total in Gushan and Nancheng respectively in 2005.

The vacant flats were not cleared until 2002, indicating that both neighbourhoods had suffered from the market recession during the period from 1996 to 2002 when the Asia Financial Crisis hit this region, and that multi-disequilibria and multi-equilibria may coexist in

Table 8. Growth and Decline of Housing Submarkets in Gushan and Nancheng (1994-2005, % of Total)

Gushan	Tenure	PO						RTBO			SR				PR		Vacant			N
	Level	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	iv	v	vi	iii	iv	v	vi	iv	vi	i	ii	iii	
2005		1.7	6.8	9.3	2.5	5.9	5.9	19.5	14.4	4.2	0.8	0.8	3.4	14.4	0.8	9.3				118
2004		1.7	6.8	9.3	1.7	5.9	5.9	19.5	14.4	4.2	0.8	1.7	3.4	20.3	0.8	3.4				118
2003		1.7	6.8	9.3	0.8	4.2	5.9	20.3	16.1	4.2	0.8	1.7	3.4	22.9	0.8	0.8				118
2002		1.7	6.8	7.6	0.8	2.5	5.9	18.6	15.3	4.2	0.8	4.2	5.9	22.9	0.8			1.7		118
2001		1.9	1.9	5.6		1.9	5.6	18.7	15	5.6	0.9	7.5	9.3	25.2	0.9					107
2000		0.9	0.9	4.7		1.9	5.6	16.8	13.1	3.7	0.9	9.3	11.2	27.1	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9		107
1999			0.9	2.8		1.9	2.8	14	8.4	4.7	0.9	12.1	15.9	29	0.9	1.9	0.9	2.8		107

1998						2	2	13.1	8.1	2	1	15.2	18.2	35.4					1	2	99			
1997						2		12.1	5.1	3	1	16.2	21.2	37.4						2	99			
1996						2.1		11.3	4.1	1	1	17.5	22.7	40.2							97			
1995						2.1		8.2	4.1	1	1	20.6	22.7	40.2							97			
1994						1		6.2	2.1		1	22.7	25.8	41.2							97			
Nancheng	Level	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	III	IV	V	VI	III	IV	V	VI	II	IV	V	VI	I	II	III	IV	
2005	7.1	8	12.4	23.9	8.8	1.8	0.9	3.5	13.3	4.4		0.9	0.9	0.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	8					113	
2004	7.1	8.8	12.4	25.7	1.8		0.9	3.5	19.5	7.1		0.9	2.7	7.1	0.9		0.9	0.9					113	
2003	7.1	9.7	12.4	25.7	1.8		0.9	3.5	19.5	7.1		0.9	3.5	8									113	
2002	5.5	9.2	11	24.8	0.9		0.9	3.7	18.3	7.3		0.9	6.4	8.3					1.8	0.9			109	
2001	4.1	4.1	10.2	18.4			1	4.1	19.4	7.1		1	9.2	10.2					4.1	4.1	2	1	98	
2000		2.9	5.8	14.5			1.4	5.8	18.8	5.8		1.4	21.7	18.8							1.4	1.4	69	
1999		2.9	5.8	11.6				4.3	13	4.3	1.4	2.9	27.5	20.3							1.4	4.3	69	
1998		1.4	4.3	11.6				1.4	10.1	2.9	1.4	2.9	30.4	21.7							1.4	2.9	5.8	69
1997		1.4	1.4	7.2					5.8	2.9		1.4	34.8	21.7							1.4	7.2	14.5	69
1996				5.8					5.8	2.9			34.8	21.7							2.9	8.7	17.4	69
1995									8.3	5.6			50	36.1									36	
1994													58.3	41.7									36	

Note: percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding. Source: fieldwork, Shanghai.

the submarket complex in both Gushan and Nancheng as a result of frequent disruption from both the supply and the demand side.

Conclusions

This paper has developed an alternative analytical framework for the analysis of submarkets in Shanghai based on the development of a nested hierarchical housing submarket structure which reflects the role of space, tenure, dwelling type, variations in household characteristics and preferences in segmenting the market.

Empirically, this paper has applied this framework to areas of Shanghai, demonstrating the importance of the housing submarket structure in understanding local housing submarket operation. Neighbourhoods differ considerably from each other, and cannot be simply distinguished by their distance to main urban amenities. Housing units with the same or similar structural characteristics and at the same distance to CBD and other key urban amenities but in different neighbourhoods command quite different prices and house quite different types of households. The differences in both the supply and demand sides for a given type of housing stock between different neighbourhoods underline the importance of the housing submarket structure, indicating that housing submarket analyses will be subject to aggregation bias if they fail to accommodate the existence of housing submarket structure.

The findings are useful in gaining a better understanding of housing market segmentation in urban China. The submarket analytical framework developed in

this study provides a useful basis to examine the dynamic process of submarket formation and operation. It may be used to target submarkets or household groups for a better match between different household groups and housing clusters in urban China over time.

Notes

1. From the highest to lowest, hierarchical administrative ranks included provincial or ministerial level (Buji), bureau or district prefecture level (Di/Juji), department level (Chuji), branch level (Keji) and section level (Guji).
2. Work units were divided into three categories: government organization/party agency, non-profit institutions (Shiye Danwei, including educational, medical, research and design institutions etc), and enterprises.
3. The property rights of enterprises were divided into state-owned, collective-owned and private owned ones.
4. Chinese Yuan, or called Renminbi, 1\$ equal CNY ¥ 8.07 approximately in Dec. 2005.
5. Dendrograms are available upon request.

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New Development Mode of Urban Culture

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Abstract: From the “new urbanization” social perspective, this paper focus on the development of law of urban culture and make an investigation of Coordination of Urban-Rural Development guided by the principle of “new urbanization” and on the basis of our national condition as well as seeking truth form reality. In line with the Party’s 18th National Congress and the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee, this paper makes a series of discussions to explore urban culture under the guidance of “urban-rural integration” and “Eco-living”, and comb the core value system of socialism, the new urbanization theory connotation, extension and elements of carding by using the literature analysis, comparative analysis and experience method. It will clarify the development law of new urban culture and explicit the importance of urban knowledge theory in the construction of urban culture soft power in hopes of further opening a new way for the new urbanization, making a contribution to the enhancement of the urban culture soft power.

Key words: new urbanization; urban culture; exploration.

The “National New-type Urbanization Plan (2014-2020)” enacted by the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, formulated explicitly that “new urbanization” must be people- oriented and to promote urbanization along the right direction. Such a huge urbanization planning came to the forefront for the people and lifts them up. Thus, the realization of our ideal urbanization, the position of the urban culture and the important role of urban culture has been a matter of widely concern.

The connotation of “New Urbanization”

The so-called new urbanization adhere to the principle of people-oriented, and of considering the new industrialization as the driving force, and of the overall consideration so as to promote the urban modernization, urban cluster, urban ecology, and rural urbanization, as well as comprehensively enhancement of the quality and level of urbanization. This is a good way for the urbanization construction with the characteristics of scientific development, intensive and high efficiency, perfect function, friendly environment, social harmony, distinct personality, urban-rural integration, and coordinated development of large and small towns.

The “new” in new urbanization is a significant change form emphasizing the quantity and large size of a town to focusing on its quality and benefits. It takes the “Eco-living” and sustainable development as the guidance to promote

urban culture, and regards the connotation of public service as the center to make our cities and towns a higher quality livable place. The transfer of rural population into cities realizes the perfect shift from peasants to citizens, rather than blindly build many-storied buildings and squares. Under the circumstances of ecological environment to be protected and low rural productivity, shifting the rural population into cities can not only improve the ecological environment and promote the scale merit of agriculture but achieve the goal of expanding domestic demand.

The needs of times development

During China’s reform and opening-up in the past 30 years, China’s economy witnessed a progressive development, and it, especially in the last century 90’s, had enjoyed a golden development , with a large number of migrant workers flocking into the cities and the rapid expansion of floating population and with an increase of about 20 million people each year. Migrant workers constituted the main force of the “Chinese manufacturing”, which had brought the huge “demographic dividend” for the Chinese economy. Having getting on the fast lane of development, urbanization has enjoyed a mutual benefit and interaction with industrialization and modernization, and the urbanization rate has increased from 17.92% in 1978 to 53.37% in 2013.

China’s urbanization level have increased dramatically in the past 30 years, but the urbanization development model

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of "devaluing people" has already been difficult to continue, and China's economy has also been in a dilemma. Although the migrant workers have made great contribution to the development of cities and towns, and created a lot of wealth, but they suffered from the dilemma that the local government and enterprises "need the land rather than the people" and "want the value of labor power rather than the value of migrant workers". From the latter half of 1990s to the beginning of the 21st Century, a series of policies to limit the flow of migrant workers were approved, which became the "stumbling block" in migrant workers' entering cities. At that time, the transfer of rural labor force to cities needs to pay a series of fees, including floating population management fees, temporary residence fees, labor adjustment costs, migrant workers and business people management services, urban expansion fees, family planning management fee, and the cancellation of these charges were not announced until 2001 by the relevant authorities. Urbanization and reform reach the new crossroads at the same time.

In the age of economic integration and information globalization, the competition between countries focus on the comprehensive national strength, and urban competitiveness has become a major factor for the competition between countries. As modern cities and towns in Western Europe are evolved based on "industrial village" and the traditional commercial town built in period of industrialization, it is impossible for us to achieve the goal of modernization even if we make another one hundred years plan if we follow the western original development model, however, if we concentrate the limited public resources to the large towns, it will inevitably lead to excessive expansion of urban population, causing trouble to the development of urbanization. There are huge historical opportunities and several challenges for our China's urbanization.

The new-style urbanization, with the people - oriented as its core, involves a series of reforms to be breakthrough, including the reform of household registration system, land system, the reform of the fiscal and taxation system, administrative reform and so forth. While the household registration system and land system should be given the first priority, aiming at breaking down the thousands of years of barriers between the rural and urban, peasants and citizens. The basic characteristics of new-style urbanization are the urban-production interaction, urban and rural overall development, ecological and livable, urban-rural integration, and the harmonious development of economical and intensive, which is the urbanization of mutual promoting and the coordinated development of the new rural communities, the small towns and cities, medium-sized and large cities. The core of the new urbanization is not at the expense of ecology and environment, agriculture and food but focus on

rural areas and rural residents, and makes efforts to realize integration and equalization of public service and urban and rural infrastructure construction so as to achieve common prosperity and promote economic and social development. The CPC and the country put forward the new-style urbanization. In fact, it has involved all aspects of the society from the large cities to the rural new harmonious social relationship in production and marketing, cooperation and interaction.

With the gradually decline of the proportion of primary industry in the national economy, secondary industry and the tertiary industry, especially the share of services in the tertiary industry, have increased progressively, and the structural changes of surplus rural labor to cities and towns. Urbanization is a process that rural population centralizes in the cities, to be more specific, it means the increasing of towns and the rapid expansion of urban population, which is a kind of explosive growth. Many people from one generation to another spare no effort in the progress of urbanization. Constant explorations of social practice are involved in urbanization from initial formation of towns to the expansion and the perfect position of towns. Mean while, formation and development of urban cities also changed the ways of living, production and organization of human society.

The needs of the Party and the country

Our Party and country have developed two "Centennial project". According to them, we are expected to expand the national economy, perfect all systems and fully complete the establishment of a well-off society when the Party celebrate its centenary which is only 7 years left ; we should also realize the basic of modernization, build a prosperous, democratic and culturally advanced socialist country, and reach the level of moderately developed countries. We should not only learn from the western urbanization, but also take lessons of urbanization from developing countries. An all-round strategic deployment was put forward in People's 18th congress: building a well-off society and making five into one. The construction of urban culture has attracted the world attention. The 5,000 years of Chinese traditional culture would be merged with the development of towns, supporting the sustainable development of the urbanization.

The cultural soft power of a town is the major component of urban comprehensive competitiveness. It offers urban comprehensive strength spiritual impetus and intellectual support, and urban competitiveness is an important factor for the national strength. Therefore, the town's cultural soft power played an important role in enhancing the overall national strength. The core of town's cultural soft power is innovation, while cultural industries are

the carrier. Creating cultural products and cultural brand is one of means to reinforce the urban cultural soft power. The sustainable development of urban economy and all-round social progress will be promoted by the enhancement of cultural competitiveness. Therefore, the enhancement of urban cultural soft power will be beneficial to the urban comprehensive competitiveness. It will also improve the country's capacity for independent innovation, accelerate the transformation of economic development pattern and realize sound and fast economic development. It is an important issue for government and the academic to study on the acceleration and enhancement of the town culture soft power to reach the goal of sustainable economic and social development in urban areas. It is also highlighted by them that how to promote the urban competitiveness though the heritage force, innovation force and guarantees heritage force, innovation force, guarantees force and cohesion force of the urban material culture and system culture and spirit culture, and making use of the influence of the urban cities. Knowledge-based town is a new concept of urban sustainable development in 21st century. It is accompanied by the rise of the knowledge economy and knowledge management movement. What's more, it is formed by the western academics who reflect on the problems existing in the process of urbanization development.

The People's 18th Congress pointed out that: There are two general goals of deepening the reforms in an all-round-way. One is to perfect and develop the Socialist system with Chinese characteristics and the other is to promote the modernization of national governance systems and governance capacity. We should pay more attention to the system, integrity, and collaboration of the reform. We should accelerate the process of the development of socialist market economy, democracy, advanced culture, harmonious society and conservation culture. We should take full advantage of labors, knowledge, technology, management and capital. We should seize every chance to create social wealth. We should allow all our fellows to share the fruit of development.

The most important is to enhance the cultural creativity of the whole nation in building Socialist culture in China. Efforts to deepen cultural institutions reform, liberate and develop cultural productivity should be made so as to give a full play to academic democracy and art democracy, and to provide people with more broader cultural stage ,and to take full advantage of culture creativity. It is also of vital important to create a new culture chapter that people have higher ability of cultural innovation, and have more wonderful social culture life, and their basic cultural rights and interests are ensured, and moral standards, scientific and cultural qualities enhanced and the international influence of

Chinese culture increased.

At present, China is implementing a new strategy of urbanization: resource-saving and environment-friendly development plan is put on a list of the grand objective of establishing a comprehensive well-off society and of the realization of "Chinese dream". There comes a new chance for the development of China's urban culture. it requires that the position of urban development should be reviewed, and it be injected more cultural connotation. The outlook of a town should be presented completely in the circumstance of material and humanistic culture which are intertwined and interacted. Thus, not only visible substances but also the layout and space structure of a town consist of the outlook of town clearly.

The urbanization pattern under the new urban culture

Single Guiding Cultures

The urban socialist culture must take the road of the socialist culture with Chinese characteristics under the guidance of Marxism, and adhere to the principle of serving for people and socialism. Since China's town is the town that is guided by the system of theories of socialism with Chinese characteristics, therefore, its urban culture must be led by the nuclear value system of socialism. The nuclear value system of socialism is the soul for the rejuvenation of China and determines the development direction of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Socialist core value system includes four aspects: guiding ideology of Marxism, the common ideal of socialism with Chinese characteristics and national spirit and the spirit of the times, the Socialist view of honor and disgrace. It makes a logical framework and provides guidelines and the direction for the formation of core values. So, the urban culture shaped in the process of the urbanization especially needs to carry out the activities of learning socialist core value system, making a full use of the Socialist core value system to lead the social tendency, social cohesion and consensus. Urban cultures should consistently innovate its contents and forms under the guidance of the Marxist theoretical system and it should be reinforced by scientific theories, making contribution to adding vitality to its sustainable and healthy development. The urban culture should advocate prosperity, democracy, civilization, harmony, and call for freedom, equality, justice, the rule of law and promote patriotism, professionalism, integrity, kindness, cultivate and practice the core values of socialism. It should also firmly grasp the ideological leadership and dominance and adhere to the correct orientation to improve its leadership and strengthen the mainstream of public opinion. The harmonious humane and ecological environment should be created during the process of the new urbanization development, and the urban and rural development should be

balanced and interacted in a friendly manner, closing to real life of a town and to the urban residents. The new urbanization should be promoted with positive health factors so as to achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation, i.e. "China dream".

Cultural diversity

As exchanges and activities have been conducted in unprecedented depth and scope in politics and economy and culture among different countries, their values and systems and lifestyle are increasingly influencing each other. To build socialist cultural towns, it is necessary to hold a policy "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and to uphold the principle of close to reality, close to life and close to the masses and to combine with real local human social heritage, allowing all the towns to be with the socialist culture with Chinese characteristics, at the same time, to demonstrate the distinctive charm of cities and towns, promoting socialist spiritual civilization and material civilization development, and creating a scientific and popular socialist culture toward modernization, the world and the future. Human culture is composed of diversified culture. The existence of human culture diversity is both the well-being of human society and the source of a perennial human culture life. Town has always been a melting pot where all nationalities and all kinds of culture interact with each other. And the new race, new culture, new customs and new social system are produced from these interactions. Before the technology of written records was invented, urban culture has experienced a long development history. In the development history and formed the characteristics of diversity in its constant collision and fusion. As Mumford said, "In today's era, our urban culture is beyond human's control, and overwhelmed by their own rich creativity. The town is the coexistence of the cultural diversity". The American writer, A.J. Jacobs, said, "Diversity is the nature of a town. Whatever the diversity is, it is related to the fact that towns have large population and people's interests, grade, needs, feelings and preferences are various". As a result of the influence of various factors such as historical development and traditional culture, towns in different countries formed different urban cultures. As the American anthropologist Ruth Benedict (Ruth Benedict) said, "the culture is just like a person, is more or less a consistent pattern, every culture has formed respective characteristic aims, and they are not necessarily the same as other types of society. The national people should follow this cultural purpose to acquire more experience step by step. All kind of behavior are merged into one affected by the cultural driving force. The combination of chaotic actions reflects the characteristics of the unique target of the culture through the most unimaginable forms change, which is caused by the

integration of culture." The urban cultural difference is the source of the difference of towns in the world.

Culture with Chinese characteristics

Driven by the struggle and development of society in a certain time and space, the characteristics of a town is shaped by the external appearance of the town by taking advantage of current civilized means which is different from other towns and includes its material and spiritual achievements. The characteristics of a town are closely related to social life and its historical style and features and they include the inner quality of people and society and it reflects the history of human civilization. Only we stand out the individual features and characteristics can our town be vibrant and colorful. The town's charm lies in the features, but the features are the basis of culture. if the town's charm lies in the basis of culture, the key of town's charm will depend on the cultural characteristics. Culture characteristic is the dynamic visual elements in the town's landscape, and it is also the spirit and soul of town's image. Especially these historic towns gradually formed a unique town culture characteristic after hundreds even thousands of years of accumulation. There is no same town in the world. When we studying towns and constructs cities and towns, the first thing we should do is to find the cultural characteristics of the town, and maintain these features in the development of towns. After all, a town lost its culture characteristic has no vitality. On the correct road of developing the cultural towns, we should not use one size to fits all situation across the country with a model for its development, but should be on the basis of local characteristics, or it would deviate from purposes and principles of the core value systems. If we fail to make the country's major policies combined with the practice of specific town closely, the town's development would lose vitality. While it demands that the position of a town should be accurate in the process of development. For instance, the town's development of "Chang Zhu Tan of Hunan province, which calls the environmentally friendly and the resource-conserving, should take the reality of these town into consideration and enable the town to be attractive for tourist, and to be an ecological and service-oriented town, under the overall framework of "two type ", passing positive energy to the society.

Carrying forward traditional culture

Chinese Culture, with a history of 5000 years old, plays an important role around the world. Mr. Zhang ever said "At present, the most important quality for Chinese people is that they should be strongly of patriotic consciousness. However, a man with patriotism should be aware of the love of his country, which requires a man have a correct understanding of his country's traditional culture". In the development of the town culture, traditional culture is necessary to be

maintained. Anything that denies or excludes traditional culture is not allowed.

However, it is necessary to excavate our traditional culture in a systematic and scientific manner, and to absorb the most important part of the traditional culture, and even to bring it to a great height of development. Since the reform of opening up, although a series of academic dissertation, monograph, literary output and films and television programs have been making researches on Chinese traditional culture, but the researches they have done are still in a small amount on the whole, and also are repeated with low level. There are few well-known works except for four famous novels. In April 2002, Mr. Song, at an international symposium, has pointed out: "It is not only the task of the historian but also the responsibility scientific and intellectual circles to study and take lessons from history. History says the soul of the Chinese and indicates the future destiny of China. Maybe in the world people don't like the Chinese to study their own history, which is not whole nonsense. Gong Zizhen, a famous poetry in Qing dynasty, had noted that if one wanted to kill all the talent and to destroy their country as well as to degenerate their morality, he should forbid them from learning their history. We and our future generations should be not tricked." This is worth our consideration.

In the planning of the Party and the State, we have held high the banner of socialist theory with Chinese characteristics and have a full confidence in our theory and system and our development road. The urban culture should be driven by the combination of single instruction and multiple wonderful. In the process of global integration, we should protect our Chinese traditional culture and disseminate our traditional culture to the world and create a culture system with distinctive Chinese characteristics, making a great contribution to the achievement of the great goal of "the Chinese dream".

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The Ethical Problems and Remedies for Population Aging in China

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Abstract: The issue of population has been a great concern around the world for a long time. Recently the aging population problem has become increasingly serious in China. This paper explores the Chinese problem of aging population and tried to find scientifically and reasonably solutions. It argues that finding and grasping the main contradiction of population problem is a key to solve social problems in China.

Key words: the tendency of population aging, ethical problem, ethical remedies

Current situation of population aging in China

From the current situation of the given number of Chinese population, it can be seen that the aging population problem has become increasingly serious, and the status quo are as follow:

The large scale of aging population and a rapid increase of the population

Provided that the population aged 60 and above accounts for 13.26% of the total number of Chinese population, the number of aging population is around 180 million; if the population of which aged 65 and above accounts for the total of 8.87%, the number of aging population is about 120 million. Compared with other countries entering into aging society much earlier than China, the pace of development of aging population in China is relatively rapid. In the long run, "the number of aging population in China will have a stable but rapid increase in the near 40 years, and it is expected to reach a peak between year 2050 and 2055. Even though the pace of population aging will slow afterwards, the main stream is that at the time of 2100, the percentage of the middle-aged and the elder in China will maintain 34%."(Du, P., Zhuo, Z. W., & Chen, W. (2005))

The inequalities showing in the development of aging population

The inequality appeared in the development of aging population in China mainly reflected on two respects: Firstly, the development level of aging population has great difference among the coastal, central and western regions, resulting in an "imbalance" situation. Secondly, the urban and rural

development of aging population is "inversed". According to some statistics, as people who migrated into cities to search for work are on the rise, the aging population level in rural areas is higher than that of urban. And the better medical and health conditions make urban citizens have longer lives than people in rural areas. Besides people from cities have the lower birth rate, therefore, the relative aging population level in China's rural areas is rapidly going up.

Advancement of the aging population

Advancement of the aging people is reflected in two aspects: one is that getting old before they become rich and the other is that they are old without any preparations. China's aging population reached earlier than that in developed countries. It has occurred before the economic development reached to a certain level and the social security system is well established accordingly. Aging population and economic development advance each other. China's per capita GDP is less than that of developed countries when it enters into the aging society, while China has gone into the aging stage in advance. Thus China's economic strength is relatively weak to aging population, which has been a bottleneck to economic and social development. And the ahead of aging population will inevitably have an impact on China's development, as the current crises emerge.

The manifestations of the ethical problems brought by aging of Chinese population

The aging population and its rapid growth have brought many ethic problems to society and aged people themselves. These ethic problems are

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manifested as follows:

Judicial crises between generations

Present situations of population aging in china, to a greater or lesser extent, have influenced society, economy and even everyone. From the perspective of social ethic, it mainly reveals in inter-generational social equity crisis.

Firstly, such crises as the weakened political participation rights and marginalized social statuses have deviated from inter-generational equality. Retired aging population in china, not any longer, take part in decision-making, and they are lack of corresponding discourse power. Aging population in china have enjoyed the political participation rights at present, but lost their power in practice.

Secondly, aging population has not enjoyed an equal allocation and their basic needs cannot secure. Inter-generational equality advocates ensuring equality and justice to everyone. However, aging population is exclusive in the real allocation. China has upheld the system in which distribution according to work is dominant and multiple forms of distribution coexist. That is to say, China highlights the work ability and labor efficiency in the first allocation. Due to the physical and mental weakness of aging population, they are naturally at a detrimental position, resulting in partial allocation. Overlooking of the benefits of aging population has brought "No Country for Old man".

Thirdly, in the synchronic inter-generational relationship, aging people has fulfilled their obligations when they were young. However it is a deviation of inter-generational cooperation concept that they are unable to get corresponding support and care. In China, elderly are unable to get solicitude and care in time. On the other hand, younger generations are unwilling to take on their duty to support parent, which has led to a trend of "passive empty nest". It obviously departs form the concept of the inter-generation cooperation, causing a crisis of inter-generational cooperation and even the honesty crisis of inter-generational cooperation.

Overlooking the value of aging population

Firstly, social value-spiritual value of aging population cannot be realized. People in China have shift criteria from spiritual value to economic value. Evaluation of social value for aging people is mostly based on economic value instead of spiritual value. Aging people lack the rights of participation and decision-making in terms of participation in social affairs.

Secondly, individual values of aging population

cannot be achieved and respected. Due to the pluralistic ideas and values, people have different tendencies toward to the values of aging population. With the gap of generation values between aging population and younger generation, aging population's thoughts and behaviors cannot be respected and recognized and to make things worse, some of their intrinsic thoughts and lifestyles have been totally denied by younger generation.

Ethical deficiencies of spiritual endowments of the aging population

Firstly, shortage of spiritual comfort in family aged. Human beings, as the integration of nature and society, have both physical and spiritual needs, while, the latter is superior. The mental needs are especially important to the family aged. Nowadays, although China's aging people can get their basic life safeguard, but the spiritual comfort is still inadequate, and even absented. They mainly have the following characteristics: the common discrimination of aging population; material support replacing the spiritual support; more and more "empty nesters"; disobediences to the wishes of the family aged, the gradual loss of filial piety.

Secondly, ethical confusion of the "empty nesters". The so-called "empty nesters" refers to the elderly live "alone" in their house. "Empty nesters", have experienced certain kind of ethical doubts and moral tortures both physically and mentally. Firstly, the "empty nesters" are psychologically troubled. "Empty nesters" live alone, therefore, easily having a sense of loneliness and helplessness. This loneliness is mainly caused by the lack of moral responsibility of the family. Secondly, the "empty nesters" are not acquired the appropriate physical care, living a lower quality of life. Because of limited living ability, they are suffering both physically and mentally when in illness.

The obstacles of the sustainable development

Firstly, it is not conducive to the sustainable development of economy. In China, the characteristic of aging population is evident. For example, the cardinal number of aging population is large and the growing is fast. This phenomenon will cause the lack of the labor force in a certain period in China. What's more, most of the current labor forces are aging people, which leads to the lower productivity and finally influences on the development of economy. In conclusion, labor force is the main element of economic growth, and production efficiency is the basic element of influencing and restricting the realization degree of goals. The lack of labor force and the low productivity have fatal effect on the

sustainable development of economy.

Secondly, it is not beneficial to the sustainable development of social human resources. In society, the sustainable development claims to distribute social resources equally, namely satisfying the demands of contemporary people, and meanwhile taking into account of the next generation's need of social resources. However, the reality in China is that ranging according the property is common. The aging people grasp the large part of social resources. Moreover, the large number of aging people assume the absolute superiority in distribution, but what young people are rewarded in distribution doesn't conform to what they contribute, which isn't beneficial to the development of next generation, and even becomes the bottleneck of their development.

The reasons of the ethical problem of aging

The economic reasons

Firstly, Chinese are labeled the aged before becoming rich and this fact made it very difficult to solve the problem of the aging. In China, as society steps into the period of aging behind the economic development, the pressure brought by caring the elderly on the economy will become heavier. Since China has a large population base, the expenditure of social pension is far beyond the capacity of the finance. Therefore, it is impossible for China to establish the perfect service system of the aged. Besides, the limitation of the social benefit as well as the lack of the basic infrastructure for the aged cannot meet the demand of increasing population of the aged.

Secondly, the quality of the pension is imbalanced which is caused by the imbalance of economic development. As we all know, the imbalance of the economic development in China, the difference of the urban-rural dual structure and the big gap of the economic level among china's east, west and middle area, directly affect the solution to the aging problem in China. In addition, the majority of the rural aging population in China is not covered by the social insurance system. Compared with the urban area, the economic base in rural area is extremely weak. Especially there exist the great differences in rural areas in china's east, west and middle area.

Social reasons: the aggravation of inter-generational conflicts

In the social aspect, the fundamental reason why there are so many ethical problems caused by the population aging is that the conflicts of the values among generations caused by the society-transformation.

Conflicts of inter-generational relation lead to the change of values among generations. As the dominating position of the youth in society becomes more and more apparent, the values held by youth are more and more outstanding, while the voice of the aged in social life and the authority between generations will be weaker but cannot disappear in a short term. Thus, the contradictory force between the new and old values respectively represented by the youth and the elder will be increasingly fiercer. Therefore, to some degree, it is so difficult for them to reach a consensus in lifestyle, the way of thinking as well as the opinion of value, etc. So, it is not strange that there exist such phenomena as inter-generational fairness crisis, ignorance of the value of the aged group, let alone the humane and spiritual care for the old in a reasonable and scientific manner.

Cultural level: deconstruction of the filial piety culture and the spread of moral indifference

Family pension, in nature, is the real reflection of the ideology such as "faith" and "filial piety", "benevolence" and "loyalty" in Chinese traditionally Confucius culture, out of which the "filial piety" is the core of it. According to the author, the fall of the family inter-generational ethnic results from the abating of the capacity for the ethical adjustment from the "filial piety" morality and it is the important cultural foundation which props up the possibility for the family pension. However, as the social economic foundation changes and diversity of the social opinion of value crashes, the bases namely economy, politics, society, etc. on which the traditional ethic depends have also changed, which prevent the influence and the action.

Institutional level: the lack of the law and institutions related to the pension as well as the safeguard institutions

In China, people tend to choose family pension for the aged population. Here are two reasons: first, the family pension can meet the demand of the aged population in some sense; second, the social pension is not comprehensive. At present, the pension mainly relies on the expenditure of the governmental finance and the policy support. However, the economic level in China cannot provide a series of support for the social pension, and it is far beyond the need of the huge aged population. Apart from these, the system and institution linked to the pension that adapt to the aging society are not perfect. At the present, Chinese pension institution varies in different regions and groups, and the old-age insurance system between city and

countryside has a big difference, varying from coverage and enforcement to the pension income.

At the same time, China does not have the related and effective policies in social pension in the law term. Though the rights of the old in China have been protected by *Marriage Law*, *Senior Citizen Rights and Interests Protection Law*, there is still no policy and law to secure their rights in social aspect. Many problems occurring to the social pension tend to put the pressure on families, leading to a series of issues in pension and ethic.

The principles and measures to settle the ethical issue of population aging

Facilitating the social fairness and sharing the fruits of social development

First, we need to improve the inter-generational compensation and try our best to promote the fairness in redistribution. Rawls (1998) has pointed out that all social value –the base of freedom, chance, income, wealth and self-esteem –must be distributed fairly, unless the unequal distribution for one or all values fit for each individual's benefit. If we want to realize the social equality and justice, especially the reward to the aging population, the fundamental way lies in the further compensation to the senior when we redistribute the income.

Second, we should improve the inter-generational cooperation. It is so necessary and indispensable that we cooperate with generations when we try to solve these problems. In light of the Chinese reality, the nation and society need to fairly compensate the aging population, in the principle of the justice and cooperation, and to work out effective policies and measures to respond to the contribution of aging population and its situation.

Fostering and rebuilding the traditional filial culture and creating the good social environment

We need to rebuild the function of filial culture in families.

First, we must strengthen the moral education in families, especially the filial piety. As the socialism firmly stood its foot in China, the traditional paternalism totally ended. "The essence of the ethics is the mutual care and love between people. Without the participation of the emotion, the responsibility will turn into an empty concept and will lack the driving force to practice" (Guo, 2008). In modern families, the patriarchy has disappeared, so has the task of parents' traditionally moral education. As the new moral ideology and code come into being, the family has

already lost the capability of "socialize the morality", and the traditional pattern of "filial piety as moral education" has been overturned, which led to the absence of the moral education in families. Therefore, it is very essential for us to rebuild the function of moral education in families. If we are resolute to rebuild the filial culture, we need to educate people from their childhood and parents should set a good examples to their kids, which requires that parents have enough background of moral and cultural cultivation and they need to request their children according to the requirements of filial piety by taking advantage of the excellent ethical codes in Chinese traditional culture. In addition, we still need to develop the kinship between family members. As we all know, the kinship is the important prerequisite and a foundation to the family cohesion and centripetal force and this will be helpful to rebuild the filial behavioral codes.

Second, the inter-generational responsibility and ethics should be rebuilt. If we want to replay the role of filial culture in a family, we shall rebuild the inter-generational responsibility and ethics and get rid of the strange circle of the inter-generational justice crisis. Basically, supporting the old is the core of filial culture, and this is one of the contractual inter-generational transfers. Shi Bingqiang (2007) once said "during the cycles of the transfer of responsibility between generations, it gives a reasonable clue for the balance of right and duty from morality to law. And, in fact, it is also the foundation in which the inter-generational responsibility and ethics lies, and of course, it is also a factor for the construction of a harmonious family or even a harmonious society". Therefore, children need to make efforts on their own, which is also the requirement of right and duty, and they need to cultivate the opinion of filial piety of next generation by their ideology of "responsibility" "obligation".

We must create the good social environment for respecting and caring the old.

The environment of respecting and caring the old plays an important role in reconstructing the moral regulation capability of the filial piety. If we want to achieve this goal, we need to improve citizens' cognition of filial culture. So we shall take to improve the citizens' inside moral quality and their recognition level, and help them understand the value of filial culture. The most effective way is moral education, and the moral education includes forms of family education, school education as well as socially

environmental education, etc.

First, family education. Family education is the first place for a person's education, and it is also the primary and direct education for the children's filial piety. Therefore, as the kids' teachers, parents should set their own examples for their children to show their care and filial obedience to the old. In this way, they can imperceptibly influence their children, which is the first step to establish a filial concept into their children.

Second, school education. This is the primary task for a school. The school can arrange several moral curricula for students, so children can deepen their identity of filial piety. When we teach them about the ideal of filial piety, we should attach importance to the practice of this piety.

Third, the education of social environment. We must propagate culture and filial examples by using the mass media in a reasonable manner. For instance, we can use the public-interest ads to rationally spread the filial culture and correctly guide people so that they can have a rational attitude to the filial piety.

Consolidating the legislation and establishing and perfecting the retirement pension system

First, we should establish and perfect the social relief system and the retirement law system. At present, the social relief mainly depends on the Civil Affairs Administration Department, and there is no clear relief law. Similarly, there are no law articles that can suit the retirement pension. In addition, we need to perfect the legislation and regulations for the spiritual support of children to their parents. In China, the existing Constitution, Marriage Law as well as Senior Citizen Rights and Interests Protection Law all have some items about the children's duty of supporting their parents, but no items about the duty of spiritual support. Next, we should perfect the law in respecting and loving the old. It is very necessary in carrying forward the trend of respecting the old and of the social positive power.

Second, we should establish and perfect the social retirement pension system. Social security is a project which full of mass, policy, and institution. Since Chinese aging population has its own characteristics and caused many serious problems with different level, so a comprehensive and multileveled social security

system and the retirement security system should be required in light of these prominent problems. Efforts should be made to coordinate the patterns, coverage and the standards of the pension between the urban and rural areas and China's eastern, western, and central region. Retirement security system which combines the government, society and family should be established. We can gradually improve it by making different measures according to their own situation.

Helping the realization of the value of aging population

First of all, the aging population should have a right cognition of their own value. In China, the aging people almost need to be cared. However, the old should raise the pursuit of their spiritual life and life meaning when they are in later years. Apart from that, they should have a correct position for their social roles. It can be said that how the aging population see themselves decides their life quality.

Second, we need to provide more chances for the aging population to conduct social practices. Since the aging population demands some roads to social practices to realize their own values, government and society are required to produce the demand of practices. During the process, at first, we need to make it clear that we cannot regard the aging population as a social burden. In addition, we should admit it that, the social value of the aging population and the pension they accept as well as the pension model is not equal. We'd better encourage them to create and demonstrate value when they take part in practices. Therefore, we need to educate the aging people, which is meaningful for improving their spiritual situation, fulfilling their spiritual life and satisfying their basically spiritual demand.

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On the Current Graded Teaching Mode of College English

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Abstract: Graded teaching is an alternative approach to teach college English in Chinese universities, which divides students into classes according to their English level. This paper analyzes the current teaching situation in College English at Yunyang Teachers' College. The author discusses advantages and disadvantages of the graded teaching mode of college English, and makes some suggestions to improve the graded teaching.

Key words: graded teaching, college English, students-centered

Introduction

College English is a special course in Chinese universities. Students of non-English major are required to learn the course. Traditionally, students attend the college English classes according to their year level. However, in recent years, due to factors of expanding enrollment of students with wide varieties of language backgrounds, it is obvious that the traditional teaching mode cannot meet the needs of developments of students' personalities, and can't meet the needs of different levels of students groups either. The latest version of College English Curriculum Pedagogical Requirements (2004) issued by the State Education Authority advocates "the principles of adhering to classified requirement and graded teaching in accordance with the students' aptitudes so as to meet the students' needs of different levels, different requirements and objectives to study". Therefore, the graded teaching is the required method to be implemented in the college English teaching. To adapt the new situation, there is a need to reform college English teaching.

Liang (2004) points out, "How to help students bringing initiative into full play in learner autonomy has become an important objective in college English teaching, and in a word a teaching mode adapted to learner autonomy must be explored." Further, Liang indicates that through the implementation of graded English teaching for college students, it adapts not only to the need of students from different levels of

groups, but also reflects the principle of teaching students according to their merits. This new mode of teaching is based on student-centered education, which intends to make the most of the students better adapt to teaching in colleges.

Advantages of grading teaching

According to my own teaching experience at Yunyang teachers' college, our teachers have been provided an opportunity to full play our professional knowledge or skills in College English teaching. Graded teaching can not only carry on teaching by combining with the English level of students, but also arrange class lectures according to the teaching characteristics of the teacher, which gives full play to the creativity of teachers. For example, some teachers who are good at the lecture of basic knowledge, can be arranged to teach in the poor foundation class; some teachers who are good at teaching deeper content, can be arranged to teach in the good foundation class where the students have great abilities to accept the new knowledge. This kind of arrangement is more conducive for the teachers to exert their abilities, more effective for them to control the progress of teaching, and help teachers avoid the influence of expanding the teaching content by the duplication of teaching basic knowledge. It is able to maximize the role of class teaching time, and let the students enjoy more and more high quality teaching resources.

It fulfills the needs of students learning with different English base. The graded teaching mode is

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the concrete embodiment of work attitude that seeks truth from facts in English teaching. This kind of teaching mode meets the needs of learning the same course by different level students. It can not only mobilize the teaching enthusiasm of the teachers to develop the teaching work more scientifically and orderly, but also mobilize the learning enthusiasm of students to reduce the pressure of students' English learning by providing students with suitable teaching content and teaching methods (Tian, 2002). Thereby students can make great progress by inverting the learning enthusiasm into learning motivation.

It promotes the thinking and research of English teaching. The graded teaching motivates the teaching positives of teachers, and avoids the teaching problem that is difficult to give consideration to all students of different English levels. Then the teachers can have time to think about the innovation of education and teaching, and improve the teaching level more effectively. Through the developing of graded teaching mode, teachers can also make further consideration and discussion of this kind of teaching mode in the teaching process, so as to promote and strengthen the research of English teaching work.

The problems of the graded teaching

However, we also find some problems of graded teaching. Firstly, it is difficult to implement the teaching standards of different grades. There will be differences of teaching standards in the implementation process after carrying on the graded teaching. Especially in the process of primary class teaching, teachers in general will take the foundation of students as the center to give the lecture, cultivate their language skills, so as to develop students' learning initiatives and arouse their ability to think independently. In the process of senior class teaching, teachers will take the examination as the dominant factor to arrange teaching for better meeting the needs of students' English grading test. Therefore, it brings about the problem that is hard for teachers to make teaching standard and implement teaching work according to the teaching plan in the teaching process.

Secondly, it is more difficult to manage class. The teaching activities we usually take are to teach in the natural classes which are arranged as the basic unit by the department. However, the graded English teaching mode breaks down the original class and formulates the new graded class according to the English level of each student. This kind of teaching mode brings out some difficulties in class management, especially for

the students who are lack of self learning awareness. Under such kind of class management, the students will lose ability of self-controlling. And teachers have to not only engage in class teaching but also spend some effort and time in class management. This is a kind of time waste which badly affects the whole effect of class teaching.

Thirdly, there will be difficulties of examination and evaluation mechanism. In accordance with the classification of graded teaching mode, students of the same class are basically at the same level. There will not be much difficulty in arranging the examination. But there are different foundations among students from different classes, and some of the differences may be more obvious. If we use a unified standard for the examination assessment, it will lead to a result that students from poor foundation class will get lower marks, and it will be more difficult for many students to reach the basic qualified level. If we adopt the different standard of papers for evaluation, it will violate the principle of the examination, and it will be unfair to the course examination.

Lastly, it is difficult for some students to adapt their psychology to the graded English teaching. After investigation, some students feel the great pressure about the graded English teaching (Liu 2009). Students who are in the high-level class will lose their advantages and self-confidence in English learning. Other students who are in the low-level class may feel more psychological pressure, even negative psychological interiority, and they may have a negative and aversion attitude to English learning. It will lead to negative effects for graded teaching.

The solutions of the problem

Strengthening the teacher training

The teacher is the core element of the teaching work. The implementation situation of graded English teaching is very close to the adaptation degree of the teacher to the graded teaching mode. Graded teaching has changed the teaching activity of original class, and teachers must adapt to the needs of class teaching. Thus we have to strengthen the adaptation and training of teachers about graded English teaching mode (Huang 2004). Especially in the context of popularization education in colleges, the basics of students have great difference. Some teachers have the resenting mood to the distribution of the class, and they aren't willing to teach poor foundation students. The main reason is that they feel difficult to develop the teaching activities in low-level classes. So it is

necessary to strengthen teachers training.

Perfecting the teaching management and student management

It will be more difficult for teaching management and students' management to break on the teaching activities of the original class. Teachers should arrange a great amount of teaching content in the class teaching, and they still have the responsibility of class management. But they can not spend too much time in class management with this kind of teaching mode. The counselor and tutor can't deep into the class management either. There will be a vacuum in the class management, and everyone is unable to carry out the effective management. Therefore, we should study and discuss in-depth on the class management under the graded teaching mode, take advantage of the comprehensive strength of teacher, counselor, tutor and staffs of department, and explore class management measures to adapt to this kind of teaching mode.

Strengthening students' correct understanding and guiding of graded teaching

According to the function and significance of graded teaching, we should strengthen the publicity and correct understanding and guiding of students. In the process of class distribution, we are able to distribute the class according to the students' English level; on the other hand, we should respect students' willingness appropriately. In the face of most college students, the individual factors are very complex, and the general teaching mode is very difficult to meet the

needs of every student. Especially it's very important to respect for the personal wishes of some strong self-esteem students. This kind of students generally have good learning attitude. If we give the full respect of their own will, they will fully recognize the importance of graded teaching to enhance their English level and improve their learning enthusiasm.

Conclusion

In summary, English graded teaching develops the reform of teaching mode according to the current characteristics of colleges. After the practice of these years, it has been reflecting its positive role in teaching, but it's still necessary to discuss further to mature and perfect the mode of graded English teaching.

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Theoretical Research on Ecological Turning Constructed by Government Credibility

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Abstract: Government credibility---the public's trust in government administrative ability, falls within the ambit of political civilization. Searching for an appropriate way of rational living is the internal demand for the establishment of government credibility. Ecological civilization, which is to search for living conditions in line with the purpose for human beings, is the result of a harmonious relationship between human beings and nature, society. Thus, there exists correspondence, similarity and consistence between ecological civilization and the establishment of government credibility. The research is to explore the ecological turning constructed by the government credibility at a basic research level.

Key words: government credibility, establishment, ecological turning, theoretical basis

Ever since the implementation of Reforming and Opening up, in the past thirty years, China has received remarkable achievement in economy that has attracted the worldwide attention. And great progress has been made in politics as well. Not only does it reap tremendous benefits from administrative reform, but also brings forth the new through the old in administrative concept. However, in reality, there exist some problems in the process of constructing service-oriented government, such as, the simple and crude way taken by some local government authorities, abuse of administrative power, inefficiency in administrative tasks, distortions of information and so on(Tang & Yu & Zhang, 2011). These problems will jeopardize the authority, fairness of the government and be inimical to the interest of the public, resulting in the decline of government credibility. How to improve government credibility has attracted increasing attention in political civilization research.

The central part of civilization is people. It is the fruit of constructing living condition in line with purpose, and so is the ecological civilization. It is a living condition in line with purpose for solving ecological crisis. The establishment of political civilization needs to explore the ways of creating a rational living condition. As government credibility belongs to the political civilization, it should create a rational living condition. It demands that governments highlight morality and moral ideals. What the government credibility tries to construct is the basic concept of ecological civilization theory, disciplinary characteristics, and the relationship between man and nature and the relationship between human beings

themselves.

Ideological origins of government credibility

“Credibility”, deriving from the English word “accountability”, means the responsibility for the report, explanation and defense of one case; being responsible for one's own behavior; being questioned by the public. Modern Chinese Dictionary defines credibility as “public's confidence”. In short, Zhou Junjie and Wei lan (2008) have pointed that credibility means the public's trust in fairness, justice, efficiency, humanity, democracy, responsibility shown by the public power in the face of time difference, public interaction and interest exchange in social life. Credibility is not only a kind of social systematic confidence, but also a reflex of public authority, belonging to the category of political ethics. Government credibility is one of the credibility media as well. The spread of SARS in 2003 has made domestic scholars realize the importance of government credibility, and some of them begins to study on it. One of the representative researches made by Bo Guili(2008) is that government credibility is the public's confidence and approval, which governments gain from their own actions. It reflects the public's trust and satisfaction in government. While Lv Zhizhi(2011) argues that government credibility, including honesty, authority, influence, is the ability of getting public's support. It is the objective result of government's administrative ability, reflecting its influence on the public, democracy, and statutory establishment.

Government credibility is composed of government-

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credit party and public-trusted party. Government is the credit party, the act of credibility; the public is the main part of the evaluation. Only with active interaction between government and the public the government promote credibility, establishing fair, just, democratic and efficient institutions. The disciplinary characteristics and practice mode of ecological civilization make a positive interaction and implementation mode between trustee party-government and truster party-the public possible.

Ideological origins of Ecological civilization

“Eco”, stemming from ancient Greek word, means “house or environment”. “Ecology”, now refers to the living condition of creatures, the relationship between creatures, and between creatures and environment. Ever since German biologist E. Heckle proposed the concept of “ecology” in 1869, it has been permeated every part of the society. Ecological civilization, in a philosophical perspective, examines the relationship between human beings, as well as between human beings and society, man and nature, and searches for the living condition in line with purpose.

In western ecological concept, there exist different formulations about ecological civilization: ecological postmodernism, post-industrial society, ecological modernization, post-industrial civilization. American scholar, Charlene Spretnek, argues that ecological postmodernism, representing human beings’ development in the future is an approach beyond modern failure hypothesis, and an approach of reestablishing our sense on the realistic foundation. Russian scholar, Inozemtsev, proposes post-industrial society economy, arguing that the arrival of post-industrial society is the realization of basic principles of communism. German scholars of Martin Jieni Ke, Joseph Huber put forward ecological modernization theory, which requires the adoption of principles of prevention and innovation, and promotes the disconnection between economic growth and environmental degradation. Furthermore, it regards sustainable development as an important goal, aiming to achieve a win-win outcome both economically and environmentally.

In China, scholars have different interpretations on the ecological civilization. Pan Yue, the Vice Minister of the State Environmental Protection Department, believes that ecological civilization refers to the combination of material and spiritual achievements while human beings follow the objective laws of harmonious development between man, nature and the society. Deputy Director of the Central Compilation and Translation Bureau Yu Keping argues that ecological civilization is the whole achievement obtained in the process of human beings’ trying to change nature to achieve the harmony between man and nature, representing the progress in their relationship. The above sentence is cited

from one of book written by Yu Keping (2005). Ecological civilization includes consciousness, law, regulations and policies of protecting natural environment, and the scientific technology, institution and practical action of keeping the ecological balance and maintaining the sustainable development.

Disciplinary characteristics of ecological civilization as the theoretical research basis of ecological turning constructed by government credibility.

In ecological civilization, a kind of social civilization, there exist a large number of “actual” phenomena, but more “ought” phenomena reflecting the development of human beings and the society. Ecological civilization is a scientific concept, abstracted from experiences and facts, amenable to practice, with the internal and external attributes of scientific concept. Ecological civilization brings about rational harmony in the relationship between man and nature, society and human beings themselves, making the rational living and ideal society possible. These characteristics provide theoretical basis and logical premise for the establishment of government credibility, providing the possibility of ecological turning.

Regularity

One characteristics of ecological civilization in the modern era is the harmonious relationship between man and nature, instead of conflicting relationship in the past civilized society. According to Marxism, development is emergence of new things along with the doom of old things. It is inevitable that desirable ecological civilization takes the place of industrial civilization with the conflicting relationship between man and nature in the historical process. Regularity is one of characteristics of ecological civilization and the logical premise of government credibility. It requires that the establishment of government credibility should be based on respecting for facts and following the laws of historical development.

Purposiveness

Ecological civilization is the anchorage of people’s hope and pursuit of better lives, compatible with social development, the purpose of which is people-oriented. From the perspective of sustainable development, some scholars argue that the characteristics of ecological civilization can be reflected in the emphasis on the reform of human development mode. Some scholars believe that sustainable development is to liberate people from alienation of relentless competition, allowing people time and opportunities to be educated and do researches, rather than only transferring human and natural resources into capital. Engels said: “Whatever the outcome of history, people

always create their own history through pursuing their own expected purpose. The summation of forces employed by people in various activities in the external world constitutes history.” Purposiveness of ecological civilization manifests the concept of putting people the first, which promotes people’s free and all-round development and helps building a more harmonious society.

Rationality

Ecological civilization argues for the concept of environmental protection, low-carbon energy, sustainable development, the reform of production and consumption patterns in natural and human society, principles of rationalization, legality and moderation. It emphasizes the improvement of quality, rather than the repetition of quantity. The establishment of government credibility should be future-oriented, on the basis of the present condition. The concept of environmental protection, low-carbon energy and sustainable development provides theoretical basis for government’s reduction in public’s appeal difference and future development.

Legitimacy

The central idea of laws is to achieve a fair, orderly and normal society. Legitimacy is the foundation to the existence of things in the world. The purpose of ecological civilization is to search for a living condition in line with purpose for

human beings. It argues for harmonious and sustainable development of natural and human society. Legitimacy of ecological civilization provides referential criteria for the legality of establishment of government credibility. The starting point of constructing government credibility should ensure that people are masters of the country, and to promote a fair, harmonious and sustainable development of political civilization, so as to be in line with legitimacy. The objectives and requirement of the two sides of government credibility-government and the public-should be established based on legitimacy to practice political civilization and protect people’s rights of being the masters of the country.

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Ethical Implications of Adorno's Alterity Ideas on Music

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Abstract: Alterity is the core appraisal on the social and artistic values of the Western modern music made by Theodor Adorno, a renowned professor in sociology of music in the 20th century. It regards music as "aesthetic literature" of social reality as its starting point and soul, integrates the deeply negative moral philosophy thinking pattern with aesthetic experience of tangible music works, and expresses the nonstandard value sequences and moral conflict in the alienated society and mental suffering of modern people with atonal musical structure. In addition, it regards the "liberty" of creation as the indispensable property of the immortal value of music, which surpasses the traditional and standardized musical techniques and denounces fetishism and pseudo individuality of commercialized popular music to attempt to constitute a "non-identical" mode of musical composition and appreciation, which fits human nature in the real sense.

Key words: Adorno's alterity conception of music, Alienated society, Moral implications

Adorno's alterity conception of music ushered in the critical and negative approach of musical philosophy and aesthetic philosophy, pushing forward the direction change of post-Marxism human science by "atonal" aphorism expression. On the whole, Adorno's rational criticism was carried out around the amorality of society. As the "aesthetic literature" of social reality, modern music art vividly expresses the keystone spirit and theoretically pursuit of its "minimum morality", serving as one of reasonable media to interrelate the "objective text" with the "subjective conceptual category". Adorno attached great importance to and relied on the "objective text". With the "alterity" music conception as the main thread, by getting to the essence of its negative moral philosophic thinking pattern, this article has disentangled and exploited the moral spirit and aesthetic strength of Adorno's music philosophy to reveal Adorno's keen sense of social responsibility and humanistic care from the mixture of historical traditions, social realities and musical texts as a musician.

Negative Moral Philosophic Thinking Pattern: The Theoretical Foundation of the Alterity Music Conception

Adorno believes that moral philosophy is an indispensable science to people's daily life and social practice. He also steadfastly takes a basic stand on historical materialism, holding the view that moral philosophy should not only pursue behavioral virtue and ethical attainments to answer the question that "what kind of life we should lead", but also practically transform the "the wrong living" status in modern society, namely, "there is no right life exists in the wrong life", so as to improve the modernization of itself and "turn"

the question that "what we should do" as the essential mater of modern moral philosophy. Adorno's total negation of "the wrong life" in modern society and his rational moral provisions of the "right life" are summed up in *Negative Dialectics*. Zhang (2001) once commented that Adorno opposed materialized reality of capitalism because this was the realistic basis of identity logic that negative dialectics has always objected to. The system of Adorno's negative dialectics is enormous and heterogeneous where the 'essence' of his moral philosophy is. The rule of the negative dialectics is criticizing the real society that each individual faces who loses the individuality, emotion and pursuit from the prospective of metaphysics. It emphasizes the critical nature of dialectics and the real significance of "non-identity". Identity regards the exchange principle as the logic of social thinking, and dominates all aspects of social life; thus, the rational thinking of human beings is impeded by instrumental reasoning. Therefore, people should reflect upon irrationality behind social identity thinking and reposition the justice of the existing society, and seek for the "right life". Rationality is morbid, and it can become rational only by curing (Adorno, 1973). Reclaiming amorality of the identity society is the expansion of negative dialectics in the field of social practice.

The theoretical route of thinking about the construction of social morality, with 'negative dialectics' unavoidably involves Adorno's reflection on the value orientation of modern art, and it plays an important role in the artistic theories of Frankfurt school. "The basic standpoint of Frankfurt school in culture and art is to maintain their essence of self-discipline, to safeguard their significance on

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mankind's freedom and emancipation, to further criticize the economization and commercialization of culture and to oppose its identical relationship with political reign. This route resolutely negates and criticizes human's alienated status caused by popular' culture.'" (Yi JQ et. al.2002) Obviously, the criticism of mass culture is based on Adorno's moral philosophy, the thought between the relations of the individual functioned as the subject and the existing society, the object. Firstly, in actual social practice, the non-dominant relationship between the subject and the object, and the mutual and harmonious sharing relationship between individuals and the existing society constitute the rational existence of realistic society. The maintenance of the essence of artistic self-discipline respects alterity and relocates the substances of social existence. Secondly, 'identical relationship' fossilizes the exchangeable principles of capital control, and confines personal freedom and liberation. While the key to defend cultural and artistic influence on personal freedom and liberation is to emphasize their resistance to 'non-identity'. Adorno believed (2011) that the use value of non-identity should not be completely identified by the exchange value, namely, resisting the colonization of the exchange value to the use value and the identity's domination to non-identity's in production and social sectors. Economized, commercialized and politicized culture and art purposely confuse the use value and exchange value, and 'identify' and solidify them as the subject's ideology, leading to human's alienation and amorality of society. Finally, the subject must face the fact of the existence of alienated society, break the social identification with the thought of "negative dialectics", exploit the richness of society and the real freedom of human, and guard the legitimate existence of the art grounded on social morality.

Adorno's thinking on negative dialectics commits to save identical society from amorality and concern the scanning of Western modern music, to support his musical concept of 'alterity' as its theoretical base. How does the thinking norm of negative moral philosophy sway Adorno's thought on modern music? In other words, how does Adorno transfer his recognized interpretation of music into artistic expression on moral philosophy? At first, in his negative dialectics, Adorno underlines the function and significance of negative and critical thinking. The nature of dialectical criticism is to reveal the differences between inner and outer, namely, diversity and unity of things complement each other internally, objects and their concepts perfect each other externally, which demonstrate the balanced and unbalanced relationship between things that limit each other and the breakability as well as identity of things. (Gerhard , 2010) Music conception of 'alterity' points to criticizing and negating the alienated society. Adorno (2000) held the view

that only if perceptual existence of the structure of sound breaks through and acts as the carrier of a certain spirit and with the society as its target, can music become an 'otherness' that surpasses empirical reality, estranging and departing from a certain existed social reality, i.e. a thing that conceived by subject and with no archetype found in real life. (Yu, 2000) Therefore, the essence of modern music alterity is the negation of social reality, and the relative tension for music to change and form independently, which goes along with music's own developing path (tonality to atonality) and embodies the effective control of the relations between musicians and musical art. As Martin Jay (1992) remarked: "Adorno laid greater stress on the recognition of music...understanding it from music's own internal objective developing tendency, and this tendency is interrelated with social trend in a complicated and indirect way". Such philosophical thoughts on art are inseparable with his ardent love for music, "what music is to Adorno is like the economics to Marx, novels to Lukacs, and paintings and movies to Benjamin." (Zhang L, 2003) Secondly, from the perspective of 'wrong life' situation in real society, commercialization and colonization of capital, false prosperity of cultural industry, and genocide of anti-Semitism are all strongly eliminating non-identical thinking. As a witness of Auschwitz Concentration Camp period, Adorno thinks modern society is hideous with the mutation of enlightenment rationality, instrumental reason turning to be the main social thinking logic, and value reason is neglected, and along with sharp increase in suppression and control of human rights, the negative nature between modern music in society and amoral society that ignored subject existence become so increasingly distinct that Adorno (1993) believes that after Auschwitz Concentration Camp period our sentiment against any affirmative argument that real existence is empty talk which abuses victims, and opposes any fully exhausted meanings that has been squeezed from the victims. As an ideology, anti-Semitism is the theoretical framework of identical social thinking of instrumental reason and exchange principle, prevailing with untruths, falsity and lies. Being an negative and rebellious force, music conception of 'alterity' breaks the 'identity' shackles and reign in amoral society, criticizing and negating alienated society via heterogeneity musical language that breaks through tradition, and most frankly displaying subject's internal psychological conflict and fierce fighting, and aiming at recognition and practice of 'right life'. In a word, 'alterity' of modern music opened up a new road for music to negate 'wrong state of life'. Meanwhile, highly alienated and amoral identical society unfolds a more distinct picture of 'negative dialectics' thinking of modern music. As Adorno (2000) once said "there is no such works of art that

their truth is not accompanied by specific negation.”

Atonal music: the game playing between ‘evil’ in alienated society and ‘good’ in truth of art

Adorno's music conception of ‘alterity’ has always aimed to realize the bigger ‘good’ in truth of art through the ‘necessary evil’ in modern society, indicating that only if modern music is based on negative criticism of ‘evil’ in alienated society can a new form of language and life value be achieved, believing that ‘as long as music is able to deeply express the crises of social circumstances by using its own form of language, putting forward the demand for change by using painful language of musical notes, such counted as better music’. (Yu RY, 2000) Therefore, with its negation of traditional musical techniques, modern music negates the corresponding social relations and emancipates from them. Modern music pursues its own ‘freedom’ of creation by negating the existing society. As Aristotle said in the introduction of *Ethika Nikomachea*, “all technologies, studies, practice and choices aim at certain goodness. All things on earth are inclined to goodness, as the saying goes (Miao1999). But their purposes are in different performance. Sometimes it is the real activity itself, sometimes it is a result achieved outside the activity’. Music conception of ‘Alterity’ pursues a new form of musical language obtained by negating, demonstrating ‘good’ owned by eternal modern value, which is the result from criticizing and negating ‘evil’ of alienated society. By negating fixed traditional techniques, modern music obtains new freedoms from the game between ‘evil’ in alienated society and ‘good’ of truth in art, that is, Schoenberg's disintegration of tonal system, and his establishment of atonal principle of the twelve-tone technique. As the formal language of modern music, atonality has impacted greatly on social immorality such as dilation of alienation, expansion of evil, aggravation of anxiety, diffusion of pain, escalation of decadence, and absence of subject. Adorno heavily experienced ‘evil’ in alienated society and had strong sense of history and mission about the philosophy thoughts of alienated society with Auschwitz times as the representative. In Adorno's thinking method of negative dialectical philosophy, ‘evil’ and ‘ugliness’ of alienated society no longer exist as the deficiency of ‘good’ and ‘beauty’, which has ontological significance. Thus, ‘evil’ of alienated society is due to the object's suppression of subject, and atonal music demonstrates the contradiction between subject and object. Its destruction of tonal music and separation from traditional musical techniques manifest the fracture and contradiction between individuals as subject and society as object. As a result, ‘evil’ of alienate society is both the contents and forms represented by modern music. For instance, in opera

Erwartung by Schoenberg, the reality of alienated society's cruelty, indifference and poverty, and the heroine's jealous, hostile and distort personality were expressed by means of unique themes and forms. In terms of traditional musical techniques, the ‘atonal’ music of Schoenberg is also a cruel gesture. He advocated the ‘emancipation of dissonance’. In his works, all tunes are independent individuals, the dependent relations of traditional tonal tunes are rejected, and all tunes are equal. Adorno persisted in the stand that modern music should confront relentless social reality and the humanity in danger of losing, utilized ‘evil’ of realistic society to expose objective reality and historical conditions of the existence of alienation, and completed the artistic creation of social ‘evil’ and the rejection of alienated society while bitterly denouncing the world. What's more, he puts forward incisive moral criticism against the unavoidable fact of alienation, which is the truth of art and perfectionism that the modern music pursues. In other words, it is self-exposure of non-identity, and contains hatred for identity. Atonal music's emancipating ‘diaphony’ embodies modern music's alien-existing and isolation from alienated society. In light of music's own change from tonality to atonality, it not only realizes the change in forms but broke through traditional central music concept and emancipated marginalized musical tone (ornamentation, illogical accent and dissonance) from the domination of central music tone to get equality. Marginalized musical tone suggested neglected individuals of subject consciousness and central music.

Concept is the specific expression of rationalized process of real society in contemporary music, including identity, totality and generalization of tonal music. Therefore, the self-change of atonal music with the twelve-tone technique as the main mode of practice is the reflection of real society. From the effect of practice, Schoenberg designed ‘home of hopes outside imagination and despair’ by using ‘the atonal twelve-tone system’ (Yu RY 2000). By means of non-concept acoustic structure, he strongly protested centralization of social power, truly conveyed subjective psychological feelings that were marginalized by society of alienation such as personal worry, sorrow, loneliness, horror, and joy, negated the social thinking and demands of identity, and resolutely criticized the commercial nature of modern music. At the beginning of the music composition *A Survivor from Warsaw*, the bugle call produced by trumpet out of tune expressed accusation of the massacre and then negation of the war itself. According to Adorno's analysis, the thinking of race identity was the theoretical basis of the massacre. Schoenberg utilized the emancipation of ‘diaphony’ to express and safeguard the hopes of Jew in Warsaw. Adorno held the opinion that new Vienna music school with Schoenberg as the representative

truly expressed suffering of modern people and it produced totally great art. Thus, the actual expression of social reality of alien-existing is the truth of modern musical art and the 'perfectionism' it pursues.

The twelve-tone technique wiped out the ornamentation of traditional music combination, negated the tonal category, and uncovered the alienated real society and the revolt of identical social thinking through presenting the lowliness and exhaustion of nobodies. The collapse of traditional tonality and the establishment of the central position of marginalized musical tone declared this individual's resistance to social totalitarianism and thirst for free development. Schoenberg's music guides us into a realm where we can comprehend with our soul not ears, and the future music will start from this basis (Zha, 1997). In terms of the spiritual connotation, Schoenberg's works correctly reflect social totalitarian's suppression and persecution of individual human beings. Adorno spoke highly of this 'real' reflection, and regarded it as the most precious spiritual value of modern music. First, the musical works created by 'the twelve-tone technique' truly expressed ugliness and evil of alienated reality, but they were different and separated from reality. "Phantasm" of phenomenological significance was applied to negate and criticize amorality of reality and absence of subject consciousness. Second, 'there is always consonance in dissonance' (Cheng, 2009), to break through 'the twelve-tone technique' under traditional tonal category is to negate traditional music's pursuit of perfection and to criticize identity thinking's pursuit of rationalization. The negation and discard of traditional tonality contributed to the freedom and emancipation of modern music and enriched musical expressions and artistic forms. In short, atonal music has broken through the trammels of identical traditional tonal music, emancipated 'dissonance', and actually presented modern music's pursuit of artistic truth, namely, the pursuit of "perfectionism" in alienated society.

Conforming with human beings: the artistic imagination and moral spirit of 'non-identity'

Faced with some people's blame for "inhumanity" of modern music, Adorno said: "we should employ inhumanity of art to defeat inhumanity of the world for the sake of humanity"(Yu, 2000) based on his negation of aesthetic conception of traditional music. In the opinion of Schoenberg, who a musician he strongly recommended, the real valuable music not only contains the negative connotation to modern society, but also is a kind of self 'expression' and 'a piece of artistic work'. Only if it conveys the surging feeling in composer's heart to the audience, can it produce the maximum effect and arouse the surging feelings in the audience's hearts.'

This expression of autonomy depends on viewpoints of humanity. The criticism of identity social principle is greatly harmful to the development of music. In the reality of capitalist society where the society has been completely alienated and the dignity has totally lost, the artistic imagination of 'non-identification' of modern music has negated and separated empirical reality and become 'otherness' so as to save the lost humanity in reality. As stated above, the essence of alterity and alienation is the negation and rebellion of modern society. Having become the 'otherness', modern music has negated and even abandoned 'the beautiful phantasm' of 'rational' traditional music, involving in the shift of music orientation from rationality to the 'people-oriented' ethic spirit. Based on the unprecedented catastrophe for human brought by "rational" identity logical principle, Adorno criticized and reflected the rational morphology which is "not identical" and "people-oriented", opposed to the late capitalism's the new type of allocation model considering exchange as identity principle, and natural law in capitalist society by taking advantage of the new musical revolution of Schoenberg's.

Adorno's deciphering sociology of modern music with people-oriented principle is the continuation and development of 'rationalization' concept of Western music which is put forth by Max Weber. At the beginning of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* written by Max Weber, it reads that the development of homophony has been diversified from three chord, counterpoint method, consonance and harmony method, semitone method to enharmonic method, which is the passive "rationality" of the irrational culture, and the products of 'rationality' of society itself include orchestra, basso continuo, musicography sonata, symphony, opera and musical instrument as well as some cultural phenomena that only exist in Western countries and have advanced towards the direction of general meanings and mechanisms(Weber, 2007).

The scientific development of Western culture towards 'universal validity' is the history of disenchantment of Western society, i.e. using rationality to get rid of myth and non-rationality in hopes of highlighting modern rationalization and intellectualization characteristics. In his answer to the reason why the rationalization only occurred in modern Western society, Max Weber said: 'modern Western community rationally shaped a material "world" in the light of moral criteria, what exerts great influence on the degree of rationality of methods for capitalist to make profits (Fang, 2008). Once Max Weber (1999) pointed out that music field has also experienced the rationalization of the significant decrease of the purposive rationality and the rapid growth of instrumental rationality and this rationalization has become the social and rational foundation of the development of

Western music, and he also answered the following questions in his book entitled *Musical Rationality and Its Foundation of Social Science*: the reason why the development of homophony of polyphony which is widely popular and highly developed only took place in a specific period in Europe, and why the rationalization of all other music styles chose the opposite direction of development.”. At first, Max Weber put forward an hypothesis that there was a course of rationalization in the history of Western music from the establishment of melody principle of *lyre* in ancient Greek to the destruction of tonality. Based on this hypothesis, the standardization and formalization of homophony instrumentation, modern musicography, and musical instrument manufacturing methods lead to the termination of the commercialized production and consumption of music and musical rationalization.

Adorno's negation and criticism of fetishism and pseudo individuality of modern music also reflected the people-oriented moral implications of 'non-identity' of music. Adorno affirmed the rationality historical process of music proposed by Max Weber. In addition, however, he was a firm believer of historical materialism. In his view, the process of rationalization of music development history is the process of division of labor. The emergence of professional musicians accelerates the tendency of the commodity character of music overriding its aesthetic character. The commodity character controlled by capital exchange value and instrumental rationality undoubtedly made music be with the feature of fetishism. Marx believed that 'materialization' is the main cause for the fetishism of commodities, namely, 'the virtual relationship between things has concealed the real social relations between people'. While Adorno (1990) distinctly noticed that the control hand of capital hides behind 'the materialization' relationship created by dependence of the modern industrial civilization on technological products, and economy is an 'extremely powerful force to dominate society'. The exchange value of capital and profit motivation enables modern music to be closely linked to business manufacturing. The 'non-identity' of modern music was suppressed by standardization of commoditized production, and the musical creation which really adheres to the 'people-oriented' has been replaced by bottomless duplication of pseudo individualized music, and the power of salvation of the 'non-identity' has thoroughly lost. Thus, from the very beginning, popular music, the product of cultural industry, aims to realize its goal of consumption. Adorno believed that Jazz is technically a commodity and the commodity nature of vendibility permeates its entire works. In an impersonal and alienated social reality, the instrumental rationality and exchange value of popular music have gradually 'identified', along with its

use value being increasingly eliminated. Popular music marked with fetishism feature can only be served as commodities to entertain people with sensual pleasure. Its prevailing electronic medium communication method ignores the audience's subject consciousness. This shows that Adorno's criticism of the pursuit of popular music fetishism includes the saving of modern core value. Adorno pointed out that popular music, as a kind of commodity, was considered and designed by a specific format. It was managed by special professionals, and its limited diversity was completely compiled by literature and art organizations. Adorno make another comments in his book that its musical themes, styles, composition structures, handling of details, and performance modes all embody the standardization and unification of commodities. As Adorno once remarked that cultural industry viciously makes human reveal man's own kind's essence. Under the cruel reality of musical society, 'the artistic rebellion of modern music turned to its rebellion against art'. Popular music achieved its complete control of individuals by means of its fetishism and pseudo individualization characteristics, leading individual ideology to be uniform in a voluntary manner, so as to strengthen the recognition of social domination, fall into 'hedonism' featuring materialization and uniformed ideology, and destroy the individual control of non-identity.

A wide variety of flaws had been brought by identity rationality thinking of popular music urged Adorno to build 'the non-identity' of modern music. The moral rules of 'people-oriented principle' require that modern music should highlight the individuality and resist in identifying individuals to achieve its unification of the self-discipline and socialization. From this point of view, music is not a commodity or ideology but an 'otherness' against the real society. It 'will not provide any life blueprint about good', instead, it 'should point out the diseases of society and not idealize them as a deceptive humanism, and alleged that this kind of humanism had already achieved' (Yu, 2000). The true mission of "people-oriented" modern music is to awake the subject consciousness of individual freedom, hopes and comfort by expressing the awareness of hardship and misery that has been inhibited non-humanized and alienated social reality so as to get rid of individual survival situation persecuted by immoral society and save human beings themselves.

To sum up, based on negative dialectical thinking, Adorno regarded modern music as 'otherness' of alienated society, truly demonstrated the suppression and persecution of individuals by immoral society. Adorno's practice mode of the most spiritual value is the atonal music with Schoenberg as the representative. The tonal structure and the emancipation of diaphony truly expressed the game playing

between evil of alienated reality and good of truth of art. The tension between them promoted the attention of 'the twelve-tone technique' to distort personality and tragic experiences of nobodies in order to urge modern music to break the shackles of commoditized music, allowing the realization of the direction change of non-identity of modern music with the "people-oriented principle", and highlighting the aesthetic power of modern music moral spirit.

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City “Apathy” and Its Ethical Guidance

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Abstract: Urban apathy, emerging in the process of urbanization in China, is a kind of social sickness. It is, in essence, a kind of moral apathy, which is manifested in low moral sensitiveness, low individual expectation of moral assistance, people’s doubt and disrespect for moral behavior, and inaction in moral practice. Studying the pathogenesis for urban apathy and exploring the therapy for it from ethical perspective are important issues concerning a new type of urbanization.

Key words: Urbanization; Moral Apathy; Cause; Countermeasure

Introduction

In 2013, the ratio of urbanization in China reached 53.73%, which means China has entered the fast lane of urbanization. Urbanization not only means immigration of population and expansion of buildings, but also leads to the adjustment of interests actually, resulting in different values of the collision and the update of ethical views. Therefore, the urbanization has become a great background of moral evolution in China society. Conversely, moral evolution is an important variable in the process of urbanization, affecting the quality and quantity of future urbanization. At present, it is high time that we paid attention to the disharmonious city “apathy” appearing in the robust urbanization period.

The main symptom of city “apathy”

City “apathy” is a social phenomenon occurred in the urban society, belonging to so-called “urban diseases”. The definition of “City apathy” is that citizens have negative attitude to their family, to other people, to society, to environment, to public affairs, which were caused by sense of morality lagging behind special period of city development and transition. Because it is an abnormal phenomenon or pathological phenomenon, so we called it “City apathy”. Its main characters are as follow:

Firstly, people don’t care about family. In traditional rural society established on the basis of blood relationship and geopolitical foundation, family is the top priority. Rural peoples’ beliefs were: “The father should be affectionate and

the son should be dutiful”; “elder should be friend and younger should be respect”; “couple should be harmony and wife following husband”; “People shouldn’t go far way when their parents are alive”. In the contemporary era of urbanization, a part of people come to the city from the tender countryside. The phenomenon against the traditional family morality is emerging, for example, family gradually become indifferent, children disrespect and even abandon their parents, husband and wife became strangers.

Secondly, some people are indifferent to others and the weak. When old man fall down or accident happens, there is no one to help. “Little Yueyue events”¹ occur repeatedly, the city’s bus station and other public places were posted slogans like “don’t talk to strangers”. As if everywhere is traps in the city, people are on guard against each other, let alone care about others. To make things worse, this kind of indifference even extends to the field of occupation, resulting in the degeneration of occupation moral. Such events as poisonous teamed buns”, “poisonous milk powder and “poisonous capsule” are happening frequently. Steamed buns producers do not eat Steamed buns; milk powder producers dare not eat milk powder. For their own sake, people are not concerned about the interests of others and even the life and health of others.

Thirdly, people are indifferent to the public affairs and public life. City is a huge public living space; there has minute division of labor. The relationships between people look like strangers, but, actually, they are intertwined with each other. City is a community of mutual help and everyone has a stake in each other’s success. To survive, citizens

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1. A little girl of only two years old whose name is Wang Yue and we called her as Yueyue. On the 13th of October, 2011, when she was playing on the street close to a Hardware Store in Nanhai of Foshan City of Guangdong Province of China, a full speed car knocked her down and passed on her body, and one more car passed on her body again. 18 passing people saw the accident but no one helped her. At last, it was a street cleaning women who found her and sent her to the hospital. Unfortunately, the little girl died in the hospital. From this accident, we strongly felt the trust crisis among people and witnessed the extensive moral indifference of some people. We called this event as “ Little Yueyue Event”.

established series of regulation to keep the public living space operating normally. However, the rapid development of the city makes the city rule construction in the legal level almost absent, and the moral level lags behind seriously. What is more, people focus only on the immediate interests, and lack the ability of foreseeing the long-term benefits of their own, and seldom have the awareness of taking care of others' and public interests being the other side of taking care of their own interests. Therefore, they don't ask, don't participate in, and don't care about public affairs, city natural environment and city political life.

In fact, the city "apathy" is a kind of moral indifference. Moral indifference is that the moral subject refuses to take moral responsibility to people who are in trouble, and that is a moral attitude and behavior lacking of compassion and sympathy, even causing the ways of moral behavior of the mutual indifference, no mutual care, and mutual exclusion and denial. This kind of moral indifference mainly includes: First, the sensitivity of morality is on the decrease, individuals showing indifference of moral responsibility. Second, the individuals have low expectations for moral recipients; Third, the public doubts and disrespect about the moral behavior; Fourth, the moral practice is at absent. "Moral indifference" has become serious illness in the process of Chinese urbanization.

The reason of city "apathy" formation

To some extent, the occurrence of City "apathy" reflects the changes of the current citizens' moral quality. In the final analysis, "apathy" is a kind of moral phenomenon, and it has the soil and the realistic basis in citizen moral life: the changing of the daily life.

As daily life is the foundation of moral life, its changes directly lead to the changes of moral life. The establishment of socialist market economy system and improvement has changed the moral life foundation of citizens in China. The establishment and reform of market economic system has great influence to citizens' daily life. Market economy, in essence, has the characteristics of openness, competition and freedom, which stressed that all the social resources are allocated by market demand, so that it makes the transaction boundaries expand. Actually, people's moral life and moral behavior is the reflection of consciousness about the current economic life. Citizens' blind pursuit of economic interests makes morals loss, evoking money worship, individualism and utilitarianism. To some extent, the traditional moral life is replaced by naked money relationship. The economic interpersonal relationship is closing up the inspirit interaction between people, causing the alienation of interpersonal emotion, since all values are measured by economic interests. This is the "apathy" appearing for economic reasons.

During the process of modernization, especially against the background of the continuous deepening reform and opening up and economic globalization, the different eastern and western ideology are also presenting a diverse state: value is intersecting, colliding and fusing fiercely. The diversification of social values shows the coexistence of the positive and negative values, and of the advanced and the backward values, which confuses the normal standard of moral judgment and moral judgment ability, making people be a moral dilemma, thus, affecting people's moral practice. What is more serious is that the negative value of moral nihilism was spread in the society, which completely denied moral absolutism and moral idealism in the Chinese tradition. People's moral belief is gradually shaken and even is going to be broken. However, the new moral is not established when the traditional morality going broken. The disordered state in value and normal field weakened people's identity to moral regulation, so that they choose not to practice morality. This is an important reason for "apathy" phenomenon.

The dominant of Chinese traditional culture is the Confucian, aiming at maintaining the hierarchical order of the feudal rule, and it emphasizes the moral relationship in the interpersonal relationship and advocates moral rule of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, faith, and loving each other.

However, the traditional culture is a moral complex with goodness and weakness. There are also some negative factors. Such old sayings as "Be worldly-wise for only personal safety", "the less trouble, the better", "putting full heart into reading Saints book while turning a deaf ear to anything else" clearly reflect a kind of negative factor that only care about self-protection, regardless of the suffering of others. The two thousand years of natural economy have the characters of "selfish", "narrow", "closed" and "conservative". The negative factors are still affecting the thoughts of modern people. The combination of negative factors of Chinese tradition and western morality give birth to moral "apathy" during the process of urbanization.

The ethical guiding of city "apathy"

City "apathy", as a moral issue, must be solved by moral method.

First, social distribution should be more just. Ethics is a philosophy of life, while, morality is coming from life. Distribution system of production and living materials plays the most important role in people's life. Confucius (2006) said, "Inequality rather than want is the cause of trouble". Guan Zhong (1989) said: "People know courtesy when granary filling, people know honor when having enough food and clothing." The scarcity of social wealth, the unreasonable and unfair social distribution would have a tremendous

impact on people's moral psychology. Some people said that model workers are living worse than prostitutes, because model workers works as hard as prostitutes, but, the salary of prostitutes is higher than that of workers. It is worthy of reflecting. If legal work are not respected, and the thought of getting something for nothing is prevailing in society, and if "the official second generation" and "the rich second generation" are envied by society, and if such phenomenon as "depending on parents to feed", "competition of family background", "ant tribe" and "dwelling" takes place continuously and society class continues to be differentiated, we couldn't expect the a high level of social morality. Therefore, we should strive to improve the fairness of social distribution and to narrow the gap between rich and poor and to respect labor, ensuring a dignity life for workers.

Second, efforts to create a good moral environment and promote the correct value orientation should be made. The proverb says, if one occupies the room full of fragrant orchids for a long time, he will not notice their fragrance, long in the abalone market, he will not aware how smell it is. A society with overall high level of morality can condense huge positive energy, and help to rise people's moral level. In contrast, a the society with overall low level of morality can produce huge negative energy, resulting in relatively lower moral level. Therefore, ancient Chinese has a story that Mencius' mother moved her house three times to create a better environment for her son. But it is a passive change, which only can adapt to individuals rather than the collective.

Since the Eighteenth National Congress of the CPC, the CPC makes the core values of socialism clear, and fights against corruption and degeneration, showing his unprecedented determination to improve the social moral environment. People are obviously feeling the improvement of the whole social morality. Of course, Rome was not built in a day. We still have a long way to go to completely eliminate corruption and corruption concept, to make the whole society have fresh air. The construction of social moral environment is extremely important, for whether the Chinese nation's rejuvenation dream could come true is decided by it. There is no doubt that the government and non-government organization take the leading role in social moral construction, and the media also is of great importance. The masses of Chinese people are the subject of moral construction, while, in the city, the subject can be specific to every citizen. The government should declare their values clearly that what to be praised and what to be opposed so as to make a moral example to the public. The media should take a rejection to false advertisements and refuse the vulgar, allowing people to be full of confidence. Every citizen should also seriously take their moral obligation, not only to

be "young angry" without any real moral action. Most of patients of city "apathy" ignored their moral identity, moral duty and obligation, only complaining about the moral environment and government's inaction, shaping a antisocial personality, thus inevitably falling into moral nihilism. Only when the government, the media, the public cooperate with each other can we create a good social moral environment to eliminate the city "apathy".

Third, we must strengthen moral education to improve the national moral consciousness. Moral education is an important way of moral construction; moral education directly determines the level of social moral standards. The subject of moral education is diverse, including the government, schools, non-governmental organizations, the media and individuals. The content and methods of moral education is various, the socialist core values is the basic content of moral education. Morals come from the daily life, and the moral philosophy is a philosophy of life, therefore, the moral education method and content should be close to the real life, rather than far away from it. Singapore Prime Minister Li Xianlong deliveries a speech about morals on TV every weekend, instead of talking about doctrine and thought, he only talks about small household affairs, putting the moral education into the real scene, which is easier to be understood and more attractive, fulfilling the government's original intention of moral education. It is worthy of our reference.

Finally, the moral reward and punishment mechanism should be established. The practical and feasible way of moral reward and punishment measures should be taken, such as selecting a civilized city, civilized units and moral model, incentivizing who act bravely for a just cause, and utilizing the media to blame the immoral behaviors. It has positive effect on preventing the city "apathy". Of course, moral rewards and punishments must be different from the legal punishment, and they couldn't be confused, for acts of violation of laws and regulations should be punished according to laws, instead of using the morals to condemn it. On the contrary, it would be better to use the moral rules to education or condemn the one who is immoral, and we should not use laws and regulations to accuse others of ethical misconduct.

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The Effects of Taoist Ethics on the Perception of Traditional Chinese Apparels

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Abstract: Taoism, an important branch of Chinese traditional culture, affects the perception of Chinese traditional apparels deeply and profoundly, because it advocates viewpoints such as “Tao models itself after nature”, “disregarding both justice and material gains” and “recovering the original simplicity”. The article takes Taoist ethical thoughts as the mainline to tease out the perception of traditional apparels under the influence of Taoist ethics, and to air some opinions and comments on the “personality” of current clothing fashion, which may exert some instructions on clothing aesthetics.

Key words: Taoist ethics; perception of Chinese traditional apparels; personality; clothing fashion

One Dimensions of Taoist ethics

Taoism, an ethical school of Chinese traditional culture as important as Confucianism, is featured by its principles of “Tao models itself after nature” in terms of the relationship between “the Tao of Heaven” and “the Tao of Human”, of “disregarding both justice and material gains” as for their values, and of “recovering the original simplicity” as to the ideal human nature.

The ethical foundation of “Tao models itself after nature”

Taoism holds that “Tao” is its ethical foundation and origin of all things, and that “Tao models itself after nature” is the theoretical basis of its ethical system, according to which Taoism reconsiders and rebukes the Confucian doctrine of “humanity and rites” and puts forward such notions as “letting nature take its own course”, “rebirth” and “acting without striving”. These conceptions will be studied as follows from the perspective of “Tao” raised by Taoists.

First, “Tao” that “models itself after nature” is the doctrine of origin, thus taking on an ontological significance. Lao Tzu, the founder of Taoism, starts *Tao te ching* or *Classic of the way of virtue* with “The Tao that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tao. The name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name. Having no name, it is the Originator of Heaven and Earth; having a name, it is the Mother of all things.”¹ It also writes that “There was something undefined and complete coming into existence before Heaven and Earth...I do not know its name, and I give it the designation of the Tao (the Way or Course).”² Lao Tzu’s contemplation of origin of the world is thereof disclosed:

Whether having a name or not, the world exists as Tao, from which all things originate, and remains unaffected by our will. Driven by “Tao”, the world takes shape and gets diversified as Tao te ching writes that “The Tao produced One; One produced Two; Two produced Three; Three produced all things.”³ And on the premise of ontology of Tao, Taoism naturally ascribes the existence of nature to the drive and cultivation of “Tao”. Chuang Tzu also writes that “While Tao can hold all things, it can also overturn them. How imposing!”⁴ Under the guidance of ontological “Tao” and outlook on nature, Taoism suggests in the ethical field that “People should, rather than take morality as a utilitarian means, observe morality naturally and instinctively to benefit without harming others and to act without contending, in which way they can relish and savor morality.” (Wang,2001(3):33)

Second, “Tao” that “models itself after nature” is the doctrine of law, thus having a metaphysical characteristic. Lao Tzu says, “It is the way of Heaven not to strive, and yet it skillfully overcomes; not to speak, and yet it is skillful in obtaining a reply; not to call, and yet men come to it in spite of themselves. Its demonstrations are quiet, and yet its plans are skillful and effective. The meshes of the net of Heaven are large and far apart, but letting nothing escape.”⁵ He also holds that, “May not the Tao of Heaven be compared to the method of bending a bow? The part of the bow which was high is brought low, and what was low is raised up. So Heaven diminishes where there is superabundance, and supplements where there is deficiency. It is the Tao of Heaven to diminish superabundance, and to supplement deficiency. It is not so with the Tao of man. He takes away

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1. *Chapter one of Tao te ching.*

2. *Chapter twenty-five of Tao te ching.*

3. *Chapter forty-two of Tao te ching.*

4. *Heaven and Earth, the outer chapter of Chuang Tzu.*

5. *Chapter seventy-three of Tao te ching.*

from those who have not enough to add to his own superabundance. Who can take his own superabundance and therewith serve all under Heaven? Only he who is in possession of the Tao! Therefore the ruling sage acts without claiming the results as his; he achieves his merits and does not rest arrogantly in it --he does not wish to display his superiority.”¹ It can be seen that the “Tao” is the doctrine of law that creates and gets involved in the universe, and stipulates the path and direction of things during their developing process. Invisible, untouchable and unspeakable as Tao is, it is enchantingly majestic and powerful.

Third, “Tao” that “models itself after nature” is the doctrine of life, thus boasting of empirical contents. Taoists refer to Tao not only to convey its mystery and majesty, but also to express the essence of life by way of the analogy of Tao. It is because Tao “remains empty rather than replete” and is “all-inclusive” that “It can shelter the nature of all things with the power of emptiness”.² And it is due to the fact that “What has a positive existence serves for profitable adaptation, and what has not that for actual usefulness”³ that it becomes “the origin of all things”. Taoists advocate that a superior man should “practice morality according to law” and “preach harmoniously without utterance”. This is why Lao Tzu mentions that weakness marks the course of Tao’s mighty deeds, contending that new-born babies and seedlings can be vigorous and vital irrespective of their frailty. With fame and fortune swarmed with the secular world, however, how can people live in harmony with others? To this Taoists replies with “It is better to leave a vessel unfilled, than to attempt to carry it when it is full. If you keep feeling a point that has been sharpened, the point cannot long preserve its sharpness. When gold and jade fill the hall, their possessor cannot keep them safe. When wealth and honors lead to arrogance, this brings its evil on itself. When the work is done, and one’s name is becoming distinguished, to withdraw into obscurity is the way of Heaven.”⁴ It means that one should be content with life moderately and face up to success or failure with a determination of not contending.

The value orientation of “being detached from justice and material gains”

An ethical value orientation of “being detached from justice and material gains” is proposed on the basis of “Tao models itself after nature” by Taoists, which is a kind of amoralism different from Confucian “valuing justice while disregarding material gains”, and from Mohist “centering merely on material gains”.

Taoism disregards both justice and material gains. By saying “If we could renounce our sageness and discard our wisdom, it would be better for the people a hundredfold. If we could renounce

our benevolence and discard our righteousness, the people would again become filial and kindly. If we could renounce our artful contrivances and discard our scheming for gain, there would be no thieves or robbers”,⁵ Lao Tzu means that the so-called humanity, integrity and material gains in this mundane world are nothing more than a scourge that is decaying morality and that only by discarding such secular ethics can the nature and simplicity of morality be restored. Chuang Tzu ventures further, “One should not be fettered by the moral world, drawn away by worldly possessions and attached to or hostile against others”,⁶ in which way one can make “a true man” out of himself. To Chuang Tzu, true morality means “simplicity of life, tranquility of mind, and non-action of conduct”,⁷ which will bring a peaceful and harmonious world, and a man with morality is one who has no contention for fortune, thought for modest refusal, contemplation for humanity, lust for privileged treatment, or loathing for penalties or demotion. Gigmanities who are striving for profits and scholars who are contending for justice, in the eyes of Chuang Tzu, are in essence identical due to their harming characteristics and disobeying nature. “A true man” can only be shaped when one becomes his own master by breaking the fetters from secular justice and material gains.

Taoism proposes the value spirit of an unfettered self when it comes to the pursuit of individual value. If Taoist disdaining justice and profits is confined to material aspects, then its going after a free self emphasizes more on the spiritual field. Inspired by his real life, Chuang Tzu introduces the well-known notion of “death and life have no more victory”. He thinks the reason why people are susceptible to fame and fortune is that they tend to “favor life and detest death”, and that in order to alter such a tendency, one must surpass life and death and even himself. He also points out that “Death and life have no more victory over him. How much less should he concern himself with the distinctions of profit and loss?”⁸ and that “How could position and salary exert any influence on him since such significant things as life and death have not the least victory over him?”⁹ Chuang Tzu maintains that once detached from life and death and unfettered from the emotional self, one will get freed and liberated, which is ideal state of “the unity of man and divinity” advocated by Taoism. Chuang Tzu renders his description: “The perfect man is a spiritual being. Were the ocean itself scorched up, he would not feel hot. Were the great rivers frozen hard, he would not feel cold. Were the mountains to be cleft by thunder, and the great deep to be thrown up by storm, he would not tremble with fear. Thus, he would mount upon the clouds of heaven, and driving the sun and the moon before him, pass beyond the limits of this

1. *Chapter seventy-seven of Tao te ching.*

2. *The world, the miscellaneous chapter of Chuang Tzu.*

3. *Chapter eleven of Tao te ching.*

4. *Chapter nine of Tao te ching.*

5. *Chapter nineteen of Tao te ching.*

6. *The world, the miscellaneous chapter of Chuang Tzu.*

7. *Deliberation, the outer chapter of Chuang Tzu.*

8. *Leveling all things, the inner chapter of Chuang Tzu.*

9. *Tian Zifang, the outer chapter of Chuang Tzu.*

mundane existence.”¹

Taoism, of course, attaches importance to individual life when preaching the spiritual pursuit of an unfettered self and a free spiritual journey. Lao Tzu suggests that “Or fame or life, which do you hold dearer? Or life or wealth, to which would you adhere? Keep life and lose those other things; keep them and lose your life:--which brings sorrow and pain more near? Thus we may see who cleaves to fame rejects what is more great; who loves large stores gives up the richer state. Who is content needs fear no shame. Who knows to stop incurs no blame. From danger free long live shall he.”² Later the school of Yangzhu elaborates on and expounds the Taoist thought, and carries forward its conception of “valuing life and downplaying materials”, that is to say, “Materials are used to sustain life, not on the contrary.” Because Taoism, for a long time, critical and skeptical about Confucian system of secular morality characterized by “humanity and rites”, it becomes the weapon of frustrated scholars against Confucianism. Take the scholars during Wei and Jin Dynasties as an example, Ji Kang, one of the seven sages of the bamboo groove, brings about his health-preserving perspective of “protecting the body from being plagued by worldly matters”, which he thinks can be realized by getting rid of “five scourges”: “unceasing lust for fame and fortune”, “intermittent changing moods”, “rampant squandering”, “continuous feasting” and “an unsettled mind”. Restricted by mundane rites, Ji proposes the law of life that focuses on “mental satisfaction”. It is not an act of cowardice but a determination for Taoists to think highly of life that they will pursue individual independence and spiritual freedom on the condition that their lives are well taken care of. It also seems to show theoretically that scholars during Wei and Jin periods take a simple, unaffected and unfettered attitude toward life even though the social background remains unchanged. They abandon themselves to nature heartily, hang out in the street pompously, make fun of orthodoxies with delight and take pride in breaching traditional rites. Therefore, apparels during this period are dramatically “deviant from mainstream”.

The ideal human nature of “recovering original simplicity”

Different from Confucian fostering of a caring superior man with inner cultivation and exterior conduct, Taoism aims at presenting a “simple and pure” “true man” or “man in unity with divinity” by abstaining from humanity and justice. Thus, the ideal human nature of “recovering original simplicity” becomes paramount in Taoist ethics.

“The unchanging excellence completes its tale and we hail the simple infant man in him”. It has been mentioned that Taoists regard “Tao” as the origin of all things, disdain justice and material gains so that they hold that one can surpass life and death and get to a

detached state of becoming a “true man” or “man unified with divinity” by renouncing mundane humanity and integrity. Then what qualities should such a man be endowed with? Lao Tzu gives his reply, “The unchanging excellence completes its tale; the simple infant man in him we hail.”⁴ The “unchanging excellence” represents universal, eternal virtue, which is illustrated by Taoists with many analogies and examples: “...As to one channel flow the many drains, all come to him, yea, all beneath the sky. Thus he the constant excellence retains; the simple child again, free from all stains. Who knows how white attracts, yet always keeps himself within black’s shade, the pattern of humility displayed, displayed in view of all beneath the sky; he in the unchanging excellence arrayed, endless return to man’s first state has made. Who knows how glory shines, yet loves disgrace, nor e’er for it is pale; behold his presence in a spacious vale, to which men come from all beneath the sky.”⁵ According to “Tao” raised by Taoists, “unchanging excellence” here can be “supreme virtue” or “virtue of Heaven” that is detached from secular affairs. But how should “the simple infant man in him we hail” be interpreted? Literally, “simplicity” is often connected with “purity”, and both mean “an unadorned natural state”. Such a natural state is one that is “unaffected and sincere” and liberal as well from the perspective of ethics.

“Simple views and courses are plain and true, and selfishness would end, many lusts eschew”. But how can the supreme realm of morality be reached by self-cultivation? Lao Tzu responds with “Simple views, and courses plain and true, would selfishness end and many lusts eschew”. He considers that for the purpose of recovering original simplicity, one must desire less for luxury aside from sustenance. First, it means ridding people of lust for fame and fortune and of reduction to thieves and burglars by “not valuing and employing men of superior ability”, “not prizing articles which are difficult to procure”, and “not showing them what is likely to excite their desires”. Second, it means practicing strict economy and combating extravagance. Lao Tzu proposes, proceeding from the rule of a country, that “For regulating the human in our constitution and rendering the proper service to the heavenly, there is nothing like moderation. It is only by this moderation that there is effected an early return to man’s normal state. That early return is what I call the repeated accumulation of the attributes of the Tao. With that repeated accumulation of those attributes, there comes the subjugation of every obstacle to such return”.⁶ Third, it means being content while not contending. Lao Tzu believes “There is no guilt greater than to sanction ambition; no calamity greater than to be discontented with one’s lot; no fault greater than the wish to be getting”,⁷ so long-lasting happiness can only be produced by being content, and constant stability by not contending. Lao Tzu’s idea of having less

1. *Leveling all things, the inner chapter of Chuang Tzu.*

2. *Chapter forty-four of Tao te ching.*

3. *The foundation of life, Lv’s commentaries of history.*

4. *Chapter twenty-eight of Tao te ching.*

5. *Chapter twenty-eight of Tao te ching.*

6. *Chapter fifty-nine of Tao te ching.*

7. *Chapter forty-six of Tao te ching.*

selfish lust is carried forward and developed by Chuang Tzu, and the notion of “a true man” comes into being, who is naturally simple and pure, and loftily selfless and desire-less.

The effects of Taoist ethics on the perception of traditional Chinese apparels

Having a different ethical conception from other genres represented by Confucianism, Taoism is critical and skeptical about its so-called orthodox apparels, challenges the ritual functions of traditional clothing, generates a dividing line between the value of gaudery and virtue, and in this way introduces a natural beauty and a relative beauty of clothes.

Interior cultivation

Both Confucianism and Taoism believe in “Tao” and advocate that all things originate from “Tao”, however, there are some distinctions between what they are talking about. Confucian scholars think of heavenly principles as Tao of Human, so secular morality should reflect Tao of Heaven in the form of “rites”, in which way “Tao” is applied in the external form of “rites” and gets physical. While Taoists hold that “Tao” is invisible, formless and unspeakable so that mundane morality should reveal Tao in the form of “natural non-action”, in which way “Tao” is introduced to know about “ontological spirits” and gets metaphysical. As Taoism boasts of a philosophical perspective distinctive from other genres like Confucianism, it also views and interprets the value and functions of apparels differently. “Interior cultivation” or “He wears a poor garb of hair cloth, while he carries his signet of jade in his bosom” is a reflection of such Taoist cognition. As Tao te ching writes:

My words are very easy to know, and very easy to practice; but there is no one in the world who is able to know and able to practice them. There is an originating and all-comprehending principle in my words, and an authoritative law for the things which I enforce. It is because they do not know these, that men do not know me. They who know me are few, and I am on that account the more to be prized. It is thus that the sage wears a poor garb of hair cloth, while he carries his signet of jade in his bosom.¹

The following conclusion can be reached with regard to the essence of “Tao” for Taoists. First, it is because no one has an insight into “Tao” that they are still unable to know or practice Lao Tzu’s words despite the fact that they are easy to know and to practice. Second, in spite of the truth that “There is an originating and all-comprehending principle in my words, and an authoritative law for the things which I enforce”, it is because they do not understand “Tao” that their bases are reduced to fallacies, and their words and behaviors acts of contending for fame and fortune and of stealing and burglarizing, as a result, “They who know me are few, and I am on that account the more to be prized”. Third, confronted with secular fame and fortune, one must “foster his will, discard external lure, and focus on interior cultivation”, preserve natural simplicity

and observe morality and ethics rather than painstakingly attach value to the appearance. This may be Taoist value premise of functions of apparels.

This value cognition marks a dividing line between Taoist interpretation of functions of apparels and that of Confucianism. Taoist apparels begin to be distracted from Confucian individualism and try to highlight the personal charm of dressers. Here are two stories in Taoist philosophical classics that are worth pondering upon.

One day, Zhuang Tzu wears a piece of clothes with patches and a pair of straw sandals to see the Wei king. The king asks: “Why are you so poor?” He answered: “No, Your Majesty, I am not poor but short of money. He who is poor can not exhibit his morals; those who are in shabby dress are short of money. They just are in ill-time.”²

Zeng Zi lives in seclusion in Wei apart from officialdom. His robe is shabby, his swollen face tired and his hands and feet full of calluses. He sometimes would not have any fire for three consecutive days or new clothes for ten years. Should one touch his hat, the tassel rope would be broken; should one pull up his robe, his elbows would be exposed; Should one wear his shoes, the heels would fell off. But he still sings Ode to Shang loudly and his tone lingers in the air, almost like the tone of a musical instrument. However, neither king nor feudatory could be his friends. Therefore, those who cultivate their will would forget their body, those who forget their body would not mind their personal interests, and those who pursue Taoism would not be sketchy.³

Taoism focuses not on the shabbiness of Chuang Tzu and Zeng Zi but the personality and inclination of them. Indeed, the persons described in Taoism are the disabled with ugly-face or shabby clothes (such as YouShi, WangYi, Shushan the Toeless, and Ai Yita), but they all are truly virtuous men and have special skills. Perhaps Taoism tends to criticize the garments under the value of “interior cultivation” and the essence of criticism is the critic of Confucianism, which is proven by “the Seven Virtuous of Bamboo” who are unconcerned with appearance. (Zhang, 2010)

gaudery and virtue

As is mentioned before, Taoism sticks to challenging Confucianism about its doctrine of justice and material gains, which is made a reflection of neglect of gaudery and emphasis of virtue of a dresser, resulting in the separation of gaudery and virtue. Therefore gaudery of clothes in Taoism highlights that simplicity and manifestation of clothes are mainly determined by personal emotional outlet instead of the principle of benevolence and the rule of etiquette. Meeting friends at home and traveling in Taoist costumes were a fashion at a time, driven by the Taoist mysticism and the dissemination of the Taoism among people.

When Chuang Tzu paid a formal visit to Duke Ai of Lu, the latter said, “Lu people are mainly Confucian scholars and few

1. *Chapter seventy of Tao te ching.*

2. The trees on the mountains, the outer chapter of Chuang Tzu.

3. Throne abdication, the miscellaneous chapter of Chuang Tzu.

believe in Taoism you advocate.” Chuang Tzu replied, “I don’t think Confucian scholars are as many as you thought.” The Duke was astonished, “How could it be possible since all men in the State of Lu wear Confucian costumes?” “I heard that Confucian scholars who wore round caps were experts in astronomy; who wore square-tipped shoes were masters of topography; who were adorned with jade slotted rings with colored ribbons were always resolved and decisive. The Confucian costume is not a necessity to a real man of honor; those who wear Confucian costumes are not likely to be better than a man of honor. If you, Your Majesty, do not believe it, you could make an order in your country that those who wear Confucian costumes while not being great at Confucianism should be killed. Duke Ai does it accordingly. Five day later, there is only one man standing at the propylaeum with the Confucian costume. Duke Ai summons him to ask something about national affairs, while, however complicated the question is, he could answer up to every question. As a result, Chuang Tzu says to Duke Ai: “There is only one Confucian scholar, how could you say the opposite?”¹

The most important sentence in this paragraph is that the Confucian costume is not a necessity to a real man of honor; those who wear Confucian costumes are not likely to be better than a man of honor. That is to say, a Confucian costume is not a necessity to a man of Taoism and those who wear these clothes are unlikely to understand the essence of Taoism. This story, whether true or not, represents the value outlook of Chuang Tzu on Confucian costumes: the gaudery clothes may not be a symbol of the man of virtue. However, the criticism of hypocrisy of costumes sometimes even takes to an extreme, partly influenced by the pursuit of ideal personality of Taoism. Chuang Tzu’s wife died. When Hui Tzu went to convey his condolences, he found Chuang Tzu sitting with his legs sprawled out, pounding on a tub and singing.² Obviously, sitting with one’s leg sprawled out is extremely rude, since trousers with crotch only starts to be popular in the mid-Han Dynasty, let alone the Warring States period. However, such rudeness is seen as elegance in Taoism, as the behavior of Chuang Tzu demonstrates the spirit of Taoism featuring seeking personal growth and recovering simplicity. In the pursuit of material enjoyment, Taoism opposes costume to be formalistic and advocates naturalism, guiding the costume to follow a road of simplicity and naturalism; while, in the spiritual pursuit, it favors spiritual self-liberation, allowing costume to develop individualism. These two kinds of development result in an independent or even contradictory situation between gaudery (form) and virtue (content). Besides, costume is no longer the symbol of man of virtue but the outlet of emotion.

It is the Taoism that discloses the hypocrisy of costume and releases human desire of freedom. Therefore, costume starts to shift

form the attention of groups to the satisfaction of individuals from the perspective of form; its social function is not only confined to the sense of identity and benevolence but also the expression of individuals and inclination. There are many ancient Chinese men of letters following this spirit of Taoist costume, for example, the scholar Guo Wen is described to “always wear buckskin suit with a scarf on head, cultivate the land and grow grain on it, and never have wine or meat” ; Kou Zhun to “pay a visit to Wei Ye in spare time, who wears rough clothes and responds with casual greetings” ; and Zhu Da to “often wear old hat and shabby robes. His shoes are so shabby that his toes even bulge out. But he never cares about that and continues to walk at a brisk pace in the bustling commercial street . It is noticeable that this individualism disseminated and promoted by the Taoism allows the Taoist costume to be a fashion for men of letters when gathering in the family party and traveling outside. This fashion starts from the Five Dynasties and matures in North Song Dynasty. It consists of two tendencies: “One exists in the officers’ private life; another is the daily life of demoted officials and men of letters” (Wang, 2001). This fashion makes a contribution to the changes of cloth from gaudery to simplicity, making the lotus-leaves-shaped scarf and lotus-flower-shaped crown as well as the Crane Robe popular. “Being content with cloth and residence and being content to follow customs comes to be the value of Taoist costume.

The non-expressiveness of beauty

Taoism holds that Great beauty is unspeakable, and high sound is without voice. That means form and sound of beauty are not always the substances but integrated into the spirits of Taoism. Since Taoism is non-action, so the presentation of beauty is supposed to be natural and simple; meanwhile Taoism is movable and changeable, thus, beauty should be continuously developed in its aesthetics. When this value is applied in the costume, natural simple beauty should be taken as the standard beauty of clothes in its form, while the beauty of materials lies in comfortability, the beauty of sentiment should be dialectical.

The beauty of cloth is determined by its natural simplicity. Chuang Tzu once gave an example: “A man of Song bought hats to sell in the Kingdom of Yue. But hats are of little use to them, for the cutting of their long hair and putting tattoo marks on themselves are very popular in the county”.⁷ This example implicates the value of Taoist costume: Since the body of man comes from nature, it is unnecessary for us to wear anything. That is one of the reasons why so many outstanding men isolate themselves from the moral world and expose to be naked. However, social etiquette and norms prohibit human nature from being naked, so this value is understated, in other words, under the premise of acceptance of Confucianism,

1. Thien Tsze Fang, the outer chapter of Chuang Tzu.

2. Perfect happiness, the outer chapter of Chuang Tzu.

3. Guo Wen biography, Book of Jin.

4. Allegory, volume one of collected works of poetries.

5. Da Zhu of Guochao Xianzheng Shile.

6. Chapter eighty-one of Tao te ching.

7. The happy excursion, the inner chapter of Chuang Tzu.

people could make some modification on clothes, such as altering brocades into linens, ribbons into rough cloths, artificial beauty into natural elegance, and jades and scepters into whisks and fans, and in this way to shape natural, and simple Taoist costumes.

The beauty of cloth lies in its comfort-ability. Taoists favor self-enjoyment but they think highly of regimen and enlightenment, attempting to fully appreciate the mystery of Taoism. Taoism maintains that “If you forgot your shape of feet, you would fit all the shoes; if you minded little about your waist, you would fit all belts; if you left alone all the disputes, you would be happier; if you never gave in, everything would be possible.”¹ Obviously, Taoists would like to change their subjective awareness to discuss the objective things. Although it is seriously subjective, it still conveys a message: the judgment of costume fully depends on the individual’s subjective awareness, rather than the awareness of groups. This enhances the function of clothes to the self-liberalization, leaving a room for self-assessment. The comfort-ability of clothes becomes one of the important standards for Taoist costume, because regimen in Taoism is another purpose of life. In the value of Confucian costume, everyone should restrain themselves to follow the social order, while, on the contrary, in Taoist costumes, clothes is the carrier of individual’s experience and freedom” (Zhang, 2010). It seems to explain why men of virtue in the Wei-Jin period even like sitting with his legs sprawled out and being naked, and wearing what they feel like freeing from any ritual”(Emile & Qu, 2000).

The beauty of clothes is relative. There is a story in Chuang Tzu’s fables, which says: “When Yang Zi went to the State of Song, he noticed that there were two concubines in the shop, one was ugly, and the other beautiful. However, the former was respected by his master while the latter was despised. Yangzi asked about the reason, the master answered “she thinks she is more beautiful, but I do not think so, instead, I do like the beauty of the other who herself think to be ugly.”² This story vividly explains the dialectical view of aesthetic: there is no absolute beauty or ugliness; the criteria of beauty or ugliness entirely depend on the subjective awareness. That is to say, since both the value of beauty and ugly are so subjective, should the value of flattering himself to be beautiful be mistaken as a truth, it would be a blind pessimism of inferiority. In addition, as Taoists have adhered to the value of the emphasis of inner nature, therefore, compared with Confucian scholars, they selected the direct opposite way of aesthetics in terms of function and form. This costume value exerts a great influence on our traditional dress,

contributing to our Chinese traditional dress with a characteristic of pursuing the independent spirit implicated in the clothes instead of its gaudery.

There is a story about Fei Shu in New Accounts of Old Episodes: “Fei shu is preeminent and superior, even though he takes off his hat and wears a rough coat with matted hair. People praised him to be as beautiful as jade.”³ Should people not be influenced by the value of Taoist costume, how would they think of him who is in a mess as a beauty?

The ethics of Taoist costume and the contemporary area

Influenced by the ethics of Taoism, our Chinese traditional dress has developed a new concept in terms of value perception, function and aesthetic that is against the Confucius thought. Irrational as the new concept is to some extent,⁴ it still demonstrates the awakening of the individualism and the concern of the humanity in other side.⁵ This awakening and concern have opened a new window for the innovation of aesthetic and individual liberation, which is linked with the emergence of the contemporary individual aesthetic. However, the appreciation of the ugliness” tends to reach an extreme of personality and is worth cautioning.

Individual-liberation—the tendency of costume aesthetics

Although Taoists tend to “live in seclusion” when unable to face the reality, they still pursue individualism and independence, whereas the rebellion of Confucianism is historically concerned with the personality of Taoism. Our Chinese traditional dress once had a tendency against Confucian rituals impacted by the Taoist spirit, for example, the weird hairstyle in intellectuals in Wei-Jin periods, the playboy’s favorite beggar dress in Sui and Tang Dynasty, and the Taoist priest’s robe popular among the official circles in Song and Ming Dynasty. All reflect the spirit pursuing by the Taoist. Nowadays, along with the influx of western culture and the awakening of citizenship consciousness, individual liberalization is prevailing in people’s life. Guided by the individual liberalization, our Chinese costume aesthetic has developed the following characteristics.⁶

Respecting tool rationality. The tool-rationality is put forward by Max Weber when he analyzes the capital spirit. In Weber’s opinion, tool-rationality promotes the “rationalization of society, that is to say, the people’s rational consciousness has permeated into our social life, and our social life is gradually developed to be standardized and systemized and legalized though a rational and technical organization and the control in specific practical activities.

1. Understanding life, the outer chapter of Chuang Tzu.

2. Trees, the outer chapter of Chuang Tzu records: when Yang Zhu went to Song, he stayed at the inn. The innkeeper had two concubines, and one was beautiful and the other was ugly. However, the innkeeper only cared for the ugly one instead of the beautiful. Therefore, Yang Zhu asked him the reason, and the hotel owner replied, “The beautiful one is pride of her beauty, so I don’t think she is beautiful; while the ugly is humble for her ugliness, so I don’t think she is ugly”. Yang Zhu said, “You should remember that the people who are virtuous and humble can be respected everywhere”.

3. Appearance and behaviors of new accounts of old episodes.

4. In the Chinese traditional ethic thought history, Yiting Zhu points out that Taoism ethics represented by Lao Tzu have some characteristics of “ethical non-rationalism”. Please refer to Yiting Zhu’s Chinese Traditional Ethic Thought History, pp. 62-70, Shanghai, East China University Press, 2009 edition.

5. This focus on individual is typically reflected on Taoist ethics represented by Chuang Tze.

6. Traditionally, we divide the aesthetic elements constitution into: aesthetic consciousness, aesthetic object and aesthetic subject; according to the mapping direction of these three elements, we classify it into instrumental rationality, functionalism and individualism.

In the practice of tool-rationality, people consciously link the world to the real interest of himself, and also judge the life style from the real interest of himself... (Jiang, 2009). Guided by the individual liberalization, our Chinese costume aesthetics has developed the following characteristics: firstly, it is increasingly rational, getting rid of the blind worship and highlighting the role of individual value. Secondly, it is increasingly diversified, with traditional value taken a big hit but the western value being gradually accepted. Thirdly, it is impacted by the media, updating fast with a shorter fashion cycle.¹

Advocating functionalism. Functionalism in art field is defined as a design tendency with “form follows function as its core value and it is characterized by the combination of technology and function and of the benefit and practice. The design tendency should belong to the manifestation of tool-rational in specific field from the perspective of philosophy. Influenced by the functionalism, our Chinese aesthetics objectively has the following characteristics: the spirit of costume is weakened while its material function enhanced, for instance, the appearance of jackets, sports pants, casual wear; secondly, the class function of clothes has been replaced by the interpersonal communication, such as the popularity of suit, new Tang suit and new cheongsam; thirdly, the career differentiation function have been reinforced and widely applied to the working and living area, like the appearance of overall, business suit and school uniforms; Fourthly, its sign function has been further enhanced and got closer relationship with local or ethnic culture or folklore, such as the fashionable Zhongshan suit and Han clothing. It is noticeable that its functionalism has greatly met the demands of individualism; one the one hand, however, it also has removed the culture spirits implicated in the clothes, which puts the costume aesthetics in a dilemma.

Affirming the individualism. From the perspective of ethics, individualism affirms the rationality of individual values, respects the subjectivity status of individuals and considers satisfying individual interests as the ideal goal of value. Individualism in the aesthetic mainly has the following characteristics: pursuing the individual aesthetic freedom, fascinating with the illusory world, yearning for the happiness and relaxing and worshipping the pure subjectivity (Chen, 2010). Understanding the individualism in dress aesthetic from the perspective of aesthetic subject features as follows: firstly, the aesthetic subject tends to be subdivided; aesthetic needs are diverse and individual needs become the main demand of dress aesthetic. Under the influence of individualism, individual demand is mainly reflected on the needs of fitness, comfort, warmth, detergency and beauty of dress products. Secondly, influenced by the mass media, aesthetic subject scope gradually expands and the aesthetic need is increasingly subdivided. Due to the individualism,

this subdivision is growingly reflected on the needs of consistency between personal style and dress style. Thirdly, aesthetic subject class is obviously differentiated and this class presents a Pyramid style, leading to the class differentiation in dress aesthetic. Under the influence of individualism, this class differentiation makes dress product line be horizontally and vertically decomposed.²

Personality excessiveness—origin and blindness of dress aesthetic

Although the Taoist ethic plays a positive role in liberating individual nature and making up for Confucian humanity, etc, its negative effect on the real social life and “the terrible effect” on the people’s behavior are also remarkable (Zhu, 2009). In fact, dress ethic that Taoist advocates is not always accepted by the orthodox, and the dress ethic practice which pursues “absolute freedom” would be either regarded as “Fuyao” (strange dress) or “corrupting public morals” in reality, which would finally be suppressed by the Confucianism. Influenced by the personality liberation, the current dress aesthetic also appears a “personality excessiveness” phenomenon which misunderstands “individual freedom” to be “absolute freedom”, showing the origin and blindness of dress aesthetic.

First is the serious utilitarianism. The biggest characteristic of utilitarianism is proposing the “greatest happiness principle”, and according to this principle, the ultimate goal of people is to try to relieve from the suffering, so as to enjoy life both in quality and quantity as possible. This principle is applied to the aesthetic field, which is: aesthetic and arts set non-repression as the goal, pursue sensual pleasure principle, create a non-repressive world, make the instinct of desire be sublimated and resist to the rational reality principle, so as to unify perception and reason (Marcuse, 1982). However, it is also under the promotion of utilitarianism that dress aesthetic presents some undesirable phenomena in the aesthetic practice such as “pursuing interests at the expense of nature” and “dominating emotions by objects”. It specifically reflects as follows: regarding the beauty of dress as that of luxury, and various furs, gold and silver are prevailing with the name of brand; considering that the beauty of dress means satisfaction of desire, namely enjoying hedonism with the dress.³ This extreme utilitarianism in the dress aesthetic distorts the basic value principle of dress aesthetic and blurs its due cultural spirit, thus, making the dress aesthetic vulgar and unbearable.

Second is the prevalent revivalism. In China, cultural revivalism refers to the cultural thoughts proposed by the reformists mainly including Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao when dealing with western cultural shock. They advocate “chanting and revivalism” and “worshipping Confucius to administrate education” to maintain the characteristics of national culture, but because of their political

1. Conclusion refers to the relevant data and contents of “Survey report on development of Chinese clothing industry (2010-2014)” issued by China National Garment Association.

2. Conclusion refers to the relevant data and contents of “Survey report on development of Chinese clothing brand industry (2010-2013)” issued by McKinse.

3. Emperor Shower” event in Henan Province, for example. According to Qilu Evening News, in an opening ceremony of bathhouse in Henan, a man invested 100000 yuan to obtain the first opportunity to take a shower dressing in dragon robe together with women wearing ancient costume. Qilu Evening News, 2013.2.4-31.

retrogression, these have been derogated. Influenced by the revivalism ideas, the robe and mandarin jacket are the honors in the dress. At present, revivalism also exists in dress aesthetic, and this aesthetic revivalism puts the dress aesthetic to be revivalism for an excuse to maintain the national character and carry forward the national tradition. This dress revivalism is mainly reflected on the following: firstly, dress design, it copies traditional dress when designing, including indiscriminately copying its shape and elements to modern dress design without any innovation and development, which produces a rigid dress design; secondly, cultural spirit of dress, this dress revivalism mistakenly considers class thoughts and privilege of the traditional dress as the essence of traditional dress culture for failing to comprehend the connotation and spirit of this culture, resulting in a value misleading and deviation in the dress brand cultural propaganda.

Third is the declining collectivism. In China's traditional cultural ethics, although the collectivism, which has been respected by the Confucians ethical code, is mixed with blind loyalty and hierarchy, on the whole, it plays a positive role in promoting social stability and enhancing the community identity. At present, as China is in a historical period with multi-culture collision and various values blending, collectivism is suffering from the shocks of individualism, hedonism and liberalism, and dependency of individual on collective is weakening and the appealing of collectivism to the individual is reducing. Under the influence of personality liberation, collectivism in the dress aesthetic is decaying, which mainly shows as follows: first, the value leading of "simplicity and elegance in harmony" in traditional dress is ignored, individuality expression is blindly pursued and novel in dress is tried to be different, which leads to a "mismatching between properties and dress"; second, western dress concept is misunderstood, regarding the beauty of body as the main way of expressing personality, therefore, there is a phenomenon of dress exaggeration and body exposure; third, the basic dress spirit that "the dress should be consistent with people's emotions and situations" in the traditional dress is broken away from and the TPO principle of the dress is violated.¹

The true and the good are the beauty—the eternal law of dress aesthetics

In the face of the impact of personality liberation, according to the phenomenon of "the personality excessiveness", how to establish the general standard of dress aesthetics has become the urgent requirement of cultivating current traditional culture and modern dress cultural spirit and it is necessary for building socialist core values. From the perspective of ethics, constructing a scientific and reasonable dress aesthetic principle requires to start from the two value attributes (natural attributes and social attributes) and three basic functions (body guard, covering defects and a symbol of

identity) of the dress and draw up a scientific understanding and summary on the true and the good values of dress, so as to make the dress aesthetic return to a scientific and reasonable state. Based on the above discussions and combined with previous studies, the following opinions with respect to value principle of dress aesthetic are put forward.

Firstly, seeking truth is material basis of dress aesthetic. The truth of dress lies in our understanding on the laws of natural attributes of various elements in the dress, and this understanding requires us to be based on the material attributes of dress in the process of dress aesthetic and scientifically grasp the attributes rules (such as color, color fastness, hygroscopicity, detergency) of various elements of dress (color, materials, etc.) to better serve the needs of people. For the "personality excessiveness", we should adhere to the dress aesthetic principle of seeking truth. Specifically, the first one is to adhere to the scientific principle of dress design, referring to scientifically using various dress elements to make elements properly be collocated and refuse to harm the body; secondly, to adhere to the practicability principle of dress design and scientifically grasp the rule attributes of various elements of dress to realize proper application and scientific process, and oppose to the mismatch between material and function; thirdly, to insist on the design stance that style is consistent with material, unify the dress style and material as well as oppose the wrong tendency of pursuing design style without connecting with material properties.

Secondly, seeking the good is the "co-desirable" requirements in dress aesthetics. The good of dress depends on our "desirable" understanding towards the dress function to meet people's desire. However, people's desires vary, and sometimes even the good featuring "co-desire" has the obvious characteristics of class, history and even region. In addition, in the face of globalization impact, we are in a special historical period that Taoist philosophy falls apart with the disunity of the world", which also adds difficulty and risk to seeking a ethical consensus characterized by "co-desire", thus brings difficulties and uncertainties to the goodness pursuing in the dress aesthetics. The paper merely discusses possible problems of seeking goodness in the dress aesthetic from several value dimensions constituting the ethical consensus.² One is that ethical consensus is that of self-identity. This consensus is similar to Durkheim's (2000) "the total beliefs and emotions of social members on average", which is a kind of "collective consciousness or common consciousness". This value dimension of ethical consensus determines that we should adhere to the principle of nationality of dress, inherit and carry forward the traditional culture spirit. Secondly, moral consensus is "harmony but not sameness". This consensus is similar to Rawls's (2002) "overlapping consensus", which is the result of moral multiple competitions. It determines that we should obey the differentiation principle in dress aesthetic and critically

1. TPO principle is internationally recognized dressing principle, namely dress should be collocated according to different time, place, situation or purpose, in order to match the clothes with the identity, occasion and environment of wearer.

2. Here the value dimension of ethical consensus refers to Hua Qihe's doctoral dissertation: Ethical consensus research on political games of climate problems. Doctoral dissertation of Nanjing Normal University, May, 2012.

absorb the spirit of western dress culture. Finally, ethical consensus is the minimum one. This ethical consensus is kept after the ethnical competition between the tradition and modern, the east and the west as well as the public and private, and is accepted by most people. This minimum ethical consensus has active factors of "virtual justice" McIntyre has mentioned, which has been verified in practice. This value dimension requires that practicability principle should be followed and the acceptable balancing point should be pointed out in the various value conflicts.

Thirdly, oneness of the true and the good is the spiritual direction of dress aesthetics. Dress is certainly a combination of the true and the good, while the presence of them decides that the dress is also an existence of the beauty. For the purpose of achieving this oneness, it is necessary to appropriately grasp the value of the true and the good of dress in dress aesthetic and scientifically use three basic functions of dress, so as to discover and create beauty in practice. Specifically, it firstly needs to scientifically adopt dress materials based on the body guard function of dress for the purpose of combining the dress functions with people's natural demand and thus serving for the health; secondly, in terms of covering defects, it needs to exactly use the principle of formal beauty, correctly understand Chinese and western dress culture and combine its functions and social needs of people, which shapes the body; thirdly, in terms of the symbol of identity, the function of dress and spiritual needs of people should be integrated, thus making dress be joyful. For the impact of personalized dress aesthetic, we must oppose three dress aesthetic ideas: an excuse of individualism leads the costume to luxury hedonism, to a rigid and decadent revivalism and to

individuality with absolute freedom.

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The Analysis of Accounting Information Disclosure in Capital Market from the Perspective of Microeconomics

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Abstract: This thesis has analyzed the motivation for voluntary disclosure of financial information in the capital market, the advantages and drawbacks of mandatory disclosure of enterprises' accounting information by the government or the relevant departments, and an effective way to combine these two aspects to appropriately disclose information. The conclusion has been reached based on a large number of previous studies that the motivation for enterprises to voluntarily disclose their financial information consists of three aspects: agency theory, signal theory and the competitiveness, which is the essence of the market. The policy of mandatory disclosure of accounting information intends to avoid the invalidity of "invisible hand" which could cause many unnecessary problems such as the withholding of necessary accounting information, or the whopping price for bootlegged information, resulting from the contradiction between the whole market and the society. Therefore, the capital market can't follow a sound and ordered development without the effective combination of two kinds of disclosure. This thesis mainly studies how to effectively combine these two kinds of disclosure.

Key words: Accounting information; Voluntariness; Mandatory property; Disclosure

Although there are many drawbacks in mandatory disclosure, it is still quite popular in accounting information disclosure, and even seen as a world-dominant method. However, some economists start to professionally question it. The thesis mainly analyses the advantages and disadvantages of the voluntary and mandatory disclosure by using the theory of microeconomics so as to have a better understanding of the goal as well as the essence of accounting disclosure.

The elaboration of motivation and theoretical analysis

The analysis of Agency Theory

The Agency Theory is one of the important reasons for executives to voluntarily disclose their financial reports, while the principal-agent relations, as the most important relationship, reflects the relationship between administrator and product owner, with the contract as its external performance(Chen, 2004). The covenant, with accounting information as its main content, represents the rights and obligations between the client and mandatory, indicating the right of pursuing profit being transferred to enterprises by rational market participants. However, as the goal of clients

is not always consistent and even contradicted with that of man dataries, the owner would spend some money on the supervision of the administrator's performance. As a result, the core of Agency Theory is that the third party, the supervisor, would harm the interests of the mandatory. It is proposed in Agency Theory that the gains of the managers should be linked with that of the processors for the maximization of interests of executives, that is to say, some terms should be stipulated in the contract in hopes of encouraging executives to strive for the the maximization of interests of owners for their own interests. The executive would like to disclose his accounting reports voluntarily to reduce monitoring cost for owners for a good reputation, resulting in higher profits.

Signal principle and competitive nature of "the invisible hand"

With the development of the capital market, resources have become a factor that can't be ignored. It comes to be one of reasons why information is voluntarily disclosed as it could determine enterprises' competitiveness. Therefore, enterprises should improve the quality of their financial statements and voluntarily disclose information concerned by

the outside world to improve the confidence of investors and enhance the enterprise's value. It is also necessary for enterprise to attract foreign investment by doing so. The enterprises with good performance could maintain its credibility though voluntarily disclosing its information under the climate of recession. While, enterprises with general performance will also hire some experts or CPA to make a good financial statement which could show their high competitiveness. What is more, a good financial statement is a matter of success or failure for companies with a relatively weak comprehensive strength. A financial statement not only shows the advantages and disadvantages of a company but allow the investors to know the potential of the enterprise and to guide enterprises to improve themselves.

Private Contract Theory

Some scholars believe that internal financial information can be seen as a commodity, because it has both commodity value and use value, and its production cost is not so high as that of other items. Therefore, the US economist Harry Walker has proposed that the financial market should not be limited to financial products and it should also include information products. Individuals personally purchasing *investment newsletter* is a good illustration of Private Contract Theory.

The Benefits and drawbacks of the policy of mandatory disclosure of accounting information

The motivation for the policy of mandatory disclosure of accounting information is mainly from two aspects. On the one hand, this policy can prevent the market- "the invisible hand" from inefficiently regulating economy, as a result, the government is required to promote the rational use of funds in the community, in other words, the investors' capital should be "maximization of marginal utility" so as to avoid monopoly or withholding of important information. Secondly, there is a necessity of mandatory disclosure to make information fully transmitted in the market, as the market may be contrary to the goal of social needs during the operation process.

Market failure

Market failure has led market participants either to make a choice that is not conducive to their own interests or immoral to society by taking advantage of information. Therefore, it's of great importance for the government, i.e. the visible hand, to make a macro-control and supervision of the market, in order to mitigate the negative impact of market failures. The core of regulation lies in the fact that accounting information has the commodity features of value and use value, which is the exclusive property of the enterprise, as well as the function of public welfare.

Enterprise is the Exclusive provider of information.

The theory of "invisible hand" could be used to analyze the failures of information transactions. It can be partly attributed to potential monopoly of internal accounting information of enterprises. Without the government's oversight and intervention, it would probably lead to market failure (Yang, 2007). Liu Xin, a teacher in Changchun University, proposes that compared with the private contractual purchasing behavior, the policy of mandatory disclosure of financial statement could avoid market failure brought by price monopoly, resulting in a better social effect. In short, the mandatory disclosure of accounting information could reduce the investment cost for market participants, as the accounting information could be sold as a product of the enterprise, whose exclusive producer and provider is the enterprise. It is a waste of money buying similar information.

Accounting information is considered as public product.

According to "Adams Pareto Optimal", accounting information would become a typical public product provided that perfectly competitive market existed (Chen, 2006). Besides, it is inevitable that market participants would pursue their own share of the profits. All these would lead to the inefficiency of enterprise information production, contributing to the result of demand exceeding supply. However, the relationship of accounting information between supply and demand in the market does not manifest themselves authentically, which has become a focal point for discussion among many scholars and also opened a window for government to intervene the market economy. Undoubtedly, if the government planned to cover the cost of accounting information production through financial subsidies, it's the whole society that must take responsibility for the subsidies. Therefore, it is imperative that the government should take mandatory measures.

Analysis of social goals

If a failure appeared in the realization of the overall objective of society, the participants in the financial market would always keep focusing on the accurate definition of "Fair Report" as well as the specific theories and practical problems of the protection of market participants (Chen, 2006). Based on common interests, the fairness of the market highlights the opportunity of equally access to information for each market participant, i.e. "the information symmetry". From the government's point of view, there is still a long way to go to strive for this goal. "The unwise choice" or "unconscionable action", resulted from the asymmetric information obtained by market participants, which is unrealistic and hard to carry out in a short period, would finally be resulted in a potential high market risk, leading to the collapse of market. Thus mandatory disclosure is a guarantee of "information symmetry", and it could effectively prevent carpetbaggers from taking advantage of

the internal information for their own sake, and also ensure long-term confidence in the fairness of the market for investors.

The Similarities and differences between the two disclosure methods and their conjunction point

The reason why the disclosure of accounting information should be strictly required is that with the gradual development of capital market and our global village becoming smaller and smaller, economic development can no longer be confined to one country and globalization and multiplicity are becoming more and more influential, leading to fierce commercial competition in capital (Yu, 2006). Thus the demand for accounting information would also increase; some information which an enterprise is unwilling to disclose could be sold to those investors in need at fixed price. It is conducive to increase shareholders' desire to purchase financial products and derivatives, contributing to enhancing the company value (Cui, 2006). Meanwhile, Voluntary disclosure of financial information could also promote reform and innovation of the financial derivatives, the transfer of financial instruments and the innovation of signal derivative products, as well as encourage supervision and regulation departments to make appropriate policies. However, the negative impacts brought by the voluntary disclosure of financial information should by no means be ignored. On the one hand, compared with the overall revenue of the macro-economy, the cost produced by financial disclosure is supposed to be borne by the enterprises themselves; in addition, the excessive disclosure of accounting information makes the leak of commercial secret possible, which could have negative impact on enterprise. The fact that enterprise is exclusive to the production and sale of accounting information is one of the reasons why mandatory disclosure of accounting information is highly required, and also indicates the failure of invisible hand. The government requires enterprises who are the exclusive producer and seller of the accounting information to carry out a certain amount of mandatory disclosure, which could to some extent reduce the cost in purchasing information for the market participants. The essence of the market economy is the competition among the various manufacturers driven by the desire of profit, providing motivation for the possibility of misleading reports, at least in a short time. In other words, it's impossible to blame executives for disclosing misleading financial accounting reports, at least in the short time, consequently they can manipulate the financial reports within limited time. That is why mandatory disclosure is essential to market participants, for it could ensure of fairness and transparency of information to some degree, guaranteeing the rational allocation of social resources and the output

maximization of utility (Fang, 2013). Of course, corporate financial information may show its own disadvantages during mandatory disclosure, for if the financial information, as a kind of public product, is oversupplied, it could lead to the over-centralization of wealth on enterprises or on the financial information users, imposing the burden on the whole society.

From the perspective of "game theory" in microeconomics, the disclosure of financial information itself is a kind of game play. However, the two characteristics of corporate financial reports are incompatible on the surface, but are intertwined with each other in reality, and the high quality of financial statement is the necessary and sufficient conditions for all normal economic activities no matter what kinds of disclosure method are adopted, while mandatory and voluntaries are purely two extremes (e.g., Liu, 2005; Zhu, 2005; Ren, 2013). It would undoubtedly be irrational if we see it as a game of multiple choices of selecting one from two, for each coin has its two sides (Yu, 2005). Thus these two characteristics are inseparable, and lacking any of them, investors would be at high risk.

The disclosure of domestic financial information

In recent years, with the development of market economy, experts at home and abroad have put forward different views about the way of disclosing China's corporate financial reports. Some advocate a mandatory accounting disclosure of accounting information merely, while some only prefer the voluntary disclosure. Chen Yiwei, a Master of Law and Politics in Zhejiang A&F University, holds that each way of disclosure has its own distinctive advantages and disadvantages, but as to the way of combining the two effectively, the consensus hasn't been reached by domestic and foreign scholars. However, it's necessary for us to jointly explore it to seek an appropriate way of accounting disclosure.

In-depth analysis of the two methods of disclosure

Efforts should be made to explore the possible binding sites of the content of two methods.

The content of mandatory disclosure of accounting information as required by the government or other related departments are the major changes taking place in the business management and the information related to the change of shareholders' rights and obligations and benefits. It is due to the investors' interest and social responsibility that the companies take the initiative to disclose their own operating environment, strategic planning and the status of management affecting investment decisions. Therefore, some scholars believe that executives shall not bear their legal responsibility for the loss that is caused by companies' unintentional inaccurate information.

Governments and investors should aware the significance of raising the minimum standards of mandatory disclosure of accounting information

It is undeniable that the central government meet many challenges when carrying out the policy of mandatory disclosure of financial statement., as a great large number of companies disclosed their financial statement in accordance with the existing minimum standard, what is more, most companies, when taking industrial competition into consideration, are reluctant to voluntarily disclose their financial statement. Some scholars believe that a voluntary disclosure of financial statement is a means of attracting investors and it can only be used as a reference for investors. A company shall not take their responsibility for disclosing such information as the future potential of the company, the development of core business and its overall strength.

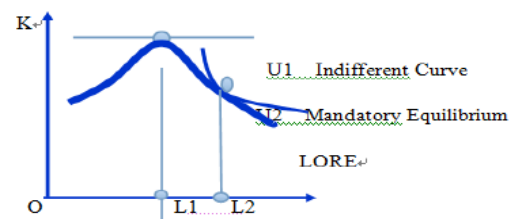
“Creation-Information disclosure regulation model” is used in the essay. There is a theory that the function of the disclosed date of accounting information is not successive, because of the intrinsic value existing in the economic scale information itself (Liao, 2006). As little information is almost of no value, enterprises would not be likely to disclose their accounting information. Besides, the threshold set by the government is too low to reach the minimum standard of voluntary disclosure of accounting information, and only the standard of mandatory disclosure of accounting information reaches or even exceeds that threshold. This threshold can be improved by appropriately increasing financial disclosure information times as well as improving the minimum standards of mandatory disclosure. Only these theory putting into practice can the problem of point combination of this two disclosure methods be settled (Qiu, 2011). As a result, the asymmetric information of market participators could thus be solved, which is beneficial to maintain the confidence of investors in market and enterprises.

Exploring a way for mandatory disclosure of internal information to meet or exceed the threshold of appropriate disclosure

Liu Xin, a teacher in School of Economics of Changchun University, conducted a research about the definition the reasonable mandatory disclosure of corporate financial reporting in the Changchun urban areas of Jilin Province, and how to explore an effective way of combining the mandatory and voluntary disclosure of accounting information for enterprises to accept. The way to be exploited is a balance reached by the invisible hand between during the process of achieving a market goal, and its appropriateness is visible and controllable. It is inevitable that enterprises will disclose more and more accounting information with the increasingly developed modern market,

and investors could take advantage of and select the disclosed information in a planned way.

The author holds that mandatory disclosure shall take into account the comprehensive consumption of cost because of the implement of mandatory disclosure form the perspective of cost and benefit, which includes the establishment of inspection services, as well as consumption of the implement of policy, the cost for changes in enterprise operational mode, the spending in dealing with enterprise irregularity, and the loss of opportunity cost of attracting investors resulting from the excessive disclosure of information (Cai, 2010). A phenomenon of putting the cart before the horse would occur itself when the government carries out regulation of the enterprise’s accounting information, i.e. only paying attention to the benefits of executives bought by supervision, regardless of negative impact on companies (Yang, 2009). If the supervisor only want to maximize his own rights and don’t care bout whether the amount of information is appropriate or not, this behavior is equal to the corruption. Therefore, the way that profit should keep up with justice is the only correct choice for us to the disclosure of information



The diagram of mandatory disclosure under the deferent disclosure degree

The axes Q-L represents the trajectory of supervision on enterprises accounting information; the utility function of supervision department resulting from its mandatory disclosure could be showed by U1, and its corresponding point in Axis L is L1. U2 is the Indifferent Curve of social utility brought by the disclosure of accounting information, with the line of LORE cutting at point L2. Thus it is naturally concluded that there is no direct correlation between the utility bringing to the supervisors and the practical social utility function caused by the information disclosure itself, which also explains why the mandatory disclosure is L2-L1 when the critical point of disclosure is L1.

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How to Avoid Difficulties in a Specific Type of Second Essay in Writing Part of IELTS

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Since majority of students nowadays want to get education in a foreign country due to several reasons, IELTS (International English Language Testing System) has become one of the most popular and necessary exams. Although it is wide spread all over the world, students to date have experienced difficulties in some parts of this exam. This article explains some tips in a writing part of IELTS exam.

Writing part of IELTS comes after the listening and reading sections and lasts for 60 minutes. Candidates are given a writing answer sheet and a writing booklet with 2 essay assignments written on it, which they have to finish in given time.

Essay 2 or independent writing has to have 250 words. Candidates are given a psychological question, which has to be discussed in details, with the opinion being introduced. Candidates had better to spend 35-40 min on it.

An independent essay has a specific structure, although it has free style in expressions.

There are 7 types of an independent essay:

1. Argument (Do you agree or disagree?/ To what extent do you agree or disagree?/ Should...?/ What is your opinion?)

2. Discussion (Discuss./ Discuss and give your opinion./ Discuss both views.)

3. Outweigh (Do the advantages of...outweigh the disadvantages? /Is it a positive or negative trend? / Is it a good tendency in your point of view? / Are there more advantages or disadvantages of...?)

4. Reason-Solution (The problem is given in such topics. Then there are 2 questions: one is a reason question and another one is a solution type. Reason questions-Why is it happening? / What are the causes of the problem?/ What reasons can cause the issue? Solution questions-What measures can be done to deal with a problem?/ What are the solution ways?/ How can the challenge be addressed?/How can it be

solved?)

5. Reason-Effect (The problem is given in such topics. Then there are 2 questions: one is a reason question and another one is an effect type. Reason questions-Why is it happening? / What are the causes of the problem?/ What reasons can cause the issue? Effect questions- What can happen if no measures are taken? What can the problem contribute to? What can be the sequence of the problem?)

6. 2-part question (What factors...? Is it possible...?)

7. mixed question (the mix of 2 questions from other types.)

In this article I would like to illustrate the writing techniques of Argument type.

Argument type of essays always has 2 different points of view about any issue and the most important here is finding out two various sides. Reading these topics candidates should imagine they enter some room, full of people, who argue about something. The issue they are arguing on is presented in a statement of a topic, analyzing which candidates should figure out what are two different views. It can sometimes be confusing, when there is only 1 statement written in the topic, so in this case candidates in order to find out the second side, should say the statement in a negative way. For example, "Women should work. Do you agree or disagree?" One side is clear -Women should work. Another one should be created just putting the sentence in a negative one - Women shouldn't work. Or "Some people consider that increasing a price of petrol can solve a traffic problem, while others think that it will have a little effect and other measures are required. What is your opinion?" 1 side is clear - Increasing a price of petrol can solve the problem. 2 side is - Increasing a price of petrol will have a little effect, so we need other measures. Or "Some people think that students had better to get education abroad. Do you

agree with them?" 1side-getting education is better abroad, 2 side-in your country"

So, first of all 2 different views must be found.

Secondly, a plan should be made. Here the main topic key phrase is written on the top, while 2 different sides are put in front of each other.

Women	
Should work (my side)	Should stay at home
Supporting idea 1	Supporting idea 3
Supporting idea 2	Weakness of the idea

Traffic problems can be solved by	
Increasing the price of petrol	Other measures (my side)
Supporting idea 1	Supporting idea 2
Weakness of the idea	Supporting idea 3

Getting education	
Is better abroad (my side)	Is better in your country
Supporting idea 1	Supporting idea 3
Supporting idea 2	Weakness of the idea

Afterwards candidates should support the side they agree with, giving 2 supporting ideas. For instance, in the first topic they should EITHER prove that Women should work, OR they should prove that women shouldn't work, e.i. should stay at home, supporting it by 2 ideas. In the second topic, candidates should EITHER prove that Increasing the price of petrol can solve the traffic problem because of ...1 idea, 2 idea OR they should prove that it can't solve it and other measures are needed - 1 measure, 2 measure. Having chosen one side and proving it with two ideas, candidates should think why other people can choose another side. Thus, candidates must have

one idea for the side they disagree with and two ideas for the side they agree with. After finding ideas for both sides, candidates should think about explanation. Hence, an example can be given to support the side a candidate agrees with. The example can be taken from candidate's experience or from some known facts.

Finally, the plan of the essay is ready and the only thing the candidate has to do is writing the essay in the following structure:

1. Introduction (paraphrased topic). The given topic must be paraphrased here in order to avoid repetitions, which decrease the candidate's score.

2. Main body 1 (1st side of the argument, which you disagree with+weaknesses of it). The side you disagree with, but which also has some advantage is introduced here as well as the explanation of its weak points.

3. Main body 2 (2nd side of the argument, which you agree with). The side you support is illustrated in the paragraph and clarified by the help of explanation and examples.

4. Conclusion (the precise answer to the question given in the topic). The opinion is stated here as well as some advice, which will change the situation to the better side.

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Book Review on *SELECTED POEMS OF A.MAO.*

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SELECTED POEMS OF A.MAO. Poems in Chinese by A. Mao, translated by Zhang Zhizhong. Published by The Earth Culture Press (USA), Chongqing City, P.R. China. 2012. Pages 255. Price CNY 50.00; US\$ 20.00.

Mao Juzhen, pen name A. Mao, is one of the top Chinese young writers today. She has four collections of poetry and other prose works, including a couple of novels and collections of short stories, to her credit. It is the recognition of her excellence that in October 2012 she was invited to visit the USA as a member of Chinese Writers' Association and participate in the prestigious University of Iowa's International Writing Program (IWP) Life of Discovery exchange program.

Mao is significant for her neat writing style, depth of voice, and sensibility. She chooses forms that help one remember her verses that are not banal, slipshod or feckless but passionate, free and graceful. Her poetic structure reflects her dreams and despairs, hopes and fears, family matters and social issues that engage the common woman's mind everywhere. Even as she develops her own voice, injecting her own concerns and themes, her own subjectivity for self-revelation and revelation of the diverse life in modern China, she evinces a larger awareness:

"First I am an individual
Then I am a collective
Finally I am the near and distant places of a generation."
(*'A Journal of Group Images'*)

Her interior landscape, a record of her talking to herself, reveals truth, conveying the experiences of her attempt to make sense of her own existence. The poems she writes are, therefore, not dry or abstract but rather part of a long tradition. Her introspection has an air of disappointment as she seeks to search for a way to recover some moment of contentment just as she seems to struggle to reveal moments lost in time that construct her very identity: "...I unremittingly/ Go mad, write poems." (*'Cause of Disease'*).

At a time when "minor morals" are becoming stronger, A. Mao seeks to strengthen "major morals" with the consciousness of woman as creator. As she asserts, she possesses eternal energy, or the moral sense, or Prakriti that can sustain "generations and generations to come" (*'Heavily Snowing Day and Anna's Train'*).

Since she writes about what she has lived or experienced – "I write about myself at present" in a tongue she loves to compose poetry in, i.e. Chinese—and since she feels "substantial when writing poetry/ But empty after love-making" (*'Our Epoch'*), she appears a poet with sensibility for awaking the mind, body, life, and soul (*'Waking up at*

Midnight'). Her various verses testify to her physical, mental, and emotional response to different personal, familial, social, cultural, or literary stimuli, and memory makes these magnificent:

"We are the crowd of people who finally remain
The light of language through poetry

...

We enkindle ourselves
To illumine ourselves

...

To break rocks into pieces, into stars
To break ourselves into pieces, into a road leading to higher places"

(*'To Break Rock into Pieces'*)

"I have my own principle
In the night there is no species
Which is nobler than my soul"

(*'The Bat'*)

Her quest for the self is rooted in her understanding of the life she negotiates both individually and collectively:

"I take overlapping photos of life with words" (p. 219)

"I have not gone to sleep
Still watching in poetic lines

How a person runs an idle flashlight
Into searchlight"

(*'Nighttime Beijing'*)

"Here am I! But where is here?" (p. 237)

"...I am running on the rail

In order to give birth to the eternal you."

(*'Rail on Paper'*)

"By sitting one cannot possess rivers and mountains,
By standing one cannot love human beings!

The sobbing mouth of a cave,
The sympathetic maternity.

You fill it with air or candies,
I fill it with tears or fire."

(*'Glassware'*)

As a woman poet, who considers herself "liberated" (*'Rib'*) and wants "to be a gender bender/Growing in the middle of scale arm" (*'Muffler'*), she evinces strong social consciousness and commitment, as

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in poems 'The Formation of Diamond', 'Our Epoch', or 'Playwright'. She forcibly asserts her female strength:

"The first person born in prehistory
Or the last person at the end of the world
Is nobody but me?"
(*'Eyes in the Wind'*)
"...Without knowing she is more
Beautiful and high than what we see,
Just like the winged angel or god."
(*'Women Dictionary'*)

She emphasizes that her goal is to extend her personal liberty, not for herself alone but for the entire community: "A new way has to be found/to view love, aging and grief" (*'Soliloquy'*).

Her ironic 'dreaming' or rumination as a lonely woman, or 'mortal grumbles and groans' offer an "x-ray vision" (*'Rib'*). As she points out:

"I love this mortal world, without ambiguity of language
But with the innocence and revolutionary of the bed."
(*'In Bed'*)

Perhaps, this is intended to suggest that despite her love for tradition, A. Mao would also like to be viewed in the company of the avantgarde poets (cf. 'Our Epoch').

Poems such as 'Midnight Poet', 'How Much Do I Love', 'Form', 'Singing Style', 'To Comfort a Withered Leaf', 'The Train Ran Past My Home Town', 'I Cannot But Write About', 'A Dedicated Poem', 'Anti-Order' etc construct her aesthetics of creation. To quote from her 'Extreme Interpretation':

"A good poem is not written on velvet chair.

It was either born out of a disaster
Or under the scalpel of a surgeon or in the screaming of a lunatic."

In another poem 'Position', she seeks to be careful, "away from the center, and the whirlpool/ to stand to one side by oneself." She can observe from the edge "more shade of danger and loneliness," including

"Myriads of things are extending and shrinking on their own positions.
Not that I retreat to the page of spurring the horse on,
But that the horse stops its forchooves in time.

Writing is the neighing in this string of actions."
(*'Position'*)

True, writing poetry is not only an exercise in self-exploration and self-revelation but also an exercise in social action. For example, the remarkable poem 'When My Brother Has an Extra-Marital Affair' is not only a critique of the extra-marital affairs of the people but also a visible social action on her part. As she writes:

"This is a serious matter

So much so that it is a disaster
I do not intend to be a moral judge
I only want to be a killer"
(*'When My Brother Has an Extra-marital Affair'*)

Elsewhere, she notes: "The pain of everything/is the pain of some part of us" (*'The Stones May be Painful'*). Verbal creativity is thus not only poetic but therapeutic too: "...pain is often cured by imagination" and "she collects the rumbling on paper/Which is sound of nature, also the sound of breaking intestines by iron" (*'The Train is Rumbling on Paper'*).

A.Mao offers a female perspective on social and cultural life in China and ironically questions all that is "sorrowful". She critically views the post-industrial urbanization and neglect of the countryside:

"There are a lot of colors in the field, and its feminine form:
Rice, cabbage, chicken, duck, fish ...
To fill the huge stomach of city.

...
Post-industrial age,
Makes those coarse throats, and fine mucus,
Not regard it as relative."
(*'Hometown'*)

She images the city culture as the 'Cause of Disease':

"...Old, those I have loved are all old,
The road is narrowed, the river turbid.
In a city devoid of
Native accent, the lost heart is filled with pain,
Tears, become another form of the body.
"Low culture everywhere, particularly in places of filth and disorder.
No soil for elegance. Why do you write in the pyramid?"
(*'On Art'*)

She desires a return to the countryside because the cities with Western biases have corrupted people's taste and have been breeding low culture and inelegance. Aware of their living in vain, she sounds sad to find "only popular readings sell well" just as everywhere there prospers the "popular style or Western style" (*'The Art School and Snack Booth'*). She bemoans the absence of sensibility which is the cause of all that is rotten and fractured (*'The Broken Autumn'*) in the emerging society.

Poet-translator Zhang Zhizhong and the publishers deserve kudos for making yet another valuable addition to the growing corpus of contemporary Chinese poetry in English. A. Mao's bilingual book of 108 selected poems, well-translated and competently edited and produced, provides a fresh perspective to the Chinese women's poetry which inspires thinking and looking beyond the confines of the traditional female sphere.

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