“GLOCALIZATION” OF SHAOXING CITY IN CHINA: INDIAN EVIDENCE

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Abstract:
As the biggest textile cluster in southeast China, Shaoxing is described as a low-end globalization city with many international businessmen here. Indians play an important role in such markets to transport huge quantities of goods not only to their local bazaars but also to West Asia, Southeast Asia, and Africa. This paper aims to explore Indian’s perception and interpretation of the image of Shaoxing city as they live and do business there. Word association testing and semi-structured interview are utilized to triangulate the research results. Based on the weighting statistics and thematic analysis of semi-structured interview, the paper concludes that Indian’s perception of Shaoxing city, largely positive with small negative voices, shows a fail “glocalization” tendency that requires strengthening cultural exchanges between local residents and Indians.

Keywords: Textile, Glocalization, China, Word Association Test, Semi-structured Interview, Cultural Exchanges

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I. Introduction

China proposed “Belt and Road” initiative in 2013. Shaoxing, as an important city of the ancient Silk Road, has its unique regional advantages when responding to the initiative in Zhejiang province. In addition, Shaoxing, as the world's largest chemical fiber textile base, has a wide market for its textiles in the world. Many businessmen from South Asia, Middle East, Eastern Europe and Africa carry out economic and trade exchanges with its distinct industrial advantages. At the same time, Shaoxing has a long history and prominent cultural characteristics. Its yellow wine brand and cultural celebrities have strong attraction for foreign friends. As one of the most important trade partner country of Shaoxing city, India stayed as the top one last year according to the local government work report. Understanding Indian’s perception and interpretation of the image of Shaoxing city is of great significance for the understanding of the “glocalization” of Indians there.

Glocalization was used to describe the adaptation of globally marketed products and services into local markets (Robertson, 1994). Robertson’s (1995) holds that local, national and global relations are regulated by local, national and political dynamics with regards to his concept of glocalization. Later, some researchers believed that it was the cultural and political reflection of temporary globalization (Sedda, 2004) and facilitated the understanding of cultural differences (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007). Some other researchers insisted that culture could also be a glocalized phenomenon (Kjeldgaard & Askegaard, 2006), and it was also considered useful in the educational researches (Brooks & Normore, 2010). In a word, both local interaction and global interaction, economically or culturally, socially or educationally, are expanded by glocalization. This paper focuses on the Indian’s impression of Shaoxing image, aiming to analyze the Indian’s glocalization level there.

"City image" was first defined as the perceptual impression of urban physical form of most urban residents (Lynch, 1960). Cox & Zannaras (1973)
then divided the city image into two basic forms: one is the image in name, which refers to the perceptual impression determined by objective factors such as the geographical location, climate and environment of a city; the other is the impression assessed, mainly from people's subjective value judgment of the city, which is influenced by various factors. To sum up, the image of a city is not only determined by its real urban space, but also influenced by another symbolic and imaginative virtual urban space. Therefore, this study intends to explore the abstract and symbolic meanings of Shaoxing's urban image from the perspective of those Indians who live there.

2. Word Associate Test

2.1 Research Methods

People's perception of image is not only derived from real contacts such as food, clothing, housing and transportation, but also from the natural projection and impression of psychology. This study adopts the psychological research method of "Word Association Testing". Since 1987, the "Word Association Testing" was used by founder Galton, it has been regarded as one of the basic methods to measure human emotions. This method is simple and easy to operate. In such a typical test, the participants in the experiment quickly write down the words in their minds after getting in touch with a stimulus source (such as words/pictures/videos).

2.2 Research Object and Sampling

Through the combination of convenient sampling and standard sampling, the subjects of this research group are 33 Indians in Shaoxing, including foreign students, businessmen, housewives and migrant workers.

2.3 Data Collection

When carrying out the word association testing, all testers were asked to start free imagination when they hear the word "Shaoxing" and write down the ten words/phrases that first came to their minds. Each of the subjects got a piece of paper and pen, or a link to receive the test questionnaire on the phone. There
was no time limit for this test, so as to create a relaxing and comfortable environment for the subjects. Combining paper test results with on-line results, a total of 330 data should be obtained theoretically. However, due to less than ten data or unclear handwriting provided by a small number of subjects, 289 data were obtained by stimulating association with the word "Shaoxing" including 213 words/phrases.

2.4 Data Analysis

Considering that the main research object of this study was the Indians' perception of Shaoxing image, the team excluded words that only appeared once due to accidental factors, leaving words mentioned at least twice by the testers. There were about 40 such words. Among them, as for the very first word, seven people associated with "textile"; six people with "yellow wine"; five people with "water"; three people with "Wanda Square"; those who associated with “hometown”, “clean”, "beautiful", "food" and "transportation" were more than two persons. Of course, it was not scientific enough to make analysis just on the basis of statistics of the associative words that first came to their minds; in order to reveal the overall situation more comprehensively and effectively, the research group further used the method of "weighted" statistics to analyze the results. The specific operation process was as follows: setting the weight of "first associative word" to 2, the weight of "second associative word" to 1.9, and so on, the weight of "tenth associative word" to 1.1.

Table 1:

Forty Words of Word Association Testing

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<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>Lu Xun</td>
<td>crowded</td>
<td>Stinky tofu</td>
<td>transportation</td>
<td>simple</td>
<td>small</td>
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<td>19.3</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
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177
In these 40 words, the only negative words are “crowed-7.3”, “noisy-4.6” and “air pollution-4.9”; and the positive words are “beautiful-14.4”, “delicious-8”, “quiet-7.9”, “clean-7.7”, “friendly-5.3”, “hometown-4”, “good location-3.9”, “peaceful-3.9”, “near Hangzhou-3.6”, “fast express-3.4”, “easy payment-3.4”, “nice nature-3.2”, “happy-3.2” and “comfortable-3.1”. The rest are neutral words without obvious tendency. The weighted scores are 248.4 in total, neutral words are 149.4, the ratio is 248.4:1494. The weighted scores of the positive words is 82.2 and that of negative words is 16.8. Therefore, it’s obvious to see Indian’s attitude towards the image of Shaoxing city in Zhejiang province, China, mostly is positive and appreciative.
2.5 Results

The results show that textile is the most important business card in Shaoxing. Most Indians come to Shaoxing for textile business or do business related with textile. From the the results of word associate texts, there are seven people who think of “textile” in the first place, and the total weight score is 14, which comes to the top five in the final result.

The Jiangnan ancient town with river and bridges is the most obvious impression of Shaoxing in Indian’s minds. In addition, they give a high appraisal of Shaoxing's infrastructure, urban environment and people’s friendliness. Located in Zhejiang Province, the southeast part of China, Shaoxing is a typical example of Chinese Jiangnan ancient towns with rivers, lakes and bridges all over the city. With direct and personal touch with the nature environment, the water in Shaoxing is quite impressive to the “local” Indians.

However, most of them come here for business purposes. They are more familiar with Keqiao district like (Wanda Square) than with the ancient district of Shaoxing. They are less familiar with the ancient history and culture of Shaoxing. Shaoxing's external communication and discourse construction are still relatively scarce, which hinders the process of interpersonal communication and self-media communication, and the lack of the construction of Shaoxing's external discourse platform might be one of the reasons that account for this phenomenon.

3. Semi-structured Interviews

3.1 Data Collection

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used to collect data. Rubin (2011) believes that through verbal communication and individual expression of their ideas, different individuals can achieve a certain degree of mutual "understanding". Through questioning and conversation, people can surpass themselves and approach the fusion of horizons between subjects, and construct a new social reality that is meaningful to both sides (Drever, 1995). This study
uses open questions and semi-structured in-depth interviews to encourage visitors to tell their true thoughts. The author maintains the participants' posture throughout the process and avoids preconceived guidance and suggestions.

3.2 Data Processing

As the interviewees did not agree to record the interview process, in order to ensure that important information was not omitted, the team took notes throughout the interview with the consent of the interviewees, which provided real raw data for data analysis. Researchers in the research group carefully read the original data within 48 hours and then analyzed it.

3.3 Data Analysis

Descriptive and inferential analysis of quantitative data was carried out by statistical analysis software. Qualitative data analysis software was used to code and analyze the interview results. The encoding process is as follows: 1. Two coders check the interview records together. 2. Each coder first codes the interview records independently. 3. Finally, the topic is decided by two coders after cross-discussion.


3.4 Analysis Tools

In this study, Microsoft Excel, a computer-aided qualitative analysis software, was used as a tool for coding and analysis. Microsoft Excel software is
the most frequently used computer-aided qualitative analysis software, which aims to process qualitative data as quantitatively as possible.

By combining convenience sampling with standard sampling, this study selected ten Indians from Shaoxing as interview samples. Participants were as follows: Seven males and three females; two under 25, three between 26 and 32, one between 33 and 35, and four at 36. Sample numbers are arranged from 01 to 10 according to the time of interview.

3.5 Results

After reviewing all the interview records, the two coders analyzed the contents and classified the topics respectively. After summarizing, discussing and processing for two weeks, the two coders formed a basic coding catalogue (see appendix), and established an analysis framework to classify, compare and summarize the contents that need to be analyzed. Through the analysis and coding of interview records, several thematic categories become obvious: economic, social, cultural and political aspects. Foot (1999) believed that the combined effects of mass media, personal experience, interpersonal communication, memory and environment formed people's subjective impression of a city. The interview design of this study is to better understand the image of Shaoxing. Direct analysis of interpersonal impression can expand the image of Shaoxing, which is the medium of quantitative analysis, and make the whole research more three-dimensional and comprehensive. It can also explore the reasons for the formation of Shaoxing image from the aspects of interpersonal communication and interpersonal communication.

As for economy, textile is Shaoxing's trademark industry, and Shaoxing as a whole is in the rapid developing Zhejiang Province, but in recent years, the indian’s think that the economy has been in a sluggish state. From the results of interviews, most Indians are engaged in textile and foreign trade as intermediaries. They control the output and speed of their factories by stationed in Shaoxing for a long time, and then sell their products to markets in Africa,
West Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia. As Ka-Kin (2014) said in his field survey of Indians in Shaoxing, Shaoxing is a small city, but its economic contacts are extremely globalized. Mathews et al. (2015) called this low-end globalization, because these industries are very marginal and low-level in the global economic system, and it is difficult for them to reverse this systematic inequity; but this inequity, to some extent, expands the living space of the local economic system. When these Indians are in an unfair economic structure, they know how to use social networks, mobility and personal risk-taking to maximize their living space.

In terms of culture, the dissemination of Shaoxing's ancient culture has little influence. This result is beyond the research team’s expectation and deserves our further in-depth consideration. Only half of the interviewees talked about Lu Xun and traveled to his former residence. Although the mainstream English media reported on the friendly exchanges between Lu Xun in Shaoxing and Tagore in India, there was little real contact between the public and the people. The real reason may be that the audience groups were businessmen, and there was a lack of interviews with Indian scholars or relevant researchers. Although most Indians in the interview acknowledged Shaoxing as a typical representative of the ancient town in the south of the Yangtze River and expressed their love for the poetic environment such as “Xiaoqiao Running Water”, they also questioned Shaoxing people's attitude toward life. They thought that Shaoxing people lived under great pressure and had a low happiness index. They could not enjoy the current environment and living conditions because of their indulgence in the mobile phones. So the popularization of cellphones has its advantages and disadvantages.

When it comes to the social aspect, the improving infrastructure, people's friendliness and good urban services have won very positive feedback. The memories of living in Shaoxing have direct or indirect impact on their hearts and minds, and the judgments they get from their own experience will have a
lasting impact on them. Interpersonal interaction and inter-group interaction can help Indians better integrate into Shaoxing's local life, but most of their interpersonal interaction behavior is only superficial and instantaneous, so they can not “glocalize” themselves truly in Shaoxing in depth.

Politically, although respondents commented directly on Chinese socialism, their attitudes revealed their dissatisfaction with China where they could not use Google, Facebook and Twitter.

4. Discussion
Finding One:

Textile is a major economic card of Shaoxing. Indians engaged in textile and foreign trade in Shaoxing have their own community groups. Some people express that they have been discriminated against when they first came to Shaoxing.

Qualitative and quantitative studies all reflect this point. In mainstream English media reports in India, Shaoxing is the largest textile trade center in China's coastal areas. Nine out of ten interviewees mentioned textile and fabric, seven practitioners and three potential practitioners mentioned the development of textile and foreign trade industry, the number of textile factories in Shaoxing and so on. Just like China's "Chinatown", Indians mostly gather in Keqiao District in Shaoxing, which is close to Shaoxing Textile Commercial Center, so as to facilitate business contacts, logistics and trade and other practical operations. In their Indian community life, religion is a spiritual bond that unites them. They will hold some related activities regularly, and they will also participate in some related activities in Zhejiang and even in China. Their cohesion is very strong. According to the researches of past scholars and interviews with interviewees, most Indians who come to Shaoxing are engaged in textile and foreign trade industry and earn profits by earning the difference between intermediaries. The lack of certain social networking circles and skills in China just after arrival will be more or less subjected to industry pressure and
environmental discrimination, which is the most intuitive response of group contact. Among the respondents, Shaoxing is believed to be more conservative and backward than other first-tier cities such as Shanghai and Hangzhou.

**Finding Two:**

Shaoxing's natural environment and climate, social stability and infrastructure improvement, gourmet food and wine have won unanimous praise from Indians, but Indians do not appreciate Shaoxing's attitude towards life.

Although the mainstream English media in India have not reported and described Shaoxing's natural environment, climate, social stability and infrastructure, the Indians who lives in Shaoxing have highlighted their preference for the city’s geographical location, natural environment and transportation convenience. This brings us an enlightenment: why is there a lack of intuitive coverage of the good aspects of Shaoxing in the English mainstream media in India? They are interested in natural disasters, strange stories and other materials, which reflects their reporting tendencies and descriptive attitudes, and to a large extent affects the international image dissemination of Shaoxing. As for food and wine, Shaoxing's specialty rice wine and stinky tofu were mentioned many times by the respondents, and also in the mainstream media reports, which shows that human beings are essentially in the same pursuit of good things. The most interesting finding of this paper is that Indians are dissatisfied with Chinese consumption behavior and attitudes. They want to know why the Chinese spend so much money but don't enjoy the process. Chinese people are constantly playing with mobile phones, whether they are old or young, whether in bars or restaurants. For Indians, when they spend so much money, they have to enjoy it as much as possible, because it not only benefits them spiritually, but also relieves pressure, and temporarily frees them from heavy work, which, ultimately, is a pursuit of happy life.

**Finding Three:**
Lu Xun is not such a major cultural card in Shaoxing. Indians in Shaoxing know much more about Keqiao District than ancient urban areas. Most of them don't know much about Shaoxing's historical background.

The interviewees did not know much about Shaoxing's history. Although mainstream media reported that ancient Shaoxing was the capital of the ancient Yue State, the Indians in Shaoxing were not aware of it. This is closely related to the limitations of the respondents. Most of them live in Keqiao District. Their understanding of Keqiao is much higher than that of Yuecheng District. Their understanding of scenic spots and historic sites in Shaoxing ancient city is limited to Lu Xun, but little is known about Lanting, Wang Xizhi and Zhou Enlai. This shows that Shaoxing lacks the propaganda and dissemination of its own specific culture, and that the Indians in Shaoxing are merging into Shaoxing's local life only on the surface. Their fragmentation or intermittent contact will not change their fundamental understanding of Shaoxing's image, which is a strong evidence of the failure of the glocalization of Indians.

**Finding Four:**

Respondents think that most of the online introductions to Shaoxing are one-sided or extreme, but they are happy to come to Shaoxing as a whole and will recommend relatives and friends to come to Shaoxing.

Respondents did not express obvious differences in the channels of information acquisition before and after coming to Shaoxing. They felt that many people in Shaoxing lacked the basic ability to express themselves in English and the corresponding English versions of various materials in Shaoxing were lacking. When they returned home to talk with relatives, friends and colleagues about Shaoxing, they found that most of the impressions about Shaoxing that people in India get from the Internet were very one-sided or extreme. For example, those people who had never been to Shaoxing thought that everything in Shaoxing was cheap just because they could buy cheap Chinese-made products.
in the local bazaars. But respondents said that compared with India, the cost of living in China was not cheap, and the rent, food, clothing and transportation were much higher than those in India, so the intuitive imagination of Shaoxing, or even of China, were different. But as a whole, seven people expressed their satisfaction for Shaoxing. Three people thought Shaoxing was their second home and would recommend friends and relatives to visit or do business in Shaoxing.

5. Conclusion

The comprehensive research results show that Shaoxing, as a city with extremely globalized economy, needs to strengthen its cultural propaganda, especially focusing on the construction of international platform for foreign discourse communication and the advantages of interpersonal communication, so as to build a high-quality media team with international vision and Chinese cultural background, which will help to tell the story of Shaoxing well. The mainstream English media in India lack direct and positive reports and introductions on Shaoxing, but the Indian respondents in Shaoxing have positive attitudes towards Shaoxing image as a whole and are the best ambassadors for individual cultural exchanges. The author suggests that the government and relevant units set up folk cultural organizations to make full use of these foreign entrepreneurs in Shaoxing and make them ambassadors of Chinese culture after returning home to promote the cultural exchanges. In addition, a good use of textile business card and Lu Xun's cultural card should be made to strengthen the mutually beneficial exchanges between Shaoxing and its Indian sister cities, such as setting up the annual Indian Cultural Festival, highlighting the communication links between "Lu Xun-Tagore" and "Zhou Enlai-Nehru", and promoting the exchanges between Shaoxing universities and Indian universities, so as to be more glocalized.
References


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<th>主题分类</th>
<th>编码 CODING</th>
<th>例子 EXAMPLES</th>
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| 经济 Economy | 纺织 TEXTILE | ➢ 这边有很多工厂，有很多从事布艺纺织的生意人 (THERE ARE MANY TEXTILE FACTORIES HERE AND YOU CAN SEE MANY TEXTILE BUSINESS MEN);
➢ 我们有自己的社区，大家一起会讨论，有时候一起参加活动 (WE HAVE OUR OWN COMMUNITY, SOMETIMES [WE] DISCUSS AND PARTICIPATE ACTIVITIES TOGETHER). |
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<th>Topic</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>English</th>
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<td>外贸 FOREIGN TRADE</td>
<td>我叔叔在这边做了很多年生意，我帮他打理一下（MY UNCLE, HE OWNS BUSINESS HERE [FOR] MANY YEARS, I JUST HELP HIM）；</td>
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<td>我本来想留学签先过来，然后换工作签，现在不让换了(I INTEND TO EXCHANGE MY STUDENT VISA TO WORK VISA, NOW, THERE ARE NEW RULES, IT CANNOT WORK)；</td>
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<td>环境低迷 ECONOMIC DOWNTURN</td>
<td>不过现在经济不好，中国工厂都打电话叫我们过去看 (THE ECONOMY, UM, YOU KNOW, NOT GOOD; MANY CHINESE FACTORIES CALL US TO VISIT THEIR [FACTORIES])；</td>
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<td>文化</td>
<td>幸福指数低</td>
<td>LOW HAPPINESS INDEX</td>
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<td>出去玩，大家都沉迷于手机，哪怕去夜店也这样，感觉他们没有在享受 (THEY ALL [ARE] ABSORBED IN THEIR CELLPHONES, EVEN IN NIGHTCLUB, I DON'T THINK THEY ENJOY THEMSELVES );</td>
<td>跟我约会的中国女孩子都问我有车有房吗，我骗他们说有，她们就要跟我结婚，咯咯咯笑 (IN A DATE, CHINESE [GIRLS] ALWAYS ASK ME ABOUT THE HOUSE AND CAR, I LIED TO THEM THAT I HAVE THEM ALL, THEN THEY WANNA MARRY ME).</td>
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比起上海杭州，这里小很多，人们没那么开放，会用奇怪眼光看我们（PEOPLE IN SHANGHAI, HANGZHOU, YOU KNOW, ARE MORE OPEN-MINDED; HERE, PEOPLE ARE CONSERVATIVE AND LOOK AT US WITH STRANGE FEELINGS）；
➢ 刚来的那会儿，感觉经常被歧视 (I WAS DEFINITELY DISCRIMINATED WHEN I JUST ARRIVED HERE) ；
➢ 我知道他们背地里都叫我们“阿三”，“印度阿三” (I KNOW THEY CALL US “A SAN” BEHIND OUR BACK)。
| 江南古镇 JIANGNAN ANCIENT TOWN | ➢ 经典小镇，有桥有水有湖，布艺市场旁边就是大湖 (I LIKE IT COZ, YOU KNOW, WITH WATER, RIVER, AND BRIDGES, YOU CALL IT JIANGNAN TOWN, RIGHT? THERE IS A BIG LAKE BESIDES THE TEXTILE MARKET IN KEQIAO)；
➢ 我喜欢这边的有些地方，可以去走走看看，享受自然 (I LIKE GOING AROUND IN THE CITY, TO ENJOY THE NATURE, UM, TO FEEL THE NATURE)； |
| 鲁迅 LU XUN | ➢ 去过鲁迅的家，拍照了，其他不知道 (WE HAVE BEEN TO LU XUN’S HOUSE, AND UM....)；
➢ 学校带我们去了三味书屋，我很惊奇门口种了青菜 (IT’S AMAZING TO FIND THAT THERE ARE VEGETABLES BEFORE THE SANWEI.. SHUWU..., YOU KNOW, THEY SAID IT’S LU XUN’S STUDY HOUSE)。 |
社会
SOCIETY

干净 CLEAN

整个柯桥很整洁 (IT’S CLEAN IN KEQIAO)；
公共厕所干净 (THE PUBLIC TOLIETS ARE CLEAN)；

基础设施好 GOOD INFRASTRUCTURE

马路宽敞，公交车便宜，
自行车也很多，带手机就可以了
(WIDE ROADS, CHEAP BUS, CONVENIENT BIKES, YOU ONLY NEED TO TAKE YOUR PHONE)；
公园有很多，我们会去玩，
还可以划船 （WE GO TO THE MANY PARKS FOR FUN, FOR BOATING, ANYONE, IT’S COOL TO HAVE PARKS）。

气候好 NICE WEATHER

除了夏天特别热，其他还好 (WEATHER IS GOOD, EXCEPT SUMMER)。
我特别喜欢春秋两季，可能我们印度不太有 (I LIKE SPRING AND AUTUMN THE BEST, THERE ARE NO SUCH COOL DAYS IN INDIA, VERY FEW, UM..YEAH)。
人们友善 FRIENDLY PEOPLE

大部分人都很友好，邻居会相互给吃的 (MOST PEOPLE ARE FRIENDLY, AND NEIGHBORS SEND GIFTS FOR EACH OTHER IN HOLIDAYS)；

偶尔会碰到很吵的人，比如火车站，公交车等地方 (NOISY, YOU KNOW, AS NOISY AS WHEN YOU’RE IN RAILWAY STATION, BUS STATION, SOMEWHERE LIKE THAT)；

办签证窗口态度很好，效率也高 (THE VISA MAN IS NICE, AND IT’ S FAST)。

政治 Politics

不满 Discontent

我们印度可以用谷歌，脸书等很多互联网软件，但在中国都不能用（IN INDIA, WE CAN USE GOOGLE AND FACEBOOK, BUT HERE, EM, NOT PERMITTED）。

我们的总统是我们选出来的，所以他是我们的代表（WE ELECT OUR PRESIDENT AND HE REPRESENTS US...）。
沉默 SILENCE

我认识的中国朋友和生意伙伴都不谈政治 (NOBODY I KNOW IN CHINA TALKS ABOUT POLITICS, MAYBE JUST MY FRIENDS, WE TALK BUSINESSES AND FUN)；

这边不大选 (YOU SEE, PEOPLE DON’T VOTE HERE, SO, LET’S JUST ....)。

漠然 INDIFFERENCE

感觉大家日常都不太关心政治，只关心赚钱 (PEOPLE AROUND ME ARE INDIANS, I DON’T HAVE MANY CHINESE FRIENDS, BUT THEY SEEM ONLY CARE ABOUT MONEY, NOT POLITICS)；

女人们聚在一起都聊孩子或者工作上的烦恼 (WOMEN CHAT WITH,,,TOGETHER... FOR FAMILY, CHILD, SOMETIMES, WORK, YOU KNOW, NO POLITICS)；